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A framework to scale citizen participation in urban development:

Learning from experiences of multi-stakeholder collaboration

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Abstract

This working paper summarises our understanding of a framework to support the scaling of participatory development in low-income urban neighbourhoods in the global South. The discussion addresses constraints that have previously been identified both in the academic literature and through social movements and support agencies seeking citizen inclusion. Our study demonstrates the importance of working with all key stakeholders, including organised communities, urban social movements, academics, professionals and City authorities. This working paper draws on experiences in three African cities and summarises a framework to support the scaling of citizen participation.

Our proposed framework is multi-sectoral, multi-spatial and multi-temporal. It seeks to contribute to a more finely grained understanding of what is required to achieve the scaling of participation. As efforts to realise the SDGs continue, this discussion contributes to their realisation through outlining experiences both to address the needs of those living in low-income, often informal, urban neighbourhoods in the global South and the governance deficit.

Our findings show how pressure for enhanced citizen participation, in the urban South, takes place within and alongside formal and informal planning and policies, and these processes must be considered together. For citizen organisations, the shift to thinking and working at the city is significant. Movements reach out to residents who are not taking part in neighbourhood organisations and seek to work in new neighbourhoods. In addition, movements are more ambitious in the changes they seek. At the level of the city, contestation and collaboration take place simultaneously and movements shift between these strategies to secure recognition and material improvements. Academic departments potentially contribute to securing more representative governance practices that address the needs and interests of informal settlement residents. We also argue that understanding social movement strategies and actions requires us to recognise that these may be represented in ways that advance their acceptance by the state.

Keywords

Citizen-participation, Urban Development, Multi-stakeholder collaboration, Scaling-up

Acknowledgements

1. Introduction

There is a continuing lacuna in urban development. Too little is being done to address the needs of the estimated one billion people living in informal settlements in the global South. In addition to these residents who are living in acute need, there are millions of others living in need in formal neighbourhoods. This working paper summarises the results of an action-research programme to advance our understanding of frameworks that can support the scaling of participatory development. The action research took place in three African cities: Bulawayo (Zimbabwe), Johannesburg (South Africa) and Nairobi (Kenya). In all three locations, our research teams included community activists working with urban social movements, professionals working for NGOs and academic scholars. Our focus in this paper includes our engagement with the challenge of both planning for and implementing urban development. While much of this work took place in informal settlements, residents in low-income formal settlements made significant contributions to our work in Bulawayo, while the challenges at the city scale include hostels in both Bulawayo and Johannesburg and semi-formal tenements in Nairobi. The discussion builds on our earlier analysis of the literature (Horn et al. 2018) to report on the findings of the action research and to place those findings with the existing literature.

As argued by Horn et al. (2018), the significance of participation is widely recognised. It is considered to contribute to the empowerment of local residents (at best), and enable them to have more influence and control over approaches and outcomes; it develops complementary capabilities among all and has the potential to change the ways in which stakeholders engage with each other (Hamdi 2004; 2010). It has been critically reviewed (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Hickey and Mohan 2004) and has long been recognised to have the potential to be abused (Arnstein 1969). Participatory approaches need to recognise that development is inherently political. While policy reform is a significant step, efforts also need to be made to ensure that reforms are implemented. Policy, programming and practice reforms need to move forward together and experience suggests that realising such reforms requires a capacitated civil society "pushing from below". In addition, the capabilities of professionals, including local government officials, need to be developed, such that they are able to support citizens' right to be involved and to find new options for addressing needs.

Our definition of scaling (Horn et al. 2018) recognises that scaling can mean to expand participatory planning *horizontally* into other policy areas (for example, from water and sanitation to drainage and health) and/or communities (for example, from one neighbourhood to another) and *vertically* into higher institutional levels (Fung and Wright 2003. Our experiences highlight the importance of scaling to greater *complexity* with processes promoting collective priorities and political voice, community self-organisation in the production of goods and services, and peer support and solidarity; this is required to enhance the levels of inclusion and empowerment of low-income residents and thereby improve democratic control over urban policy and planning

decisions (Miraftab 2003). In Section 4, we identify five types of scaling, and six approaches to securing scale.

This research demonstrates the importance of establishing and deepening new and existing relations between organised communities, urban social movements, academics, professionals and the City authorities if participation is to be scaled (see Section 4). Establishing multi-faceted relational capital is important in ensuring that communities can advance their options and protect themselves from abuse. In addition to new and better relations, participatory planning is advanced through specific activities, including more inclusive practices of organisation, information about the nature of local neighbourhoods and the problems that residents face, financing and innovation.

We propose a multi-dimensional approach to scale participation. In addition to investments in relational capital, we identify the following dimensions. Efforts must be multi-spatial, linking neighbourhoods within a citywide approach. Too much focus on the local limits the relevance of activities and does not offer a meaningful understanding of what is required to advance participation. As diverse localities are drawn into citywide processes, state policies and programmes must be amended to be relevant to the specificities of new locations and adjusted to be relevant at an expanded spatial scale. Additionally, interventions must be multi-sectoral. The narrow operational scope of city departments does not enable holistic interventions that address local needs. Finally, interventions must be designed to sustain activities, building capabilities to enable activities to spread and deepen over time. Experiences with planning across the short, medium and long term highlight the importance of multi-temporal as well as multi-spatial understandings. Planning can be a way to build more substantive capabilities to enhance development options. Section 4 below elaborates on the implementation approaches and tools that have been useful in ensuring progress across all four dimensions.

We draw five conclusions (Section 5). First, that urban social movements represent their approaches and innovations in multiple ways to advance their acceptance by the state. Second, that politics, planning and participation interact and must be considered together. Third, working at the city scale is significant; it encourages movements to reach out to residents who are not participating in neighbourhood organisations to deepen democratic engagement, and to new neighbourhoods that may have diverse needs and interests. Moreover, aspirations increase, and movements are more ambitious in the changes they seek. Fourth, contestation and collaboration sit alongside each other when working at this scale. Movements shift between these strategies to secure recognition and material improvements. Fifth, academic institutions have a potentially significant contribution to make in securing more representative governance practices able to address the needs and interests of informal settlement residents.

The working paper has the following structure. Section 2 discusses the methodology and includes an introduction to the locations in which the research took place. Section

3 discusses the literature. Section 4 reports on the findings of the action research. Section 5 concludes.

2. Methodology

The action research network was established following a shared interest between staff and activists in five academic departments, three NGOs and three urban social movements. All share a commitment to advancing just and inclusive cities and recognise the essential nature of participatory development to this goal. The academic staff are located at the Universities of Johannesburg, Nairobi, Manchester and Sheffield, and at the National University of Science and Technology (Bulawayo). Academic disciplines include architecture, development studies and planning. The NGO professionals are working in Dialogue on Shelter (Zimbabwe), 1to1 (South Africa) and SDI Kenya. The first and third of these NGOs are affiliated with Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI). SDI urban social movements took part in research activities: Muungano waWanavijiji in Nairobi; and the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation in Bulawayo. In Johannesburg, community inputs draw on activities in the settlements of Slovo Park and Denver, where 1to1 have been supporting upgrading efforts. These communities work with SDI community platforms in South Africa, the Federation of the Urban and Rural Poor, and the Informal Settlement Network. The potential to work with these groups was one factor behind the selection of the cities. Action research requires that the research is of interest to agencies whose primary raison d'être is operational. In addition, and as elaborated below, the locations are diverse in terms of their support for participatory planning, which reflects the more general political context.

SDI is a transnational network of women-led savings groups based in informal settlements, who come together in city and national federations. SDI affiliates produce their own knowledge, particularly through data collection that documents conditions in informal settlements, and which helps residents set their collective priorities. Affiliates reach out to local academic departments to build collaborative alliances to change practices; and the professionals co-authoring this working paper have considerable experience with academic collaboration. SDI affiliates acknowledge the significance of academic knowledge, both in defining problems and solutions and, more generally, in conceptualising and theorising urbanisation, urban economic growth and participatory development. They recognise that co-producing knowledge with academics can be challenging and that new approaches are required if the community voice is to be heard (Mitlin et al. 2019). Scale is essential to the efforts of SDI (and other groups in Johannesburg) because of their desire to "leave no-one behind". Hence the theme of this action research network provided space for professionals and community leaders to reflect many years of practice. The funding provided by the Leverhulme Trust for such reflection catalysed collectively conclusions on experiences with efforts to scale.

In conducting this action research, we draw on our experiences and academic literature to co-produce knowledge (Mitlin et al. 2019). We developed our own reflections on this approach and sharpened our practices through our collective discussions. The findings

reported here have been drawn together through two processes that are effective because of longstanding relations between the research team, the professional operational agencies and the social movements. While some junior staff and community leaders joined the process, the majority of academics, professionals and community leaders had worked together in each city for at least five years and generally longer. The academic from the University of Manchester also had familiarity with the processes that were ongoing in each locality. The three processes used to generate research findings are: "action" activities designed to test scaling (see below); structured workshops that have taken place over several days; and the co-production of research documentation (such as this working paper). Three structured workshops grounded the generation of findings. One in Johannesburg (2017), a second in Nairobi (2018) and, finally, one in Bulawayo (2019). Additionally, a conference in Manchester (2019) was attended by the community groups involved in the research and provided a further opportunity to test out findings. Complementary research activities enabled further interactions between individuals involved in the network and this helped deepen the conclusions.

Both the structured workshops and the ongoing relationships between those involved in the network were important in generating findings. Co-producing findings – especially if that involves researchers who are not trained in abstract thinking and formal research processes – does not take place through formal interviews and textual analysis. Each of the workshops involved sessions in which community leaders, professionals and academics jointly reflected on what was taking place with respect to scaling efforts in their own localities. Following this discussion, we had exposure visits to selected neighbourhoods which provided illustrations of both the challenges and opportunities. We then returned for thematic-based discussion. These workshops took place over three days. In Bulawayo we concluded our work with a one-day workshop with senior and mid-ranking local authority officials. The sequential nature of discussions enabled findings to emerge, be tested and consolidated as the networks identified the conclusions that were important to share.

The challenges involved in coproducing knowledge are considerable and our work has been advanced by the long-standing relations that community groups already have with academics and hence their confidence and capability to participate fully in discussions (Mitlin et al. 2019; Mitlin et al. 2020). Our findings are tentative because this remains work in progress. As processes deepen, expand and spread to more sectors, new learning takes place. We recognise that the traditional processes of research are rarely accessible to low-income and disadvantaged co-researchers and we have worked with SDI affiliates with a capacitated community leadership to minimise exclusionary practices.

The following sub-section introduces the locations in which local practices have been tested prior to a discussion of the literature (Section 3) and the framework of activities (Section 4).

Location and organisation of the action research

Bulawayo: Community participation is supported and advanced through SDI's Zimbabwe Alliance, a collaboration between the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation and the NGO, Dialogue on Shelter. The Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation emerged in 1998, following a visit from an urban social movement, the South African Homeless People's Federation, to two "holding camps" in Harare where evicted residents had been located (Chitekwe-Biti 2009). The mobilisation of communities in these neighbourhoods led to the formation of savings groups, and then the Federation. The Federation has grown into a national network, with tens of thousands of households supported to secure tenure and improve their access to basic services (SDI 2019).

The scaling of participatory planning in Zimbabwe has faced considerable challenges, due to the prevailing nature of top-down planning in the country, and the continuing economic and political crisis. This crisis has been associated with hostility towards urban areas by the dominant political party (ZANU-PF) because many urban residents support the opposition party. Despite considerable challenges, the Federation has continued to mobilise. Historically, the Alliance received little attention from the City government in Bulawayo, in part due to the ethnic and related political divisions in Zimbabwe and efforts being made by the Alliance to engage national government. However, both officials and elected representatives in the City of Bulawayo have responded more positively in recent years.[1] The "actions" taken with respect to the network focused on data collection to deepen and extend relations with the local authority.

Johannesburg: South Africa's democratic government recognised the importance of addressing housing needs, social exclusion and poverty immediately it took up office in 1994. However, despite the speedy introduction of a generous capital housing subsidy programme, there remains a significant housing backlog. Moreover, the commitment to participation within the capital housing subsidy programme was not realised (Miraftab 2003; Mitlin and Mogaladi 2013). Since 2002, the Department of Housing has sought to re-orientate its focus towards informal settlement upgrading, with a renewed commitment to participation and integrated urban development, although outcomes have been limited (Fieuw 2015; Fieuw and Mitlin 2018). In response to acknowledged shortcomings, in 2016 the City of Johannesburg sought to improve participation with a new approach to citizen engagement (Karabo Molaba and Khan 2016). Hence, unlike Bulawayo, this is a context in which there has been considerable state-led support for participation albeit within a top-down tradition of urban planning and management (Cirolia et al. 2016).

Our findings draw on the experiences of 1to1, a social enterprise supporting community organisations to engage with state-financed upgrading opportunities. 1to1 works closely with SDI social movements, both the Federation for the Urban and Rural Poor

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[1] https://www.iied.org/co-learning-for-inclusive-cities

and the Informal Settlement Network, and other community groups. 1to1 is currently working with Slovo Park Informal Settlement Development Forum, as well as with academics and students at the University of Johannesburg, to trigger citywide reforms around participatory and integrated urban development planning. The "actions" taken with respect to the network focused on deliberations between community leaders, professionals and academics (including students) about ways to deepen relations and collaboration, drawing on previous engagements.

Nairobi: The Kenyan SDI federation, *Muungano wa Wanavijiji* (Swahili for "united slum dwellers") was launched in 1996 as a movement of informal settlement residents resisting land grabs and forced evictions. In 2001, Muungano joined SDI's international network and strengthened its presence in Kenya. Nairobi is a key location for innovation for both Muungano and its professional partners, SDI Kenya (a technical assistance agency) and the Akiba Mashinani Trust (a loan fund) (together called the Muungano Alliance). In 2010, Kenya's new constitution required public participation to be the basis for government planning and expenditures. Alongside this, a devolution process created new County governments with enhanced responsibilities. Encouraged by these requirements, County governments began to address the needs of people living in informal areas. Hence this is a context in which recent national legislation has opened up new possibilities for participation, which an existing social movement is well placed to take up (Horn et al. 2020). However, historically urban governance has been anti-poor, exacerbating the disadvantage experienced by low-income households.

Muungano's present focus is the challenge and opportunity presented by Nairobi County's declaration of a Special Planning Area (SPA) (gazetted in August 2017) for the neighbourhood of Mukuru.[2] Mukuru is a dense belt of informal settlements with 100,000 households. Over 30% of shacks are double storey and most land is privately owned. The SPA designation means that planning regulations are suspended and there is an opportunity for innovation. It was the culmination of a long campaign of mobilisation in the area by the Muungano Alliance. The network contributed to the ongoing work to organise residents in Mukuru, and reflections about what was effective in this scaling up of Muungano's activities.

3. Understanding efforts to scale participation and participatory governance

This discussion picks up from our earlier contribution (Horn et al. 2018). There we argue that existing approaches to planning have failed to address the needs of disadvantaged urban populations in the global South. While participatory approaches have had some success, in terms of empowerment, efficacy and efficiency, they have not been the panacea that has been promised. We suggest this has, in part, been because insufficient attention has been given to the ways in which these processes can be scaled to a level appropriate to need.

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[2] http://blog.gdi.manchester.ac.uk/informal-settlements-mukuru/

Academics have responded to this mixed success by being critical of both the conceptualisation and practice of participation. In terms of the conceptualisation, they suggest that it has under-theorised power relations and the ways in which disadvantaged groups are marginalised (Arnstein 1969). In terms of the practice, they suggest that it has been poorly implemented (Cooke and Kothari 2001). Academics have analysed projects and processes and sought to develop frameworks that account for the mixed results (Hickey and Mohan 2004).

The discussion of the literature below considers how efforts have been made to scale participatory planning processes. We begin with efforts that have worked "upwards" from local communities, and then in the following two sections look at those that have moved "downwards" from government.

Citizen spaces to nurture participation

It is evident that state programmes have drawn on citizen-led innovations and that urban social movements continue to push for state reforms. In addition to professional efforts, citizen groups have developed their own approaches. Social movements and other civil society groups may seek to incorporate similar components to state programmes, both for their substantive value and, perhaps, to increase the likelihood of take-up.[3] Such isomorphic representations require researchers to be careful about the classification of these efforts (see Horn et al. 2018). These initiatives recognise that effective poverty reduction has necessarily had to involve greater voice for disadvantaged groups as well as material improvements in people's lives (Satterthwaite and Mitlin 2014; Levy 2016), and that groups have a right to be involved. The more substantive of these processes have a strong focus on building relationships between low-income residents, as well as on building relations between organisations of low-income residents and a host of partner agencies, and consolidating new relations between citizen groups and the state (Satterthwaite and Mitlin 2014).

The breadth of civil society ambition in advancing participative development is illustrated by the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) and their programme, the Asian Coalition for Community Action (ACCA), which has supported members to strengthen citizen planning and implementation in hundreds of cities and scale to a citywide impact (Boonyabancha et al. 2012; ACCA 2014; Boonyabancha and Kerr 2018a). ACCA has developed a portfolio of tools building on earlier innovations, such as community (or city) development funds (CDFs), which blend finance from communities, donors and local government (Archer 2012: 424). ACCA's modus operandi draws on the experiences of the Orangi Pilot Project in Karachi (Pakistan), both in the way in which community action in the self-provision of sanitation is used to catalyse state investment – with informed communities playing a monitoring and planning role to ensure that state funds were well spent – and through their sister agency, the Urban Resource Centre, in how alliances between organised communities and informed professionals can help to secure pro-poor change (Hasan 2008;

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[3] See debates on isomorphism, DiMaggio and Powell (1983).

Satterthwaite and Mitlin 2014). In Karachi, more than a million households have been supported to obtain sanitation, with others securing regularisation and protection from evictions (Hasan 2008). The work of the Urban Resource Centre in providing a platform to enable organised communities to engage professionals (in and beyond government agencies) and academics has been helpful in enabling the identification of common priorities and joint activities to advance a more inclusive city.[4]

A widespread concern has been that community efforts – as with those of external agencies – favour better off and better organised low-income groups (Walker and Butcher 2016; Frediani and Cociña 2019). Both ACHR and SDI are networks that have sought – in scaling their work – to reach at least some of the extremely marginalised and disadvantaged groups through modalities such as savings-based organising (d'Cruz et al. 2014). While academics have critiqued savings-based organising for a neo-liberal logic (Kiefer and Ranganathan 2018), the experience of both ACHR and SDI is that communities can develop practices which mitigate these effects. Horn (2021) highlights the complexity of such efforts in Mukuru, Nairobi, where the SDI affiliate, the Muungano Alliance, has developed a multi-faceted strategy to reach local citizens through neighbourhood groups that complement the savings process.

Both ACRC and SDI work primarily in informal settlements and one of the groups that is particularly vulnerable is tenants. While there are positive examples to the contrary (see Weru 2004), such efforts are finely balanced and frequently less egalitarian outcomes are observed (Rigon 2017). A further challenge to scaling identified by Walker and Butcher (2016) (albeit in a different context) is the difficulties of taking a rich participative local process with high levels of citizen engagement into an ability to engage with city authorities to replicate such processes. Drawing on Mitlin (2013), this may in part be because urban projects which require the authorisation of the local authority have to comply with formally set regulations and standards which do not mix easily with informal organic grassroot processes. For example, the re-blocking of plots within an informal neighbourhood may be required for infrastructure improvements. However, Kiefer and Ranganathan (2018) show how communities in Cape Town navigate these processes and, despite tensions, achieve some degree of success with mutual learning, new understandings of citizenship and an increased legitimacy for informal settlement upgrading. However, it only has to be formalised if the goal is to develop processes that are then scaled through and by local or national government. The compromises that communities make to engage the state, particularly in the context of a generous subsidy allocation, need to be understood and reflected on.

Frediani and Cociña (2019) have characterised the efforts of citizen groups and urban social movements as "participation as planning". However, a distinction between big "P" and little "p" in planning may be helpful here (see Hart 2001 for this distinction in development). Local-level citizen participation in their neighbourhoods – small "p" – does require planning. But small "p" planning does not necessarily engage with the big "P" of formal processes, as required by city governments and other state agencies.

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[4] *www.urckarachi.org*

Communities need a successful engagement with authorities to advance their claims for access to basic services, tenure security and, in some cases, housing (Boonyabancha and Kerr 2018b). In this context, small "p" planning is only a part of what is required to improve development options. Understood in this way, we can see that small "p" planning may compound the problems that participation at scale needs to address because it does not offer regulatory reforms, recognition or redistribution. Frustrated by the lack of response by many formal agencies, many community activists have used clientelist relations to advance their agendas.

Clientelism, conflict and an engagement with politics

While many discussions related to scaling of participation have concentrated on explicitly participatory processes, it is insightful to explore demands and claims for political inclusion realised through actions to advance the presence of low-income and disadvantaged groups in state decision-making and resource redistribution. Such efforts may be represented along a continuum, with clientelism at one end and participatory democracy at the other. Clientelism has been heavily critiqued for many years (Wood 2003; see Mitlin 2014 for a discussion), but has been recognised to be a strategic response to exclusionary political processes (Auyero 2000; Chatterjee 2004), and one of the approaches that grassroots organisations have used to advance their needs and interests. The scaling process takes place when apparently successful interactions are replicated by others.

Definitions of clientelism highlight the inequality in both finances and social relations that lead to informal negotiations to access public services and subsequent "bargains". Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007, 2) associate clientelism with a specific form of party–voter linkage; notably, a "transaction, the direct exchange of a citizen's vote in return for direct payments or continuing access to employment, goods, and services". While some of these relationships are about securing personal benefits for community leaders, many of these "bargains" are related to accessing basic services. Scarce municipal and/or utility resources encourage the prevalence of clientelist bargaining to secure these services for communities, not individuals. Community trade votes for services, while community leaders may also seek personal benefits, such as employment. As Chatterjee (2004, 38) elaborates, in the context of India, many low-income urban households are only tenuously and ambiguously "rights-bearing" citizens. In this context, clientelism has been institutionalised in many towns and cities with broadly agreed "rules" replicated across neighbourhoods.

While clientelism may be associated with both corruption and rent-seeking behaviour, it is also a means to negotiate a more equitable (still unequal) distribution than would take place without these relations. Auyero (2000) demonstrates the benefits that communities manage to secure in an Argentine context. His analysis is consistent with Moser's (2009) findings from Guayaquil (Ecuador), Robins (2008) analysis of community groups in South Africa and Benjamin's (2000) insights into urban development in India. While far from the Habermasian ideal of participation, low-

income and disadvantaged populations negotiate benefits that other more formal citizens secure in other ways.

Efforts to advance participation through legal measures that require citizen involvement in governmental decision making are also subject to clientelist pressures. Silvonen (2021) summarises the experiences of participation by residents in one low-income neighbourhood in Iztapalapa, Mexico City. She expands our understanding of the challenges of institutionalising participation, showing how the formal structures more recently established by the state have interfered with previously established processes. Specifically, the deepening of clientelist relations between citizens and the state, with the shifting of power to formal representatives (who have political affiliations) rather than local community leaders, has prevented the emancipatory dimensions of participation from being realised.

Although clientelism may not typically be considered as participation, our discussion in this section has recognised that organised communities engage the state and politicians through such relationships, and that these are efforts to improve the responsiveness of state agencies and political organisations. Such engagements provide avenues through which community activists can reach up to citywide decision making if they are prepared to contest outcomes and challenge inequalities. Moreover, as Silvonen's (2021) research highlights, clientelist pressures also permeate participatory efforts.

State reforms and citizen participation

Citywide strategic planning in the global South shifted significantly throughout the last five decades, with participation increasingly becoming, at least in terms of commitment, a more widely referenced component of the planning and local governance process. As argued by Horn et al. (2018), decentralisation and changes to representative governance have secured some improvements to citizen empowerment and more inclusive and redistributive planning in some urban settings but their impact on participation has been limited. These reforms continue with recent contributions, including the 2008 Community Councils Act in Thailand, which gave legal status to residents' bodies that include representatives from communities within the ward as well as all kinds of community groups (Boonyabancha and Kerr 2018a) and constitutional reforms in Kenya (2010) with an effort to reduce centralisation and enable a local process more sensitive to ethnic differences (D'Arcy and Cornell 2016). However, such, reforms alone appear unable to nurture a more inclusive politics and enhanced modalities of representative democracy may make a limited contribution to citizen participation. While a lack of substantive progress is in part related to competing ideologies and a lack of investment in participatory governance, it also appears to be related to a reluctance on the part of authorities, despite their continuing interest in these political objectives, to institutionalise empowerment and bottom-up control. Actual citywide planning processes, whether in the form of master plans or CDSs, continue to be characterised by citizen non-engagement and remain in the hands of

state elites, with very limited accountability to low-income residents (Rolnik 2011; Harris 2006; Ghertner 2011).

Given the limited results from efforts to decentralise and democratise, governments concerned to advance policy directions that favour citizen participation and higher levels of citizen involvement have recognised the need to develop programmes that advance these goals. T Longstanding interest is exemplified by Sri Lanka's Million Houses Programme (Joshi and Khan 2010), the Sida-funded NGO-led informal settlement upgrading programmes, including PRODEL in Nicaragua and FUNDASAL in El Salvador (Stein and Vance 2008), and more recently the Community Organisation Development Institute in Thailand (Boonyabancha and Kerr 2018a).

Participatory budgeting has – from its initiation in Porto Alegre in 1989 – been rolled out across Brazil (Avritzer 2006 and beyond (Cabannes 2014;). Horn et al. (2018) summarise the benefits to local living conditions and political engagement while also recognising the limits to participatory budgeting processes. Pre-existing strong established and autonomous civil society agencies and sympathetic administrations are key to substantive impact.

The potential synergies between participatory planning processes with improved accountabilities and greater citizen involvement in designing more effective approaches to urban development have been highlighted by academic analysis of co-productive approaches to service delivery (Mitlin 2008; Watson 2014). Coproduction can be state-led or movement-led, with the intention of instigators on both "sides" being to foster a collaborative response to challenges of public service provision. Such coproduction takes forward the delegated decision-making within participatory budgeting and includes collaboration in implementation The potential is illustrated by the government-financed Community Organization Development Institute (CODI) in Thailand. CODI incorporates state financial support with local participatory development as the agency supports savings group formation and community networks to upgrade and regularise informal settlements. Relationship building at the level of the city and beyond is encouraged by linking individual savings groups into citywide networks, and incentivising these networks to work with city authorities, universities, NGOs and other relevant stakeholders (Boonyabancha and Kerr 2018a). CODI has sought scale and by 2018 its work included: "77 province-level networks, 5 region-level networks, 200 active city-level networks, several issue-based country-level networks and more than 6,000 ward-level community councils" (Boonyabancha and Kerr 2018a, 447).

However, there is evidence of tensions that emerge from close collaboration. Partnerships with the state offer opportunities but threaten movement autonomy and one response has been community development funds that are separate from the monies that community networks share with local government (Boonyabancha and Kerr 2018b, 28).

A recent special issue of *Environment and Urbanization* highlights further challenges with respect to state reforms and their contribution to the scaling of participatory

planning. Silvonen (2021) (drawing on state efforts to institutionalise reforms in Mexico) raises tricky questions about the potential of bottom-up participation to address urban development challenges. The modern vision of urban development realised by the authorities, with completed housing and access to a full suite of services, creates dependencies on the state that appear, at least in this location, to have become insurmountable obstacles to more engaged and active citizenship. The complexities of managing participation when the priorities were improved piped water quality and enhanced security, were considerably greater than had previously been the case. Birkinshaw et al. (2021), in a study of improved urban water supplies in Pakistan, also highlight how the sophisticated technologies required for water provision at high residential densities raise both costs and management challenges, and hence deter community members from being involved. Pimentel et al. (2021) analyse policy councils in two Brazilian cities and demonstrate how participatory practices can be co-opted, even when supported by legislation. In Porto Alegre, for instance, the urban policy council established to take forward the master plan has been unable to deal equitably with informal settlements and inner-city neighbourhoods. These communities are denied regularisation as elites make decisions behind "closed doors", and legislative efforts to achieve equity for low-income groups are undermined by powerful interests, specifically those related to real estate, upper-middle-class residents and politicians.

Re-thinking scaling: a new typology

What is evident from the above discussion is the richness of efforts to advance a more inclusive politics. The examples and experiences discussed above emphasise the significance of non-state actors in advancing citizen participation. Activists from social movements and other civil society organisations recognise that they cannot plan at the city scale without an effective engagement with local authorities, and they strategise to secure political engagement and policy and programming reforms. Efforts at participatory planning have extended well beyond the local and sought the emancipatory potential of participatory governance citywide. As argued earlier (Horn et al. 2018), recognising the diverse efforts made by communities to influence the state requires us to acknowledge that the academic distinction between "invited", "invented" and "imagined" spaces may assume too much about the ease with which intentions and activities can be identified.

Scaling, in this context, is associated with diverse interpretations and approaches. The discussion above has reflected the contribution of multiple agencies, including states, civil society, inter-agency collaborations and citizen action. For the citizen efforts elaborated through the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights and SDI, this includes scaling "up" through engaging the state (particularly local government), and scaling "out" to new neighbourhoods and, indeed, new cities and countries. Scaling "within" neighbourhoods to residents that are not engaged is also evident through a continued emphasis on savings (to strengthen local activities) and a diversification in the kinds of local improvements. The Orangi Pilot Project, long-committed members of the

Coalition, have scaled community-led sanitation within neighbourhoods and between neighbourhoods. Their original strategy was to scale upwards but over time they came to reverse this, understanding that scaling outwards increased their influence and ability to challenge and reform the approaches of the state (Satterthwaite and Mitlin 2014). Clientelism draws our attention to the ways in which ideas spread spontaneously, rather than through planned, agency-led interventions.

Clientelism also highlights the ways in which constraining activities to the local has been used to disempower and constrain citizen engagement. The more powerful party to these relationships resists horizontal sharing and ensures that vertical – one to many – flows of knowledge and information remain paramount. There are other obstacles that efforts to scale participation have to address. As noted above, government reform efforts may not be successful in a context in which urban outcomes are contested and clientelist traditions remain strong. Previous research also highlights the relatively high costs and complexities of urban improvements, especially with high residential densities. Such considerations may constrain the ability of residents to manage improvements in their neighbourhoods. Hence such factors need to be taken into account by those seeking to scale participation.

Box 1 draws on the analysis above, summarises our findings with respect to questioning "what is scaling" and who is involved in these processes. The analysis in this section and our own experiences distinguish five types of scaling. There is scaling "up" (laws, policies and programmes with the state) and scaling with horizontal replication. We break scaling with horizontal replication into two: spreading into new neighbourhoods (scaling "out" in Box 1 below) and scaling "within" (expanding to more residents within the same locality). The politics and processes of these two are distinct, with scaling "within" building stronger local organisations able to take on more complex local projects; and scaling "out" linking to other neighbourhoods and strengthening the capability of residents' organisations to collaborate and contest anti-poor development within the city. Scaling "across" from one service to another is also relevant. This has been recognised previously as functional scaling but we find that term confusing, as all types of scaling may be (but are not necessarily) functional (Carter et al. 2019). Scaling "through" takes place as communities use the skills and experience gained through one activity to take on local projects that demand greater capabilities and address more complex needs. It reflects the ways in which success leads to more ambition, as goals previously seen as unattainable are considered possible. Scaling "up" and "out" are commonly considered but rarely is scaling "out" broken into the two constituent parts that we argue are important to understanding the effectiveness of strategies to scale. Processes of scaling "across" and "through" are less widely talked about but appear to be important to building the capabilities to scale participation and participatory planning.

In addition to types of scaling, there are different agencies and related processes through which scaling takes place. Residents and communities learn from each other and scaling takes place as ideas and practices spread organically. Then there are a

multitude of civil society agencies, including citizens groups, NGOs and academic departments that work through lobbying for state investment, knowledge development and sharing, collaboration and simply doing more. State agencies may use all these routes, with the lobbying taking place from one agency to another (for example, staff at Nairobi County influencing utility approaches to informal settlements). Societal change emerges as a significant pathway and it is this, arguably, that lies behind the emphasis on relationship building as well as some of the activities described below. Mapping informal settlements, for example, reveals the realities of life in informal settlements, while the co-production of services demonstrates the capacities within informal settlements and the commitment of residents to change. As elaborated in Mitlin et al. (2019), one motivation of Federation members to teach professionals is to change the way in which local realities are understood, with the belief that this understanding will change future actions taken by the new generation of professionals. while the co-production of services demonstrates the capacities within informal settlements and the commitment of residents to change. As elaborated in Mitlin et al. (2019), one motivation of Federation members to teach professionals is to change the way in which local realities are understood, with the belief that this understanding will change future actions taken by the new generation of professionals.

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Box 1: What is scaling?

Types of scaling – all potentially involve local participation

Scaling up – from projects and precedents into policy and programming, leading to new government programmes with larger numbers being reached in some way.

Scaling out – into new neighbourhoods/new spatial areas.

Scaling within – from one household to another in the same neighbourhood.

Scaling across – from one service to another (eg, water to drainage); can be within the same neighbourhood or at multiple spatial levels.

Scaling through – using capabilities and ambitions learned through one activity – ie, savings to projects – to take on new activities and local projects.

Who scales? Agential approaches to scaling

Scaling by spontaneous replication – household to household actions of things that work for local groups. Think of this as unplanned scaling out. What is critical here is that good ideas spread.

Scaling by (civil society lobbying for) state actions – programming, incentives, laws and regulations.

Scaling by (state, civil society) learning and exchanges – planned education and knowledge sharing.

Scaling by inter-agency collaboration – building coalitions for change with new agencies (state, private, civil society) replicating.

Scaling by (state, civil society) – doing more (growing programmes in multiple ways).

Scaling by societal change – norms, values, understandings.

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State reforms involve scaling "up" (to the level of government) with appropriate legal and regulatory measures. They lead to scaling "out" as new neighbourhoods are introduced to new approaches and support is available for replication. Participatory budgeting-related investments enable communities to select their priorities and may lead to scaling "across" from one service to another. For example, drainage improvements in addition to water supplies; health clinics and improved pathways to make access safer. CODI's approach has integrated Baan Mankong (the Thai government's low-income housing programme) with support for other activities (secure tenure, basic services, housing and economic development). This has included support for communities to work collectively (ie, scaling organisational efforts within neighbourhoods). The methodology also encourages scaling through growing a simple improvement to a more complex intervention; for example, from savings to informal

settlement upgrading. Savings group networks work with local authorities to co-produce citywide upgrading.

While generalisations are always tricky, much of the existing literature and practice emphasises scaling up through government. For civil society this has catalysed advocacy efforts, while for government itself this has been led by reformers and innovative alliances. Riddell and Moore (2015) reflect this, together with the popularity for reaching out to new areas, when they make a threefold distinction in scaling – between scaling out, scaling up and scaling deep. In this case, scaling up is – as in the discussion above – related to scaling up to state laws, policies and programmes. This resonates with Edwards and Hulme (1992), who distinguish between civil society (NGO) lobbing and advocacy to secure changes in state institutions, and NGO participation in the expansion of existing government programmes. Riddell and Moore's (2015) second category – scaling out – conflates reaching out to new neighbourhoods and reaching out to new people. The links between scaling up and out are self-evident. Reaching out and replication generally require state funding and may require changes in regulations and laws. The relevance of this to slum upgrading – ie, informal settlement development – is highlighted by Das and Takahashi (2009), who link upgrading in India with both decentralisation and participation. Such challenges extend beyond informal settlements, and Archer et al. (2014) discuss the scaling up of measures to support pro-poor urban responses to climate change through the mainstreaming of community-based adaptation, highlighting the need for a multi-sectoral integrated response. Scaling – here referred to as mainstreaming – includes institutionalising policy and programme reforms at multiple levels of the state. Scaling up is balanced by scaling down as governments are urged to decentralise responses. The emphasis on multi-scalar emerges from the work of ACHR and participatory budgeting (see also Anderson, Fox and Gaventa 2020). In addition to approaches to scaling out (horizontally to new locations and/or households) and up (vertically to institutionalising through policy, legal and programming change), and scaling across to new services or other activities, there are also efforts to change social norms and values to enable the realisation of new and more inclusive approaches (see Carter et al. 2019). Riddell and Moore's (2015) third category – scaling deep – with processes to change hearts and minds may have some resonance with this analysis.

The following section summarises the results of our efforts to understand frameworks in which civil society – specifically organised communities supported by professionals and academics with which they have long-term alliances – have sought to scale participation. The three contexts (Section 2 above) are distinctively different, although all are African cities. Following the presentation of these findings, we conclude with an analysis of what we have learned in the context of this work.

4. Scaling participation

This section outlines the framework developed for the scaling of participation, drawing on the experiences in the three study cities. This framework answers the question that our action researchers asked ourselves: what is it that scales your activities?

The framework is in three parts: first, the activities that are undertaken; second, the relations that are developed; and, third, the approaches used to embed the changes into the future. Activities are important to enable the development of new and better development options for disadvantaged households and communities. They are also important because of their potential to build relations. It is the interaction between an expanded and deepened set of relational capitals with the outputs of specific activities that produces new outcomes. Underpinning this framework is the understanding that a comprehensive approach to scale participation requires actions that are multi-sectoral, multi-spatial and multi-temporal. Tables at the end of each section below summarise the contribution to these goals. The conclusion to this section presents the ways in which the different processes work together within the framework.

4.1 Activities and capability development

Savings

SDI Federations support savings-based organising, helping to create women-led neighbourhood groups, capacitating through community exchanges, networking into federations, sharing data collection tools and encouraging small precedents to improve living conditions. Savings is a critical starting point for substantive participation. Savings brings together communities, enables collective planning, amplifies a collective voice, reduces public and private risk, facilitates household and community investment, develops financial understanding and skills, and hence transforms development options (d'Cruz et al. 2014). Many women already participate in savings groups such as rotating savings and credit and burial societies. Drawing these activities into a more substantive participatory process helps to provide momentum for all five kinds of scaling identified in Box 1.

Savings help to ensure households have income security. Managing a scarce resource – money – builds collective capabilities. Managing collective savings means that households strengthen their ability to work together to manage the finances required for participatory planning together. Commodification requires residents to spend considerable amounts on both formal and informal services and savings help manage these financial demands.

Organisation

Participatory planning requires some form of neighbourhood organisation. In Bulawayo this has been provided through the Federation savings groups, networked into a citywide Federation. Communities need to be organised to engage with the City authorities. If and when the authorities are drawn into major informal settlement

upgrading processes, then a more intensive local engagement process is required, with greater organisational capability. All residents have to be involved within an upgrading plan.

Savings is an approach to organising communities that is particularly effective in catalysing women's participation, creating gendered spaces with the potential to transform urban outcomes (d'Cruz et al. 2014; Patel et al. 1993; Chitekwe-Biti and Mitlin 2015). These groups encourage the emergence of women leaders, diversifying the community leadership and providing public role models of women leaders. Experiences in Kenya highlight the significance of savings in strengthening the organising capabilities of the Muungano Alliance (Lines and Makau 2018; Weru et al. 2018).

To ensure the participation of all residents in an upgrading plan for Mukuru (scaling within), a large informal settlement in Nairobi , the Muungano Alliance, SDI's affiliate in Kenya, has expanded their repertoire of organising strategies (see below) (Horn et al. 2020). The plan responded to a state-created opportunity in Kenya, where legislation offered the potential of suspending planning regulations with the declaration of a Special Planning Area, and where the new Constitution demanded a participatory process. While the Federation in Namibia, when faced with a similar upgrading challenge in a much smaller area (that of Greenwell C, with 3,000 households) secured virtually 100% Federation membership (scaling within, to include residents not previously involved), the Muungano Alliance decided that this would be unlikely in the highly contested settlements of Mukuru. Hence, they experimented with a complementary organisational form (see Box 2).

Box 2: Balancing the breadth and depth of community organising

In Nairobi, Mukuru has offered the Muungano Alliance space to experiment with new forms of organisation to scale within the neighbourhood, including established community leaders from male-led residents associations.

The 105,000 households were all asked to identify a representative to participate in "ten cell" meetings. This form drew on earlier political traditions of organisations and hence had a legitimacy. Ten households made up each "ten cell" unit – that is, there are 10,000 such groups across Mukuru. The "ten-cell" units have linked with a range of existing residents' associations. A "sub-cluster" (or baraza*) brought together ten of the "ten cell" units, and approximately 80 sub-clusters were then brought together in "segments". The segments, 13 in all, reflected already established districts within Mukuru. To ensure adequate engagement with critical planning issues, five sectoral forums were created at the segment and sub-cluster levels, for: housing, infrastructure and commerce; education, youth affairs and culture; health services; water, sanitation and energy; and environmental and natural resources. One or two representatives per sub-cluster were sent to each of these forums.*

These multi-level platforms provided the basis for regular sectoral consultations about plans for the neighbourhoods and the overall area. Information was shared with and through these platforms, and communities were asked about their needs and priorities. These groups have proved effective in establishing the legitimacy of their process for the County government and for the communities themselves. They were able to respond to difficult challenges, such as the reduction of road reserves and the width of roads to reduce the scale of required relocations.

The planning process developed iteratively, with inputs from residents' participation and technical experts. Eight consortia, with 42 expert agencies from the public, private and voluntary sectors, provided professional expertise for the planning of the Mukuru SPA. The eight consortia included the five sectoral forum issues, with an additional three areas: land and institutional frameworks; finance; and coordination, community organisation and communication.

Sources: Muungano Alliance presentation, Bulawayo, 4th December 2019; Horn et al. (2020).

The Muungano Alliance may be using residents' associations and "ten-cell" units to ensure a breadth of citizen involvement but they recognise that savings groups are the "engine" of participation. All savings group members participate in the residents' association consultative meetings. Staff at 1to1 – as an independent South African social enterprise participating in the workshop – also recognise the importance of

building collective capabilities to scale local efforts. In this social enterprise, staff work with existing community organisations – rather than instigating new ones – deepening and extending their participatory practices.

Data and information

SDI have developed their data work within a holistic methodology pioneered within the Indian Alliance (Patel, Baptist and d'Cruz 2012). A standardised profiling tool has been developed for use across the network (Beukes 2015). Summary data on informal settlements is shared across the network through an online platform. More detailed data collection, such as household enumerations (or surveys), takes place when project financing is secured. Data collection encourages young people to be involved in community organisations, further contributing to enhanced local participation, and encourages residents to be involved in local activities and priority setting.

As noted in Section 2, the Zimbabwe Alliance decided that the process in Bulawayo should begin with the profiling of 14 highly vulnerable settlements. Their experience is that "slums" (ie, informal settlements) are rarely captured in official databases and maps and rendering these areas visible to the authorities encourages them to address residents' needs increasing the likelihood of "scaling up". Moreover, information gained through the mapping helps local leaders understand their own localities, catalyses a discussion with residents about what exists and what is lacking, and establishes development priorities. The Alliance's experience is that informal settlement profiling leads to the mobilisation and organisation of "slum" communities through increasing participation in savings groups and contributing to the growth in financial capital, and this enables "scaling within". Citywide mapping also helps to "scale out", as community leaders learn about conditions in other neighbourhoods. Moreover, collecting data about their settlements constitutes a very important tool for empowering communities, so that they can clearly articulate their demands and engage the city (ie, "scaling up") and helps to build leadership capabilities ("scaling through").

While low-income communities in informal settlements may try to stay under the radar of local authorities, the Bulawayo mapping illustrates that communities rapidly take up opportunities to be more visible (even if there is little that is offered in terms of greater tenure security). For example, as a result of the mapping, the community in the informal settlement of Killarney has now helped 24 families to join the housing waiting list, although there appears to be little short-term financial logic to this choice. The savings group must invest 19 bond dollars per family joining a housing waiting list with 115,000 households before them in the queue. They explain their investment by saying that this investment means "we are not forgotten"; moreover, it is evidence of their willingness to work within the Council systems and conform to the formal systems of housing allocation. This investment is made in a specific context; previous allocations of Council land reflect officials' recognition that some families on the list are more vulnerable than others, and that Federation groups are well placed to take up the opportunities that emerge. Hence, the Killarney savings group has reason to believe that they will be prioritised should suitable land be available.

Box 3: The significance of data collection in Bulawayo

To "scale up" in Bulawayo, the local chapter of the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation undertook profiles and maps of living conditions in 14 settlements across the city. The settlements included three groups in particular need: those on periphery of the city, such as Ngozi Mine, those facing eviction, such as Killarney, and low-income formal areas, particularly public housing in hostels (such as Vundu). These areas had a lack of adequate tenure, services, infrastructure and housing.

Profiling has collected data on the history, nature and living conditions in the 14 settlements, 10,673 households and 45,182 residents. Mapping has provided a visual representation of conditions on the ground. This information has helped to mobilise communities and encouraged them to identify their own priorities. Eight new savings groups have been established, and two of these have already begun lending money to their members from their savings.

The National University of Science and Technology helped with the data collection, conducted planning studios to assist communities and is now advancing curriculum reform. This reform will change the content of the teaching programme and introduce a greater focus on informal settlements. It will also provide students with opportunities to learn about the experiences of grassroots organisations through community activists developing a role in the teaching programme.

This information provides a database to engage the City authorities and support to ensure that communities are more organised and able to represent themselves and their interests. Supported by the Zimbabwe Alliance and NUST, the residents are developing settlement plans with the help of the local authority.

Source: Zimbabwe Alliance presentation, Bulawayo, 4th December 2019

The power of presenting information and data was also recognised in Johannesburg within the informal settlement of Denver, where the community rapidly took up an opportunity to be more visible. Together with professionals from 1to1, the community prepared house numbers to document their presence.[5] The intervention emerged from a recognition of the problem of fire from dense wooden shacks, and the imperative for new and better development options. The "positive numbers" project gave addresses to each shack.

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[5] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TEB3boaQCiA. https://www.sasdialliance.org.za/building-continuity-denver-community-and-university-of-johannesburg-studio-2015/

Planning and planning protocols

> *Sazini: I prefer zoning in Harare [to that of Bulawayo]. In Harare there are low-density areas – but with a high-density at the end.*

> *Housing officer: The low-income area will devalue the higher income properties. I have to hear the views of town planning.*

This exchange took place in Killarney when the community leaders were pressing the officer about where the Council might offer them land. The example highlights the significance of planning norms for pro-poor urban development and the requirement for legislative and/or regulatory reforms if scaling is to take place . For Killarney to remain in their current and desired location requires a change in the planning regulations in Bulawayo, such that low-income (high-density) neighbourhoods are adjacent to high-income (low-density neighbourhoods). In Harare that would be possible. The Bulawayo authorities have offered the Killarney community land in Mawzi, but it is 30 kilometres away from their present location. They return to their present neighbourhood, despite its vulnerability, because they are employed as domestic workers in the homes nearby.

The Bulawayo authorities recognise the limitations preventing community participation in the formal planning processes. The master plan was developed in 1972 and neighbourhood plans for Killarney date from 1981. The Alliance, when engaging the City authorities about the priorities from the 14 settlements, identified five problems that prevent planning processes from supporting informal settlement residents and facilitating "scaling up". The first two are related to the general needs of low-income groups; the final three also support improved local participation in planning and development:

- Continued evictions of profiled slums. This disrupts local activities and exacerbates the problems that households face. Alternative land allocations are offered but are far from the city.

- Boundary issues between the City and rural districts. These lead to confusion about which authority is responsible for addressing local needs and hence which authority the community should work with.

- Exorbitant prices charged to secure land and basic infrastructure. The City charges US$ 3,800 for a plot of 200 square metres. The intrinsic land costs are less than 15% of the total cost and the other charges are for infrastructure that has not yet been installed. The lowest-income residents can only participate in planning and development if there are affordable options.

- Political interference from local traditional leaders and councillors. As Federation groups seek to deepen and develop their relations with local authorities, this interference is a setback.

- The very slow pace of embracing a more inclusive model for urban development. There is no policy for participatory "slum" upgrading and a structured engagement with disadvantaged communities.

Precedent projects

As shown by the literature discussed in Section 3, "scaling up" is not just about legislative and regulatory change. The reforms have to support participation. For the SDI groups in both Bulawayo and Nairobi, investment in precedent projects is required, so that the right reforms can be identified. This deepens the understanding between all parties and enables activities to grow. City or community development funds are an important component of this, as they provide the monies required, allow for flexible deployment of resources, and are co-owned and hence not controlled by officials and politicians.

Even if municipalities do not have funds, authorities can still assist with more specific opportunities. One notable project in Bulawayo has been improved sanitation in Iminyela-Mabuthweni (see Box 4). Precedents can be any size. The Muungano Alliance began their engagement with authorities in service delivery and housing and built a political momentum to secure the Mukuru Special Planning Area (Lines and Makau 2018).

BOX 4: Securing housing improvements in Bulawayo

Iminyela-Mabuthweni is a council housing estate in which hundreds of families live in groups of four small single-storey dwellings of just 20 square metres with a shared single toilet. The Council has agreed the transfer of the houses to the tenants (who have been paying rent for over 40 years) but only if each dwelling has a separate toilet. Residents were keen to provide these and secure tenure. The Alliance raised the capital for a loan fund and 275 toilets have been constructed. The original plan had been for 375 toilets, but the money ran out before this target was reached. Subsequently residents have built a further 94 toilets, using their own funds.

The partnership between the SDI Zimbabwe Alliance, National University of Science and Technology (NUST) and Bulawayo City Council has demonstrated its effectiveness in producing alternative planning and implementation processes. NUST staff and students have helped with designs and plans in Iminyela-Mabuthweni. When the local councillor, anxious to secure his vote base, encouraged borrowers not to repay the loans, Federation leaders worked with staff from the City and NUST to explain the project. Visits from both agencies helped to restart the repayments and the change in the councillor at recent elections has also helped get the process on track.

Source: Dialogue on Shelter (2018).

Table 1 summarises the ways in which these activities build capabilities and enable scaling to occur. The activities (in the left-hand column) are associated with communities developing the capabilities to work multi-sectorally, at settlement and city scales, and over time.

Table 1: Contribution of activities and capabilities to multi-sectoral, multi-spatial and multi-temporal development

Activities	Multi-sectoral	Multi-spatial	Multi-temporal
Savings	Well organised communities with a track of savings can support housing and income-generation improvements.	Communities contribute to urban poor funds; capital in city and national levels accumulates and monies can be used more effectively. This also has the potential to secure government contributions.	Enables households to use resources more effectively over time.
Organising	Essential to addressing needs. Sectoral-based groups (such as community health volunteers) have limited potential.	Essential to addressing needs. Multi-spatial reach requires that organising takes place across the city. See Section B.	Organising helps to ensure that local lessons are captured within the community, who learn from experience.
Data	Develops a holistic understanding of need, based on verifiable information.	Important to do for all neighbourhoods in the city. Highlights services that require bulk infrastructure with citywide investment.	Needs to be aggregated and analysed over time to become a powerful record of neglect and advantage.
Planning	Need to plan for integrated development for cost-effective service improvements that address risks and vulnerabilities.	Also required for cost-effective investments. With a good plan, development can be incremental, enabling costs to be more affordable and improvements to be more inclusive.	Enables multiple interventions to aggregate and secure development. Multi-temporal improvements enable communities to learn about what works for them.
Precedents	Precedents enable multi-sectoral explorations that work for local residents and their neighbourhoods.	Local communities need to develop precedents that move from the micro-level to the neighbourhood, district and beyond. Otherwise they are powerless to ensure that larger-scale interventions address their needs and interests.	Investing in precedents that integrate multiple sectors and which support development at multiple scales takes time.

4.2 Building relational capital

Synergies between organisation and action advance resident and community participation at multiple scales. The activities discussed in Section 4.1 build capabilities and relations, while stronger relational capital enables existing actions to grow in scale and catalyses new action. Relations within and between agencies are interconnected; for example, stronger relations within communities enable new potential with local authorities, and stronger engagement with local authorities can strengthen community solidarity.

Strong relationships enable new approaches to be tested out with reduced risks. Challenges can be made if communities are frustrated with the actions of one agency, knowing that they will receive support from others. Six relations were identified as contributing to the scaling of participation. These are discussed in turn below: intra-community; inter-community; federations and networks; professional support; academics; and local government.

Intra-community trust and engagement.

Scaling participation requires reaching out to larger numbers of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. Stronger and engaged communities with a collective voice and collaboration between residents supports local action and encourages other agencies to work with residents.

One example of "scaling within" is summarised in Box 2 above. Activities in Bulawayo provide a further example. The Federation has reached out to particularly disadvantaged communities with savings-based mobilisation. One such community already introduced above is that of "Killarney". Killarney are a group of 99 families squatting on the edge of the high-income Killarney Suburbs. Killarney has been a squatter "neighbourhood" since the liberation war, with a shifting location as they have been displaced.[6] Residents are currently living in the bush about 500 metres from the high-income neighbourhood. In March 2019, they were evicted from factory land. In November 2019, they were visited by City Council Rangers, who told them that 64 families would have to leave.

Here, the substantive change to aspirations following the introduction of savings-based organising has surprised even Federation leaders. Residents now demonstrate collective self-awareness. For example, they now know who is living within their neighbourhood, and can prevent criminals locating there to avoid detection. Their knowledge about who is living there has improved their relations with the local police officers. When they were recently visited by City Rangers who were threatening to evict the settlement, the savings group leaders acted to mobilise knowledge and support. They informed the Federation and spontaneously followed up with the Legal Resource Foundation, a local NGO. The linkages facilitated with legal organisations have led to

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[6] Meeting with community members on 2nd December in Killarney and follow-up discussions with leaders and Federation leaders.

formal learning opportunities, with training in shelter rights, while the exposure given to the community has changed their passivity and fatalism. *"They did not have confidence because they were not recognised. Now they have confidence."[7]*

Solidarity between communities

Deepening and strengthening city-based participatory planning requires a community mobilisation process that reaches out to as many neighbourhoods as possible and ideally enables all of those in need to be part of a citywide process (see next sub-section). Learning exchanges with peer communities who are also saving have deepened community leaders' appreciation of what is possible. This is the practice of "scaling out" and may lead to other forms of scaling.

Inclusive urban development requires social movements to engage with the most marginal and difficult-to-reach areas. In Bulawayo, this has meant the Federation reaching out to work with those recycling waste from the City dump site (Ngozi mine), and those on the spatial periphery, such as Cabatsha, where the descendants of ex-workers continue to live in houses, despite the closure of the mine at the height of the farm invasions. As the Federation has reached out to engage these areas, they have persuaded the council officials to follow them.

Box 2 describes a process of building inter-community solidarity among the 105,000 households in Mukuru, Nairobi. The processes of inter-community solidarity require multi-scalar links, within districts and between districts across the city. This establishes the basis for the next relational change, when such links are formalised into federations and networks.

Federations and networks

The next step in relationship building is to move from strengthened communities and solidarity between communities to citywide platforms and networks. Federations argue that it is the ability to work citywide that enables community approaches to advance beyond local specific interventions to those that build into an inclusive planning process. Sazini,[8] a Federation leader in Bulawayo, explains this work and how she sees the significance of building such networks:

> *As the federation we are empowering people to speak out. We are creating these platforms for participatory planning. Some of those things go back to the community; but at the end of the day, we are developing Bulawayo. That is the purpose of the programme: we are creating these platforms. Let me play my role; then we can have a dialogue with the council.*

The engagement of diverse neighbourhoods in a citywide process has led to a broader set of interventions. In Bulawayo, for example, the Federation which has traditionally

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[7] Focus group with Federation leaders and Diana Mitlin, Bulawayo 2nd December 2019.
[8] Discussions in August 2018 between Federation leaders and Diana Mitlin.

organised in informal settlements and among those renting privately in high-density, low-income neighbourhoods has extended its work to council hostels. These tenants face considerable problems, due to infrastructure breaking down as families have moved into rooms intended for single occupants and maintenance has not been carried out. As a result of the engagement with residents' groups, supported by the Federation (and because of their work with the City Council), the City authorities have begun a hostel refurbishment programme. Upgrading of Iminyela-Mabuthweni sanitation facilities was also initiated by Bulawayo City Council and this is now being scaled within the neighbourhood by the Federation. Moreover, there has been a shift beyond savings, organisation and data collection into new plans and projects ("scaling across"). The Mukuru SPA also demonstrates the same shift, from savings to organising (including new forms of building and strengthening organisations), then to data collection to new planning processes, and, most recently, project implementation.

It is not easy for grassroots networks to work at the city scale. In Marondera (another Zimbabwean town), Federation members became frustrated when the Federation worked with the local authority to consider upgrading across the city. Some selected neighbourhoods were not those in which Federation members were located; and members wondered why they had been left out. The Federation's national leadership has a significant role to play in explaining the potential benefits of citywide mobilisation.

Professional support

Professional and academic expertise is required when upgrading neighbourhoods and scaling participatory development. Plans need to be prepared and houses need to be designed. Such inputs must be respectful of local traditions and appropriate to a low-carbon transition. Affordability is particularly important if all residents are to be included. An alternative professionalism has long been present in the development literature (see discussion in Mitlin et al. 2019). This professionalism seeks not to pre-empt community choices but rather to add value to the work that communities do, respecting the autonomy and capability of local community organisations. This requires the integration of social and technical expertise, to allow for a critical engagement between professionals and community activists.

One challenge is to develop strategies to enable adequate professional inputs in a context in which resources are scarce. Interventions at scale need to be designed to catalyse change that is largely community-generated (without external support) or growth is unlikely to be achieved. Hence the need to develop options that support residents to manage their own technical inputs at the neighbourhood scale, and support communities to negotiate what they need from a range of agencies, including professional companies, local authorities and national governments.

The significance of the relational capital built through the Federation's efforts to reach out to professional agencies is evident. As communities understand their options through exposure to professionals, they become more strategic. As they become more strategic, then opportunities emerge. Killarney's leadership talked to the Legal

Resource Foundation after the visit of the City Rangers to understand what to do to protect their hold on their land. Confident about their understanding of the legal position, a visit of a City housing official proved a further opportunity to advance their interests. They explained about the visit of the Rangers and the lack of written documentation to confirm the eviction from the Council. The official promised to investigate further. Reflecting on the changing strategies of the local community, Sazini suggested that the improved relations with the City authorities as a result of the Federation's work was significant when they were evicted from the factory site: "*I think they settled on council land because they had more confidence that the council would help. [SDI exchanges] have helped the officials to feel it.*"[9]

SDI federations use their support NGOs to develop the skills and capabilities of community leaders. A federation member (Lucia in Cowdray Park) in Bulawayo explained it thus:

> *To work as a group, it has helped us a lot. Humbling ourselves; with others giving us advice. Then the community itself: organised into groups; everyone having a group to work with, such as building. Our leaders sit and think with Dialogue on Shelter and our coordinator. That makes us succeed.*

Collaboration with academics and other professional agencies (see below) can support capacitated community members in cost-effective ways. 1to1 has worked closely with students from the University of Johannesburg. Staff developed a code of engagement with grassroots leaders, local NGO staff and other community activists for students, professionals and academic staff to guide them in the ethical practices, both as students and in future professional practice (see Box 5).

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[9] Sazini Ndovlu interview, Bulawayo 4th December 2019.

Box 5: The ethics of professional engagements

When we design, we should:

- *Be able and willing to adopt and understand how dynamic community structures work*
- *Develop this brief with the community*
- *Respect and understand existing leadership structures*
- *Inform the community with options*
- *Balance social and financial capital*
- *Use skills to facilitate people's ideas*

When we design, we should not:

- *Create unrealistic expectations*
- *Impose or prescribe our values and ideas onto others*
- *Limit design to build objects (structure, system and method)*
- *Assume anything (needs, content, conditions, problems, and so on)*
- *Push to make, produce and complete a project in a short time (focus on the long game)*

When we build/make, we should

- *Have a universal communications system (multiple versatile lingo)*
- *Have realistic expectations*
- *Understand the social structures within the space (local residents)*
- *Develop a framework for development options*

When we build/make, we should not:

- *Exclude women (and other members of the community) from participating*
- *Align projects to any political organisation*
- *Present ourselves from being from a political organisation*
- *Come with preconceived construction techniques (do not exclude various construction techniques)*

Source: http://1to1.org.za/portfolio-item/1to1-codes-of-engagement/

The underpinning principle is that the work is done with, not for, those it aims to assist. 1to1 staff have developed further tools with grassroots leaders, such as one to value and develop neighbourhood assets.[10]

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[10] There is "No Such Thing as a Community Centre" work helps to evaluate and capture these values for future projects.

Build alliances with academics

The potential of collaboration between academics and organised communities together with professionals in support agencies is evident from the research. However, what is also evident is the challenges involved in such collaboration. While academics can support community processes, frequently this is an individual endeavour rather than the institutionalised response that is required (Mitlin et al. 2019).

University staff can help to legitimate the contribution of low-income residents. When organised residents begin to collect data and reach out to engage local authority staff, they value the support of academics. As university staff and students engage with community activities and provide advice and validation when data is being collected, new possibilities for collaboration emerge. In Bulawayo, the local authority staff only engaged with community data once academics were involved. In Nairobi, the research collaboration between US and Kenyan academics, together with SDI's affiliate there, the Muungano Alliance, was instrumental in securing the Special Planning Area in Mukuru.[11]

The "soft power" of academic networking and convening is also significant. Academics frequently have professional contacts across a wide spectrum of governmental and non-governmental agencies and can help to ensure that community voices are listened to and communities' experiences understood; that is, they contribute to scaling up. Academics can protect community efforts if they run counter to clientelist positioning by politicians or corrupt activities of both politicians and/or officials. For example, academic involvement in Nairobi's Master Plan highlighted that the "forest" spaces indicated on the map were the location of informal settlements. Academics are frequently asked to provide knowledge to local and national state officials seeking to advance plans for urban development; these are opportunities for them to explain the challenge of informality and the potential offered by organised communities of residents and workers. As significantly, when tensions arise, academic involvement is helpful in keeping a discussion going and dialogue open. In Bulawayo, the hosting of citywide scaling conversations within NUST settings has provided a neutral space, where communities and city authorities respectfully argue their positions and find common ground.

Communities may initially expect academics (as well as professionals) to lead them. Social status may make it hard for residents to challenge academics and professionals openly, although they may be sceptical and regularly challenge their inputs through failing to maintain inappropriate and ineffective "improvements". However, once appropriately positioned, professional expertise can help to ensure that new options are explored, and community priorities realised. Capacity building to build local skills and capabilities may also be needed.

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[11] SDI Kenya presentation by coordinator Jack Makau, Bulawayo, 4th December 2019. See Corburn et al. (2017)

Working with local government to upgrade informal settlements

Collaboration with local government is essential to advancing the needs and interests of low-income residents in towns and cities of the global South. Local government sets the regulatory frameworks within which formal development takes place, is frequently the provider of infrastructure and basic services, and may also be responsible for housing provision. Local government officials and/or politicians are often embedded within the clientelist relations that govern the practices of informal urban development. The activities identified above and other relational efforts discussed above are designed to test and strengthen positive relations between residents and local government.

In Bulawayo, the Zimbabwe Alliance has been successful in engaging the City authorities. The activities that they have used to achieve this include all of those in the following section. Savings has a particularly significant role: *"Savings activities are presenting slum communities as serious partners committed to transforming their conditions".*[12] Working as a citywide Federation has strengthened the solidarity between residents and has created citywide demand for inclusion through a systematic engagement with council officials and policy makers.

In Nairobi, it was the extensive documentation of living conditions in Mukuru, supported by academics within and beyond Kenya, that led Nairobi County staff to reconsider their approach, which at that time varied between deliberate avoidance and eviction (Horn et al. 2020). Council staff recognised that the annual 7 billion Kenyan shilling economy (US$6.9 million) in Mukuru offered a potential for integration into Council services. The 100,500 families pay an estimated US$ 3.5 million each year to the informal electricity providers. With the realisation that significant numbers could afford to pay rates and utility bills, the County saw informal settlements as an opportunity and has been willing to consider upgrading.[13] City authorities have viewed informal settlement residents as "free-riders" and community data has showcased the opportunities for rechannelling funds to informal service providers into the city's revenue. The shift from "how can we get rid of this?" to "how can we make this work better for the prosperity and well-being of the city?" is self-evidently a significant step. This is a further example of the importance of relational capital; the involvement of universities legitimated the data produced by the community and encouraged the County government to collaborate.

In Johannesburg, the efforts of 1to1 have focused on making the formal commitment to participation in settlement upgrading effective. Following efforts by the Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI), who worked closely with the Slovo Park Community Development Forum, the Forum won a court case that assured their inclusion in the city's developmental project list. This order was issued by the High Court for the government's Upgrading of Informal Settlement Programme, which has a specific

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[12] Zimbabwe Alliance presentation to meeting in Bulawayo, 4th December 2019.
[13] See footnote 11.

allocation for community engagement and consultation. 1to1 have been assisting the Forum in the implementation of this policy in Slovo Park, working with other grassroots organisations and NGOs. Co-produced visual tools help those involved to understand the process of claiming state subsidies and identifying development options (see Box 6).

Table 2 summarises the ways in which these relationships contribute to scale in the three dimensions.

Table 2: Contribution of relationships to multi-sectoral, multi-spatial and multi-temporal development

Relationship	Multi-sectoral	Multi-spatial	Multi-temporal
Intra-community trust	Helps to ensure that external interventions are better planned and implemented. Different groups within the community have different needs.	This may be relevant, depending on the size of the community. Some informal settlements are very small and therefore this is not relevant. Others, such as Mukuru, are much larger and hence building community trust requires appropriate processes and structures.	Need to build long-standing social capital. Communities have to assess what works for them and this requires the opportunity to act, reflect, improve, and act again.
Inter-community solidarity	Helps to link different levels of need (linked to different sectors) in distinct local settings. One community can share experiences with another.	Builds horizontal peer relations and reduces isolation. May set the basis for interventions at multiple spatial levels.	See above. Helps communities to learn from each other over time.
Community networks and federations	Essential contribution to changing local authority practice. Communities can build their skills and networks from one sector to another.	Enable community activists to engage at multiple levels of government and build their internal capabilities for strategic intervention.	Ensure that a body of consolidated knowledge develops for future community efforts. Networks and federations as grassroot universities.
Professional support	Helps to link different disciplines and professions.	Helps to "translate" the logic and significance of community action for sector specialists and build local-level support in city and national state institutions and agencies.	Ensures that a body of appropriate knowledge develops among professionals; builds relevant professional expertise.
Community and academic alliances	Link relevant disciplines.	Enhance sharing of community knowledge with higher levels of government.	Prepare new relevant curricula to train future professionals.
Community and local government	Essential contribution to linking local authority departments; health and water provision, for example, have to work together.	Community networks and federations can ensure that local authorities work consistently across the city.	Potential to link successive city administrations. Lessons from one intervention improving subsequent efforts.

4.3 Time – reinforcing iterative change

A temporal dimension is viewed as critical to keeping things on track. Two actions were identified as significant following the initial work to catalyse the process.

State policy reforms are the beginning and not the end

The importance of efforts to realise policy innovations has long been realised. Considerations of adaptive programming (Andrews 2012) illustrate awareness of the difficulties of transformation and the need to shift away from a simple emphasis on policy reform to comprehensive efforts to change programmes and practices (see Section 3).

The experiences in South Africa highlight that it is easier to introduce policy and programming reform than to implement it (Fieuw and Mitlin 2018). The Upgrading of Informal Settlements Policy (UISP) in South Africa looks advanced on paper but it has not been realised. Neighbourhood organisations – such as the Forum in Slovo Park (Johannesburg) – have taken the municipality to court to ensure that it meets its legal obligations. And even with a court judgement there have been significant delays in essential infrastructure investments. The City of Johannesburg has prepared seven plans for Slovo Park in 20 years; all of which have been rejected by the community. This is indicative of the disconnect between the aspirations of a participatory governance process and an effective engagement on the ground. 1to1 have been working with the Forum and SERI so that they understand the process and the associated options. Box 6 summarises the tool that 1to1 has developed to facilitate this process. Now the City has made a commitment to have 30 upgraded neighbourhoods across the city by the end of 2020. However, 1to1 staff highlight their concerns that communities will be left behind as the contracted planner has designed high-rise buildings without consultation. They hope their roadmap will enable communities to take advantage of this new commitment (see Box 6).

Box 6: The road map

To help the communities deal more effectively with a government policy that is highly bureaucratic, 1to1 have developed a "road map". The road map outlines the different stages of the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme (UISP), including the planning and financing milestones, and therefore helps communities see where they are located within the process, what they have achieved, and what is still available. It indicates who needs to be involved, in which stage, and helps the community understand the multitude of different stakeholders involved in the upgrading process. The Road Map Tool summarises potential risks at the different stages, for example, "documents are inaccessible and complicated" and outlines potential opportunities that the community may want to take advantage of – "community technical skills can be developed". The Tool allows for discussions at the early stage of the development process between local officials and local leaders in both the planning of the process, and the setting of the expectations of local leaders and residents. The Tool is used in conjunction with other planning tools to assist local leaders in developing and understanding their strategies both for the UISP and shorter-term activities that are essential for programme implementation to be effective.

Source: 1to1 presentation to the workshop in Bulawayo, 4th December 2019

Efforts with the City Council in Harare and in Nairobi (and other urban centres in Kenya) also highlight the need to think through implementation processes alongside policy reform.

Changing curriculum: preparing the next generation

The significance of academic and social movement partnerships for advancing participatory planning and development is considerable. Discussions highlighted the potential of extending these relations into the academy through curriculum reform (in addition to drawing the academy into the locations in which movements are based). Mitlin et al. (2019) discuss how such reforms address the priorities of social movements who are keen to improve professional training such that local government and NGO staff have a better understanding of the realities of informal settlements and the potential offered by community participation.

Academics legitimate community-led development when they incorporate a community perspective into teaching. While studios (for architecture and planning students) and field visits have long been part of the teaching programme, more substantive engagement requires curriculum reform. Acknowledging and therefore legitimating the significance of community knowledge to address the challenges of inclusive urbanisation and informal settlement upgrading activities require community leaders to

be invited into the classroom as lecturers. Here they simultaneously add new knowledge to the teaching programme, inculcate an understanding within students that community is an essential contribution for development, and build self-belief and confidence within community leaders through this external validation of their contribution.

In Zimbabwe, it is now a requirement of the Zimbabwe Council for Higher Education (ZIMCHE) for universities to consult industry, professional bodies and other stakeholders. This requirement for stakeholder engagement has been used by NUST to ensure that teaching reforms include the perspective of low-income and disadvantaged groups.[14] Innovations from Manchester are being replicated in the teaching programme, which will introduce a more substantive role for community leaders in teaching students about their experiences.

Table 3 summarises the ways in which these actions contribute to scale in the three dimensions.

Table 3: Contribution of inter-temporal actions to multi-sectoral, multi-spatial and multi-temporal development

Intervention	Multi-sectoral	Multi-spatial	Multi-temporal
State policy to practice	This is particularly relevant for multi-sectoral interventions. Government departments may not collaborate well.	Innovative government programmes are often supported by individual staff, sometimes senior. It is the ability of government programmes to have consistent multi-spatial application that contributes to success.	Effort needs to be put into state commitment, as this may weaken over time.
Academia: curriculum reform	Develop curriculum inputs to support integrated development.	Develop curriculum inputs that build multi-spatial knowledge from the neighbourhood to the city and beyond.	Integrating community knowledge into the curriculum will develop appropriate professional interventions. Training emerging professionals will embed progressive change.

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[14] Presentation to Bulawayo workshop by Pardon Ndhlovu and Linda Magwaro-Ndiweni, 4th December 2019.

4.4 The integrated framework

Figure 1 summarises the inter-relationships between the related processes: building relational capital (the left-hand side of the diagram), undertaking complementary short-term activities (the right-hand side), and seeking to consolidate progress through two "legacy actions" required for the longer term and designed to embed the participation of disadvantaged citizens in urban development. The development of the framework has drawn on workshop and bilateral discussions, reports and participant observation. It shows that activities are important in and of themselves, while also being complementary to relationship building. At the same time, relational capital creates new incentives and possibilities for activities. Hence the two are built and maintained simultaneously with two specific actions being concerned with the longer term.

The analysis resonates with and adds to the literature discussed in Section 3. The greatest overlap is in terms of relational capital. The ACCA programme has a strong overlap with this analysis, which is not surprising as ACHR (who designed the programme) work closely with SDI. While there is less emphasis on professional contributions within ACCA, the work of the Community Architects Network sits alongside ACCA within ACHR's work. This network supports professional contributions to participatory planning.[15] Programmes such as the Sida-sponsored interventions in Central America have worked closely with measures to strengthen local organisations alongside building stakeholder groups across local government and civil society, and networking communities. Participatory budgeting has also sought to strengthen these links, albeit with less effort to draw in civil society organisations and academia as implementing agencies. However, Baiocchi et al. (2011) make clear the essential nature of civil society support for participatory budgeting. And Cabannes (2014) argues that participatory budgeting itself catalyses new community organisations through the participation councils, and notes that these may include stakeholders such as NGOs and universities.

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[15] http://communityarchitectsnetwork.info/. Accessed 4th August 2020

Figure 1: A framework to scale participation
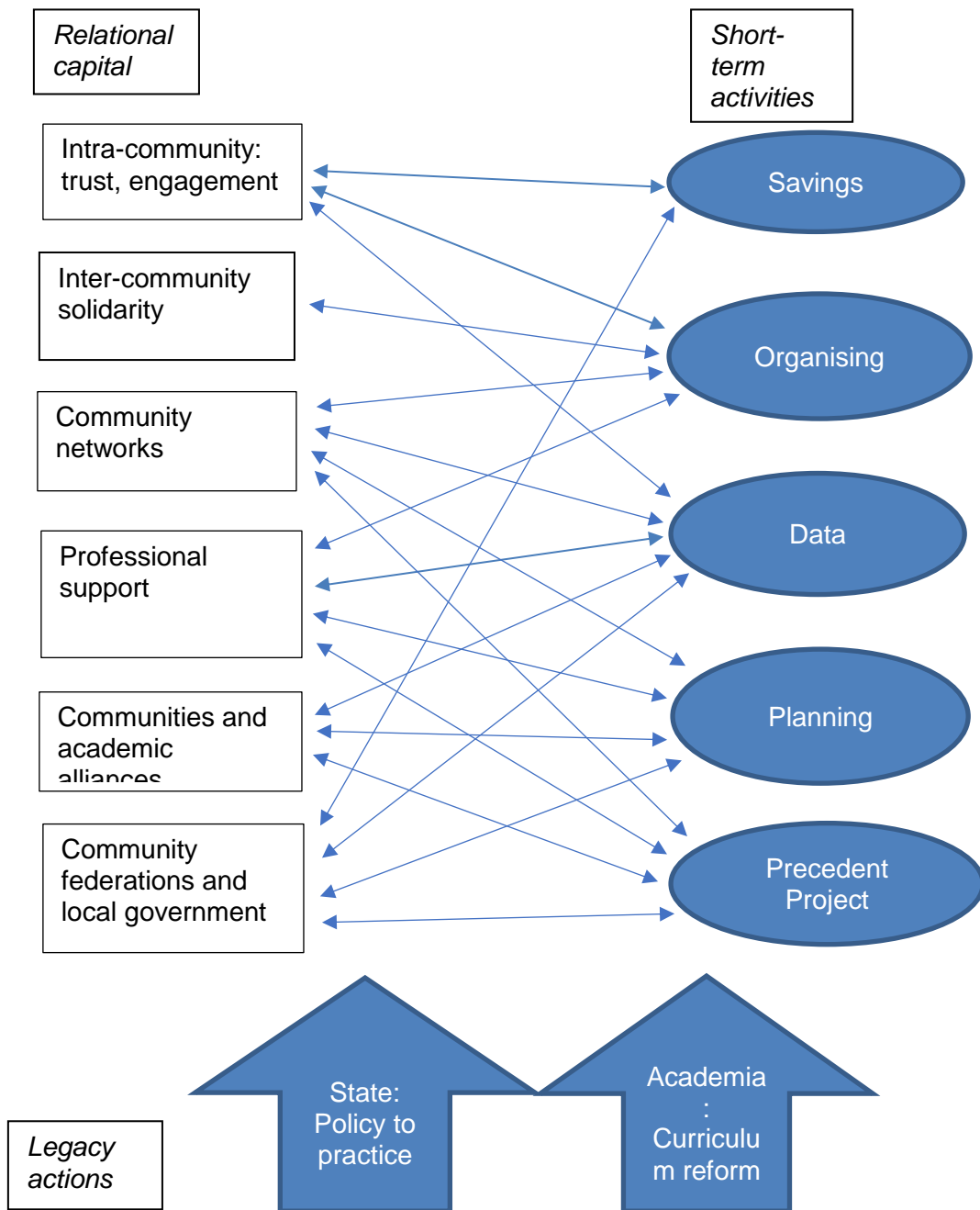
Our analysis highlights the shortcomings of clientelist approaches, as politicians practise a "divide and rule" strategy to reduce the power of local organisations and strengthen their own position (Mitlin 2014). These actions undermine many of the efforts to secure better relations described above. This helps to explain the frustration of community groups within CODI and their interest in establishing their own autonomous funds under ACCA. Such funds strengthen their ability to act

independently and challenge anti-poor state practices. While Benjamin (2008) suggests that clientelist relations in India may offer more to local organisations than the bureaucratic alternative of top-down management that is not the choice selected by community-led federations and networks.

5. Conclusions

Our findings on what is required to scale participatory planning and development highlight the relations that need to be strengthened and the complementary actions to be taken. All activities are important for their immediate material benefits and because they contribute to more favourable relations between organised communities, informal settlement residents and more powerful agencies that determine development options. The actions also recognise that advancing participatory planning requires multi-spatial activities and relationship building that takes place over time. While the activities summarised are not "sufficient" conditions that guarantee the advance of participatory processes, they are consistently present when participation has scaled in all the three locations in which the research has taken place.

While our analysis of the literature in Section 2 is structured around upward and downward measures to advance participation in planning, and more generally in development process, in practice, strategies are rarely that simple. The ways in which relational capital has to be strengthened (see Section 4) shows why this binary division of upward and downward efforts is not helpful.

Government policies and programmes have, in some cases, learned from innovations by civil society and sought to replicate these in their own approaches. New options regularly emerge – such as a city development fund with Bulawayo officials – but many do not develop because of the balance of power and the inability of citizens to secure their needs and interests. What is critical, as has previously been argued, is the ability of civil society to keep building their strategy and operational capabilities. **Our first conclusion,** captured in the existing literature and with what we observed in the three cities from the beginning of this study (Horn et al. 2018), is that civil society uses existing spaces and makes new spaces to advance their needs and interests; and their capability to do both of these actions appears significant in explaining positive outcomes with respect to scaling ambitions. Securing the SPA for Mukuru involved using an existing space; having a dialogue with the City of Bulawayo that has resulted in land allocations required new invitations; and pressing for state-financed informal settlement upgrading in Slovo Park challenged exclusionary practices; all of these are examples of the diversity of approaches used in efforts to scale. While such spaces may be tricky to use (as discussed in Section 3), they provide opportunities for organised communities.

The actuality and representation of citizen innovations as fitting within state frameworks is helpful, as it increases their legitimacy and the likelihood of adoption and replication. What is less clear is whether the essence of the process is lost and participation is less likely to lead to empowerment than is otherwise the case. To answer this question

would require research over a longer time, with a specific focus on how activities and approaches are being represented.

Our second conclusion, also consistent with the existing literature, is that there are multiple iterative interactions between politics, participation, empowerment and planning. While participation may be discussed in the academic literature without reference to political relations and activities, this is not helpful. Participation takes place in a context that is deeply political, and politics is significant in scaling efforts. The example of a local councillor negatively influencing in activities in Iminyela-Mabuthweni (Bulawayo) demonstrates the need for community organisations to work within a politicised context of delivery; while civil society efforts in Mukuru to establish a process that is robust in terms of the constitutional imperative for participation demonstrates the need for communities to be seen to work within existing governance structures.

Our recognition of the connections between politics, participation, empowerment and planning means that we do not see participative efforts as being either technical or post-political. While some have described this current moment as post-participation, post-political and post-collaboration (Brownhill and Parker 2010), this appears overstated. Our research shows that community groups that represent low-income, marginalised and disadvantaged citizens seek an engagement that supports their political inclusion, shifts resources to their agendas, and builds rather than reduces their organising base, with the understanding that it is mobilised communities that secure a more accountable and democratic city. Too narrow a view of planning has failed to recognise "that there are planning concepts, discourses, procedures, practices and imaginaries being produced through bottom up, civic-led processes of spatial production" (Frediani and Cocina 2019, 148), and there are efforts to take these into the mainstream. We recognise that discussions about the "post-political" reflect real concerns about ineffective efforts to transform cities (Brownhill and Parker 2010), but we urge caution about the apparent nature of some approaches that fit within a "technical" or "managerial" representation. As we argue above, representations themselves are socially determined, and representations may be selected for political reasons, and may reflect strategies to secure progressive ends. This does not mean they are progressive; but it is not helpful to ignore their intentions.

As we have argued elsewhere (Horn et al. 2018), communities represent their own innovations in ways that associate with government programmes and which superficially take on government approaches (suitably modified) to make their activities more acceptable. The state may draw on civil society work as officials seek to improve the relevance of their efforts to the "leave no-one behind" agenda. As collaboration between collectives of residents and the state takes place, and new activities improve social capital for disadvantaged communities, then new learning also takes place. Informal alliances of reformers across civil society, academia and the state build and consolidate an iterative interaction that creates more substantive development options. As they seek to scale, urban social movements accept that programmes must be consistent with existing regulations and standards applied to the built environment.

Formal planning cannot be ignored if community approaches are to be accepted and used more widely; but, as shown above, communities believe that planning rules need reform.

There are also many state-led efforts, of which some appear genuine attempts to change a top-down and centrist approach to governance. While critical perspectives remain important (see Section 3), our analysis highlights the complexity of such relations and warns against premature conclusions. Civil society approaches may be taken up by state agencies; while progress may be slow and uneven, it is not helpful to dismiss these efforts as necessarily bound to fail. The challenge is to understand and – in the context of academic papers – represent relations and processes that are in flux, only partially visible and which necessarily involve contestation and collaboration over both ideas and resources.

Our third conclusion is that the focus on the city is significant in terms of the development of understandings of, and strategies towards, scaling participation. Without efforts at the level of the city, neighbourhood efforts may lead to fragmentation of services, inequalities between citizens, and some activists being overwhelmed. The emphasis on scaling participation upwards and outwards – rather than participation in a local context – has two implications. The first of these is that citywide participation encourages citizen organisations to reach out to those neighbourhoods who were previously neglected. This is illustrated by the efforts to include new neighbourhoods and their residents in Bulawayo. The second is that the city is also important in raising aspirations for securing recognition and substantive material improvements. Work at the level of the city is more profound than just reaching out to other citizens within and beyond their localities. Work at the city requires efforts to strategically engage with authorities (often scaling across from water to health, for example); and this has important learning for social movements. What is particularly notable from our analysis is that civil society, working in partnership with local governments and universities, must design activities that address immediate needs and build strategic relational capital. Other levels of government are also important – for example, the significance of the constitutional changes in Kenya is summarised above (Horn et al. 2020), while the potential for state funding is evident in South Africa. But it is the politics of the city that is critical.

In addition to scaling to new neighbourhoods, being effective politically requires strong local organisations and scaling within low-income neighbourhoods and reaching out to residents who are not participating in existing organisations. This helps to address the challenge that local activities may be overly focused on an elite within low-income neighbourhoods and may not be representative of particularly disadvantaged groups.

While the city government is the most important focus for the activists, support professionals and academics involved in this research network, the significance of national government is also evident. It is the lack of national finance that creates problems in Bulawayo, where local government does not have the finance to repair and extend basic infrastructure. And it is the national subsidy programme that is financing

the upgrading in Johannesburg's informal settlements. In a context in which emphasis is placed on local participation, relatively little attention is given to a supportive national framework. In the context of national federations made up of neighbourhood groups federated at the level of the city there are potential opportunities for a meaningful community engagement with national government. However, even in the context of Nairobi (Kenya), with a new presidential commitment to affordable housing, the focus of attention remains on navigating local challenges and advancing immediate opportunities. The significance of national government activities is less visible to locally based organisations and networks, who have an immediate focus on negotiations with city governments.

What is evident in our case study locations is that democracy creates opportunities and communities use these opportunities. In this process, community members become planners and implementors. **Our fourth conclusion** is that there is a terrain of contestation that continues to enable more collaborative endeavours in formal spaces. That is the paradox of collaboration. Conflict and collaboration are not alternatives, rather they are complements (Mitlin 2018). Managing this complementarity is complex. It requires building relational capital, that is, intensifying and deepening links with a range of agencies; and it requires inspiring agencies to change their own practices, so that they can more effectively contribute to citizen-led participation. It also requires a persistent testing of the boundaries of collaboration as well as everyday lived experiences; such a testing helps to establish safe spaces of contestation where frustration with the status quo can be evidenced, leading to new levels of collaboration and substantive redistribution. It requires urban social movements to operate differently over the urban territories and to create multi-stakeholder groups that have their autonomous space for activities within a loosely coordinated process. Points of conflict sit alongside points of consensus, as the winners and losers from multiple social interactions emerge in real time. Activities take place, outcomes become evident and the processes adjust, leading to further rounds of contestation and collaboration. We argue that we need to go beyond a focus on oppositional processes to understand the potential of participation strategies.

Finally, **our fifth conclusion** is that research to date has failed to consider (and critically analyse) the contributions of the academic community to the scaling of community participation. Our findings highlight how academics have helped urban social movements to develop their capabilities through working alongside communities to provide technical assistance, both to data collection processes and to project and precedent-setting activities. They have also helped to legitimate their contribution, particularly with local government. Finally, they have helped to transfer lessons to the next generation of professionals through curriculum change and the prioritisation of informal settlements within planning education. This has included efforts to ensure that community knowledge is acknowledged and included within education and research. While the immediate benefits of such activity for scaling may not be apparent, for those involved in nurturing the growth of participation the value of these engagements is evident. Engagement with academics helps in the short term with specific efforts, while

teaching reforms help to ensure that the culture of government agencies is more open to participation and the staff have the capabilities required to scale participation.

Our engagement with local activists, support professionals and related academics has resulted in an emphasis on the positive opportunities available to groups seeking to scale participation. Despite dealing with considerable adversity (partially captured in the boxes above), the groups remain optimistic about the potential of advancing their work. While the discussions in this working paper are broadly positive about the contribution of academics, we should acknowledge the concerns expressed in our analysis of how knowledge can be co-produced (Mitlin et al. 2019). Academics have the potential to make a substantive contribution and individual academics have a long tradition of supportive involvement. However, efforts to institutionalise this work have been difficult. Universities and some academics have been reluctant to acknowledge the significance of non-academic knowledge and to invest in changing practices to engage more effectively with non-academic stakeholders. This emphasises our need to be cautious about the transformative power of participation. It remains the case that, while efforts to scale participation have been considerable and **important in and of themselves**, the difficulties should also be acknowledged.

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