

Planning
and the
Case Study
Method in Africa

The Planner in Dirty Shoes

Edited by James Duminy,
Jørgen Andreasen, Fred Lerise,
Nancy Odendaal and
Vanessa Watson



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Foreword

One morning in the early 1990s, at the Lutheran Uhuru Hostel at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro, my colleagues Tumsifu Nnkya and Fred Lerise were getting ready, after months of preparation, to go out to begin fieldwork for case studies for their doctoral dissertations. As their supervisor, I asked if I could join them. I thought my professional support might come in handy for dealing with what Clifford Geertz (1995) has called, appropriately in capitals, 'The Field' and described as a 'powerful disciplinary force: assertive, demanding, even coercive' (Geertz, 1995, p. 119). But Nnkya and Lerise would have none of it. Born and raised in the region where we worked, they patiently explained to me it was bad enough that they would arrive on site in our team car, the clichéd white four-wheel-drive vehicle of development workers. If, on top of this, they appeared with a European in tow, that would impede data collection and bias results. So they asked me politely to stay 'at home' at the Uhuru Hostel, which I reluctantly did, watching the white car disappear down the hostel driveway with the doctors-to-be.

Later, when Nnkya and Lerise were writing up the research for their dissertations (Lerise, 1996; Nnkya, 1996), we repeatedly discussed how best to avoid their many years of work ending up as two more unpublished tomes, gathering dust on a shelf somewhere, unread and uncited. The idea kept reappearing to present the research in papers at the conferences held by the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP) and the US-based Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP). But now it was my turn to suggest that Nnkya and Lerise consider staying at home, in Africa. We discussed how it may be viewed as an unfortunate and unnecessary form of ethnocentrism that they would have to present their work in a European or American context, when their research, like the work in this book, had so painstakingly and deliberately been teased out of an African setting to better understand and contribute to this context in phronetic fashion. When it became clear that nothing like AESOP, ACSP or their conferences existed in Africa, I suggested we work to change this situation by trying to get something similar established here, adapted to the local context. I may have been the first to put this idea into words, but I very much consider it as a joint idea that grew directly out of the discussions Nnkya, Lerise and I had

when we were pleasantly left to each other's company – plus perhaps a Tusker, a goat and some fried plantains – to pass long evenings in the field and in Dar es Salaam.

In October 1999 at a University of Dar es Salaam workshop, there were enough of the right people in the right place at the same time for the idea to gain initial traction. The workshop had participants from several African planning schools, and I co-taught them with (the now post-doctoral) Nnkya and Lerise. During a break, I informally proposed to a handful of colleagues that African planning schools should organize themselves in a similar fashion to schools on other continents, so that African planning educators might meet on their own turf to learn about each other's work. The idea seemed to resonate with everyone present and a decision was made then and there to press ahead. Dr Kofi Diaw from Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi, Dr Tumsifu Nnkya from the University of Dar es Salaam and Professor Vanessa Watson from the University of Cape Town, who were all at the workshop, agreed to form an interim coordinating committee to take a lead in connecting planning schools across Africa. In just two years the initial three schools grew to ten. In 2002, agreement was reached between the schools contacted thus far to form themselves into a formal alliance, the Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS). By 2005, the number of AAPS member schools had grown to 20. In 2008, AAPS received the first of several rounds of funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, making the present book possible amongst many other initiatives. In 2013 the number of member schools reached 50, covering all regions of Africa. The official founding year for AAPS is 1999.

My work in Africa – covering two and a half decades on and off in Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa – is amongst the professionally most satisfying things I have done. This is not only because of the high quality of colleagues and students I have worked with in Africa, including several of the editors of and contributors to the present volume, but also because of the profoundly interesting and meaningful problematics that urban and rural life in Africa throw up for planning scholars and teachers to deal with. If I had to single out a few things I treasure the most from my work in Africa, helping launch AAPS is at the top of the list alongside my decades-long collaboration with Drs Nnkya and Lerise. The work in Tanzania was made possible through funding from Danida, the Danish International Development Agency, and shrewd directorship by Professor Jørgen Andreasen from the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, without whom most likely none of the

above would have happened, including the present book, or they would have happened very differently.

Against this background it pleases me no end to have received the honour of writing the Foreword to this volume, which is the direct result of an AAPS initiative. The initiative, begun in 2009, is aimed at advancing the case study methodology in teaching and research about planning in Africa. The book grew out of three AAPS workshops on case study methodology held in East, Southern and West Africa that I had the privilege of helping co-organize and develop the teaching material for. I co-taught the first workshop with – yes, you guessed it – Drs Nnkya and Lrise, this time with Professor Watson also on the teaching team, and Professor Andreasen serving the role of gadfly posing irritating but highly productive questions from the sideline.

In designing the workshops, we considered the case study particularly important for African planning studies because of the unique ability of this method to take context into account and to get close to reality – dirty shoes and all. The case study thus avoids some of the pitfalls of methods that import concepts and theories developed in other settings, typically European or North American, and then apply them to African phenomena, where the concepts and theories often do not fit well. What stood out from the first workshop was the richness of the cases presented by participants. Judging by the contents of the present book, this richness continued through the other workshops. The aim was to develop a more nuanced understanding of African planning practices on the part of planning researchers, educators, students and practitioners, and this aim has been achieved, as this book shows.

The book may be seen as an appeal from the editors and contributors to those in the wider planning profession to recognize and attempt to proactively engage with the realities of African planning, including positive stories of planning practice, collaboration and innovation that works. Practising what it preaches, the book sets an excellent standard for how this may be done. The book is an example for others to follow, in and out of Africa.

Bent Flyvbjerg

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Preface

African cities are the sites of flux and uncertainty, yet urban planning on the continent has shown limited capacity to understand and respond to attendant urban challenges in meaningful ways. Even today, planning legislation is often based on colonial laws and regulations, and the policy instruments with which planners act are often delinked from current realities of urbanization. In this context, planning education remains rooted in a peculiar postcolonial paradigm of instrumentalism and developmentalism. Planners are being trained to view and interact with the world in a way that is sharply at odds with the manner in which the multitude of urban residents perceive and negotiate urban life (Watson, 2003).

The Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS) seeks to correct this imbalance between urban practice and the realities of urbanization. As a network of over 50 university-based departments and programmes offering urban and regional planning (mostly located in Anglophone Africa), AAPS sees the development of effective research and teaching practices amongst planning academics and educators as a vital step towards improving planning practice on the continent.

In 2008, AAPS embarked on a project aimed at revitalizing planning education in Africa. Funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, the project had a number of objectives, primarily relating to curricular reform. AAPS held that future curricular reform should allow for and benefit from deep circumstantial engagement. The project's intention was to develop capacities to design teaching content and methodologies that can adequately capture and foster responses to African urban realities. At the inaugural workshop of AAPS in Cape Town (South Africa) in October 2008, discussion focused on the value of using case study research to achieve these objectives. Subsequently, in 2009, AAPS commenced a second project, with the aim of promoting the case study method in teaching and research.

From 2009 to 2010, AAPS organized three workshops to promote the case study method amongst planning educators on the continent. Held in East, Southern and West Africa, these were facilitated by Bent Flyvbjerg (University of Oxford, United Kingdom), Jørgen Andreasen

(Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, Copenhagen, Denmark) and Fred Lerise (Ardhi University, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania), and convened by Nancy Odendaal (University of Cape Town, South Africa) and James Duminy (African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town, South Africa). Their starting point was the idea that the case study calls for an intensive process of contextualization, and thus its conduct and interpretation can foster a more 'nuanced' understanding of African urban spaces and planning practices on the part of urban planning researchers (including students), educators and practitioners. The idea of a 'more nuanced understanding' was, in essence, an appeal for those in the wider profession to recognize and attempt to proactively engage with the realities of African urbanization – the modes of land access, settlement, movement, collaboration and livelihood often grouped (negatively) under the bracket of 'illegal' and (sometimes interchangeably) 'informal'. It was also a call for a mode of understanding that is better suited to describe and interpret the contradictory processes of rapid change and uncertainty that characterize African urbanisms. It was about capturing the positive stories of practice, collaboration and innovation, as much as the negative stories of urban fragmentation and failure.

The contents of this book reflect the outputs of the AAPS case study research and documentation project and its three workshops. Participants were required to submit novel case studies based on their own research work, or to discuss how case studies had been used within their own teaching. Several works were selected for publication in this volume, and the workshop facilitators and editors worked closely with authors to improve the methodological and stylistic aspects of these studies.

In the process of running these workshops, through interactions with participants and the mutual sharing of past research experiences, it became clear that the generic aspects of the case study research methodology often needed to be adapted to the specific context in which they were being applied – in this case, African urban areas and planning initiatives. To this end the first chapter follows the format of the workshops and functions as a guide to those using the case method in such contexts. More generally speaking, this book provides an indication of how a shift towards 'phronetic' research and pedagogical approaches can unfold in circumstances where the dominant forms of generating and implementing knowledge on cities are sourced from other, very different contexts (Flyvbjerg, 2001). We therefore see that it

has broader relevance beyond the confines of Africa, in particular with those other diverse and dynamic places that find themselves bracketed with the 'global South'.

In the spirit of the case study method, it is our intention to 'show', rather than simply 'tell', the reader about the strengths and limitations of undertaking a project of this sort. We do not offer the case studies assembled here as methodological exemplars. They are, however, indicative of how urban planning academics in one part of the world are engaging with methodology as a way of making their research and teaching more relevant to the urban challenges immediately at hand.

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We also thank the facilitators and participants of the AAPS case study research workshops, which took place in Dar es Salaam, Johannesburg and Accra in 2010. Their inputs and enthusiasm played a significant role in shaping this book.

Finally, we thank the team who made this publication possible: Christina Brian, Ambra Finotello and Amanda McGrath at Palgrave Macmillan, and Manavalan BhuvanaRaj at MPS Limited, all provided essential support and assistance to the production process.

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Introduction

James Duminy, Vanessa Watson and Nancy Odendaal

This book is about research in Africa. It deals with the realities and experiences of African urbanization, and of attempts to understand and manage these processes, as they unfold in different times and spaces. Despite the book's exclusive focus on research in Africa, we believe that it has relevance to methodological discussions that extend beyond the borders of Africa, especially to the regions that find themselves grouped within the conceptual category of the 'global South'.¹

The chapters assembled here are specifically interested in the utility of the case study research methodology as an approach to research and education in the field of urban planning. In Africa and many other postcolonial contexts, the primary challenges facing planning curricula and theory are, firstly, becoming more relevant to the key trends and forces driving Southern urbanization, and secondly, providing a sound basis to respond to the political and policy crisis affecting cities where planning systems and educational approaches are marked by the 'colonial wound' (Mignolo, 2009). Case study research is, in our view, a pre-eminent means of constructing bodies of theory and educational material based on careful empirical analysis of what actually exists, and critical reflection on how it has come to be that way.

Flyvbjerg (2001) has emphasized the importance of the case study for its potential to capture and convey the sort of detailed, contextualized knowledge implied by the Aristotelian notion of *phronesis* or 'practical wisdom'. The capacity of the 'story' to offer guidance in different (and often difficult) circumstances thus lends the case study an invaluable link to matters of ethical judgement and practical competence. It follows that case research has an obvious interest for planning education, not only for the purposes of curricular development but also from a pedagogical point of view – teaching methods based on the use of cases

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have the potential to produce more competent and effective planning professionals, to better respond to the problems attending urbanization in Africa.

While important methodological discussions of case study research have been produced previously (e.g. Ragin and Becker, 1992; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009), this volume is unique in at least two ways. Firstly, it uses examples of case study research and teaching to illustrate the basic dimensions, advantages and problematic issues of the approach, with particular reference to the epistemological and practical domain of urban planning in Africa. Thus it brings methodological discussions of case study research into an empirical engagement with actual urban spaces and practices that constitute 'cityness' in the global South (Pieterse, 2010a). This includes the diverse practices associated with urban informality – street traders, bicycle taxis, woodworkers, waste collectors, informal housing and so on – in addition to (often ill-informed and inappropriate) state attempts to regulate informality. Secondly, it extends these methodological discussions of case study research to questions of pedagogy.

Although the majority of African Masters and PhD studies produced by students in disciplines including planning, development studies and geography take the form of unpublished 'cases', few of these are theoretically sophisticated or designed with the appropriate skill to allow their empirical data to speak to both general theory and phronetic knowledge about how to understand and intervene in urban areas. The rare exceptions to this norm include the exemplary planning case studies produced by Tumsifu Nnkya (2008) on Moshi in Tanzania; Fred Lerise (2005) on Chekereni, also in Tanzania; and Vanessa Watson (2002) on Cape Town, South Africa. We argue that there is an urgent need to encourage and develop the sort of carefully conducted, exemplary and publishable case study work that has both theoretical and practical utility.

At the outset we must distance ourselves from any argument resting on some form of African exceptionalism, suggesting that African urban contexts have a unique set of methodological requirements in terms of research. The discussions and arguments in favour of case study research presented in this book do not have any exclusive relevance to Africa or the global South. They apply equally to the study of Northern contexts (Peattie, 1994). We do, however, see the case study research methodology as a particularly promising approach to doing planning research and producing knowledge with theoretical and practical relevance, and we hold that the need to produce such knowledge

is heightened in urban contexts experiencing similar processes and phenomena to those unfolding in Africa.

Seeing from the South

Viewing this African project as part of a wider project of reworking research and thought on urbanization is justifiable for several reasons. Firstly, our discussion of the advantages of the case study research methodology in the African context fits within wider debates concerning the development of a view 'from the South' within general bodies of urban knowledge and theory (Watson, 2009). We see this book as a means of experimentation and exploring, along with AbdouMaliq Simone, how the 'periphery' may be 'productively "brought back in" to our considerations of urban life' (2010, p. 14), through an engagement rooted in Africa.

Over the last decade a number of authors have defended African cities as valid empirical bases for the construction of general urban and planning theory (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004; Robinson, 2006; Nuttall and Mbembe, 2008; Pieterse, 2008; Watson, 2009). Following the arguments of both Connell (2007) in sociology and Comaroff and Comaroff (2011) in anthropology, theorizing planning in the global South can offer important perspectives on the workings of the world at large. Connell (2007) insists that working at a world scale avoids generalizing from the metropole and places the relationship between metropole and periphery (still marked, she argues, by processes of colonization) as a central explanatory element. Comaroff and Comaroff (2011), also, suggest that the global South offers privileged insights into the workings of the world at large: while the project of modernity has always been a North-South collaboration, it is in the global South that the impacts of this relationship have been most immediately and starkly felt.

In this spirit, given the governance (financial, institutional and infrastructural) constraints facing researchers and educators in these countries, Africa could be seen as a critical case of the 'least likely' type (see Chapter 1) with which to test a project of methodological and pedagogical reform, within the larger objective of revitalizing planning education towards more engaged, activist and community-based visions of learning and practice. While we support and wish to encourage other works that attempt to generalize from the African context, our particular concern is to provide an indication of how an experimental engagement with new research methodologies can unfold. As such, we wish to provide a phronetic 'vault' for planning practice and curricular reform rather than a set of firm and fast propositions.

Secondly, there are substantive similarities between African and other Southern contexts relating to their attendant urban processes, as well as the ways in which policymakers and planners have attempted to respond to their respective urban challenges. Certainly, many of the rapid changes affecting African cities are not entirely unique to this continent. The 2011 Revision of the World Urbanization Prospects, produced by the Population Division of the United Nations' Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), argued that Africa and Asia will lead global population growth over the next four decades.² According to these data, by 2050, Africa's urban population will increase from 414 million to over 1.2 billion, while that of Asia will rise from 1.9 billion to 3.3 billion. These cities and regions present urban planners and managers with similar types of challenges: for example, dealing with extensive urban informal economic activity and political mobilization, population mobility, poverty, environmental health risks and climate changes, often in contexts of severe resource constraints, massive infrastructure deficits, and diminished state and civil society capacity.

Finally, there are similarities in terms of how Southern urbanisms have been imagined and tied together by the conceptual frames and devices used to perceive and understand their processes; to map and locate their 'difference' within a view of global urban processes (Roy, 2011). Where they are included in comparative study, cities of Africa and the rest of the South are generally tagged as ontologically different to those of the metropolitan North, expressed through the metonymic markers of the 'megacity' and 'slum' (Roy, 2011). Megacities of the South, with their 'herculean problems of underdevelopment' (Roy, 2011, p. 224), are imagined to dance to the beat of the slum and 'the informal', conjuring up images of 'an abject but uplifting human condition, one that lives in filth and sewage but is animated by the "alchemic ability" to survive and thrive' (Roy, 2011, p. 224).

Here we explore these commonalities of Southern 'cityness' by ordering discussion around three 'conceptual notions' (see Simone, 2004; Myers, 2011), namely 'peripherality', 'informality' and 'anticipatory politics'. We realize that this runs the risk of casting generalizations over highly diverse contexts. We also realize that these three notions are by no means exhaustive of the realities of 'worlding' demonstrated by these diverse urban contexts, yet we believe that taken together they begin to provide a sound basis for arguing why African and Southern cities need to be rethought, rewritten and retaught.

Recently the idea that African cities are bound in a common experience of *peripherality* with other Southern regions has been explored by several

authors. This term not only signals the ways in which many Southern cities are structurally peripheral within global circuits and flows of capital, and are thus relegated to the fringe of conventional urban analyses based on the idea of 'global cities' (Robinson, 2006), but also points to other aspects of peripheral existence. In the recent book *City Life from Jakarta to Dakar*, AbdouMaliq Simone (2010) uses the 'multivalent' (Roy, 2011) notion of 'periphery' to spotlight aspects of cityness that are marginalized in conventional academic and policy discourses of the South, as well as the manner in which members of the urban poor are largely excluded from 'conventional understandings about how the city is put together' (Simone, 2010, p. 39). Yet, while the periphery is imagined as a 'space of insufficiency and incompleteness', it is also a zone of instability and 'negative potentiality' (Simone, 2010, p. 40), capable of disrupting the centre – a space of possibility, innovation and adaptation.

In the work of Simone and Roy, the conceptual figure of the periphery is used to draw together highly diverse and variegated cities, based on their common experience of 'in-betweenness', and the 'entanglement' of marginality and possibility (Roy, 2011, p. 232). Studying African cities, therefore, is one way of looking at a wider 'swath of urban life' sweeping across the globe (Roy, 2011, p. 232). Yet the commonalities stitching together this swath do not relate only to the conceptual registers employed to perceive and understand. As Simone has argued, the 'rather artificial' ties cast between the highly variegated cities of the South have a 'real materialization', which is found in 'the ways key policy and commercial actors in these cities make reference to each other's urban realities and the migratory and trade flows that leave long-term historical marks and possibilities' (Simone, 2010, p. 15). As such, it is important to understand how these cities can and do 'move toward' one another, through 'gestures and inclinations' in the form of political economic strategies that seek out positions of functional and aesthetic prominence within global urban hierarchies that are 'still largely shaped by occidental notions of modernity' (Simone, 2010, p. 15). Case study research is one means of unmasking the power relations, truth claims and values underpinning strides towards the 'worlding' (Roy and Ong, 2011) of Southern cities, as well as how these elite discourses and actions are received, appropriated and resisted by ordinary urban inhabitants.

Africa is further linked to the urban processes of the South through the notion of *informality*. Largely as a result of their historical and continued relegation to a position of structural peripherality, cities in these regions are generally embroiled in a multidimensional process of 'informalization'. While the term 'informal' originated in the 1970s to

describe various autonomous, unregulated, small-scale and often illegal forms of urban employment, increasingly it is used to describe a variety of activities relating to settlement, employment, service provision, as well as political and cultural organization and action. While it is increasingly recognized that informality is a pervasive phenomenon globally, even in Northern cities, it is fair to say that informal urban processes have a particularly high degree of visibility and centrality in the shaping of Southern 'cityness' and urban spatial development.

Authors such as Garth Myers (2011) speak of 'new waves of informalization' in African cities. Probably the most obvious manifestation of this process in recent years is the growth of various forms of informal settlement and the ongoing 'informalization of formal settlements' (Myers, 2011, p. 73). Yet, this trend is also demonstrated in the course of everyday urban social life through the 'apparently rising importance of unregistered social networks in the built environment, livelihood strategies, social reproduction, cultural organization, or political mobilization' (Myers, 2011, p. 73). As cities grapple with their political economic marginality and the spatially and temporally specific outcomes of 'neoliberal' structural adjustment, all kinds of relations, including those between state and civil society actors, become the loci for informal negotiations and exchanges. Public institutions are thus recast as potential 'sites for private accumulation and advantage' (Simone, 2000, p. 7).

Recently, Ananya Roy has been most prominent in arguing that the theoretical discourse of informality must be extended beyond the consideration of the substantive nature of various extra-legal activities occurring within the physical space of cities. She posits that informalization is better understood as a mode of production of space fundamentally determined by the procedures and instruments of state planning (Roy, 2005). Planning is implicated in the production of informality as a 'state of exception', thus enabling some degree of 'territorial flexibility', whereby 'the valorization of elite informalities and the criminalization of subaltern informalities produce an uneven urban geography of spatial value' (Roy, 2011, p. 233). These ideas resemble Yiftachel's (2009) description of how planning, especially in ethnocratic contexts such as Israel, is involved in the 'greying' of space, or the 'stratification of informalities' through the designation of certain activities – the 'informality of the powerful' – as acceptable and legitimate ('whitening'), and others as pernicious or criminal ('blackening') (Roy, 2009, pp. 10–11). The effects of such territorial flexibility, and the creation of 'zones of exception', are acutely felt in African cities, where an anti-urban political bias often joins forces

with official planning and legal instruments to motivate evictions and demolitions *en masse* (Kamete, 2009).

Finally, Southern cities are tied together by commonalities relating to urban subjectivity and political agency, largely emanating from their respective positions of structural peripherality and prevailing modes of urban informalization. Various authors have attempted to capture the vagaries of subjective modes of city-making in the South. For Asef Bayat (2007) this is expressed as the ‘habitus of the dispossessed’ and an informal politics involving ‘quiet encroachment’ onto the territories of the propertied and powerful. While there may not be a neat and coherent ‘habitus of the dispossessed’ common to all Southern urban contexts, authors have nevertheless acknowledged that particular kinds of searches for livelihood and inhabitancy strategies, which are not strange to the global North, ‘assume a different kind of importance’ for many cities of the South (Simone, 2010, p. 15). For Simone, the experiences and objective realities of peripherality become a platform for an *anticipatory urban politics*. Arguing against dichotomous representations of African cities as places of despair and crisis, on one hand, and as places of agency and the triumph of the urban poor, on the other, Simone highlights the contradictory and dynamic processes that constitute urban life in Southern cities, which are not adequately captured by accounts that foreground a critique of ‘world class’ city-making. He is interested in how the city becomes the site of various ‘practices of anticipation’, which are not limited to the domain of the ‘dispossessed’:

Here, anticipation refers to the art of staying one step ahead of what might come, of being prepared to make a move. For, what this move is and what it will entail can’t really be known in advance. It is a movement at the crossroads, where decisions have to be made quickly and people have to do all it takes to try and make the most out of them. (Simone, 2010, p. 62)

From this perspective, many Southern urbanites could be said to live in ‘injury time’ – a motley collection of moments in which frenetic last-ditch efforts are necessary to ‘make something happen’, to ‘win’ whatever game they may find themselves playing (Katz, 2010). Often this entails finding new ways of being-together, of making the most out of crisis and disarray by sometimes engaging in ephemeral social formations and identities, or ‘provisional publics’, in order to foster some form of urban resilience (Simone, 2010). The need to do so is heightened in circumstances (related to globalization and structural adjustment) where

'mediating institutions' are largely absent, and thus do not provide a consistent, readily understandable basis for residents to make sense of their actions, future plans and 'place' in the city. Maintaining the possibility of movement and mobility becomes a key practice within the experimental engagements that constitute the 'worlding' of African cities, as urban residents seek to dissolve or tap into larger circuits of migration and exchange (Roy, 2011; Simone, 2011).

Just as the common themes and processes discussed above draw cities of Africa and the wider South together, several distinguishing features of African urbanization can be outlined, while recognizing that the urban processes unfolding across this continent are highly diverse. Africa is particular in that rapid urbanization is delinked from the growth of formal economies and employment opportunities, largely as a result of the onset of persistent economic crises since at least the 1970s. Since 2002, overall African economic growth has increased after decades of decline, yet the spatial distribution of this growth has been uneven, based predominantly on increasing raw mineral and fuel exports in countries such as Nigeria, Angola and South Africa. Yet, generally speaking, 'there is a clear disconnection between ... sustained moderate economic growth, and the continued rise in poverty, inequality and exclusion of the urban poor' (Pieterse, 2010b, pp. 12–13).

Africa is also somewhat unique in its apparent lack of political will to accept and deal with the realities of urbanization and migration. In some cases this takes the form of an outright anti-urban bias on behalf of political leadership. In most cases, however, 'the dominant policy response to the deepening crisis associated with [African] urban growth and expansion is inertia' (Pieterse, 2010b, p. 8). As such, the prolonged economic crises affecting African cities have been matched by a 'political and policy crisis' (Pieterse, 2010b, p. 8). Indeed, the problems relating to the existence of this 'policy vacuum' are compounded by a general lack of credible data on the rate and substantive nature of urbanization in different parts of the continent. Civil societies have largely been unable to provide coherent challenges to this inertia, as in many cases they remain fractured along ethnic and religious lines.

Methodological implications

From a methodological point of view, the significance of these mobile, uncertain yet highly circumscribed processes and practices of informality, worlding and anticipation, is their demand for robust methodological approaches that permit a degree of flexibility and innovation in the

choice and use of analytical concepts, the use of very different types of data, as well as a high degree of contextual adaptability (Pieterse, 2010a; Roy and Ong, 2011; Simone, 2011).

While not all Southern contexts share these dynamics and deficiencies, it is fair to suggest that planners practising in these regions urgently require knowledge that can enhance their capacity to understand urbanization and intervene effectively. Some of this knowledge must necessarily take the form of quantitative data that can help us to understand the forces and patterns of urbanization unfolding across the South. Yet, these data are not adequate by themselves for the purposes of revitalizing the field of planning thought and praxis. There is also a need for grounded research work that examines issues of everyday urbanism, including the manners in which macro-trends and policies are received and negotiated by urban inhabitants, as well as the actual interests and operations of state and other institutional structures. Until the time that we develop an adequate body of knowledge of the substantive nature of cityness and institutional operation, dominant ideas framing responses to urban challenges of the South will remain rooted in Northern paradigms and empirical precedents.

What emerges from the two sets of needs outlined above is a demand for a 'meso-layer' of research that bridges and straddles the macro- and micro-scales of events and actions. As argued by Garth Myers, 'we need much more concrete analysis of governance on the ground' (2011, p. 194), which explicitly seeks to address both theoretical and practical concerns. Indeed, 'the challenges for African urban studies no longer lie simply or solely with paying more theoretical attention to the marginalized informal, invisible, spectral, necropolitan or ordinary settings', but also with issues of practice: 'in then attempting to articulate how such urbanization processes might contribute to efforts to improve the quality of life for the inhabitants of these places' (Myers, 2011, p. 14). Ideally then, urban decision-makers would have access to both quantitative trend-based data and qualitative insights to provide broad guidelines for policy development, nuanced with a contextualized understanding of 'what works' where, when and how.

Due to its focus on the details of events as they actually happen, and the actions that drive processes of change, the case study research methodology is a useful approach to the study of *all* cities, as there are no urban contexts that do not have a need for theoretical knowledge with practical relevance. Yet given the scale of developmental challenges and data gaps facing cities of Africa and the global South, we posit that it holds particular relevance and promise in these regions. This is not

the first argument to be made in favour of case study research in the 'developing world'. Drawing upon the early work of Flyvbjerg, Lisa Peattie (1994) has argued for in-depth case research as an approach to urban research in the developing world, emphasizing the utility of this approach in the promotion of phronetic learning. She supplemented this concern over *how we learn* with arguments in favour of the use of analytic concepts that advance our understanding of process, and which allow comparison across intellectual and geopolitical boundaries (at that time, the ordering geo-epistemological divide was rooted in the developed/developing binary). Generally speaking, the case study approach is promising from the following perspectives:

- If designed and executed in a rigorous manner, the detailed case study is a pre-eminent means of contributing to theoretical development, especially through subjecting propositions to the scientific test which Karl Popper termed 'falsification' (Flyvbjerg, 2001). This takes on particular importance in the Southern urban context, as the case study approach is suited to testing the relevance and applicability of Northern ideas, and to generating the contextualized knowledge that allows Southern urbanisms to speak to urban theory on a global scale.
- The carefully crafted case study is a prime means of producing highly contextualized knowledge of the interests, power relations and actual daily practices underpinning planning processes. Furthermore, the capacity of the case study to foster a nuanced understanding of causality makes it an especially fruitful approach from the perspective of practice and the making of policy and interventive recommendations.
- As a methodological approach, the case study is robust in the sense that it can be applied in extremely different contexts, accommodating a variety of analytic concepts simultaneously (Peattie, 1994), as well as innovative research approaches and methods necessary to capture issues of agency, mobility and particular kinds for searches for livelihood in conditions of rapid change and uncertainty.
- The case study approach encourages engaged and grounded research that is ideally suited to promoting a collaborative and activist agenda amongst planning educators and students (Peattie, 1994).

Case study research and planning education in Africa

While many of the above methodological arguments have been made previously by Flyvbjerg (2004) in relation to planning, and generally by

Yin (2009), Stake (1995) and others, this volume extends the discussion to deal with the African context and the issue of planning education. It could be asked what value this discussion could have, given the fact that dominant forms of planning education in Africa and elsewhere have always had a strong emphasis on project work. From the experiences garnered from the history of projects operated by the Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS) (see Odendaal, 2011; Watson and Odendaal, 2013), it is increasingly rare to find planning schools that use 'live' cases in the field as a problem-based teaching approach. This is usually the case for programmes that have been created or redesigned with a focus on social scientific policy analysis and comprehensive planning, often in line with shifts in British and North American planning education following the 1930s and the Second World War (see Rodriguez-Bachiller, 1988; Dalton, 2001). The 1980s saw the establishment of numerous planning programmes based on policy and regional geographic analysis, especially in Anglophone West African countries such as Nigeria (Stren, 1994). As a result, current research in many departments takes the form of highly quantitative, survey-based work, and teaching is often centred upon theoretical and rule-based technical training. The aversion to problem-based fieldwork is less common in universities and technical colleges that continue to exemplify strong physical design-based approaches to planning, usually allied with architectural or urbanism programmes, nevertheless this is a pervasive reality in most parts of sub-Saharan Africa.

We acknowledge that quantitative work and training are important aspects of creating professional planners, but emphasize that case studies and 'the power of example' offer more in the way of teaching and learning potential. As argued by Flyvbjerg (2011), the well-executed case study contains the phronetic insights and concrete, context-dependent knowledge that is necessary to enable learners to become true experts or 'virtuosos' in their field. Case teaching approaches also offer students the opportunity of experiential learning in real-world planning scenarios. Alternative approaches to educating urban practitioners are particularly necessary in Southern contexts, where outdated (Northern inspired) pedagogical practices often fail to develop professionals with the context-dependent knowledge and intellectual flexibility required to understand and address highly dynamic urban processes. Indeed, in many African contexts, approaches to planning education and curricula remain highly influenced by the logic, systems and skills of colonial-era town planning (Diaw et al., 2002). Case-based teaching is one pedagogical approach that has potential to promote a reflective

mode of learning, and to foster skills in complex problem-solving with contemporary relevance.

Perhaps the best-known teaching approach based on a case study approach is the so-called Harvard Method (Barnes et al., 1994), developed at the Harvard Business School. We see the Harvard Method as being one example of how a case study approach could be undertaken in the training of effective, ethical and reflexive planning practitioners. In Chapter 1 we distinguish between three different ‘types’ of teaching case, and Part III presents an example of how each could be devised in practice, highlighting some of the issues involved therein. On one hand, the chapters comprising Part III are intended to give guidance to planning educators who are interested in using the case study approach, in terms of how approaches can be devised and implemented. On the other, they seek to highlight the potential benefits and difficulties attending this approach.

Since 2011, AAPS has specifically sought to encourage a ‘live case’ approach where learners engage with real planning problems in the field, and work with local communities and residents to produce planning analyses and solutions. We believe that this approach has the most potential to expose future practitioners to the intractable ethical dilemmas and ‘wicked problems’ (Balassiano, 2011) that often characterize professional practice. Furthermore, we see the live case as the best way to ensure that planning researchers learn how to ‘get their shoes dirty’ by conducting in-depth fieldwork as part of their problem analysis. As an added benefit, such approaches also enable students to develop skills in negotiation, facilitation and conflict resolution – skills that are undoubtedly essential for effective practice in planning contexts often characterized by the clash of ‘conflicting rationalities’ (Watson, 2003).

Outline of the book

The book is divided in three parts. Part I includes discussions of the methodological aspects of case study research and the geography of its use in Africa. Part II presents four examples of empirical case study research, undertaken by planning educators based at African planning schools affiliated to AAPS, while Part III is dedicated to the issue of case-based teaching.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the methodological principles and practical elements (case selection, fieldwork, data analysis and narratology) of the case study research methodology, drawing upon the work of Bent Flyvbjerg and the outcomes of the AAPS case methodology workshop

series, held in 2009 and 2010. The insights presented in this chapter also owe much to the expertise and practical experience of workshop facilitators Fred Lerise and Jørgen Andreasen. Aside from highlighting the benefits of the case study research methodology (understood as a particular approach to fieldwork, analysis and research presentation, which is not reducible to simply empirical 'case'-based research), the discussion further points out the constraints to such an approach, particularly in the African context, where empirical quantitative work dominates planning scholarship.

Chapter 2 provides an introduction to the contemporary landscape of published case study research on African urban planning issues, based on a desktop literature review of relevant peer-reviewed journals. It focuses on how inductive, deductive and retroductive research strategies, using both single- and multi-case approaches, have been employed by case researchers to contribute to knowledge surrounding cities and planning practice on the continent.

Part II presents four examples of empirical case study research. Each is representative of how African planning academics, in different contexts, have engaged with and responded to the methodological aspects of case study research. Substantively, all these chapters deal with the under-researched topics of informal economic sector operation. They show that informality, as a mode of production of space (Roy, 2005), is a complex process of negotiation between informal, state and civil society actors, unfolding in place and over time.

As the first empirical case study, Chapter 3 by Dan Inkoom (Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology in Kumasi, Ghana) discusses a local government attempt to relocate and 'formalize' wood-working activities in a Kumasi market area. His account of this effort recasts the governance of urban spaces as a complex process involving various kinds of formal and informal actors, unfolding in relation to the parameters set by government policies operating at different scales and in different sectors.

In Chapter 4, Mtafu Manda (Mzuzu University, Malawi) continues the focus on the governance of informal urban activities in his analysis of relationships between bicycle taxi owners, operators and government officials in the city of Mzuzu. Out of all the chapters in this volume, this case is the most concerned with offering contributions to theory. Manda engages with the hypothesis that informal transport operators are driven into this sector as a survival strategy of last resort, showing that many in the business are simultaneously involved in formal activities, and see the bicycle taxi industry as a profitable entrepreneurial

opportunity. The chapter's primary empirical concern is to understand why such activities, which evidently contribute greatly to urban mobility and employment in Malawi, are nevertheless ignored by local and national policies, and in fact experience numerous official obstacles to their daily operations. The analysis reveals the governance of informal transport in Mzuzu to be a complex historical process involving vested personal and institutional interests, debates over safety concerns, as well as competing ways of evaluating urban spaces and activities.

In Chapter 5, Victor Onyebueke and Christopher Anierobi (University of Nigeria, Enugu) illustrate the often perfidious relations that exist between planners and informal actors in Nigeria, through a discussion of a partial relocation project affecting informal traders and shopkeepers, undertaken by government agencies in the Trans-Ekulu neighbourhood of the city of Enugu. As with the two preceding chapters, the discussion highlights the problems that may arise when different ways of valorizing and using urban space come into conflict in the course of formal planning interventions.

In Chapter 6, Joy Ogbazi and Nkeiru Ezeadichie (University of Nigeria, Enugu) shift the focus from the conflicts underwriting the governance of informality to the issue of participatory planning reform within solid waste management in the Nigerian city of Enugu. Their work shows that while projects geared towards the reform of planning processes may be attended by many difficulties, and may not, strictly speaking, produce the 'intended' project objectives, they may however instigate positive changes relating to attitudinal changes amongst government officials as well as residents. In-depth case analysis of this initiative therefore allows the authors to move beyond a dismissive condemnation of another 'failed' project, to see how the interaction of case actors, with their interests and power relations, led not only to project breakdown but also to mutual learning, understanding and willingness to cooperate.

Part III shifts the focus of discussion towards the use of case studies for the purposes of teaching and learning. The three chapters assembled here each discuss a different type of teaching case. The 'live case' conducted in the form of a 'studio' is the subject of Chapter 7, by Stephen Mukiibi (Makerere University, Uganda). Following a brief discussion of the literature surrounding studio teaching and extra-university engagement, the chapter goes on to provide an example of how planning schools that have maintained close links with architectural programmes continue to use real planning scenarios and design problems to promote experiential learning and collaborative problem-solving skills amongst students.

In Chapter 8, Sarah Charlton (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa) discusses a different type of 'live case', distinguishable from the

studio approach due to its focus on promoting student research skills and understanding of a particular topic, rather than the production of design or policy solutions. Charlton's discussion of student engagement with informal recyclers on the streets of Johannesburg reveals the profound benefits conferred by situated and experiential learning approaches – particularly with respect to changing student opinions and attitudes towards African urban realities.

In Chapter 9, Karina Landman (University of Pretoria, South Africa) concludes Part III with an in-depth discussion of the issues framing the use of a simulated or 'dead case' for teaching purposes. Her concern is how a case study, such as that of Cosmo City near Johannesburg, may be devised and structured to address the various learning requirements of planning students, some of which are general while others are context-specific.

Finally, the editors' reflections on these chapters are gathered and presented in the Conclusion, which points towards future directions for case study research and urban planning education in Africa. Here we consider how case study research and teaching can help us to see Southern urbanisms and cityness in a different light. In particular, we reflect upon the potential of the case method to inform a larger experiment around constructing a 'view from the South' in planning theory, by focusing on the critical role of learning through comparison for planning practice and urban life more generally.

Notes

1. Slater (2004) discusses the problem of categorization of different regions of the world and the implied binaries that are set up through terms such as First World/Third World, West/Non-West, Developed/Developing and so on, which ignore the extent of 'interpenetrations' which have occurred. The terms 'global South' and 'global North', used here, do not overcome this problem (and in particular beg the question about the place of the East). We recognize the danger of generalization in the use of such regional binaries, but see them as offering a less pejorative reference to the parts of the world lying outside of what may be termed 'advanced economies'. Here 'global South' refers to the nations, cities and territories of Africa, Central and Latin America, as well as large parts of the Middle East Asia and Asia.
2. See <http://esa.un.org/unpd/wup/index.htm>, date accessed 16 April 2012.

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Part I

The Case Study Method in Africa

1

Case Study Research in Africa: Methodological Dimensions

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Introduction

In this chapter we provide an overview of the key methodological principles and practical elements of the case study method as a mode of research and teaching. We draw extensively upon the work of key proponents of the method, such as Robert Yin (2009; 2012) and Bent Flyvbjerg (2001; 2006; 2011), as well as the outcomes of a workshop series on the case study methodology, hosted by the Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS) in 2009 and 2010.¹ The insights presented here also owe much to the expertise and practical experience of workshop facilitators Bent Flyvbjerg, Fred Lerise and Jørgen Andreassen. Where possible, we have incorporated and responded to feedback on the difficulties of case study research and teaching provided by AAPS workshop participants. We also refer to chapters within this volume in order to elaborate on aspects of the case study approach.

The case study has been subject to what Flyvbjerg (2006) terms ‘methodological misunderstandings’ in the social sciences, being undermined as a source of reliable knowledge and generally seen as valuable only as an initial component of a broader research study. However, we see the case study as a pre-eminent methodological approach for the purposes of understanding and intervening in complex environments and processes. We also see teaching approaches based on case studies as capable of fostering the experiential learning that may equip graduate planners in Africa with the skills and insights needed to confront the issues faced in the workplace.

This chapter is structured in several parts. The following section defines the case study research method, and describes the primary characteristics of a ‘case study’. Section 2 then outlines some criteria for and provides

brief points of guidance on several key steps of the case study research process: selecting a case study, choosing an appropriate type of case, defining a unit of analysis, collecting and analysing data, writing a case narrative, and making the case 'generalizable'. Section 3 proceeds to discuss different teaching approaches based on the case study method, highlighting their relation to different learning outcomes, modes of preparation and other relevant issues. The chapter concludes with brief reflections on the utility of case study research and teaching approaches in the African context.

Defining the case study method

Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary* (1981) defines the case study method as follows:

The intensive analysis of an individual unit (as a person or community) stressing developmental factors in relation to environment.

It is worthwhile interrogating this definition further, following Bent Flyvbjerg (2011). The definition states that the case study is a process of inquiry concerned with 'an individual unit'. Case studies are therefore studies of something in particular. Their essential task is to understand the uniqueness and complexity of a single case (Gillham, 2000; Simons, 2009). In the words of Robert Stake, 'the case' is 'one among others' (1995, p. 2), a 'specific One' (2005, p. 444) or 'bounded system' (1978; 1995). As we will see later in the chapter, 'the case' can be many different things, from an object, to an institution, to a system. Usually the particular case will be analysed in order to shed light on, or open new areas of inquiry concerning, a wider collection of cases through some process of inference (Gerring, 2007). But ultimately, what is distinctive about the case study method is the process of drawing conceptual, spatial and temporal boundaries around a case unit, and granting special prominence and interest to what occurs within these boundaries – a process termed 'casing' by Charles Ragin (1992). That which occurs within these boundaries determines what the study is about, as opposed to other research approaches, where the content of a study may be determined by previously existing issues and hypotheses of the researcher (Stake, 1978). That which lies beyond the case boundary is the *context* for the case. The case may be studied using many different sources and methods of data collection, including qualitative and quantitative techniques, but the notion of 'boundedness' in specifying a case study is essential (Flyvbjerg, 2011).

Groups or networks of actors located in a particular urban area may be examined as cases, as with Inkoom's discussion of the Anloga woodworkers' struggles over urban space in Kumasi (Ghana), which is the subject of Chapter 3. Inkoom uses the woodworkers (including their associations, networks and leadership structures) as a way of accessing a larger story of 'how national policy, actor participation, and decentralized planning' converge in the overall 'functioning' of Kumasi. Similarly, Charlton's teaching case study (Chapter 8) focused on the actions and pursuits of informal recyclers as a group in certain parts of Johannesburg. The project was motivated by the idea that 'deeper insight into [these] peoples' lives can shed light on why they might live in problematic living conditions, and what they contribute to the city'. Both these works represent a basic characteristic approach of the 'individualizing case study': analysis of a bounded series of events or collection of actors to illustrate aspects of a more general process or phenomenon.

The second point is that the case study by definition involves 'intensive analysis', which arises out of the utility of the case study as a way of recognizing and understanding complexity, and which may be seen as the core of case study research (Gummesson, 2007). Robert Yin also argues that 'the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena' (2009, p. 349). Developing an understanding of complexity requires detailed knowledge, which in turn requires a large amount of data and intensive analysis. Case studies are thus rigorous and exhaustive analyses, which often demand a great deal from researchers in terms of time and resources. But effective case studies can also emerge from short, intensive engagements, which are by themselves rich in analytical depth and theoretical insight. Generally speaking, a classic case study pays close attention to reality, and focuses on the details of events as they actually unfolded. Here the real value of the case study is its capacity to show what has happened in a given setting, and how.

Third, case studies are interested in 'developmental factors' or changes occurring over a time period, commonly presented as a series of interrelated events, which together constitute 'the case' as a whole (Flyvbjerg, 2011). They are particularly well suited to recording and analysing *dynamic processes*. This reflects the case study's suitability for answering the questions of 'how' and 'why' – *How did this situation come about? How did things come to be this way? Why did this planning project not meet its stated expectations?* These sorts of questions point towards the

need for an explanatory research strategy (as opposed to exploratory or descriptive research approaches) because they deal with ‘operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence’ (Yin, 2009, p. 9). Case studies allow researchers to trace the links between actors and events over time. However, we would suggest that the case investigator should be biased towards answering ‘how’ questions. If they start by asking *why* something has occurred, they are forced to engage immediately with all the intractable philosophical and methodological issues relating to causality. But when they start by asking *how*, they allow the question of *why* to enter the research process in a less overt way. By pursuing the ‘how’ question, the researcher may discover data to be used in answering the question of ‘why’. Good case studies are often written by hands patient for the truth.

Finally, by referring to ‘environment’ the definition points to the case study’s concern with building an understanding of the various factors surrounding a given process or phenomenon, or with *context*. Social action cannot be reduced to predefined elements or ‘structures’ that are disconnected from context and the interpretations of researchers (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Case studies always involve investigating particular events or actions in their real-life contexts, which may be local or global, political-economic or social, discursive or physical-environmental. They focus on actors as well as structures, with the intention of showing actors in relation to their context, rather than granting analytical primacy to either structure or agency.

In this volume Inkoom’s analysis (Chapter 3) is performed through a close following of the actual development of the woodworkers’ networks, in relation to wider contextual changes in urban governance and policy. In this way, context and action are seen to combine in process, to explain the particular outcome in question. In Chapter 6, Ogbazi and Ezeadichie’s discussion of a solid waste management process in Enugu (Nigeria) concludes that the transformative potential of participatory planning initiatives is necessarily contextual, depending on the precise socio-political relations at play in space and time, and that positive outcomes cannot be ensured simply through the implementation of a predetermined list of procedural roles and conditions. Such attention to the details of process and the specificities of context is characteristic of exemplary case study research.

So, case study research is characterized by the in-depth analysis of changes affecting a defined bounded unit, with an emphasis on explaining these changes in relation to their real-life context. But when should

the case study approach be used? When is it a preferred research strategy in relation to other ways of doing research, such as experiments, surveys, histories or archival analysis? Generally speaking, the selection of a particular research approach is informed by three conditions: the type of research question, the control the researcher has over actual behavioural events in the research process, and whether the focus is on contemporary or historical phenomena (Yin, 2009). Case study research is particularly advantageous when questions of a 'how' and 'why' nature are being pursued, when the researcher has limited control over or access to events, and when the research focus is on contemporary phenomena with some real-life context (Yin, 2009). But these points only indicate broadly when the case study may be a suitable approach for a piece of research. The following section therefore proceeds to discuss particular aspects of case study design and selection.

Key principles of case study design

Selecting 'the case'

When can you be sure that you have a 'case'? When does a good example become a case? Participants in the AAPS case study workshops often asked these questions, which are difficult to answer given that the term 'case' is generally poorly defined within social science research (Ragin and Becker, 1992). 'Cases' can be understood as empirical units or theoretical constructs, or even some combination of both. Unfortunately there is no universal principle for the selection of a good case. Sometimes there is no choice in the selection at all – we are obliged to take an interest in something, through personal involvement or work commitments, for example, so that the 'case is given', and its analysis takes the form of an 'intrinsic case study' (Stake, 1995, p. 3). The intrinsic case study is undertaken because the researcher desires a better understanding of this one particular case, on its own terms (Stake, 2005). However, most researchers of African planning and development issues are likely to be interested in a particular case as a way of contributing to our understanding of some general phenomenon or problem of interest, through either theoretical propositions or policy recommendations (see Chapter 2). These kinds of 'instrumental case studies' (Stake, 1995) rest on an implicit assumption that some degree of cross-level inference is possible between the particular case and the general phenomenon under investigation (Gerring, 2007). It follows that some criteria should be employed in selecting a case. In an instrumental case study, Stake writes, 'some cases would do a better job than others' (1995, p. 4). So, how should case selection occur?

A first set of issues impacting upon case study design and selection may seem mundane, but are nevertheless extremely important. They relate to the practical obstacles that affect the fieldwork process and the researcher's access to and control over actual behavioural events (Yin, 2009). Having sufficient access to research locations and data is very important, and often difficult in contexts that are physically unsafe, or lacking adequate transport services. Those living or working informally in cities may also favour mobile livelihoods, making the arrangement of interviews and meetings difficult. Securing institutional or political access to key actors and primary sources is another issue, and in many cases local politicians, community leaders or gatekeepers will have to be approached before any sort of research activity can commence in the area. Intensive and in-depth inquiry, which characterizes the case study process, also requires the development of understanding and trust between the investigator and research participants. In Africa and other contexts of the global South, not being able to speak the local language is often a major obstacle to the entry of researchers into communities, the establishment of trust and the collection and interpretation of data. Without appropriate access to the necessary participants and locations, good case study research is likely to be extremely difficult to carry out (see Feldman et al., 2003, for general guidance on the issue of 'gaining access').

The second set of issues relates to the investigator's attempt to understand what a case study can offer in terms of contributing to wider knowledge of a particular issue, and to ensure that the chosen case maximizes our potential for learning (Stake, 1995). Indeed, the basic and confounding question constantly facing the case researcher is: *What is this a case of?* (see Ragin and Becker, 1992). One possible way of recasting the relation between a case study and a research problem, and the process of case selection, is through the 'good patient' metaphor, following Wiervorka (1992). A particular real-world problem affecting society in some way could be imagined as an 'illness' that needs to be 'cured'. In order for it to be cured, the lifecycles of the organisms associated with the illness need to be sufficiently understood. Medical practitioners need to know what environmental or phenotypic factors affect the spread and acuteness of the illness. This knowledge is required before real-world action can begin to confront the effects of the illness. There is therefore a gap in knowledge, a 'research problem' to be filled through the production of research, that is related to this real-world illness. In this metaphor, the case study would be a 'patient' that displays 'symptoms' of the general 'illness'. In medicine, a 'good patient' has an illness that provides a challenge to medical practitioners. Through the

challenge of confronting the illness, it becomes better understood, and a basis for other medical practitioners to learn from. The 'good case', therefore, offers both a challenge and an opportunity to generate knowledge about the causes, modalities or outcomes of a real-world problem that extends beyond the immediate boundaries of the case.

Manda's research on the informal bicycle taxi sector in Mzuzu (Chapter 4) could have studied this industry as a form of sustainable transport. Instead the study investigates this industry as a source of income in the context of limited formal employment opportunity. The 'illness', let us say, is the policy ignorance and police harassment of the informal sector in the context of an urban area with limited opportunities for formal employment. This general real-world problem is associated with a research problem, a gap in knowledge pertaining to the factors influencing the growth and operation of the informal sector in developing countries. Filling this gap in knowledge necessitates an in-depth engagement with the economic indicators of bicycle taxi ventures, and especially the storylines of their owners and operators: their motivations for undertaking this type of work, and so on. What Manda finds is that the bicycle taxi industry in Mzuzu not only offers a highly attractive and generally sustainable income source for the previously unemployed, but also benefits those already holding formal jobs but seeking a supplementary income. Police harassment of the operators is irregular, and some police officials are themselves owners of bicycle taxis. Political issues and rent-seeking behaviour amongst the police and operator organizations surface as explanations for some operators being arrested and having their bicycles confiscated. Through this case, we can begin to understand the complex nature of the informal economy and the political economy of its governance in African towns and cities more precisely, and consequently are in a better position to intervene in such processes.

In sum, it is imperative to consider carefully the characteristics of the patient (the case study) and the illness (the problematic phenomenon manifest by the case, associated with a particular gap in knowledge) in embarking upon any case investigation. Although it is possible that having overly strong preconceptions on these issues could fetter the conceptual development of the study (Ragin, 1992), the case investigator nevertheless should constantly ask themselves questions to sharpen their awareness: What is the relation between the patient, the illness

and the research problem? How is this particular patient similar to or different from other patients in terms of this relation? Which aspects of the illness are knowable through the patient? *What is this case a case of?*

Case type

The case study is often viewed as having limited potential for generalization. Flyvbjerg (2006) argues this to be a key misunderstanding of the case method, and that a carefully selected case can be very useful in testing and generating propositions. But different types of case can be designed to say different things: to achieve particular research objectives and make different types of theoretical propositions. Several strategies for case selection are summarized in Table 1.1. The selection of ‘typical’ or ‘representative

Table 1.1 Strategies of case selection for different case types

Type of selection	Purpose of selection	Type of case
Random selection (random sample or stratified sample)	To avoid systematic biases in the sample. The sample size determines its generalizability. Random sampling seeks a representative sample allowing for generalization for the entire population. Stratified sampling seeks to generalize specific population subgroups.	Typical/representative
Information-oriented selection (cases are selected on the basis of expectations about their information content)	To obtain information on unusual cases, ‘which can be especially problematic or especially good in a more closely defined sense’.	Extreme/deviant
	To obtain information about how a particular variable affects case process and outcome; e.g. three to four cases which differ greatly in one respect (size, location, etc.).	Maximum variation
	To achieve information permitting deductions of the type, ‘if this is (not) valid for this case, then it applies to all (no) cases.’	Critical
	To develop a metaphor or establish a school for the domain which the case depicts.	Paradigmatic

Source: Flyvbjerg (2001, p. 79).

cases' is a common approach whereby the selection is done more or less randomly, with the intention of studying a standard or typical example of a wider category or population of samples. However, if the basic objective of the research is to acquire a great deal of information about a particular problem or phenomenon, representative cases may not be the most appropriate. Typical or average cases often do not reveal as much information as atypical or 'deviant' ones, which tend to 'activate more actors and more basic mechanisms in the situation studied' (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 78). Random sampling approaches aimed at producing representative samples may be relevant to 'describe the symptoms of a problem and how frequently they occur', but will rarely provide insights into 'the deeper causes behind a problem and its consequences' (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 78).

In this volume, Onyebueke and Anierobi (Chapter 5) construct a typical or representative-type case of informal trader relocation in the Nigerian city of Enugu. Ultimately, the state-led initiative succeeded only in achieving a partial relocation of the traders, primarily due to the mismatch between urban planning practices and the lived realities of urban residents – a typical issue in Nigeria, Africa and many other contexts throughout the global South. The case study approach thus examines the precise factors leading to the project's partial outcome, thereby highlighting the specific issues and misunderstandings that generate tensions at the confluence of formal planning and informal livelihoods in African cities. The case of Enugu therefore stands for a typical situation that we may see elsewhere.

In Chapter 3, Inkoom provides an example of a deviant or atypical case selection. He explains, 'Anloga woodworkers centre exemplified a typical informal centre of activities ... I wondered how a "simple" case of relocation of an economic activity would take authorities so many years to accomplish'. The observation that the relocation of this informal economic centre deviated from the norm of state-led interventions triggered an interest in the case, eventually leading to the understanding that the Anloga woodworkers had a particularly strong set of representative associations, capable of organizing and representing the interests of their members. The case thus became an examination of 'the mechanisms adopted by the associations in order to operate within the constraints set by urban planning and management of the city'. We stand to learn a significant amount about such 'mechanisms' through this atypical case.

A third type of case, the ‘critical case’, must have some degree of ‘strategic importance’ in relation to the ‘general problem’ it is involved in investigating (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 78). These are particularly important case types from the perspective of building theory. Critical cases of the ‘most likely’ kind are useful for falsifying propositions (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 78). For example, a hypothesis that informal urban settlements are characterized by social disorganization can be falsified by the observation that social organization is indeed present in a particularly poor settlement that is generally recognized as a ‘most likely’ site of disorganization. Alternatively, cases of the ‘least likely’ type are useful for verifying propositions (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 78). The hypothesis that informal modes of service provision are ubiquitous in African urbanization, for example, can be verified by observing that even wealthy residents of a publicly serviced and maintained neighbourhood in a relatively well-resourced African city depend upon informal service arrangements.

In Chapter 6, Ogbazi and Ezeadichie examine a Nigerian case of participatory planning structured at least partly along the lines of a ‘least likely’ case type. Nigeria is a country with little or no history of participatory planning practice. Planning practice has been dominated by the prescriptions of military governments and the institutional inertia of top-down planning systems. Citizen trust of government activities is particularly low in this context. It would thus appear that a pilot solid waste management project, designed to test out a new participatory approach, would be *least likely* to produce beneficial outcomes in the form of trust and institutional reform. Yet this case clearly supports the proposition that participatory planning interventions can change mindsets of decision-makers, possibly leading to new possibilities for urban governance in Nigeria and elsewhere. The project therefore holds some strategic importance in relation to the general question of decentralization and governance reform.

Specific advice on critical case selection is very difficult to provide. This is equally so for paradigmatic cases (that is, cases with metaphorical and prototypical value), but if found and presented properly, the paradigmatic case ‘shines’ – it provides a generally accessible metaphor for understanding the extremely complex intersection of discourse, action and context in society (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Ultimately, selecting a good case depends strongly on a researcher’s experience, or perhaps even a vague ‘hunch’ that a particular case is rich in information and learning potential. These

facts are somewhat problematic in institutional academic contexts where researchers are meant to observe rigorous criteria for selecting cases, and to justify their decisions before commencing fieldwork (Flyvbjerg, 2001). Justifying the selection of a particular case or case type is often done retrospectively, once the value of the case has been uncovered in the research process. This is not necessarily a problem, as many intuitively selected cases turn out to be exemplary. Post-selection justification can be viewed as a 'test' of the collective acceptability of the investigator's intuitions, and can give confidence to proceed with a particular case study (Flyvbjerg, 2001). The point here is that case researchers should be aware that their initial selection of a case is often more of an 'educated guess' rather than a definite methodological predetermination. Researchers should be prepared to be flexible and inductive in how they approach case study design (Simons, 2009).

The chapters in this volume illustrate some of the more overlooked aspects of case selection. Often, a piece of case study research may be initiated by personal interest in an issue, which is part of the researcher's daily, educational or professional life. Manda's case study of bicycle taxis (Chapter 4) is clearly motivated by a personal interest in the extent and operations of this informal transportation sector in his hometown of Mzuzu, in Malawi. Inkoom's research interest in the woodworkers of Kumasi (Chapter 3) stems from an experience as a young undergraduate student when engaging with the intricacies of urban planning for the first time.

Deciding on the unit of analysis

Once the investigator has a good idea of which empirical case, research problem and case type to utilize, another important step is to develop the study's unit of analysis, a process key to both the overall design and theoretical significance of a case study (Yin, 2012). In terms of research design, the definition of a unit of analysis allows the identification of 'boundaries' to designate the case study and its sources of data. Without these boundaries, the researcher faces the prospect of trying to study everything, from all perspectives. The unit of analysis is also critical to the theoretical intentions of the case study. Often the findings of a case study will relate back to specific theoretical propositions about the unit of analysis (Yin, 2012). Its definition is therefore crucial to determining how the case study relates to a broader body of knowledge, and thereby to generalizing from the findings of the study.

The unit of analysis is the primary object of a research inquiry.² It defines the conceptual level at which collected data are analysed. In social science research, typical units of analysis include individuals, groups and organizations. However, in case study research the unit of analysis is not necessarily a person, city or organization. It could be an institution, responsibility, collection, population, or an event such as a decision, the implementation of a programme, or a process of organizational change (Stake, 1978; Yin, 2009). Here the unit of analysis is often defined as a system of actions and relations, rather than simply the actors or groups involved. Therefore in the particular context of planning research, we could define the unit of analysis as a government programme, an NGO project, a municipal planning system, a process of institutional reform, an individual planner, an object (such as a physical plan) and so on – as long as this choice of unit allows the data to be delimited into a manageable form, and in some way made comparable to other cases.

Onyebueke and Anierobi's case in Chapter 5 analyses the relocation of street traders from a roadside space in a neighbourhood of Enugu. The chapter examines the traders affected, the public institutions involved and their relations with two primary physical locations: the original trading site and the relocation space. Let us say that the unit of analysis is the set of actions and relationships between a group of traders and formal planning institutions surrounding a particular process of relocation. The case 'boundaries' defined by the unit of analysis therefore have multiple dimensions. They are socio-economic in that traders and planners are distinguished based on their activities and status as a group. They are political, in that state and civil society relations are taken into purview, with a conceptual division maintained between the two. They are temporal, because the particular period in which this relocation process occurred is specifically of interest. And they are spatial as the traders work in, and are relocated to, particular neighbourhoods of Enugu.

Generally, case researchers can choose between two types of research design for single-case studies. The first, an approach whereby the case study is treated as a single holistic unit, is generally advantageous 'when no logical subunits can be identified or when the relevant theory underlying the case study is itself of a holistic nature' (Yin, 2009, pp. 50). However, problems may arise if such a 'global approach' means that the case study is conducted entirely at an abstract level, without

'examining any specific phenomenon in operational detail' (Yin, 2009, p. 50). The 'embedded' approach counteracts these issues, as the overall case study is divided into manageable subunits that allow in-depth research into specific events and actions (Yin, 2009). But this approach means that some coherence must be established between the subunits: all the detailed stories of events must ultimately be articulated within an overarching case.

Data collection and analysis

The point of defining a unit of analysis is, as mentioned, to make sure that the case study is not a 'case of everything', but rather has limits and therefore a clear empirical focus. The choice of unit therefore determines what data sources are targeted by the research, how this is done and how the data are subsequently analysed. Yin argues that because case study research 'relates to phenomena that have more variables of interest than data points', a key tactic of case researchers is to utilize 'multiple sources of evidence' (2009, p. 315). A mixed-methods approach can greatly enhance the investigation of an issue, particularly when assessing planning initiatives or projects according to their predicted outcomes. Determining the overall social and economic impacts of any planning process will often rely on 'hard' quantitative facts, where available, as well as 'soft' qualitative data. Ultimately, the balance of quantitative and qualitative methods and findings depends on the unit of analysis and objectives of the study. But generally speaking, there are a number of principles that inform the process of collecting and analysing data, which have implications for the role of the researcher and how the research project is conducted. These are presented briefly below.

Having an open and descriptive relationship with data

The task of a case researcher is to collect and analyse as many facts as possible about a particular event or phenomenon, and to produce an honest and detailed account of events. For case study data collection and analysis, the investigator requires a historian's open, patient and meticulous attitude to facts. His or her role is to present, as much as possible, the 'facts as they are', to describe a process or event as it actually unfolded. The task of interpretation is mainly that of the reader. However, subjective data are also important to case study research, and the impact of the investigator's own values and judgements in shaping the case should always be managed within the final study (Simons, 2009).

Casting the net wide

Given that case study research entails in-depth analysis of processes, actors and events, research can and should draw upon multiple sources and types of data. Evidence for case studies can come from artefacts, documents, archival records, interviews, direct observations and participant observations (see Yin, 2009, pp. 101–113). For planning research, specific potential data sources include plans, policies, reports, maps, photos, meetings, official documents, surveys, media articles, recorded and unrecorded informants, and the physical environment or landscape. Low-key participant observation is often a good way to start fieldwork in urban settings, with more structured observations used only once the research issues are held in clear focus (Gillham 2000). In-depth interviews are a particularly important source of information in case research and the extensive use of direct quotations from case actors is often a hallmark of a good case study. Interviews allow the investigator to ‘enter another person’s world, to understand that person’s perspective’ (Patton, 1987, p. 109). They can reveal the ‘hidden’ agendas and perspectives of case actors, enhancing our understanding of complex real-world processes. Historical sources are also important to the case study, as relevant historical data are often key to developing an explanation of how and why things are the way they are in the present.

Inkoom’s case study in this volume (Chapter 3) demonstrates the importance of considering historical factors in a case study to explain why a contemporary urban issue exists. We see that the attempted relocation of woodworkers in Kumasi had roots stretching back at least two decades, when the process was initiated. But where does the case begin and end? Should Inkoom have examined historical relationships between colonial and postcolonial governments and artisans in Kumasi? A detailed focus on the history of Kumasi would perhaps have been useful if this revealed historical facts and precedents that directly explain the attachments to place and organizational strategies of local actors such as the Anloga woodworkers. Ultimately, Inkoom selects the ‘case unit’ as the actual process and of attempted relocation and its resistance. Historical data therefore become the context to the case. We see that the unit of analysis designates the conceptual boundary between what is ‘inside’ the case, and what is context.

Getting close to data sources

In-depth case research requires that investigators work closely with their data sources, pouring over case documents repeatedly, searching for the small details that evoke a revelatory perception of case events. When working with individuals or communities, this 'closeness' requires the development of trust, allowing the researcher to gather information as an 'insider'. Suspicion of 'outsiders' is nearly always a problem for case study researchers working in Africa, and can result in a lack of access to respondents, the withholding of information by interviewees or the recollection of biased versions of actual events. Small gestures can often go some way to establishing trust – including eating the local food, shaking hands in the local fashion, avoiding eye contact where it would be considered disrespectful, learning the local language and so on.

Uncovering relationships

Case investigators are particularly interested in the reasons for the activities and behaviour of relevant actors, including subtle observations of language, intonation and body language, besides more overt actions such as meetings, resolutions, consensus-seeking behaviour, conflict and so on. They are therefore often concerned with the question of how power is expressed in a given context. Case research seeks to record not only actions, but also inactions – if actor A fails to act on decision X, this is just as important and worthy of as much explanatory attention as any other fact.

Keeping track of data

The inductive and developmental nature of the case study method means that the research process is seldom linear, but influenced by events within and surrounding the process. It is therefore vital that the investigator keeps a close record of both research data and the research process itself. The use of a case journal (a physical file with printed resources and data arranged in chronological order) is one useful way of storing and organizing data systematically, and if relevant, categorizing collected data according to various subthemes or subcases.

Ensuring the factuality of data

Although case study writers and readers generally have to deal with 'ill-structured knowledge' (involving contexts, narratives, ambiguities, nuanced interpretations and so on), triangulation techniques and feedback procedures can be followed to promote the accuracy of the data

and interpretations presented (Patton, 1987; Stake, 2006, pp. 33–38). Triangulation is a technique whereby two or more sources of data or methods are used, as a way of ‘cross-checking’ the accuracy and reliability of findings. Alternatively, feedback processes can promote the factuality of research findings by involving case actors in the process of data analysis. For example, one way of ensuring that interview data are accurate is to gather feedback from respondents, presenting them with a transcript or recording of the interview, and asking for comments. This feedback can be a source of further information and clarifications, sometimes creating the possibility of follow-up interviews.

Seek out alternative views

Exemplary case studies search for multiple perspectives, actively seeking out viewpoints that challenge the research design and the dominant narrative amongst key case actors (Simons, 2009; Yin, 2009). This not only makes the overall explanation of the study more detailed and convincing, it also acts as a basic technique of validity control for case data. Capturing ‘a polyphony of voices’ is one of the hallmarks of definitive case study research (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 139).

In summary, data collection for case studies is more complex than with other research approaches, and the case investigators often require a ‘methodological versatility’ in order to construct a complete case study that is reliable and convincing (Yin, 2009). Feedback and validation procedures are highly important, particularly in the African context where written records of events do not always exist or are not easily available.

Presenting the case as a narrative

Another difference between the case study and other forms of research is the fact that the final case study itself can be an effective communication device, especially in conveying information on a general problem to non-specialist readers (Yin, 2009). The expected or targeted audience of the case study should therefore be considered when designing and doing a case study, especially in terms of emphases, details, style of writing and diction, and length (Yin, 2009). Although there are different ways of presenting case studies, the AAPS workshops focused on a particular approach in which the case is presented in the form of a narrative (Flyvbjerg, 2001). The narrative approach has been shown to be a particularly effective way of communicating complex information, and in facilitating learning, particularly in relation to planning practice (see Sandercock, 2003, pp. 181–204). At least part of the reason for this communicative efficacy is that storytelling appears to be a ubiquitous cultural practice – certainly in

the context of Africa with its traditions of oral history – and for human beings in general telling a story may be the ‘most fundamental form for making sense of experience’ (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 311). Writing case study research in the form of stories is therefore a highly appropriate and potentially effective way of sharing experiences and learning from one another, especially in how we plan and shape African urban processes.

The essence of the narrative approach is to tell a valid and coherent story. To *narrate* is to tell a story, to give an *account* of incidents or events. Narrative case studies are thus interested in giving an accurate and factual account of events within the ambit of a coherent and compelling overall story. Just as a good story will have a group of children fixated, so a good narrative will capture the interest of the reader. But simply being entertaining is not enough. Ultimately, the critical test of a good case narrative is whether it is impossible for the reader, having experienced the story as a whole, to ask, *so what?*

Writing a captivating and convincing story is a difficult task, and it usually requires something of a natural gift and many years of practice to develop as a skill. Nevertheless, we can consider a few key principles and tactics to help in how we approach the task. Firstly, great tellers or writers of stories are rarely didactic or one-sided. They allow for the listener or reader to bring their experiences and interpretations to the story, alongside the voices of case narrators and actors. The story is intended to ‘be different things to different people’ (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 312), rather than a take-home set of moral and theoretical prescriptions.

Secondly, thinking about a narrative means thinking about a plot, or ‘a sequence of events and how they are related’ (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 311). A case narrative typically involves two ‘plots’. Plot One is concerned with actual sequences of actions and events in the real world. Plot Two is a conceptual and theoretical account, comprising all the theoretical propositions developed within the course of the case study. The task of the skilful narrator is to weave these plot lines together, to move between the ‘real world’ and the ‘conceptual’ world. It is sometimes suggested that the best case narratives do not need to explicitly refer to Plot Two: the theoretical value of the case is implicit in the discussion and is revealed to the reader without need for explanation.

An illustrative example of the integration of event-based and conceptual plotlines is Onyebueke and Anierobi’s Chapter 5 in this volume. The events constituting the relocation exercise in the neighbourhood of Trans-Ekulu in Enugu provide the ‘real-world’

story. Woven into this narrative are the problems and propositions of relevance to planning theory, addressing questions of, for example, the origins of effective planning solutions (i.e. should they be deduced from a pre-existing theoretical framework, or developed inductively in negotiation with the lived spatial realities of urban residents?). These propositions are largely implicit, and it is left for the reader to identify, compare and generalize to other contexts.

Thirdly, the structure of a narrative typically involves a certain progression in structure: from a state of 'harmony', to a state of 'conflict', to a state of 'resolved harmony' (Flyvbjerg, 2011). As in captivating works of fiction, it is often a good technique to begin the case narrative using a 'hook' – an event that is exciting, confusing and interesting. It arrests the attention of the audience or reader at the outset. As they say, 'first impressions count'. So it is with the narrative case study. Next, the main issues of the case, as well as its primary actors and their relationships, should be presented. The story then gradually builds to a 'point of no return', where case actors are forced to confront a challenging issue (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 311). There is a degree of 'conflict' associated with this challenge, but ultimately, 'harmony' returns to the narrative through the resolution of the conflict or its final explanation (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 311).

The writer of a case narrative always faces the question of what to include and what to exclude from the 'story'. As a rule of thumb, it is better to include as much relevant detail as possible in the narrative, in line with the case study's general interest in intensive data analysis and concrete detail. A dense narrative contains the practical and contextual details that are important to enable readers to 'generalize' from the case study.

Generalizing from a case study

There is a conventional view in social science research that the investigator must perform a trade-off in research veracity, choosing between comparative breadth and individualizing depth. Traditionally, the choice of a greater number of study cases is associated with making more verifiable analytical generalizations. Single-case studies are typically seen as generalizable only in their capacity, through their depth of detail, to evoke an empathetic or comparative response from the reader's own experiences. This is what Robert Stake refers to as the case study's capacity for 'naturalistic generalization' (1978, p. 6). In this view, the reader can relate his or her experiences and tacit knowledge to a case study,

and draw their own conclusions regarding its applicability to other cases of interest to them. Naturalistic generalizations are thus less concerned with predictions, or passing the 'empirical and logical tests' of formal generalization, than they are with developing expectations and guiding action (Stake, 1978, p. 6). While we acknowledge Flyvbjerg's (2006) argument that the 'power of the good example' is underestimated as a source of theoretical development, particularly through the scientific test known as 'falsification', here we would like to emphasize that generalizing from the case study is often about making these findings the basis for action, not only in the study area but also elsewhere, nationally and internationally.

Far from being seen as a detriment to the case study approach, a growing body of writing emphasizes that the case study's association with detail and experience – with developing expectations and guiding action – offers a sounder basis for learning than do abstract rules or theories (Watson, 2002). Planners do generalize from particular situations, by constructing and referring to mental repertoires of cases (Schön and Rein, 1994). When confronted with a particular situation, they scan over this repertoire searching for patterns of similarity and difference. They are then able to build an understanding of a new situation through an engagement with previous experiences. This, therefore, is a mode of learning and action based on judgement, rather than the application of abstract rules (Schön and Rein, 1994).

Making a case study generalizable is about ensuring that it is 'relatable' and 'transferable' to enable a process of experience-based learning. This means that readers should be able to relate their personal situations and experiences to that of the case. To do this, the reader needs to have a precise understanding of the details and context of the case study, and how this context differs from others that may be more familiar. This is another reason why attention to context is key to the case study approach: with an adequate understanding of context, the reader is able to transfer insights offered by the case to their own lives as a means of enhancing their practical judgements, expectations and dispositions. A case study can also be made more conducive to generalization and learning following the completion of the research process, by engaging with other researchers and members of civil society. Presenting case study findings in workshops, seminars, journals, books and the popular media can increase the public 'reach' of the work, providing a basis from which other planners can learn.

These issues hint at the learning potential of the case study, and as such the following section explores how the case study method can

be used as an effective mode of experiential learning, in the specific context of the planning classroom.

Teaching and the case study method

Any approach to professional education employing a case-based teaching method will be informed by the professional boundaries within which the graduate is expected to operate. The 'Harvard Method' is one influential case teaching approach, particularly associated with the teaching approach of Harvard Business School (Barnes et al., 1994; Garvin, 2003).³ While the Harvard Method is recognized globally as being an effective approach to training corporate analysts and decision-makers, the fact remains that as a teaching approach it depends upon simulation – the classroom situation is used to simulate real business cases. This lack of engagement with the 'real world' possibly limits the potential of the learning experience, especially for applied disciplines such as planning, which are based on the analysis and production of the physical built environment. The question is then: what is distinctive about planning education and how can case studies be used to promote experiential learning in a manner that satisfies the contextual demands of practice?

We argue that the case study method in planning education is an effective way of training graduate planners for at least three reasons. Firstly, it can develop the graduate's capacity to understand and intervene in complex physical and social environments. Secondly, it can result in a positive shift in sensibilities and values towards issues such as urban poverty and informality. Thirdly, case study teaching approaches based on 'live' fieldwork can promote engagement and cooperation between educational institutions, the state and civil society. This, in turn, allows for the alignment of institutional objectives for the theoretical and practical education of planners.

As shown by Charlton in Chapter 8, significant shifts in subjective understandings of both the 'self' and the 'other' can result from the learner's engagement in the field. As such, the argument for the 'live case' cannot be merely theoretical. That is because the successful live case is a personal and affective experience; it has the power to shock and destabilize, in addition to laying the basis for real innovation and creativity, born of radical difference. It is a particularly useful approach in circumstances where students (those who will

do the planning) often come from middle-class backgrounds and therefore have little relation to the everyday realities of the urban denizen, the 'planned-for'. A resulting sense of empathy and values enables a more appropriate practical engagement with actually existing livelihood and shelter strategies, which is the basis for effective planning practice in Africa, where governance contexts may have an anti-urban and anti-poor orientation.

For the same reasons, we also argue that the case teaching approach is particularly effective when it seeks to immerse learners in the actual complex production of the built environment. By doing intensive fieldwork and experiencing urban spaces and practices firsthand, students can develop a more nuanced understanding of how African cities 'work', than that conferred by abstract theoretical or descriptive analysis in the classroom. The AAPS case study workshops showed that there are many different ways of incorporating cases into planning teaching, and that intensive project fieldwork should always be complemented by rigorous secondary research. If learning happens in the field, the studio, the lecture room and the library, then the case teaching approach moves both teachers and learners between all four, sometimes very fluidly, to the benefit of the learning experience. With this in mind, the following section provides some principles to assist with the preparation of three different types of teaching cases, which are, respectively, the subjects of Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Teaching case preparation

Here we would like to distinguish between two broad categories of teaching case, which we call 'solution-oriented' and 'inductive-experiential'. We will discuss each one according to their characteristics along various axes, including the objectives of the learning course, the role of the teacher and learner, and the type of preparation required. These are by no means the only types of teaching case that can be devised or used. However, distinguishing between broad typologies is one way of focusing thinking about how to approach a case teaching project.

The question of which category of teaching case to use depends upon the specific objectives of the course. If the objective is to have learners produce proposals or solutions for a planning problem (i.e. to develop their problem-solving and decision-making capacity), then a *solution-oriented* teaching case is appropriate. Within this broad type, we can further distinguish between two subtypes. One subtype is prepared

beforehand and presented in the classroom as a simulation, as with the Harvard Method. This approach requires that teachers research and write case studies prior to the teaching session. Here case preparation will largely entail gathering primary and secondary data on an event, and then compiling this into a relatively concise written or multimedia form. The case study is presented in an 'open-ended' format, without containing a 'complete or accurate rendition of actual events' (Yin, 2009, p. 357), so that learners prepare by discussing possible case outcomes and solutions in groups. In the classroom, the teacher typically fulfils a role as a facilitator and dialogical partner, asking open-ended questions, providing counter-factual examples, encouraging interactive discussion and calling upon students to provide suggestions where appropriate.⁴

In Chapter 9, Landman's discussion of the possibility of using Cosmo City (near Johannesburg) as an effective teaching case study broadly conforms with a solution-oriented case that is simulated in the classroom. She explains that the choice of an appropriate case is related to at least five factors: the type of case study, the choice of a unit of study, available and required data, the research methods appropriate to collecting the required data, and the teaching strategies that allow its transfer to the learner. When executed properly, the potential benefits of this approach are to promote creative, reflective, practical and conceptual skills, as well as the 'functional integration' of different learning components.

In Chapter 9, Landman raises some important questions of contextual relevance with respect to pedagogy. She engages with the issue of how a case study may be used to foster the particular skills that are essential to planning practice in South Africa. She further probes the case study approach in terms of its effectiveness in enabling students to 'intelligently reflect on the applicability of international ideas in the South African context'. Methods of teaching, like methods used to gather and interpret data, need to be suited to the contexts in which they are employed. In the African context, with its great diversity of urban spaces, this could mean many things. But methods that emphasize the communication and understanding of complexity, and the critical capacity to relate situational context to decision-making are likely to be particularly relevant and useful.

Another subtype of the solution-oriented teaching case takes the form of a studio built around a real-world planning problem. In this approach, the teacher selects an existing site and actual development

problem that appear to offer the potential for delivering certain learning objectives or competencies on the part of the students. Learners act as 'pre-professionals', working with a real client in the field and in the studio, and the teacher takes on the role of a studio facilitator, an intermediary (that is, between communities, institutions and students) and, to some extent, a project manager. Case preparation by the teacher typically involves meeting extensively with relevant case actors in the months before the studio, including local officials, NGO and community representatives, thereby building common understanding between actors and a shared set of expectations for the studio. Furthermore, the facilitator has an essential role to play in managing the expectations of project outcomes held by the various studio partners. While the studio process will not solve all the problems of local communities, it can allow for mutual learning and empowerment within an overall process of co-production.

Mukiibi's Chapter 7 in this volume provides an example of a studio-type case study, where students work closely with a real client in the field to produce solutions to a particular pre-existing problem. He highlights the careful interactions and negotiations that were required between the staff of Makerere University, Kampala City Council officials and local community members. Studio objectives had to be matched to the necessary learning outcomes of the course; the needs and concerns of the community and the planning strategies of (in this case) the local government.

Alternatively, if the objectives of the teaching course are, broadly speaking, experiential and methodological rather than solution-oriented, seeking to produce new knowledge on particular planning issues, to foster research skills and to promote critical self-knowledge on the part of learners, an alternative approach may be necessary. In an *inductive-experiential* teaching case, learners engage with a real development issue and context, as with a studio project, but are not expected to act as problem-solving professionals. Here the learner comes to play the role of a researcher, both during fieldwork and in the library, gathering information on the issue at hand, while, if necessary, receiving appropriate research methods training in parallel to fieldwork. The teacher is tasked with extensive preparation in the form of securing and meeting field contacts, identifying secondary resources, securing institutional ethical clearance and so on. The case does not necessarily end with learners providing normative recommendations

based on their findings, but with their reflection on the learning and research process itself: how they have come to understand a phenomenon more accurately, or to feel differently about it in some way. This type of teaching case is therefore well suited to situations in which learning outcomes require competence with research methods and in-depth critical knowledge regarding a problem or set of issues.

Charlton's discussion of a learning course dedicated to the issue of informal recycling in Johannesburg (Chapter 8) is an example of a case teaching approach that is operated inductively (that is, the case is not studied and prepared beforehand by the teacher) with the objectives of generating new knowledge on a particular phenomenon, as well as fostering research skills and attitudinal changes, which are held above the objective of producing development 'solutions'. Charlton's role was that of facilitator, enabling exchanges between students and the city government, securing ethical clearance from the University of the Witwatersrand, leading students in their research and enabling the collation of findings as well as input thereof into the course syllabus. She concludes that substantial time is necessary to process the findings of such a collective case research effort. These kinds of issues need to be incorporated into the case study design.

This discussion has indicated that case study teaching requires that the teacher's role broaden to include that of researcher, facilitator, project manager and intermediary. As the direct engagement with the case lessens to more of a simulation or desktop research exercise, the role becomes more traditional or conventional (that is, front-end teaching). The learner's role may also broaden to include the tasks of a researcher. Actors from outside the academy, such as community leaders and informal recyclers, for example, may also enter the educational process. As the learning experience moves further away from the field towards the library, the extent to which the faculty member has control over the circumstances of the case increases, just as the opportunity for experiential learning decreases.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the main methodological elements of case study research and teaching, with a particular focus on the context of planning

and the African continent. It has emphasized that the propensity for intensive analysis characteristic of the case research process makes it a key means of generating and communicating knowledge on complex processes. Considering the complexity of urban and peri-urban environments in places including Kigali, Thika, Ibadan and Durban, the case research method appears to be a particularly promising mode of generating knowledge for planning practitioners. But certain types of research issues present themselves in the African context, for example language and trust issues, and these have also been highlighted where appropriate.

Alternatively, case-based teaching strategies have the specific capacity to foster skills in complex problem analysis and problem-solving amongst future planning practitioners. Approaches based on 'live' case fieldwork were highlighted as particularly promising in terms of their capacity to shift subjectivities on the part of learners, and to promote engagement and cooperation between institutions of higher education, state and civil society. Ultimately, such teaching approaches require the teacher to take on new roles, and to conduct extensive research and logistical preparations prior to the course beginning.

The more profound implication of using the case study method in research and teaching is its capacity to generate knowledge that may challenge conventional conceptions of how African cities function. 'Unsettling' preconceived notions through learning is perhaps one of the most exciting potential functions of the case study method. How this may contribute to new theoretical perspectives on African cities and planning is a further exciting prospect. These are themes that are picked up in the volume's Conclusion.

Notes

1. Bent Flyvbjerg facilitated the first workshop and developed the materials that were used in subsequent workshops by other facilitators.
2. Ragin (1987) identifies a common tension between two meanings of 'unit of analysis' in case-based research: in one sense it refers to a data category or observational unit (such as the household, city or nation), in another to a theoretical category or explanatory unit (such as 'class' or 'world system'). Likewise there is a tendency to confuse the 'case' with the 'unit of analysis' (Grünbaum, 2007). Ultimately, the unit of analysis is always closely identified with sources of information. Here we use the term to refer to the unit used in data collection and data analysis, rather than a theoretical category. Following Grünbaum (2007), we prefer to understand a 'case' as a multilayered, more abstract understanding of the study as a whole, relating to its external explanatory potential, which emerges through the collection and analysis of data.

3. Harvard Law School first started using case histories in 1870, the Business School in 1908 and the Medical School in 1985 (Garvin, 2003, p. 56). The Kennedy School of Governance uses process cases to track public decision-making in its instruction. See <http://www.case.hks.harvard.edu>, date accessed 16 March 2013.
4. Online examples of those prepared by South African-based Urban Landmark present the instructor with notes and lead questions for learners. See <http://www.urbanlandmark.org.za/research/x18.php>, date accessed 20 February 2013.

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2

Strategies of Case Research on African Urbanization and Planning

James Duminy

Introduction

In this chapter we provide an introduction to the contemporary landscape of published case study research on African urban planning issues, based on a desktop literature review of relevant peer-reviewed journals. In particular, we are interested in the methodological strategies of existing case study research, more than its range of substantive themes and topics. Therefore we address the following questions in relation to the published case study literature: What do authors seek to do through their analysis of a case? Do they seek to contribute to policy and practice, theoretical advancement, or both, and if so, how are inductive, deductive and retroductive strategies employed? Identification of key thematic trends is a lesser priority, although several points are made based on insights emanating from the literature review process.

The methodology employed in the writing of this chapter involved intensive and extensive online literature searching and review methods. Targeted searches for relevant articles published after 1999 in English peer-reviewed journals (selected according to their international prominence, and potential relevance to the discipline of planning as well as the sub-Saharan African context) were conducted.¹ Online academic search tools, including Google Scholar, were then used to locate further relevant articles, by conducting searches using combinations of key search terms such as 'urban', 'urbanization', 'planning', 'Africa' and 'case study'. As with a similar study conducted by Lauria and Wagner (2006), it proved difficult to identify relevant articles according to pre-existing criteria (such as key substantive themes or search terms), and therefore data gathering was an iterative process that developed as cases were identified and read.

The research process revealed that although there is a significant variety of case-based work relating to African planning issues, this work is not always explicitly framed within the principles of case study research as a distinct methodological approach. Many studies revealed some degree of confusion associated with the type of case employed, as well as the strategy of case design. Therefore this chapter has considered 'case study research' in the wider sense of the term, that is, to include work that is not necessarily self-identified as a case study, but which makes use of empirical data and theoretical ideas in a manner akin to a case study, as defined in the previous chapter. The process of selecting articles to review was biased towards empirical research that seeks to contribute to knowledge of planning practice, and to theoretical questions surrounding planning as a practical discipline.

As mentioned above, the chapter is primarily interested in the 'research strategies' employed by the case study authors, although some observations on 'case types' will also be noted. The 'case type' can be understood as pertaining to the relationship between the particular case and other actually existing phenomena, and includes the various types described in the previous chapter (representative, critical, deviant, etc.). The 'case research strategy' pertains to the relationship between the empirical case and the intended mode of theoretical development. Following Lauria and Wagner (2006), strategies of case study research can take three major forms: inductive, deductive and retroductive. This chapter discusses how these strategies have been applied to the study of African urban planning, according to their various characteristics and objectives for theoretical development, giving examples from the literature to illustrate these variations. Much has been made of the lack of theoretical ambition and sophistication of African urban and planning research, which tends to be seen as overwhelmingly developmental, functionalist and instrumentalist in nature (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004). Therefore this chapter provides a basis with which to consider the diverse ways in which planning research that is practically relevant seeks to use and contribute to more general theoretical ideas.

This chapter is arranged in several parts. The following sections go on to discuss characteristics and examples of, in turn, inductive, retroductive and deductive single-case study research strategies. This is followed by a brief consideration of the dynamics of multiple-case study research on African urban planning issues. The chapter argues that recent case study research has addressed a broad range of substantive topics and conceptual themes relating to African urbanization and planning, primarily using an inductive research strategy. Many of these studies

are principally concerned with addressing the impacts, limitations and potentials of certain policy discourses or practices, as they manifest in a real context. Theoretical development, in the strict sense of the term, is most often a secondary or implied concern. But there are important recent examples of studies showing attention to both practical matters, and the building of theory that is grounded in context.

Strategies of case study research on African planning

Any attempt to discuss different case research strategies within an interdisciplinary field such as urban studies and planning faces at least three difficulties. Firstly, research on African planning addresses a wide variety of topics and employs a diverse range of theoretical perspectives. African urban research traditionally has been influenced by the discipline of geography, but planning research has also proven a consistently strong vein of published work, despite an overall decrease in output during the 1980s (Stren, 1992; 1994; 1996). However, renewed interest from overseas donors and governments in matters of decentralization and state-civil society relations during the 1990s encouraged a revival of African urban research. As experiments with 'governance' in various forms, including decentralization, participatory and strategic spatial planning, have unfolded in many different parts of the continent, seeking to respond to issues of poverty and urban growth (Stren, 1992), many of these experiences have been recorded by practitioners, academics, NGOs, and consultant researchers in the form of case studies. While it is impossible to capture the full depth and range of this work, this chapter aims to give an indication of the variety and substantive interest of case study research published on planning issues over the past decade.

A second difficulty concerns the fact that strategies of case study research are not necessarily exclusive, meaning that studies can combine elements of inductive, deductive and retroductive strategies. Therefore, the categorizations and discussions of the literature presented here do not reflect the final methodological status of the research, but are designed to be illustrative of different methodological approaches to case study research.

Thirdly, the focus of this chapter is on case studies concerned with contributing to theory of relevance for the practice of urban planning. Therefore another difficulty is that not all case study research seeks to locate itself or contribute to 'theory' in an explicit way. A fair proportion of published case study work on African cities and planning

take the form of 'intrinsic' (Stake, 1995) or 'configurative-ideographic' (Prasad, 2010, p. 209) case studies. Usually these studies do not seek to explicitly clarify their status as a case – leaving what 'the case is of', or how it relates to context, and therefore what its status as a contribution to knowledge is, implicit in the discussion. They tend to be descriptive and largely unconcerned with theoretical considerations, neither guided by theory nor seeking to advance theory (Prasad, 2010, p. 209). Rather, they might try to capture a holistic perspective on an event or phenomenon, providing substantive information on an aspect of a particular event, city, settlement and so on. If it does contribute to knowledge, this is only possible through the process termed 'naturalistic generalization' by Stake (1995), or the comparative relationship cast between the reader's experience and the substance of the case. This is not to denigrate the value of the intrinsic case study – they are incredibly valuable on their own terms. Most of the chapters in this volume are valuable more for their potential for naturalistic generalization than for theoretical development, and therefore we join Stake in arguing for the validity of such case studies, in addition to encouraging theory-building case studies as advocated by other authors (see Flyvbjerg, 2001).

The remainder of this chapter discusses African planning literature according to these categories of research strategy, firstly for single-case research, before proceeding to a brief discussion of multiple-case research.

Inductive case studies

The inductive case study research strategy seeks to construct a case that can be used to answer 'how' and 'why' questions in unexplored research areas (Yin, 2009). Strictly speaking, *induction* as a mode of logical reasoning moves from the observation of specific empirical examples, to the making of general statements and hypotheses. In reality most inductive case study researchers will develop a set of sensitizing concepts as an initial theoretical framework, to provide a conceptual frame for the analysis and resulting conclusions. But ultimately, the basic logic of the approach is that theoretical constructs and general statements emerge through the research process. As such, the inductive case study research process is often non-linear, with theoretical construction, data gathering and analysis carried out simultaneously.²

Often inductive case studies will be designed to be 'representative' or 'illustrative' of general trends, opportunities or challenges pertaining to a particular policy approach and context, from the urban to national scales (although in many instances the status of the case study design

will be left implicit, defined vaguely or sometimes ambiguously³). In this approach the purpose of the case study will typically be to provide detailed data and information on local social and political aspects of a more general phenomenon or policy strategy, pointing to the policy implications of the work alongside some statements with theoretical implications. These sorts of case studies can be quantitative, based on sampling approaches (for example, Ibem and Amole, 2011), but more commonly combine qualitative and quantitative methods.

Examples from the literature can illustrate the characteristic approach of the representative case study. For example, the representative approach is evident in Huchzermeyer's (2007) analysis of two specific residential areas of Nairobi in order to understand the overall emergence, nature and role of private landlordism in the city. Similarly, for Abdulai and Ndekugri the choice of case studies of customary landholding institutions in Kumasi and Wa was 'deemed to be a fair representation of the traditional land tenure systems in Ghana' (2007, p. 258). Alternatively, Ogu's case study of urban residential satisfaction in Benin City (Nigeria) is seen as typical of 'developing cities that are often characterized by dwindling public finances, urban poverty, spatial variations in housing and services, and poor socio-economic conditions, as well as top-down approaches to urban management' (2002, p. 37). As with Kyessi's analysis of water management in peri-urban Dar es Salaam, the primary purpose of representative cases is generally 'to inform policymakers, researchers and practitioners' on various issues, potentials and constraints existing in urban management (2005, p. 1). In line with this interest in informing practice and policymaking, the inductive strategy often employs a case or several subcases to explain why a certain policy or project did or did not succeed, by focusing on the complexities of implementation in context.⁴

As mentioned above, the themes and objects of research analysis on African cities and planning vary greatly and defy any cursory attempt at classification either by strategy or by theme. However, some key themes do recur, usually lying within the ambit of 'urban governance' research, broadly defined. This work seeks to examine specific planning issues or themes in relation to a key problematique of urban governance research: that is, who shapes the contemporary African city, to what interests or ends, and how are these issues and relations being recast in and through contemporary processes related to globalization and decentralization? At least some of this work is interested in the continuing effects of structural adjustment programmes on urban dynamics in Africa, as with Briggs and Mwamfupe's (2000) use of the case of Dar es

Salaam to assess the spatial impacts of structural adjustment policy on land management, land-use changes and peri-urban development in African cities. Others have specifically focused on changes associated with the decentralization of urban governance, and how these have manifested within or affected various local urban processes, in different contexts.⁵

A reasonably strong vein of work falling within the ambit of African urban governance research involves various forms and modes of 'informality', and the evolving interface between formal and informal governance systems. In this work, case studies are often employed to illustrate the modes by which informal workers or residents are excluded, how government agencies attempt to regulate informalities, as well as the self-organization practices of those working or living informally. With reference to the informal trading sector, for example, Lindell and Appelblad study the political implications of the privatization of Kampala city markets for local vendors' associations, and conclude that 'changes in the governance of market places in Kampala have been accompanied by a de-mobilization of vendors and a weakening of the representation of their interests' (2009, p. 403). In a slightly different vein, Lund and Skinner examine efforts to integrate the informal economy in urban planning and governance by the municipal government of Durban (South Africa), identifying factors that affected the process as well as 'policy recommendations which could lead to the continuing inclusion of the interests of associations of informal workers in municipal decision making' (2004, p. 433). Skinner (2008) has subsequently used the case of Durban to draw attention to the role of the national and local state, and local political struggles, in processes of excluding and including informal traders.

Environmental planning and governance is another important theme of case research, with links to diverse topics including waste management, public health and food security.⁶ Case study research on solid waste management has often focused on the connections and possible synergies between formal and informal governance systems, as with Nzeadibe's (2009) study of the characteristics and dynamics of solid waste management in Enugu, Nigeria. The privatization of environmental service delivery is another key concern, as evident in Kaseva and Mbuligwe's (2005) use of a case-based approach to assess the performance of privatized municipal waste management in the city of Dar es Salaam.

Case research dealing with general spatial planning and governance issues is also evident in the recent literature. Some of this has been interested in ongoing patterns of urban socio-spatial fragmentation,

and how this could be alleviated through better approaches to spatial planning. In the South African context, for example, Landman (2004) has studied the land-use and planning challenges offered by the proliferation of urban gated communities, as a basis for developing a more refined type-specific approach to planning for such developments. On a related note, Todes et al. (2010) have examined the case of Ekurhuleni (near Johannesburg) to reveal limitations to the implementation of post-apartheid policy approaches to urban spatial planning based on principles of participation and socio-spatial integration. Through the case analysis, the authors hypothesize that South African attempts to implement strategic spatial development frameworks at the municipal scale have been undermined by a lingering attachment to comprehensive 'master planning' approaches, as well as the existence of an outmoded land-use management system.

An emerging theme of urban planning and governance research looks at community-based approaches to infrastructure development and service provision. Some of this work examines how poor urban residents cope without access to formal services, as with Kyessi's (2005) study of water management in Dar es Salaam. Others are more concerned with the characteristics and modalities of community-led infrastructure projects in particular towns or cities (e.g. Ibem, 2009). Meshack (2004) provides an example of an inductive case study seeking to assess the potentials and limitations of stakeholder participation in community-based infrastructure development in a particular settlement: the well-known case of Hanna Nassif in Dar es Salaam. While in principle community-based approaches offer potential for local capacity-building and improved management of local infrastructure projects, the author argues that, in practice, voices from external agencies such as governments and donors can undermine the contributions of local community groups.

Perhaps the strongest thematic area for recent case study research on urban governance topics is the broad area of land access, security and management. Within this work it is clear that peri-urban areas, or ongoing processes of peri-urbanization (including transformations underway in secondary cities), continue to be an important spatial focus of research. Several subthemes of case study research on land can be discerned, each with their particular emphases. Research dealing with land law and tenure systems (i.e. examining the functioning of these systems as a whole) is one stream. Egbu et al. (2008), for example, offer a neo-institutional economic critique of the system of allocating urban and land rights in Nigeria, based on empirical survey studies conducted

in Lagos, Aba and Abuja. Similarly, albeit from a more legal perspective, Leduka and Setšabi examine the exclusionary and empowering aspects of the land law in Maseru, advancing 'a critical analysis of the link between urban law, judicial decisions and urban development' (2008, p. 23). Land reform issues also appear as important research topics, especially in Southern Africa. For example, Malope and Batisani (2008) are interested in Botswana as a case of exclusionary land reform, while Wisborg and Rohde (2005) examine contested land reform processes in South Africa. This research generally confirms the key role that land ownership and administration play within processes of African urban development, as well as in the governance of social change and conflict.

Specific issues relating to land tenure (including different forms of tenure, exclusionary aspects of land tenure, issues of tenure security and efforts towards the regularization of land tenure) are also popular topics of case studies. Chome and McCall (2005), for example, seek to contribute to debates on neo-customary land management by exploring whether title registration and perceived tenure security affect land transaction behaviour and housing investment in Blantyre (Malawi). Alternatively, Hendriks (2008) and Payne et al. (2009) assess the social and economic impacts of access to land and tenure security in their respective studies of Nairobi and Senegal/South Africa. Other tenure-related topics addressed by case studies include whether or not indigenous land tenure systems can support market-based decision-making (Larbi et al., 2003); the generation of conflict due to local tenure systems being ignored or overridden by formal systems and land markets (Owusu, 2008; Magigi and Drescher, 2009); and whether community involvement in land regularization (Magigi and Majani, 2006), including 'community land trust' models (Bassett, 2005), are effective strategies for enhancing tenure security in informal settings.

Another key subtheme concerns the nature of and conflicts between actors and institutions involved in land access and delivery processes. In particular, a multi-case research project funded by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID), which employed institutionalist and legal pluralist conceptual frameworks to examine informal land delivery processes in Africa, has produced a significant output of research. This work was interested in the dynamics of conflict and mutual accommodation over land delivery processes (Musyoka, 2006; Nkurunziza, 2006), the nature of the institutions involved in such processes (Nkurunziza, 2007), the role of government and customary groups in delivering land for urban development (Ikejiofor, 2006), state-society relations in land delivery processes (Leduka, 2006), as well

as the strengths and weaknesses of state-led land delivery processes (Kalabamu, 2006). Subsequently, Nkurunziza has analysed 'the various non-state institutions deployed by different actors to structure and regulate transactions in land', giving weight to the 'emerging consensus in recent research' that informal land delivery processes are structured and regulated by various forms and rules of social ordering (2008, p. 119).

The preceding discussion has described the wide range of topics addressed by recent case studies employing an inductive design; in other words, those using a research strategy that allows general hypotheses to emerge from empirical inquiry and observations of a case. The majority of this work has addressed broad questions of urban governance, particularly in relation to issues of institutional decentralization, social organization and public participation, and often has specifically sought to provide workable recommendations to policymakers (at various scales) through the analysis of representative-type case studies. Much has been interested in the emerging nature of relations between formal and informal actors in African towns and cities, and how various social rules, institutions and conflicts govern these changing relations.

While the inductive approach would appear to be the most popular case research strategy used by African scholars of planning, there are certainly other examples of studies based on alternative research strategies, which seek to evaluate or modify theoretical premises. As such, the following section proceeds to discuss retroductive research strategies in relation to the planning literature.

Retroductive case studies

A retroductive case study design seeks to evaluate and modify or adapt a hypothesis or set of hypotheses. Retroductive studies may be designed with different intentions, including to reflect upon and question the potential of a certain theory, or to develop concepts and measures for evaluating and modifying the effectiveness of that theory, using insights from a real-world context or event (Lauria and Wagner, 2006). Retroductive research strategies typically progress from a theoretical framework (which can take the form of a hypothesized framework or model, or a set of related hypotheses), to an empirical case, and then 'reach back' to address the original theoretical idea, framework or approach. Although there may be different ways of formulating a 'retroductive study', here we will specifically refer to those case studies that are *retro*-active, in the sense that they are designed with the intention of 'speaking back' to theory, in the forms of conceptual or methodological modification.⁷

By way of an example, we find a retroductive case study approach in Njoh's (2011) analysis of rural development institutions in Cameroon, in terms of their capacity to support participatory planning. Njoh starts with a hypothesis regarding the efficacy of 'citizen participation' approaches as a 'viable cost-saving strategy for public infrastructure provisioning', not only in Cameroon but in Africa as a whole (2011, p. 101). His intention is to gather knowledge and establish empirical and conceptual markers (types of actors and entities involved, their roles and how they function in practice) to improve our knowledge on the issue of citizen participation, to guide its study in the future, and to evaluate and improve its effectiveness. Through the case study, he concludes that the 'willingness of citizens to contribute in-kind or financially to any given self-help infrastructure project is contingent upon the extent to which they perceive the project as veritably theirs' (Njoh, 2011, p. 101). The case analysis thereby allows the modification or qualification of citizen participation-based planning policies and interventions.

Two basic retroductive case study strategies can be distinguished: those that seek a degree of conceptual or analytical modification (that is, improving how we understand an issue or approach its analysis), and those interested in contributing to knowledge and methodologies of practice (improving aspects of a real development or planning approach, in terms of project design and implementation, and so on). For the purposes of discussion, in this section a distinction has been made between 'policy-oriented' and 'theory-oriented' retroductive case studies.

Policy-oriented retroductive case studies

The most common form of retroductive case study strategy examines a particular policy or practical approach in relation to its actual or potential implementation in an urban, national or international context. Typically, after establishing a contextual understanding, the study proceeds to examine an empirical case in order to see what issues are raised by the case, or to assess the impacts or limitations of the policy approach, with a view to advancing its general utility and adaptability. The starting point of the case study is neither the area of study nor empirical data; rather, it is a policy context, approach or idea. The case analysis is thus a way of 'working out' the challenges to policy implementation, asking questions of the policy approach, and assessing its potential in relation to different conceptual frameworks. These sorts of studies are seldom self-identified or designed specifically

as a 'case study', but they do exist as a particularly form of 'case study research' more broadly.⁸

What we have termed 'policy-oriented' retroductive case studies can seek to accomplish various things, according to different strategies that may be used in isolation or combination. These strategies include: to illustrate specific impacts or trends pertaining to a policy or practical approach, to refine or advance the approach, to assess its viability under different circumstances or conditions, to identify its practical opportunities and challenges, to critique the approach and its contextual assumptions, to see how it varies or agrees with accepted norms of practice and to develop a better way of understanding or examining the approach. Illustrative examples of several of these case research strategies are given below.

Inasmuch as studies seek to illustrate specific impacts or trends pertaining to a policy approach, they are often prospective, in the sense of being forward-looking, rather than purely historical and descriptive. They are generally more interested in providing an alternative basis for future responses than in explaining how previous events shape contemporary realities. By way of example, the case study by Jenkins et al. starts by describing the impacts of globalization on the Angolan city of Luanda, as an extreme case of peripheralization, noting the ways in which 'the city has always been shaped by external forces' (2002, p. 115). Yet their intention is clearly to contribute to critical thinking around alternative responses to these effects. They conclude, 'what is developing on the ground in the face of global peripheralization can be the basis for more proactive agency rather than reactive acceptance of the dominant structural situation' (Jenkins et al., p. 116). A similar approach is evident in Jenkins' (2000) analysis and critique of the application and 'relevance' of urban land management approaches in Maputo. The study highlights the limitations of the management approach in the context of the Mozambican capital, and is thus a basis to critique the generalizations and a-contextual assumptions embedded within the externally driven Urban Management Programme.⁹

Critical case studies, emphasizing the dynamics and effects of power within planning processes, often seek to critique mainstream policy approaches by revealing their missing dimensions and their inadequacy in the face of planning's structural relations and *realpolitik*. Lipietz, for example, examines some contextual limitations to participatory governance practices in Johannesburg in light of claims regarding their transformative potential, and as a way to interrogate the 'specific function of participation in urban governance' more generally (2008, p. 137).

Here the case study is at once a critique of participatory governance and an attempt to contribute to our theoretical understanding of it. In a similar way, Kamete (2006) analyses the limitations of and constraints to participatory planning approaches in Harare, Zimbabwe, seeking to contribute to how we understand the operation of planning and participatory discourse within the wider field of political relations. Another type of critical case approach is evident in the work of Myers (2010), who, writing from an urban political ecology perspective, argues that the 'internal heterogeneity' of peri-urban informal settlements in Zanzibar makes the development of alternative institutionalized planning approaches, driven by informal place-making practices, difficult if not impossible. By contrast, Miraftab, with a more gendered approach, examines the implementation of privatized waste collection policy in Cape Town as a case of the casualization of labour under neoliberal-type reform, concluding that a conjuncture between privatization and patriarchal assumptions serves the interests of capital through race- and gender-based domination: a move that 'blurs the conceptual distinction between the public and private sectors' (2004, p. 890).

Retroductive case studies aiming to refine or advance a policy approach can also take various forms. A classic retroductive case study design is evidenced by Mukheibir and Ziervogel's (2009) analysis of climate change adaptation planning in Cape Town. This study is designed to present a hypothesized model or framework, with the intention of testing its practical applicability, locally and more generally, through the empirical analysis of Cape Town. The authors begin by presenting a general 'overarching framework' to assist with the production of Municipal Adaptation Plans. They then examine the case to illustrate general threats, resource mobilization issues, as well as barriers to development and implementation of this framework, in order to advance its utility. This is a clear example of the theory-case-theory movement that is characteristic of the retroductive case study. However, most often the starting point for a retroductive study will be a particular idea or assumption, rather than an explanatory model or systemic framework. Visser's study of the impacts of post-apartheid government interventions in South Africa, for example, takes a basic assumption carried by conventional social justice theories as a starting point, before using the developmental experiences and current social justice characteristics of South Africa to draw out lessons for 'thinking about social justice as a concept' (2004, p. 261).

Other retroductive case studies seek to assess the viability of a certain policy approach under different circumstances or conditions, as with

Reuther and Dewar's (2006) investigation of the economic viability of urban agriculture in Khayelitsha, Cape Town. Alternatively, the objective may be to identify the opportunities and challenges pertaining to a policy approach, both generally and in relation to a particular context. This strategy is clear in Van der Merwe and Patel's (2005) institutional analysis of the development of Constitution Hill in Johannesburg. Here the authors aim 'to determine the potential links between urban regeneration, heritage, and environmental justice and sustainable development' through their examination of the development process (Van der Merwe and Patel, 2005, p. 245). This approach is also reflected in Otiso's (2003) use of a slum-upgrading project in Nairobi as a case study to discuss the strengths, potentials and weaknesses of tri-sector partnerships, as well as Halla's (2007) SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis of the application of urban management approaches in the context of Dar es Salaam. In a similar vein, Gondwe et al. (2011) offer a critical analysis of conventional urban planning theory and practice in terms of promoting urban sustainability in Malawi.

Swilling's (2009) analysis of sustainability and infrastructure planning in Cape Town stands as another type of retroductive case study. It seeks to advance thinking around urban sustainability planning, through an engagement with an empirical case, specifically by developing a list of criteria or preconditions for successful intervention. The case study begins with an assessment of the policy and political-economic context for infrastructure development in South Africa, and what this implies for Cape Town. The city is then used to demonstrate that while infrastructure investment should be central to national development policy and local planning, 'failure to acknowledge and incorporate sustainability is a critical failure' (Swilling, 2009, p. 32). The outcome of the case analysis is a 'checklist' to inform and evaluate the design of 'interventions at the household, neighbourhood and citywide levels' (Swilling, 2009, p. 47), which would ensure that sustainability issues are adequately addressed. This approach, of using an empirical case to refine and advance our thinking around how to design sustainable urban planning interventions more generally, is also followed in Swilling and Annecke's (2009) study of the Lynedoch EcoVillage development (near Stellenbosch).

Theory-oriented retroductive case studies

A less common form of retroductive case study aims to critique the relevance and applicability of an existing area of analytical or substantive

theory. This would include studies seeking to enhance the conceptual lenses through which we study certain practices and processes in African towns and cities. Myers, for example, studies Chwaka village in Zanzibar from an urban political ecology perspective, with the primary aim of highlighting 'the importance of understanding social and political issues at the local scale' affecting implementation of the 'new conservation ethic' in environmental planning (2002, p. 149). Another example is Sinwell's (2008) use of the Alexandra Renewal Project in Johannesburg to apply Giddensian theory and Freirean philosophy, with the ultimate objective of contributing to our understanding of the place and function of participatory practice within wider structures and relations of social and political power.

A prominent theme of theory-oriented case research includes critical studies that test the relevance or applicability of mainstream international theories or conceptual approaches to a particular local, national or regional context. Visser and Kotze, for example, use central Cape Town as a way of assessing 'the relevance and potential of current international trends in the study of gentrification in the contemporary South African urban context' (2008, p. 2565), alongside more straightforward empirical and practical or policy-relevant questions. Other studies are more explicitly interested in the critique of existing theory: Watson (2002) uses the realities of sub-Saharan Africa to argue for alternative theoretical approaches to understanding and executing planning interventions, without venturing any suggestions as to what these alternatives could be.

Occasionally, the intention of the retroductive case study is less to critique mainstream theory than to examine a case as a potential vehicle for theoretical elaboration, in other words, the case analysis becomes a way of exploring and advancing an alternative way of thinking about a particular issue. Harrison's use of Johannesburg as a 'prism through which to look at cities and at planning', to help develop an 'other way' of thinking, is one example of this approach (2006, p. 319). In another, Charlton (2007) focuses on the experiences of individual South African planners as a way of exploring the various 'knowledge resources' that planners draw upon in different Southern contexts. Alternatively, Roy (2007) uses the theoretical developments associated with post-apartheid South African planning and urban studies to open up questions about what planning, in general, is and could be. By way of a final example, Robinson uses city visioning processes in Durban and Johannesburg to tease out their implications for urban theoretical research agendas more generally (for example, 'how improvements can be spread across the

different areas and constituencies of a city without sacrificing economic growth') (2008, p. 74). In these studies, the realities of empirical cases are the basis for challenging and modifying existing theoretical ideas.

Deductive case studies

In the formal definition of the deductive research strategy, the starting point of the research process is a theoretical framework, taking the form of a conceptual model, in which assumed relationships between variables or concepts are presented. Data gathering and analysis are highly influenced and structured by this model. The study then seeks to discover how the assumed relationships manifest in reality (Doorewaard, 2010). Deductive research may seek to substantiate, question or falsify hypotheses pertaining to the variables identified, but aim neither to question or to modify the starting theoretical assumptions, nor to evaluate the relevance or potential of a particular theory in any concerted way.

In principle, *deductive case study* design entails a 'a theoretically directed research strategy to evaluate extant theory' (Lauria and Wagner, 2006, p. 365). Deductive case research typically starts with either an established theoretical premise (which can be in the form of a 'model') or a hypothesis (which can also take the form of a hypothesis embedded within a policy discourse), and then looks to empirical examples or cases in order to, amongst other things, verify the existence or presence of the theory, see how the variables contained within a theory manifest (or not) in the case, test the predictive or explanatory power of the theory, substantiate or disprove a hypothesis, or assess whether the theory is or is not accurate in explaining the observed outcomes. The deductive case analysis does not, however, move on to address or contribute to theoretical questions in any significant way. The end point may be a set of predictions, a proven or falsified hypothesis, but not the culmination of a conscious attempt to reflect back upon the starting theoretical premises of the study.

The literature review process revealed that single-case studies designed explicitly as *deductive* analyses are rare, at least in relation to the other research strategy types discussed in this chapter, but several notable examples do exist. One is Abdulai and Ndekugri's (2007) analysis of the characteristics and functions of customary landholding institutions in housing development in Ghana. Through the analysis, the authors seek to disprove the hypothesis that these institutions are the cause of housing shortages in the country, simply because they do not accommodate individual freehold as a form of land tenure. Similarly, Njoh (2003)

uses a deductive research design in testing the hypothesis that there is necessarily a positive link between urbanization and development in sub-Saharan Africa, confirming the existence of a relationship, without necessarily qualifying or elaborating on the hypothesis.

Most of the reviewed case studies according to a deductive research design are principally concerned with contributing to policy-relevant or 'applied' knowledge. So, van Rooyen and Antonites (2007) survey the policy context for development and governance in South Africa, before employing the case of informal trade in Johannesburg as a way of understanding the wider dynamics of the informal sector, and thus to identify potential policy opportunities to formalize and enhance the sector. The analysis thus moves from a set of general statements of what could and should be done, to an empirical case that evaluates how these ideas should be set into practice.

These sorts of policy-oriented deductive case studies are often prospective in nature, and can be based on computerized modelling techniques to predict urban futures (Barredo et al., 2004). El-Khishin (2003), for example, addresses the question of what needs to be done to ensure the financial health of Cairo in becoming a 'global city'. The aim is to 'highlight potentials and caveats' facing Cairo's bid for 'global city status' (El-Khishin, 2003, p. 129). The study therefore moves from a hypothesis (that aspiring for or reaching global city status is necessary to promote the economic development and sustainability of Cairo), to observations regarding the past and current state of Cairo, straight to normative recommendations required in satisfaction of the original hypothesis. There is no attempt to contribute to our thinking around the desirability or potential of 'global city' approaches to theory or urban policy development. There are, furthermore, examples of deductive cases that examine changes in a retrospective, diachronic manner: Narsiah (2008), for example, examines how the discourses and modes of governance associated with privatization and neoliberalism more generally have evolved within the particular context of South Africa's water service sector.

The limited number of single-case deductive research designs used to examine African urban planning issues stands in contrast to the relatively large number of deductive multiple-case studies, which tend to lend themselves towards this mode of reasoning, as explained in the following section. But it should also be remembered that, in most cases, elements of deductive research are carried out alongside or within inductive-type research projects, and therefore do not always constitute a distinct research approach in their own right.

Multiple-case studies

Multiple-case or 'multi-case' research follows a slightly different logic to the single-case study (Stake, 2006). The starting point for the multi-case study is the object, phenomenon or condition that is the general 'target' of the research – the thing that we wish to understand better – rather than the nature of a particular case itself (Stake, 2006, p. 6). In order to understand this target better, we study some of its manifestations in the real world, as well as similarities and differences between these manifestations (Stake, 2006). This move from the general problem of interest to the specific case is the reverse of the single-case study approach, which was discussed in some detail in the previous chapter.

Multi-case studies may themselves take different forms according to their specific objectives. Following Rakodi (2001), we can identify a range of possible purposes for multiple-case analysis which, as she reminds us, are not mutually exclusive. The first, the 'individualizing comparison' approach, seeks to develop an accurate understanding of each case as the principal objective of the study. Other approaches may aim to verify or falsify whether generalizations hold across the cases, test or develop broad hypotheses or theoretical statements, establish the limits of generalization, or find patterns and relationships between observations (Rakodi, 2001, p. 349).

It is worthwhile noting that comparative studies may be designed as deductive, starting with given assumptions about how things work, or inductive, or a combination of both. Rakodi, for example, writing on the outcomes of a major multi-case research project on urban governance and poverty in Africa, noted that the study combined inductive and deductive approaches, and was 'mainly inductive' (2001, p. 349). A similar approach was also evident in a later research project (Rakodi, 2006). In the latter study, the primary intention was to identify commonalities and differences in informal housing land delivery processes in five medium-sized African cities, yet it also sought to address or test, in a deductive manner, widely held or emerging assumptions with relevance to policy. Rakodi (2006) concludes that the research substantiated several hypotheses relating to informal land management. The multi-case study therefore followed two complementary theoretical vectors: one inductive and descriptive, proceeding from the empirical cases to general statements, and another deductive and evaluative, moving from general hypotheses to empirical contexts.

As this example indicates, there are a number of different ways to go about multi-case research (see Stake, 2006). One insight from the

literature review process was that multi-case analysis might not be explicitly identified or designed as a set of *comparative* case studies. The comparison is often left implicit, within the primary objective of contributing to substantive knowledge of a general process, issue or phenomenon, while highlighting the diversity of contextual manifestations of these issues as they unfold in reality. These sorts of ‘individualizing comparisons’ can themselves take different forms and modes. One approach sees researchers focus on a primary case, while drawing upon insights from one or more secondary cases in order to add contrast to and test the accuracy of the discussion. Bassett (2005), for example, examines an informal settlement upgrading project employing community land trust tenure models in Voi, Kenya. As a counter-example to the main case, she also uses a ‘sister’ upgrading project in the town of Kilifi, where freehold title had been promoted. Kilifi appears in the analysis as a way of bringing contrast to the explanation of processes observed in Voi.

A related strategy involves the use of several examples (often individual neighbourhoods or projects) from the same city or planning programme, as a way of enhancing knowledge on particular governance trends or strategies in a certain location.¹⁰ This type of study tends to examine cases with very similar contexts, and therefore will not emphasize the significance of contextual variables in explaining different outcomes amongst the phenomena under investigation (Rakodi, 2001). In this vein, another relatively common strategy employs several cities or administrative entities within a country to reflect on trends and issues pertaining to that country as a whole. Binns and Nel (2002) and Robinson et al. (2003), for example, use various South African municipalities as case studies to illustrate the challenges of implementing ‘developmental local government’ and ‘integrated development planning’ in post-apartheid South Africa. Similarly, Bénit-Gbaffou et al. (2009) use the cases of Johannesburg and Cape Town to explore the South African experience of decentralized security governance. These studies seek to contrast the experiences of different cases in order to give a detailed explanation of a central issue or problem.

Cases from very different contexts may also be examined in order to understand general trends pertaining to a particular type of urban intervention or policy discourse, across different contexts. This approach is evident in the fair number of cross-regional studies present in the recent literature. Tipple and Coulson (2007), for instance, examine the nature and usage of microcredit mechanisms available to home-based

enterprises (HBEs) in Surabaya, New Delhi, Pretoria and Cochabamba. They conclude that their data 'generally do not present a very happy picture of the availability and use of credit by HBE operators', and provide several general recommendations pertaining to the design and characteristics of microcredit practices (Tipple and Coulson, 2007, p. 153).¹¹

Other multi-case studies can be more interested in enhancing our understanding of different systemic contexts, rather than the actual cases themselves, and will emphasize how contextual variables impact differentially upon observed phenomena. For example, in another research study spanning the global South, Few et al. search for similarities and differences in informal building subdivision practices in Sao Paulo and Johannesburg, in order to 'provide an initial step in improving understanding of the residence conditions, dynamics and policy challenges of inner city informal subdivided housing' (2004, p. 440). The authors see the case studies as providing a 'comparative platform' from which to develop further critical research. They find that indeed there are strong commonalities between the two Southern cities: the subdivided buildings usually have small rooms, are densely occupied with a general lack of privacy, have poor ventilation, insulation and lighting, and so on. Yet they also find that there is a greater sense of 'community cohesion', and usually better living conditions, in the *cortiços* of Sao Paulo. This reality is traced to the existence of a 'more stable and longer-established' community in Sao Paulo, with 'a greater level of community organization' and hence better access to 'channels of policy influence' (Few et al., 2004, p. 440). Therefore, while the study offers hypotheses relating to the socio-political variables surrounding the outcomes of these practices, it remains interested in gathering knowledge on the two cities in order to enhance general policy responses to inner-city informal subdivision.

Inductive comparative studies can also take the form of large-n empirical analysis. Arimah (2003), for example, seeks to measure and account for intercity variation in the provision of infrastructure in a wide range of African cities, as a way of explaining the main factors affecting urban infrastructure provision in Africa as a whole. As an outcome of the multi-case analysis, he identifies important variables that can explain why differences exist between different contexts.

Examples of comparative studies employing multiple cases to test generalizations embedded in theoretical or policy discourses are also diverse and varied. Within this approach, it is common for authors to explore the manifestations and outcomes of attempts to apply particular

policy or practical approaches in different contexts. In studies spanning the global South and North, Uduku (1999) compares urban redevelopment approaches in Cape Town and Liverpool in relation to an overall question of whether urban regeneration approaches benefit local residents, while Bontenbal (2009) assesses the potential of city-to-city cooperation as an instrument to improve the performance of local government, based on case studies in Nicaragua, Peru, South Africa, Germany and the Netherlands. Similarly, Muraya (2006) has studied state attempts to implement bottom-up housing policies in Nairobi and Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic).¹² All of these studies take as their starting point certain assumptions built into an urban policy strategy of some sort (with Bontenbal, for example, this is the idea that 'city-to-city cooperation is an effective means of improving local government performance in all contexts'), and then seek to evaluate the basis of this assumption in reality, through the analysis of empirical cases.

Multiple-case studies specifically seeking to establish the limits of generalizations are less common, but examples do exist. In their comparative institutional analysis of Cape Town and Maputo, Jenkins and Wilkinson (2002) ask, does the form of local governance adopted in particular contexts 'matter' in affecting the outcomes of a city's engagement with the global economy? Through their study they confirm various hypotheses concerning social polarization under conditions of globalization, but further conclude that 'it is important to move beyond generalized models and analytical schema to engage directly and in an adequately nuanced way with the fluid and diverse complexities of each locality in its own right' (Jenkins and Wilkinson, 2002, p. 46).

Conclusion

This chapter set out to discuss the research strategies employed in recently published case studies of African urban planning issues, emphasizing the relation between this research and theoretical development. It has shown that recent case study research has addressed a broad range of substantive topics and conceptual themes relating to African urbanization and planning, using a variety of different research strategies. Although this chapter has not been concerned with quantitative analysis of the overall size and characteristics of the literature, some cursory observations can be weaned from the discussion. The majority of published case study research on African urbanization and planning take the form of single-case studies. Multiple-case study research

(especially studies employing more than two cases located in different countries or regions) is more rare, and for the most part is the outcome of large international research projects driven by bilateral or multilateral donor agencies. These transnational urban studies are increasingly bringing urban areas in sub-Saharan Africa into contrast with those of other regions, highlighting both commonalities and differences between different contexts and cities.

The bias towards single-case studies is probably due to the fact that such studies are often easier to conceptualize, design and undertake, especially in contexts where research resources are limited, access to the field is problematic and few datasets exist to allow multi-case or comparative research. These single-case studies are often concerned with addressing the impacts, limitations and potentials of governance discourses or practices, as they manifest in real contexts. With most, theoretical development is often a secondary or implied concern. However, there are important recent examples of single-case studies showing attention to both practice-based knowledge and the building of theory that is grounded in context. Furthermore, a number of recent case studies employ retroductive-type strategies in order to critique the applicability of mainstream (Northern) theory to the African context. In general however, multi-case studies tend to be better suited for the purpose of building or testing general theoretical statements due to their capacity for data validation and cross-case analysis.

Although many case studies do not explicitly articulate the type of research strategy employed, most take a primarily inductive approach to research design. Examples of deductive or retroductive studies appear less common, or some combination of inductive and deductive elements may be employed in the same study. These issues complicate any attempt to classify and compare different case study research approaches. But this very difficulty, from another view, reflects the robust nature of the case study research method, and its versatility in addressing both empirical and theoretical questions within the same frame of reference, using a combination of complementary strategies.

Inductive case studies tend to take the form of representative case studies, aiming to provide detailed data and information on local social and political aspects of a more general phenomenon or policy strategy, as a way of enhancing practice-based knowledge surrounding that phenomenon or strategy. For the most part these studies examine various issues and trends pertaining to 'urban governance', from ongoing concerns with the urban impacts of structural adjustment, to the dynamics and relations between formal and informal systems, to spatial

planning and infrastructure development, and to land reform, land tenure systems and land delivery.

Retroductive case studies seek to evaluate and modify a hypothesis or set of hypotheses through analysis of an empirical case. Generally these are interested in contributing to knowledge surrounding a policy approach highlighting, for example, opportunities, pitfalls or prerequisites for successful implementation. Other studies aim to critique aspects of mainstream planning and urban theory by reference to African empirical realities. Deductive case studies entail a similar movement from general statements to an empirical case, but unlike retroductive approaches, do not aim to question or modify the starting theoretical premises of the analysis. These studies typically examine cases in order to substantiate or falsify a hypothesis, or to assess the developmental implications of a theoretical or policy discourse for a particular context or locality.

Although the field of case study research on African urban planning issues is limited in size in relation to metropolitan contexts such as the United States of America or Europe, it would appear that there is significant potential for the development of this type of work in the future. To this end a particular challenge relates to the production of research that contributes to both practice-based knowledge and critical theoretical advancement; work that enables us to intervene in urban processes while 'seeing from the South' (Watson, 2009), with a critical awareness of how ideas and 'truths' circulate and land in different places, to produce specific effects in context. The next decade offers an important opportunity for African scholars to produce innovative research and knowledge, contributing to general theoretical discussions around urbanization and planning beyond the perceived confines of Africa exceptionalism. As revealed by the contemporary literature, case study research offers a robust methodological strategy with which to do so.

Notes

1. We are aware that a significant parallel body of 'grey literature', often in the form of unpublished consultant, NGO and agency reports, also commonly take the form of 'case studies'. However, due to the relative difficulty in obtaining this research as part of a desktop literature review, and the fact that this work rarely seeks to contribute to practice-based theory, this chapter only takes peer-reviewed journal articles into its purview.
2. The presentation of the case may also parallel the inductive process as with, for example, Britz and Meyer's (2006) study of the origin and evolution of the Gauteng urban edge surrounding Johannesburg, South Africa. The study

starts with the details of the case process, and gradually, through the course of the empirical discussion, teases out its implications for urban growth management generally.

3. An example of a case study where the case type is somewhat unclear is Williams' (2005) analysis of Wallacedene, a neighbourhood near Cape Town, which is seen 'as a microcosm of the poor South African black experience' (2005, p. 50), and therefore as representative of more general conditions in the country. But this case is more than simply representative, because the Wallacedene community initiated a legal challenge (known as the 'Grootboom Case') to protect their rights to housing and basic services. In reality, Wallacedene is a 'game-changing' case, but this is not built into the research strategy or design.
4. This approach is evident with, for example, Fahmi and Sutton's (2008) empirical study of the impact of the Greater Cairo Master Plan and the New Towns Policy on the prevailing housing crisis in the city, and the reasons for its failure in addressing a prevailing development problem. Also see Sutton and Fahmi (2001).
5. Yankson (2007), for example, uses the Gomoa district in Ghana as a case study to assess whether decentralization has had a positive impact on social service delivery and access, through enhanced participation and responsiveness in planning and delivery processes. He concludes that decentralization has led to some improvements, but also that revenue mobilization remains a serious obstacle to the capacity of decentralized governance to deliver sustained improvements in service delivery and access in Ghana.
6. On the relationship between waste or water management and practices of urban agriculture, see Asomani-Boateng (2007), and Brock and Foeken (2006).
7. Authors have constructed and used retroductive research strategies in different ways. In political science, Sinkler (2011) builds upon a formal definition of retroduction as a mode of logical reasoning allowing the establishment of multiple plausible explanations for a specific outcome observed *ex post*. Retroductive reasoning here is equated with the approach of an autopsy examiner: they use general knowledge on causes of phenomena to explain the observed outcome of an individual case. Sinkler argues that the retroductive method of congruence analysis can be an appropriate research approach for the social sciences. El-Akruti (2012) and El-Akruti and Dwight (2010), working in the field of engineering asset management, identify a retroductive research strategy as one that establishes a 'hypothesized model' or framework and then, through engagement with an empirical case, seeks to verify the existence of the causal structures and mechanisms posited within the framework. In this chapter, a retroductive case study strategy is identified as one generally concerned with modifying, adapting or evaluating a pre-existing theoretical (conceptual or methodological) approach or idea through an engagement with an empirical case (in other words, it is not necessarily concerned with building an *ex post* explanation of the causes leading to a given outcome).
8. For an example of this sort of non-identified retroductive case study, see the study by Todes, who uses the case of South Africa to consider 'whether the new forms of planning can address the challenges facing cities' (2011, p. 115).

9. For other critical studies of this type, see the comparative study of Cape Town and Maputo by Jenkins and Wilkinson (2002), and Winkler's (2009) assessment of the impact of New Urban Policy and New Conventional Wisdom management discourses in Johannesburg, in terms of promoting socio-spatial segregation and exclusion.
10. This approach has been readily applied to the study of informal land access processes in Kampala (Nkurunziza, 2008), the evolution of private landlordism in Nairobi (Huchzermeyer, 2007), the impacts of land titling programmes operated by land-buying trusts and cooperatives for informal residents (Hendriks, 2008) and the effects of citywide governance networks on political rights, influence and service delivery (Hendriks, 2010), both in Nairobi.
11. Also see Tipple (2004) on the relationship between settlement upgrading and HBEs in these cities, as well as Tipple (2005a) on pollution and waste production by HBEs, and Tipple (2005b) on the place of HBEs in the informal sector.
12. Usually studies across regional contexts seek to establish some common variables between the contexts to enable comparison to be more focused and better placed to test specific hypotheses or assumptions. Gilbert (2004), in his study examining the implementation of capital housing subsidies for the urban poor in Chile, Colombia and South Africa, argues for the comparability of the cases due to their similar socio-economic characteristics, housing problems and neoliberal policy outlooks, at the time of implementation.

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Part II

Case Study as a Research Method

3

Anloga Woodworkers in Kumasi, Ghana: The Long Road to ‘Formality’

Daniel Inkoom

Introduction

This study examines how a group of informal woodworkers contested state-led relocation from their workplace in the neighbourhood of Anloga, in the city of Kumasi in southern Ghana. Since at least the early 1980s, the Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly (KMA) has made several attempts to relocate about 4,500 informal woodworkers operating in Anloga, a suburb of Kumasi. These relocation efforts were the subject of intense debate at the national and local levels, attracting the attention of civil society organizations, academics, politicians and city managers alike. A number of contesting arguments were raised by different stakeholders. The major argument in favour of the relocation exercise, raised by city authorities, centred on the role of urban planning regulations in delivering orderly urban management and protecting the urban natural environment. Arguments contesting the project emphasized the need to protect basic human rights and access to livelihoods, as well as the responsibility of urban authorities in providing alternative serviced commercial and retail spaces for relocated workers. This case study is primarily concerned with how the woodworkers were able to remain in Anloga until suitable alternative facilities had been created for them at the new Sokoban Wood Village. It emphasizes the power of local informal worker organizations, the role of politics (including insensitive city authorities and planners) and the role of various actors, both local and international, in shaping processes of local economic development and the sustenance of livelihoods.

When the woodworkers eventually agreed to move to Sokoban Wood Village, it was because, in their assessment, adequate provision had been made for them to continue their businesses and sustain their livelihoods.

In addition, the woodworkers and many other groups of informal economic actors, including auto mechanics, cassava and palm kernel processors, and 'chop bar' (local food restaurants) vendors, benefitted from the relocation exercise as it eventually materialized. How is it that the city managers and planners failed to appreciate this need for services to support the informal economy from the beginning of the relocation project? Even once the need to provide adequate services was recognized by city authorities, why did it take decades for the relocation to happen?

In order to begin to answer these questions, this chapter focuses on the mechanisms adopted by the woodworker associations in order to operate within the constraints set by urban planning and management regulations and practices in the city. In particular, the study discusses the internal organizational characteristics of the woodworkers associations, particularly their leadership structures, and how these structures were used to leverage access to important livelihood resources. Finally, the case highlights the role of collective organizing and power in defending the interests of informal workers and argues that active participation of all formal and informal stakeholders within a constructive dialogue is a crucial step to strengthening informal associations, and ensuring their place in the overall governance of the city.¹

My personal interest in the activities of the woodworkers at Anloga stems back to my experiences as a first-year planning student in the Department of Planning at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), in the early 1980s. I participated in a workshop assignment dubbed 'Look and See'. The assignment was designed with the objective of sharpening the awareness of students about the actual growth and development of Kumasi. It was therefore not surprising that I noticed, on one of our 'familiarization' trips into the city, piles of finished wood products – tables, chairs, school desks, room furniture of all kinds, crates for foodstuffs and the like. This was the Anloga woodworkers' centre, where all kinds of furniture were being made, for both the domestic and international markets. This was a place where woodworkers earned their living, helping to create a vibrant hub of entrepreneurship, artisanship and participation in the local economy. I was fascinated by the stories of the Anloga woodworkers, and the ways in which this place was viewed by local planning authorities:

They first came here in the 1950s, and gradually expanded and took over the road access, but very soon we will relocate them to a place prepared by the city authorities with all the requisite infrastructure, so that they will not be a nuisance to vehicular and pedestrian traffic,

while at the same time the new site will increase their chances of doing business and of increasing their income. (KMA Official, 1982)

Having grown from very small beginnings in the 1950s to a very large working area by the 1980s, the Anloga area exemplified a typical centre of informal activities. Yet even by that stage, several uncompleted attempts had been made to relocate the workers, and this captivated my attention as a fresh undergraduate student. I wondered why a 'simple' case of relocation of an economic activity would take authorities so many years to accomplish. Back in 1983, I did not appreciate the complexities associated with planning and urban management, and now it appears as if I had received a 'baptism of fire' into the world of planning with its complexities, the nature of power and politics, the role of leadership and the place of central government and other local and international actors in urban service provision.

Several types of data sources were used to develop this case study. These included 'wandering around' and observing the study area, interactions with the local community, attending woodworker association meetings, structured interviews with woodworkers, as well as in-depth interviews and documentary sources. Data were collected for five different periods, in 1983, 2001, 2004–2006, 2006–2007 and 2010. Apart from the initial impressions and data gathered as an undergraduate student in the Department of Planning at KNUST, data were collected in 2001 as part of a study of urban governance, partnerships and poverty in Kumasi, where three Ghanaian authors (King et al., 2001) collaborated with the Department of International Development at the University of Birmingham in the United Kingdom. The third phase of data collection was part of the ENRECA (Enhancing Research Capacity) project jointly implemented by the Department of Planning at KNUST and the Department of Human Settlements at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts from 2004–2006. Face-to-face interviews with leaders of woodworker associations and other stakeholders in the wood industry were conducted in 2006 and 2007. Finally, as part of the Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS) case study research workshop held in Accra in June 2010, data were collected from the Sokoban Wood Village and city authorities in Kumasi.²

The chapter is arranged in two main sections. Section 1 provides the background to the study area and the woodworker relocation process, describing the nature of informal economic activity in Kumasi, the context for relocation practice in Ghana, the historical development of the Anloga woodworker site and some characteristics of the various

woodworker associations active in the area. Section 2 proceeds to discuss the various attempts by local government authorities to relocate the woodworkers from the Anloga site, and the reasons for the success or failure of these attempts. The chapter concludes by reflecting upon the policy implications of the research and areas for further research.

Background and context of the study area

The origin of the informal economic sector in Ghana can be traced back to the very beginnings of colonial capitalism in the Gold Coast. Right from the outset, a dualistic economy with two distinct subeconomies emerged alongside each other. On the one hand, a small formal sector encompassed capital investment in mining, transportation, infrastructure, commerce, social services and administration, with formal wage employment characterizing the existence and operations of labour therein (Ninsin, 1991). On the other hand, the promotion of primary commodities production for export, as well as the import of consumer goods for domestic trade, gave rise to large contingents of the labour force in both agriculture and petty trading that were either self-employed or hired under 'traditional' or informal arrangements (Ninsin, 1991).

Definitions of the informal economy in general have been diverse and varied. In a study of the informal economy in Kumasi, Boapeah (2001) developed a typology of informal sector activities. He identified three major forms of informal economic activity: petty commodity production, petty commerce and urban agriculture. He noted that petty commerce was the largest subsector, accounting for about 60 per cent of the total employment profile of the informal economy in the Kumasi metropolitan area. This was followed by petty commodity production, which accounted for about 35 per cent, and urban agriculture (about five per cent).

Contemporary petty commodity production in Kumasi relates to four basic economic activities:

- *Craft enterprises* produce goods of artistic value, and include kente weaving, basket making, working with pottery and ceramics, wood-carving, cane weaving, jewellery, goldsmithing and so on.
- *Artisan enterprises* produce goods of utilitarian value, and include tailoring and dressmaking, carpentry, leather works, masonry and block making, metalwork, terrazzo work, printing, bakery and so on.
- *Processing enterprises* are similar to artisan enterprises due to the utilitarian value of their products but are quite distinct with regard

to raw material inputs and the nature of their final products. They include oil extraction (palm, coconut and groundnut), maize and rice milling, cassava processing, kenkey making and so on.

- *Service enterprises* produce personal, community and domestic services. They include vehicle repairs, watch, radio and television repairs, hair-dressing, painting, plumbing, vulcanizing, transportation and so on.

The role of petty commerce is to link the various forms of informal economic production to the final consumer. Petty traders constituting the commerce subsector either sell their goods from a street-side table or temporary stall, or hawk goods from their hands, sometimes using a tray, or head-load. Petty traders are characterized by their control of a limited inventory of goods, which they sell in small quantities at low profits due to the intensity of local competition. One petty trading activity that has emerged in Kumasi in recent years is the sale of water sealed in small plastic sachets commonly known locally as 'pure-water'. Other common commodities sold include plantain chips, sliced papaw and sugar cane, as well as bagged apples.

Urban agriculture in the metropolis is practised on a limited scale relative to petty commodity production and petty commerce. An important agricultural activity is the cultivation of exotic vegetables such as cabbage, lettuce, carrots, watermelons and so on, which are held in increasingly high demand from foreigners and the urban elite living in Kumasi. Another major activity is the cultivation of sugar cane along the banks of rivers and streams for sale to local urban residents. Other crops cultivated on a relatively small scale, especially in backyard farms in residential areas, include maize, cassava, vegetables, plantain, yams, beans and pineapple. Plot sizes are small, ranging from 0.2 to 0.5 ha. Here urban agriculture does not produce primarily for the market. A large proportion of these informal operators produce food, poultry and livestock for their own subsistence. However, in the last few years, and as a result of increasing urbanization, commercial food production is on the increase, especially in the peri-urban areas of the city.

Relocation in the Ghanaian context

Despite the plans and enormous resources expended on many resettlement projects, most did not attain the expected results because of the failure of policymakers to appreciate the socio-cultural factors that are necessary to sustain such schemes. In Weija, for instance, those resettled complained about the semi-detached housing units provided for them in their new location, claiming they now had inadequate privacy since

they were not used to living with strangers. In Tema, complaints centred on the imposition of resettlement site and house designs without consultation, while in Barekese, the beneficiaries were bitter about the poor quality materials used to construct their houses, as well as the absence of ceilings and tendency for roof leakages. The Tamale resettlement scheme, on the other hand, left the displaced people happy about the improved facilities provided to them (Diaw and Schmidt-Kallert, 1990; Tamakloe, 1994).

It can be deduced from the aforementioned issues that the views of people affected by relocation schemes are highly important and their involvement in the planning and implementation process should be mandatory. Resettling people is an event that can be traumatic. Although it is a planning and development process, it can also be very complex due to the strong emotional and psychological impact on the people involved. On the grounds that they are strategically managed, the resettlement process can still be used as an instrument for positive socio-economic development, by using a multifaceted approach to address the project's physical, social, economic, political and psychological dimensions. The experiences cited above suggest the need to put in place an effective management system in any resettlement scheme to ensure the sustainability of such heavy investments. However, in all forms and types of resettlement processes, planners and policymakers face the challenge of providing an enabling environment for the sustainable resettlement and economic development of the affected groups and communities.

In the case of Anloga, the woodworker village has grown so rapidly over the years that any casual visitor to the area readily observes that the intensity of activity taking place greatly exceeds its capacity, in terms of both geographical space and infrastructure. A number of urban development and environmental issues have, over time, become of concern to Kumasi city authorities and citizens alike. The sawdust produced from the production of various wood products pollutes the working environment, as well as the Sisa stream that flows through the area. The woodworkers are generally crowded together under dilapidated sheds without any internal roads separating these premises. A lack of basic infrastructure and social services accounts for some of the unsightly and unhealthy conditions under which they work. They have no toilet facilities, proper eating places nor waste disposal schemes in place. These issues are aggravated by traffic congestion in the area, and vehicular-trolley-pedestrian conflicts, generated as these enterprises seek to link to the wider economy. With these realities in mind, the idea of relocating some of these activities from Anloga, in order to provide better

formal facilities and relieve problems of congestion and pollution, is a welcome measure. However, as we have seen above, rarely do such projects generate all-round satisfaction for the stakeholders involved. The following sections go on to discuss the Anloga woodworker village as a case of relocation from which other planning practitioners can learn.

The Anloga woodworker village: origins and developments

Anloga lies about 3.6 km southwest of Kumasi, and 2 km northwest of KNUST on the Kumasi-Accra trunk road. Anloga lies adjacent to the Bomso and New Amakom Extension suburbs of Kumasi, and is bounded by the Sisa and Aboabo water streams. It covers an area of approximately 90 ha with a population of about 20,000.

A number of oral histories provide an account of the origins of Anloga. One tradition traces the history of the suburb as far back as the early 1950s to one Amedome, a native of Keta (in the Volta Region of Ghana) and an employee of the then Gold Coast Railways in Kumasi. Anloga consisted of only a few huts then, drawing its population from the Ewe migrants living in the city. Initially, Anloga was very isolated from the central business district of Kumasi, and only Ewes like Amedome could settle there (King et al., 2001). Anloga later attracted other migrants and local residents of Kumasi, especially after a sand collection industry began to appear locally.

In another oral history, the story goes that in the early 1950s, when the government was acquiring land for the development of the Kumasi College of Technology (now KNUST), they thought it wise to include the present site of Anloga to serve as a dormitory area for the workers who would be engaged in the construction of the university. However, some of the local chiefs, including the Amakomhene, who is the custodian of the Amakom land, thought the government had acquired too big a piece of land, and therefore did not need to include the present Anloga site as well. Consequently, the Amakomhene entrusted the land in the care of one Ewe migrant called Togbi Hosade, who was granted permission to build a temporary mud house to indicate that the land had been occupied. Togbi Hosade also obtained permission to parcel out land to other interested migrants. He became the landlord of the area and received all Ewe migrants who came to the city. Although the original name of the settlement was Oforikrom Extension, the local Asante people assumed that all Ewes originated from a particular town in the Volta Region called Anloga, and so started calling this area the same.

The story of the woodworker village in Anloga begins soon after Ghana attained independence in March 1957, when the Kumasi city

authorities felt the need to resettle all local carpenters in one location, as part of a modern master plan to ensure the orderly development of the city. This period immediately after independence (1957–1958) saw the expansion of Anloga as a suburb of Kumasi. Other Ghanaian migrants such as the Dagarti, the Frafras, the Gas and Fantes also migrated to Anloga. Later, people from other West African countries started to move in, including the Gao people from Mali, the Mossi from Burkina Faso and Ewes from Togo. Many of these migrants were engaged in the carpentry trade, which was peaking at the time. Originally, Anloga was known as one of the largest sugarcane and charcoal producing areas in the city, but later these activities gave way to physical developments as the settlement expanded.

By design or fortune, there was a significant migration of carpenters from all parts of the city to Anloga in the late 1950s, led by Mr Kofi Fugar (whose son is the current chief of Anloga). As a result, the residential area expanded beyond all expectations and soon the local authority decided that the land should be formally demarcated and allocated for building purposes. From 1958, the planned area of Anloga was extended and new areas for development properly surveyed and demarcated.³ The number of houses in the settlement at that stage was 230.

With the development and expansion of the Kumasi municipal area in the 1960s, the city authorities decided to resettle all carpenters at Ejisu Yard, now the Asafo Goil Station. The fledgling union organization of woodworkers and carpenters in Kumasi had met and considered that it would be of economic advantage to aggregate together in space to take advantage of economies of scale and agglomeration. As such, the carpenters agreed and most moved to the new site to establish themselves, while others moved in the mid-1960s to Ahwiaa, Suame and other places. Development again caught up with them, as they outgrew their premises, and with the help of the then Kumasi City Council (KCC) and the Amakomhene, the carpenters were given the present location at Anloga Junction to operate. They complied and started to build in what was originally a thick forest, stretching along the Aboabo River from Anloga Junction towards Ahinsan. Meanwhile, with the permission of the Amakomhene, the Ewe community in Kumasi (then living amongst the people of Tafo, Bantama, Asafo, Ash Town, Amakom and Fante New Town) had settled and established the Anloga township. Then, with the help of the city authorities, the Anloga Carpenters Union (ACU), a woodworker association, established a light industrial estate close to their residence at Anloga. 'Ewe carpenters', as they were called at the Ejisu Yard, became renowned for their artisanship. They also formed

several strong associational groupings that exist to the present day, including ACU, which are briefly described in the following section.

Woodworker associations

Woodworkers in Anloga are grouped into three main associations, namely ACU, the Furniture and Wood Products Association of Ghana (FAWAG) and the Woodworkers Association of Ghana (WAG). ACU was formed in 1967 and has the main objective of ensuring that KMA taxes their members fairly. ACU, which consists of carpenters and machinists, includes 880 males and three females. It has an all-male executive committee of 14 members whose mandate for operation is extended over four-year terms. These committee members work voluntarily and do not receive any remuneration. ACU also has a council of elders drawn from past executive members. The tenure of council members is permanent, except when impinged upon by ill health or death. Major issues affecting the union are referred to the council elders for final resolution and determination.

The second association, FAWAG,⁴ was incorporated under the Companies Code Act 176 (1963) in October 1979. It was formed to bring together those who work to process timber into various tertiary products, for both the local and export markets. FAWAG is headed by an executive committee, which is elected every two years at a general meeting. Membership is by registration, which is preceded by an inspection of premises. The aims and objectives of FAWAG are:

- To provide a central forum for promoting the interests of the furniture and wood processing industries.
- To represent the industry's interests before government, parliament, ministries, public boards and corporations.
- To encourage and promote the large-scale export of Ghana-made furniture and wood products by organizing and participating in fairs and exhibitions both in the country and abroad.
- To provide for effective communication between all sectors of the industry.

Periodically, and in collaboration with relevant local and international institutions, FAWAG organizes workshops and seminars for its members to bring them up to date on fast-changing production and marketing techniques in the industry.

The third major grouping is WAG, which is a trade association seeking to advance the cause of small-scale wood industries in Ghana. The

association was initially created in 1982 as the Small-scale Carpenters Association. The name was however changed to WAG in 2001. WAG is an active member of the Association of Small-scale Industries. It has a national president and ten regional chairmen. WAG also has a governing council, which provides guidance for the general direction of the association. The administrative secretary located at the national secretariat in Kumasi handles the day-to-day business of the association. Its mission is to be the mouthpiece of the small-scale wood industry of Ghana, to influence government policies and regulations and to create an enabling environment for the growth of its members. WAG aims to assist and strengthen its members to achieve economic development and viability to ensure sustained growth of the wood industry. In furtherance of this aim, WAG seeks to:

- Liaise with the Ghanaian government through its agencies such as the Forestry Commission and non-governmental organizations to organize seminars, workshops, training programmes and trade fairs for the benefit of its members.
- Develop linkages amongst various wood sector associations.
- Assist members to have access to credit facilities, where available.

Attempts to relocate Anloga village

The first attempt at relocating woodworkers from Anloga took place in 1985. Several reasons were advanced by city authorities in support of relocation, but the main reason was that it was not desirable to have such activities located within the heart of the city, and that they bred squalor, while the haphazard manner in which structures were erected had facilitated the creation of a slum. It was therefore deemed necessary for the city to embark upon a relocation exercise to pave the way for the 'beautification of the city', as KCC termed it at the time. KCC verbally declared their intention to relocate the Anloga woodworkers in 1985. ACU argued that, considering the effort it had put into developing the settlement into a light industrial estate from a thick virgin forest (seen as being a haven of thieves previously) through years of toil and heavy investment, it was unacceptable that they were to face yet another ejection. It was shocking news for the artisans, especially when no consultation had taken place about the eviction exercise, even with the leadership of the union. In some ways, however, this was not particularly surprising as the country was at that time under military rule, and therefore participatory democracy was virtually non-existent.

As a result, ACU could not easily embark on any counteraction for fear of retribution by the army. However, the resettlement plan did not see implementation for several years, as no practical steps were taken to forcibly eject the woodworkers.

Eventually, in 1989, ACU was told that the woodworkers should move to Asokore Mampong. The government, through the Ministry of Lands and Forestry, had negotiated with the chief of Asokore Mampong for the release of land in the area. The chief consented, so the Ministry allocated land in 1993 to ACU at Asokore Mampong for the resettlement. About 43–45 acres of land had been gazetted for such purposes. The union used its resources to clear the land and started distributing parcels amongst its members. This resettlement attempt, however, also proved futile following a petition made by the headmistress of the Kumasi Academy to the government. The proposed site for the resettlement of the woodworkers was close to the Academy and the headmistress cited several reasons why the exercise should be abandoned. Firstly, woodwork activity was seen as incompatible with educational progress and development. It was felt that the waste, particularly the sawdust emerging from carpentry works, could pollute the atmosphere and make it unconducive for teaching and learning, putting teachers and students at risk of infection from respiratory diseases. Secondly, the headmistress allegedly wrote in the petition that the nature of such informal activities also encouraged miscreants, drug peddlers and addicts amongst the carpenters, capable of influencing the students in a negative way. Thirdly, she argued that the noise pollution normally associated with woodwork activities was another distraction from teaching and learning.

The existing inhabitants of Asokore Mampong supported the petition led by the headmistress. They described the carpentry works as a nuisance to the community and consequently put up strong resistance to the resettlement exercise. What is more, the government failed to honour the financial commitments to compensate the local chief for the release of the demarcated land for the project. All these factors combined to undermine the project and lead to its abandonment.

Meanwhile, FAWAG with the assistance from International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO) had initiated the Sokoban Wood Village project in 1991. ITTO built a central processing machine shop at Sokoban to facilitate the development of the wood village. Individual members of FAWAG bought plots at the village to which they relocated. Following the failure of the Asokore Mampong resettlement in 1993, the government (through the Forestry Commission) approached ITTO to investigate whether the Anloga woodworkers could be integrated into

the development of Sokoban. The ITTO consequently acquired 20 ha of land for the resettlement of the Anloga carpenters at Sokoban. Individual carpenters also bought additional plots at the site. An executive member of ACU (Reverend Fugah, then the patron of ACU) was tasked with assisting the FAWAG executives in the development of the Sokoban site.

However, the attempt by the government to relocate FAWAG and ACU to the Sokoban village during this period could not materialize due to various reasons. The first was the failure of KMA, or any other organ of government, to service the site with basic infrastructure, as initially promised. Despite the large proportion of revenue derived from the informal sector in Kumasi, KMA repeatedly cited lack of funds as the reason for not being able to relocate the woodworkers. Whenever FAWAG pressed the Assembly, the responses received took only the form of further excuses and promises. Thirdly, Anloga was a predominantly Ewe community, and Ewes constituted the voting stronghold for the then ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC). Since resettlement processes are often associated with a wide variety of inconveniences and problems, the government found it expedient not to proceed with the relocation exercise for fear of losing the trust placed in them by the Ewe community (thereby provoking political reverberations in the Volta Region of Ghana, the heartland of NDC support). Fourth, the government's decision to abandon the project was informed by ACU's wish to remain at their existing location because of the locational advantages stemming from working adjacent to the main Accra-Kumasi trunk road. Despite the strong organizational abilities and the initiatives taken by FAWAG at Sokoban, the relocation could not take place as planned.

By the late 1990s ACU, determined to ensure their members could continue to work along the Accra-Kumasi trunk road and to avoid sporadic eviction threats, arranged with the chief of New Ampabame for the purchase of 200 ha of land along this road. This agreement was made in 1998. The piece of land was estimated to cost €600 million (approximately 260,000 US Dollars). Each member of ACU was therefore required to pay a 'commitment fee' of €600,000 (260 US Dollars) to enable the purchase of the land. However, the process of mobilizing the necessary finances, preparing the site plan and processing other relevant documentation encountered difficulties from KMA. It soon emerged that the chief of New Ampabame had rescinded his decision to release the land to ACU, giving the reason that KMA had already negotiated to purchase the same piece of land. ACU claimed that KMA wanted the carpenters to remain, for economic reasons, within their

area of jurisdiction and therefore sought to actively undermine the ACU efforts to relocate to Ampabame, which falls within the Ejisu-Juaben District, a much smaller administrative district adjoining the Kumasi metropolitan area. It is ironic, to say the least, that the same group of woodworkers who were seen by the city authorities as a blight in the city's landscape were now being 'prevented' from moving for fear of loss of revenue to the Assembly.

This attempted relocation brought to the fore the need for some degree of cooperation between city authorities and workers' groups in the management of the city. Close collaboration and adopting a more collegial attitude towards the woodworkers could have provided opportunities for a solution favourable to all parties, and to secure the livelihoods of the woodworkers. The resulting agreement could also have responded to urban management considerations and provided the necessary tax revenue to KMA. Nevertheless, this initiative showcased the power of the woodworker associations. The very ability of the predominantly Ewe community to negotiate to purchase large tracts of land in a typically Ashanti region reveals the level of networking and negotiating capacity the woodworkers had developed over the years, enabling them to leverage these resources.

In 2003, the issue of resettling the Anloga carpenters reappeared in the public domain. KMA wrote to the leadership of ACU, citing a new rationale to embark on the relocation exercise. On this occasion, the city authorities argued that the phenomenal growth of the urban population, and in the extent of social and economic activities, having not been accompanied by any adequate infrastructural development, resulted in various forms of inconvenience, including unprecedented levels of traffic congestion. To address the traffic problem, the Government of Ghana with assistance from Agence Française de Développement (AFD) had embarked on the Kumasi Roads and Urban Development Project (which targeted the Oforikrom-Asokwa Bypass and Lake Road, including the Asokwa Interchange). This project was bound to affect thousands of woodworkers operating in the right of way of the bypass, as well as hundreds of other workers and residents in the vicinity of both road corridors. These individuals, groups and their properties were designated for relocation, to allow road construction to begin.

One of the factors that enabled ACU to survive the threat of relocation in 2003 was a contractual provision in a loan agreement between the Government of Ghana and AFD. This provision stated that the government should adhere to the World Bank's guidelines

for involuntary resettlement, which hold that persons to be displaced must be:

- Meaningfully consulted and given the opportunity to participate in the planning and execution of the resettlement.
- Compensated for their losses at full replacement cost prior to the actual relocation event.
- Assisted with the relocation and supported during the transitional period in the resettlement site.
- Assisted in their efforts to improve upon their former living standards, income-earning capacity and production levels, or at least to restore their previous standards.

As a result of this contractual provision, a resettlement committee was formed, with representation from each of the woodworkers' associations, including two members from ACU and WAG respectively, and one FAWAG member. It was the aim of the committee to integrate the grievances and wishes of all members into the resettlement process. The secretary of ACU, speaking on behalf of his association, explained that since the inception of the eviction threat, the union had not engaged in any vehement protest action, even though it was always their wish to remain at the Anloga site. Having my suspicions on this assertion, a follow-up visit was made to the Department of Urban Roads to talk to the engineer responsible for the Sokoban Wood Village. He confirmed that none of the woodworker associations had organized public protests against the relocation exercise. He was of the opinion that the participatory approach adopted by the government, in the form of the establishment of a resettlement committee with representation from all associations, ensured that the ongoing relocation exercise was incident-free. However, the WAG organizer later revealed that, on two occasions, ACU wanted to stage demonstrations. Upon receiving a tip-off, the WAG leadership managed to convince their ACU counterparts to stop their planned actions, and rather present their petitions through the resettlement committee.

As explained above, it was the construction of the 3.2 km dual carriageway Oforikrom-Asokwa Bypass and the expansion of the Lake Road that gave impetus to the 'successful' relocation of the woodworkers. It was estimated that in addition to the woodworkers, a total of 7,927 business owners and their workers as well as 141 properties or houses were to be affected by these projects. This total was comprised of 4,402 woodworkers operating at the Anloga timber market, 873 operators of diverse allied businesses and 431 mechanics, supporting workers and other service providers. The various affected groups are presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Resettlement options for affected groups in AFD Kumasi roads project (2005)

Road corridor	Affected group	Original location	Total number of operators	Resettlement option	New site	Responsibility
Oforikrom-Asokwa Bypass	Anloga woodworkers (carpenters, sellers, saw millers and saw doctors)	Anloga	4,402	Group resettlement	Sokoban Wood Village	Project
	Chop bars	Anloga	50	Group resettlement	Sokoban Wood Village	Project
	Hardware sellers	Anloga	26	Group resettlement	Sokoban Wood Village	Project
	Transport operators	Anloga	257	Group resettlement	Sokoban Wood Village	Project
	Charcoal burners	Anloga	248	Cash compensation	N/A	Project
	Cassava and kernel processors	Anloga	28	Cash compensation	N/A	Project
	Single operators in temporary structures	Anloga	240	Cash compensation	N/A	Project
	Auto mechanics	Asokwa	431	Group resettlement	Oti stool land (under negotiation)	KMA to prepare site; project to manage disturbance and supplemental effects

(continued)

Table 3.1 Continued

Road corridor	Affected group	Original location	Total number of operators	Resettlement option	New site	Responsibility
Lake Road	Ahensan market	Ahensan		Group resettlement	New Ahensan market	KMA to prepare site; project to manage disturbance and supplemental effects
	Atonsus-Agogo market	Atonsus-Agogo	215	Group resettlement	New Agogo community market	KMA to prepare site; project to manage disturbance and supplemental effects
	Atonsus-Agogo lorry park	Atonsus-Agogo	433	Group resettlement	New Agogo community market	KMA to prepare site; project to manage disturbance and supplemental effects
	Lumber sellers	Kyirapatre	95	Group resettlement	N/A	Project
	Single operators in temporary structures	Anloga road corridor	1,040	Cash compensation	N/A	Project
	Mechanics	GCR	368	Group resettlement	Oti stool land (under negotiation)	KMA to prepare site; project to manage disturbance and supplemental effects
Ofonkrom-Asokwa Bypass and Lake Road	Landlords and tenants in affected structures	Both road corridors	141 structures	Cash compensation (land, structure, disturbance and supplemental)	N/A	Project

Source: Resettlement Plan Report (AFD Kumasi Roads and Urban Development Project, December 2005).

The existence of the ongoing Sokoban Wood Village project finally facilitated the selection of a site for resettling the Anloga woodworkers, to make way for the road construction projects. Sokoban, a suburb of Kumasi, lies in the southeastern section of the Kumasi metropolitan area. The wood village concept was designed with several objectives in mind. Firstly, it sought to support the KMA programme to relocate furniture producers away from residential areas and roadsides in Kumasi, and to ensure that wood waste was disposed of in environmentally benign ways. Secondly, to establish a 'model' production maintenance and design system capable of meeting the quality standards of the overland export market. Thirdly, to establish an environment where in-job training and technical assistance would be available to upgrade the skills and production techniques of the furniture producers. Lastly, the Sokoban initiative sought to improve local productivity by providing an equipment pool at a common services facility. KMA acquired 10.55 ha of land at the Sokoban site to add to an existing 1.8 ha previously acquired by the Forestry Commission for resettling the Anloga woodworkers. This land, 12.4 ha in total area, constituted the new woodworker enclave.

KMA had the institutional responsibility to manage the resettlement of the affected groups through the establishment of a resettlement office (RO) supported by relevant decentralized agencies of the Assembly, including the Departments of Urban Roads, Economic Planning, Town and Country Planning, and Estates, as well as the metropolitan engineer's office and the legal department. The specific responsibility was entrusted to the planning unit of KMA, to play the lead role and coordinate KMA's actions through the RO. This office was to establish a management committee to oversee the Sokoban woodworker enclave and, following the resettlement process, to hand its responsibilities over to a private company contracted to manage the enclave. The RO would deal with any legal ramifications of the project.

With the assistance of the French government, the Sokoban site was equipped with basic facilities such as electricity, water and telephone services, public toilets, eating places and internal access roads. In addition, the woodworkers and markets were provided with sheds, stalls and lockable shops. Those resettled would receive user rights upon payment of appropriate fees and rates. The management committee would allocate the sheds and other facilities prior to the relocation and ensure that those resettled entered a harmonious working environment. Other specialized services that were recommended for the Sokoban enclave were the provision of affordable transport services through the Metro Mass Transit Company, as well as technical training to improve

the quality and increase the efficiency of local production. Furthermore, 500,000 Euros were to be set aside as a community development fund, to help forestall business closures due to relatively low levels of initial patronage expected at the new site. Members would be able to access funds upon recommendation from their respective association. The management committee would define the coverage and allocation of the community development fund and would educate associational members on its role and use.

Conclusion

At the time of writing, in 2010, the Sokoban resettlement plan appeared to be on course for completion. A resettlement officer based at the Department of Urban Roads in Kumasi had already started the work, and a large number of the woodworkers had relocated, although many still remained in Anloga. Whether any woodworkers will remain at the Anloga site is for time to tell. However, it appears that, half a century after the woodworkers began to live and operate at Anloga, their relocation to Sokoban will become a reality. The lessons pertaining to why it took so long for this relocation to happen are for urban planners, city authorities and other stakeholders to share and critically reflect upon, for the benefit of future projects. The role of leadership in trade associations, the politics of patronage, the inability (or refusal) of planners and city managers to respond to the needs of their constituents, as well as the formation of partnerships, all play decisive roles in understanding the relocation experience. Certainly there is a need to conduct further research into how the woodworkers settled in their new working environment, who benefitted from the move and who did not, and whether 'formalization' has translated into socio-economic advantages for those affected.

This study has highlighted the external dynamics (relating to urban development and government policy, environmental concerns, and economic considerations) and internal factors (relating to the dynamics within informal worker associations, including membership issues, ethnicity, social networks and leadership structures) that taken together explain why the relocation of woodworkers from Anloga took many years to materialize. It has also emphasized the effects of the politics of decision-making by central and local governments on informal sector operation in Kumasi. The inconsistency and lack of support shown by metropolitan authorities was shown to be a major factor behind the delays and setbacks of the resettlement initiatives. In many instances, city authorities were antagonistic to informal operators, due to the perception of the latter as recalcitrant, posing a problem to the image

of the orderly city. A lack of experience in dealing with these specific urban issues also contributed to the stance and actions taken by the city authorities. Although a number of resettlement schemes have been implemented in Ghana in the past, KMA had never implemented one before, and therefore lacked the institutional capacity, experience and courage to do so effectively.

The role of leadership and collective power is also crucial in understanding why the Anloga woodworkers managed to remain in their original location for an extended period. Operators within the timber industries in Kumasi are organized into several strong associations, which work to protect the interests of their members and the industry as a whole. Their presence on the management committee for the Sokoban relocation exercise is testament to their collective strength and leadership over the years.

The role played by KMA in such issues is also crucial, and a number of specific recommendations with policy implications can be made based on these and other findings. Firstly, it is imperative that local government authorities change their attitudes towards urban informal enterprises and their operators from hostility to recognition, tolerance and acceptance, through dialogue and involving these actors in decision-making. This is especially important in the case of Kumasi metropolis, where the informal economic sector is the largest economic sector, sustaining the livelihoods of over 60 per cent of the city's residents (Boapeah, 2001; King et al., 2001). Secondly, in view of this massive contribution to the overall metropolitan economy, there is a need to support these woodworkers, enabling them to expand their businesses. This support could include the establishment of a special fund for the development of informal entrepreneurship from the District Assembly Common Fund, as part of its poverty reduction scheme. The establishment of targeted group- or sector-specific accommodation schemes, such as the ongoing Sokoban project for woodworkers, is a good example for city authorities to emulate in other sectors of the economy.

Thirdly, local governments should reform urban planning regulations by removing restrictive and prohibitive measures, by implementing business and labour regulations concerning informal enterprises in a gradual manner, and by increasing their access to public facilities and services. Urban planning should be carried out with the active participation of all stakeholders, especially those whose activities have considerable socio-economic impacts on the economy. Integrating informal economic activities into the physical planning processes of the metropolis, through needs assessment studies of informal enterprises, is crucial to the development of the urban landscape in Kumasi.

The informal economy needs to be developed and enhanced, although institutional and spatial packages alone cannot serve as the panacea for all the deficiencies affecting this sector of the metropolitan economy. In terms of enterprise capacity-building, specific activities required include removing:

- Psychological constraints expressed and demonstrated in operators' unwillingness to undergo training and improve their skills, adopt improved production methods or explore further market potential.
- Organizational constraints through measures targeted at trade groups to facilitate information dissemination, the supply of material inputs, mobilization of credit and savings, and marketing of products.
- Technical and managerial constraints through the strengthening of training programmes by upgrading the apprenticeship system and through the introduction of simple and basic management skills such as financial savings and record keeping.

All the above measures call for the creation of an action plan designed to analyse all informal economic enterprises by designated zones, classified according to the type of activity. Following this, a careful needs assessment (disaggregated by location and enterprise) should be carried out to determine differential packages required by these activity groups.

Notes

1. The study, carried out from 1983 to 2010, was devised according to the following specific research questions: What are the origins of the woodworkers associations and what factors and networks have supported, and continue to support, their survival in the urban economy? How is power distributed within the associations and how is power used to secure the livelihood (or otherwise) of the membership of the association? What is the policy environment within which the Anloga woodworkers operate and in what way does it favour (or hinder) the development of their businesses? How did the woodworkers and city authorities finally reach agreement on relocation, and what were the deciding factors?
2. Thoughts on this subject were first presented at a conference on 'Informal Economies and New Organizing Strategies in Africa' held at the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, Sweden, from 20 to 22 April 2007.
3. However, the Kumasi Planning Committee was able to approve the settlement plan only in 1968, by which time a number of unauthorized structures had been constructed haphazardly in the area. The combination of these factors meant that no land was reserved for utility services and other public

facilities such as schools, public toilets, roads and open spaces, thus allowing the settlement to gradually turn into an urban slum.

4. Formerly known as the Ghana Furniture Producers Association.

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4

Bicycle Taxis in Mzuzu City, Malawi: A Business Venture Misunderstood

Mtafu Manda

Introduction

Bicycle taxis have a long history in Africa. Starting as early as the 1930s in Senegal, they emerged in Uganda and Kenya in the 1960s following border closures and economic crises (Diaz Olvera et al., 2010). Some of the economic crises arose in the 1990s due to divestiture of public enterprises and economic liberalization, which led to a proliferation of informal enterprises. Whereas in some of these countries, such as Uganda, operators upgraded themselves to the use of motorcycles (Kisaalita and Sentingo-Kibalama, 2007), in Malawi such enterprises included bicycle taxis, wheelbarrows, handcarts, bus callboys and street vending (Manda and Mzumara, 2005; Kayuni and Tambulasi, 2007; Jimu, 2008). However, even though bicycle taxis operate in all cities and towns, and are in fact a major feature of towns such as Karonga, Salima, Dwangwa, Mangochi, Kasungu, Lilongwe, Liwonde and Balaka, amongst others, their significance and controversy are more pronounced in Mzuzu city. 'Sacramento' is a name adopted from the model of Brazilian passenger buses that since 2003 have earned the respect of the travelling public in Malawi for their speed and comfort, when compared with the dominant British-made Leyland buses previously operated by the state-run Shire Bus Lines. Mzuzu, a city with a current population of 170,000 – expected to reach 520,000 by 2030 (NSO, 2010, pp. 112–115) – has seen bicycle taxis favourably compete with roving motor vehicle taxis as short-distance transport services. Despite their illegal nature, the large number of entrants into the business testifies to the significance of this transport service in the city.

Within the literature of informal transportation in developing countries, a predominant explanation for the growth of such activities

stems from the theoretical argument delivered by the Harris-Todaro model, in which *Sacramentos*, as examples of informal sector activities, are a refuge for rural-urban migrants and the unemployed awaiting opportunities in the formal job market (Todaro, 1994; Fields, 2007). According to Jimu (2008), the rise in *Sacramento* numbers is reflective of high unemployment levels in Mzuzu due to rapid urbanization without a sufficient capacity for the formal economy to absorb new entrants to the labour market. Therefore, urban dwellers who are desperate to survive in the city become bicycle taxi (and wheelbarrow) operators as a refuge job, eventually leaving the industry when they find formal employment elsewhere. This argument is shared by Mumtaz and Wegelin, who suggest that for many people entering the informal sector, 'it is likely to be a coping mechanism, part of a survival strategy or as last resort' (2001, p. 74). Diaz Olvera et al. (2010) link the growth of the informal transport sector to the onset of economic crises and shrinkage of formal paid jobs, leading to a large labour surplus.

As discussed below, the *Sacramento* operators of Mzuzu have quite varied characteristics, and may enter and exit the sector for many different reasons. By discussing the various characteristics of the operators, as well as the strategies they pursue, the benefits they secure and the challenges they face, this chapter shows that the decision to own or operate a bicycle taxi is often less a survival strategy for low-skilled recent migrants from rural areas, than an expression of a rational profit-seeking motive for a dual income source. As such, it is a business venture that should receive support and accommodation in urban policy, rather than exclusion and police harassment.

The chapter is organized into six main sections. The first gives some contextual background to the emergence of bicycle taxis in Malawi and Mzuzu, and outlines some of the operators' own narrative accounts of the origins of the industry. Section 2 goes on to discuss the characteristics of bicycle taxi operators in Mzuzu, and their degree of political organization. The cost of building or owning a bicycle taxi is considered in Section 3, along with some of the design measures taken by their operators for both aesthetic and profit-seeking reasons. Section 4 proceeds to focus on the socio-economic and logistical benefits presented by the thriving bicycle taxi industry in Mzuzu. In Section 5 these benefits are counterpoised with the concrete challenges faced by bicycle taxi operators in their everyday negotiation of the city, particularly in the realm of harassment by authorities, who generally seem unwilling to accept their existence as an important transport service and a contributor to economic activity. Finally, Section 6 describes the contested dynamics of

political organization amongst the operators as they have attempted to negotiate these challenges and secure their livelihoods in the city.

The rise of *Sacramentos* in Mzuzu

There is no consensus on when *Sacramentos* emerged as business ventures in Mzuzu. While it is clear that they all started operating at specific places within Mzuzu, especially the Namizu (also called St John of God) rank, the year given varies. One of the operators, Joseph Stima,¹ suggested that the first *Sacramentos* started in 2002. However, Patson Mwale,² who had seen bicycle taxis operate in Lilongwe when he lived there, and was the fifth to start a *Sacramento* business in Mzuzu, recalled that all operations started in August 2004.³ There is evidence to suggest that by 2003 bicycle taxis were already operational in Lilongwe. For example, Levison Ng'ondola started operating a bicycle taxi, called 'Kabaza', in Lilongwe in 2003 after he had raised funds from the selling of lemons. Within seven years Ng'ondola was able to buy ten more bicycles, in the process employing ten persons and earning up to forty thousand Malawian Kwacha (MWK40,000)⁴ per month. From his business he also bought a plot in the Lilongwe area, and dreamt of owning a car hire firm in the future.⁵

As mentioned, Patson Mwale cited 2004 as the year *Sacramentos* first emerged in Mzuzu.⁶ However, he suggested the first to operate a bicycle taxi was shop assistant named Sata, who, dissatisfied with his job, opted to explore the business, from which he was ultimately able to earn between MWK700–900 daily. For a country with (at that stage) a legal minimum daily wage of MWK170 (less than half of one US Dollar), this represented a fortune capable of attracting other operators. Though Sata resumed his work as a shop assistant, he also operated his bicycle after work until approximately nine o'clock at night, in the process securing a dual source of income. The number of *Sacramento* operators in Mzuzu city increased significantly over the years partly due to high ownership of bicycles. The 2008 Malawi Population and Housing Census Report (NSO, 2010, p. 121) estimated that 46,072 bicycles (for taxi and ordinary usage) were owned in Mzuzu, giving a bicycle-to-person ratio of 1:3. The number of bicycles was thus large enough that owners could divert some for use as passenger transport vehicles. A situation arose in which not only the number of operators increased, but also the chances of upgrading and diversifying into motorcycle or motor vehicle taxis, as operators earned enough to invest in these vehicles. One operator, Ng'oma,

introduced a motorized tricycle (also known as a 'tuk-tuk') in 2009. A motorcycle owned by another operator named Nthakomwa operated from December 2009 to December 2010 on the Old Town-Katawa route, charging MWK100 per trip (bicycles charged MWK50–70). With a full tank of petrol (8.4 litres) costing MWK1,800 and sufficient to last for two days, he earned a gross income of MWK3,500–5,000. Although he had steadily attracted passengers, he sold the motorcycle to raise funds to repair a family car that had been involved in an accident.⁷

Experience also points to two other main explanations for the rise of *Sacramentos* as an important transport service: Firstly, despite being Malawi's most rapidly growing urban area, the socio-political context that defines resource allocation has left the spatial and population growth unmatched by infrastructure investment. Only 22 per cent of the city's 220 km road network is tarred, as it rarely benefits from the national fund for urban infrastructure development. The earth or gravel roads that dominate the public road network are heavily potholed and gullied, while feeder roads serving the densely populated low-income neighbourhoods are essentially tracks or footpaths (Mzuzu City Council, 2011, pp. 82–86). Aided by the high bicycle-to-population ratio and poor road conditions that exclude minibuses and roving motor vehicle taxis from operating in most parts of the city, *Sacramentos* thus emerged as a more practical transport mode.

Secondly, impetus for the growth of bicycle taxis came from the collapse of the public transport services following the 1990s, when the state-owned public bus service, Shire Bus Lines, lost its monopoly primarily due to the combined effects of poor management and structural adjustment policies. Liberalization of the public transport sector made it difficult for Shire Bus Lines to compete profitably as private and small-scale operators entered the market in large numbers within a short period (CFTC, 2007), leading to its ultimate liquidation in 2007. The collapse of public transport services therefore created a market for *Sacramentos*, minibuses and motor vehicle taxis. However, motorized operators avoided the densely populated locations because of poor roads. In this context, bicycle taxis emerged not only in Mzuzu but also in many urban centres of Malawi to satisfy middle-market demand for urban transport services (Howe, 2003). In Mzuzu city, this was enhanced by the high cost of 'sole hire' motor vehicle taxis and the inefficiencies of minibuses.⁸ Minibus services thus diverted to long-distance routes while sole hire motor vehicle taxis had to make do with high-end customers.

Operator characteristics and organization

The exact number of bicycle taxis currently operating in Mzuzu is unknown. The Mzuzu City Council estimates that there could be about 4,000 taxis while the National Road Safety Council of Malawi estimates 3,000. Estimates by the Mzuzu Bicycle Taxi Operators' Association suggest a number of 2,800 taxis. A headcount by the Operators' Association revealed 394 registered members, operating from several designated ranks (refer to Table 4.1). A survey conducted by a private firm called Mass Media Centre (MMC) Njinga Taxi Services⁹ suggests a figure of about 800. While recognizing that some operators are not registered or belong to different groups, the total estimates presented here may be exaggerated. In any case, due to free entry and exit, the actual number of operators is difficult to enumerate. But it is clear this number is increasing due to massive patronage (*Malawi News*, 2011).

The profile of bicycle taxi operators in Mzuzu is not well documented. Jimu (2008) characterizes the operators as poor migrants who seek refuge in bicycle taxis before they can, or have failed to, find a formal job. This view is shared by Cervero and Golub (2007), who describe informal operators as low-skilled young migrants attracted by the opportunities of the informal transport sector in urban areas due to the availability of surplus labour in the countryside. This study confirms some of these observations. For example, with a median age of 25, all 47 operators interviewed in 2010 lived in low-income areas such as Mchengautuwa (34 per cent of the total number of respondents), Zolozolo (19 per cent), Chiputula (8.5 per cent) and Hilltop (8.5 per cent). Some were recent rural-urban migrants, having lived in the city less than a year,

Table 4.1 Number of operators, distributed by rank (2010)

Rank	Number of operators
St John of God/Namizu	166
Mathabwa/Chiputula	93
Katoto	28
Chibuku	22
PTC Old Town	18
Bus station	22
Luwinga & Lunyangwa	30
Mchengautuwa	15
Total	394

Source: Mzuzu Bicycle Taxi Operators' Association; Mtafu Manda (2010).

but others had lived in the city for over 15 years (their average stay in Mzuzu was about seven years). Over one in ten had moved from the other urban centres of Blantyre, Lilongwe and Zomba, upon hearing of the *Sacramento* boom affecting Mzuzu. One operator, Jube Banda, had migrated from Madise, a town in central Malawi, located approximately 300 km from Mzuzu. He operated a bicycle taxi in Madise for three years. When he heard of the boom in Mzuzu, he decided to migrate in 2010 to make more money from his business. While he earned about MWK800 per day in Madise, in Mzuzu he earned MWK2,000 daily. He has since decided to stay longer, procuring household goods such as a TV and investing part of his income in a grocery shop.¹⁰

However, the 47 respondents had varied characteristics and included both formally employed and unemployed persons. Monthly incomes ranged from less than MWK5,000 to over MWK50,000. For one-fifth of the operators interviewed, operating a *Sacramento* was only a secondary job or business. In this group, operators were involved in various types and levels of formal employment. Some held senior positions in the government, police or military. Others were security guards, messengers or shop assistants. They all had one motive in common, however: to earn extra income. For example, Mr Y (real identity withheld) was a library assistant at Mzuzu University. He owned three bicycles. He started the business after being pressured by bicycle taxi operators who noted he rode to work in the morning, and back in the evening. One operator requested to rent the bike during the workday, when it was idle, at a fee. When Mr Y eventually agreed to the deal, he realized its profitability and went on to buy two more bicycles. Mr Y explained that the business supplemented his income significantly. The only challenge was that the operators started lying about their actual earnings and paid him less than the agreed daily amount for rent.¹¹

Although the majority of interviewed operators had only been educated to the level of primary school, there were some who held a Malawian School Certificate (an equivalent of the O-level in the United Kingdom). Furthermore, nearly 75 per cent of the operators owned the bicycles they were using, while 23 per cent rented from businessmen and two per cent were employees. For those owning the bicycles, many had initially used rented bicycles and had saved enough money to buy their own. Owners include both small- (owning as few as two taxis) and large-scale entrepreneurs owning over 20 bicycles. At least three had secured loans from banks and microfinancing institutions (*OIBM Bank*, *Pride Malawi* and *FINCA*) or borrowed cash from relations to buy the bicycles. Regular income from the taxis enabled some operators

to service their loans – in the process making them bankable. Their clients ranged in terms of gender, age and class: from workers, students, businessmen to medical patients – all wishing to reach their destinations quickly or requiring a door-to-door delivery service.

Bicycle cost and design

The bicycle taxi is an ordinary bicycle with a carrier, usually with a passenger seat positioned behind the rider. To buy the bicycle one needs about MWK15,000 to MWK20,000, but with improvements to the design (to increase passenger capacity, for example), the total cost can increase by MWK10,000 to MWK15,000. Therefore, the minimum total investment is approximately US\$60, in a context where the average GDP per capita in 2011 was US\$383, according to UNdata.¹² Some operators buy parts and assemble the bicycles themselves or with the assistance of others. The cost of these parts may be MWK6,000 for the frame; MWK1,300 for the fork; MWK1,500 for handles; MWK600 for fork supports; and MWK2,700 for the seat and carrier improvements. Since bicycles are traditionally for private use, for them to be transformed into commercially operated passenger transport vehicles they must undergo comprehensive improvements. Some of these improvements include: firstly, raising the saddle to allow the operator to sit upright, rather than bend his back, so that when he rides he is almost in a standing position, thereby decreasing lower back strain and allowing him to work long hours. Secondly, the original carrier behind the operator may be replaced with a stronger, wider and longer version, made from 16 mm thick steel bars used in building construction reinforcement. The bars are covered under a padded mattress coated with synthetic leather, which provides adequate comfort for passengers and makes the seat waterproof. Due to the modified carrier's increased size, passengers can usually carry children or a basket full of heavy shopping placed between the operator's back and the passenger's lap. Some carriers are long enough to allow two passengers to ride the bicycle taxi. Thirdly, if the stand is one that makes the bicycle tilt when parked, it may be replaced by a steel bar that balances either side of the bicycle. This increases the bicycle's stability and makes embarking and disembarking easier, especially for women passengers. Fourthly, and in response to complaints from authorities, the bicycle may have reflectors mounted on the mudguards. Indeed, some bicycle taxis are decorated with reflectors to be colourful and

attractive. At night the bicycles add their own aesthetic dimension to the Mzuzu streetscape as they whizz past and traverse the narrow streets of the usually dark city. Fifthly, the ringing bell may be replaced with one that has a hooting trumpet-like sound, used both to warn pedestrians and to call potential customers. Sixthly, the bicycle headlamp, whose brightness depends on the rate at which the wheels revolve, may be enhanced with a torch mounted over the handlebar. Other possible improvements include the installation of rear-view mirrors and bumpers. The bicycles may also have imprints of a variety of names, statements and faux registration numbers (such as 'BMW') on the rear mudguard, for pride and showmanship. Names include those of musicians like 'Yellow Man' or tribal identities like 'Luchenza Boys'. Statements may be biblical, such as 'God is alive' and '*Mpharazgi* [Ecclesiastes] 3:1', or can be more advisory like '*musonepo*' ['keep your mouth shut'] and 'jealous people never win'. Some operators wear helmets or reflector shirts distributed by the National Road Safety Council. The bicycles are constantly wiped with bath towels, and their tyres polished to attract customers.

When asked about returns from all the investments they make on the bicycles, Steven Gama, a respondent who operates on the St John of God-Chiwavi route, explained:

At each rank, we have many operators competing for customers. Unlike the motor vehicle taxis, we do not shout out to call customers. It is sometimes up to the customer to choose the best. Although some operators have established clientele, many customers actually go for the quality of the bicycle.¹³

Benefits of *Sacramento* business

While many different benefits have been linked to informal non-motorized transportation services, including their environmental benefits from reduced air and noise pollution (Sirakis, 2000; Howe and Davis, 2002; Diaz Olvera et al., 2010), the most noticeable is job creation for the low-skilled or non-skilled (see Cervero and Golub, 2007) and thereby helping operators earn income for various purposes. In Uganda, job creation is reportedly the most important benefit of the industry (Howe and Davis, 2002). Whitelegg and Williams (2000) reveal that in the case of India non-motorized transport generates a significant degree of non-skilled employment and is highly important

in maintaining the incomes of vulnerable urban residents. In Mzuzu, some bicycle taxi operators are direct employees while the majority are self-employed. Bicycle assembly or repair yards have also emerged in locations where taxis gather and operate, signalling the industry's potential for promoting local economic development.

Working on a six-day week, operators are generally able to earn between MWK400 and MWK1,600 (between US\$1 and US\$4) per day, depending on the length of their workday and the frequency of trips made. In a month it is therefore possible to earn between MWK7,200 and MWK40,000 (the mean monthly income of interviewed operators was MWK19,494). The larger figure reflects unexpectedly high income levels during periods of fuel shortage, when the number of bicycle taxi customers increases as personal cars and motor taxis are unable to operate as per normal. During such crises, *Sacramento* operators take advantage and earn far more than usual. For example, in November 2010, in the midst of a protracted national fuel shortage, many operators were able to earn a maximum of MWK4,000 (US\$10) in a day, compared to the usual maximum of MWK1,000 (*The Nation*, 2010). However, the majority earn between MWK10,000 (US\$23) and MWK30,000 (US\$70) per month. For a country with a legal minimum wage (in 2012) of only MWK373 (US\$0.86) per day, such an income is quite substantial. In fact, it is comparable to a qualified primary school teacher's monthly wage of MWK19,000 (US\$44). With this money, operators claim they are able to pay for food, school fees, house rentals and water bills, as well as to have their houses connected to electricity systems. Using an average household size of five persons, the 394 registered operators in Mzuzu may therefore be supporting the livelihoods of nearly two thousand people in the city. Some also claimed to invest in more bicycles or grocery shops. Unsurprisingly, the business attracts more participants. This is demonstrated by the reflections of Joseph Hara, one of the respondents:

I have lived in Mzuzu since 1999. I wrote the certificate examination and passed with 37 points. I have worked at Mzuzu City Council, Sogrea Construction and also for National Statistics Office as an enumerator in 2008 census. I rented the bicycle of a soldier from Moyale at MWK250 per day and earned between MWK900 and MWK1,500 daily for myself. It was necessary to rent a bicycle because every person must work to earn a living. When I heard my friends talk of bicycle taxi business where one chooses when to start work and when to knock off, I thought I should also engage in it. I returned

the bicycle I rented, and used part of the funds I got from my census job (MWK63,000) to buy my own bicycle at MWK22,000 in 2008. I was very surprised when the soldier encouraged me to start my own business saying I had shown seriousness. I now earn about MWK1,000 daily or MWK30,000 monthly all to myself. To be frank it is very difficult to keep this money because it is hand to mouth, but we meet our basic needs.¹⁴

The experiences of Joseph Stima, another respondent who currently owns five bicycle taxis, operating one himself and hiring out the rest, also demonstrates the attractiveness of the industry to those entering the job market:

I have lived in Mzuzu since 1994 after moving from Blantyre. My mother who is from Ekwendeni chose to work in Mzuzu after the death of my father. I entered the business in 2004 as I needed additional income to support my family as I married in 1998. I bought my first bicycle at MWK7,500. To start, I saw two men operating along Chiwavi road. When I asked them they said they had done the business in Lilongwe town before and it was lucrative. After joining I made between MWK800 and MWK1,000 daily. It was a lot of money to meet most of my needs. These days I make about MWK1,000 to MWK1,200 if I work full-time but I used to buy more things before. I now have five bicycles. I had to buy more bicycles because some of my friends required hiring. My friends give me MWK200 each daily. Since I also work at Auction Floors I only operate between five o'clock in the morning and eight o'clock at night. I work as a bale caller [calls producers to bring forward their tobacco bales for weighing] since 5 May 1999 at Auction Floors where I get MWK19,870 monthly. The job is seasonal, for six months between March and September every year. When off-season I am on the road full-time. I have now managed to build a four-bedroom house for myself at Ching'ambo. The house measures eleven metres long and seven and a half metres wide. I just need to finish the cement floor. The money for this is mainly from bicycles hired out. Although there is constant conflict with the police, bicycle business cannot stop in Mzuzu. In Ching'ambo and Botanic Garden there are no roads for cars. People need to be at work on time. We also help the police when they are investigating issues in the locations. They hire us because their vehicles cannot go to these locations. Some workers may forget office keys; we take them home and back quickly.¹⁵

The second major benefit of *Sacramentos* is that they provide a transport service to the city, which otherwise lacks sufficient service coverage from other transportation networks (cf. Cervero and Golub, 2007). Since Malawi has one of the lowest per capita car ownership levels,¹⁶ primarily due to the high acquisition costs of private cars (including an import duty of 120 per cent), the population is largely dependent on walking as a way of getting around the city. *Sacramentos* offer a cost-effective service to the city in many ways: services are door to door, flexible enough to deviate from standard routes (Cervero and Golub, 2007) and able to operate on footpaths and the narrow tracks of the largely informal city. *Sacramentos* transport children to and from schools thereby helping parents save time and money. Workers are taken straight to their offices or homes, which facilitates their punctuality and safety. Operators can charge either a daily or monthly contract fee payment. From the 47 respondents interviewed, 40 per cent had contracted clients ranging from one customer to six customers. Earnings from these customers varied significantly, ranging from MWK7,500 (US\$17) to MWK10,000 (US\$23) depending on the frequency of trips made during the month. *Sacramentos* also provide connecting services, at affordable rates, for passengers disembarking from buses, or for workers and businessmen moving between one point and another in town, if they consider the trip too long to walk (cf. Diaz Olvera et al., 2010). Sole hire motor vehicle taxis would charge MWK500 for a trip costing only MWK100 on a *Sacramento*. Forty two of the 47 interviewed operators claimed that they carry between five and 75 passengers on a daily basis.

A third benefit of *Sacramentos* is that they have become a trusted local courier service supporting businessmen and workers seeking to deliver documents and other materials. *Sacramento* operators are sometimes entrusted by clients with large amounts of cash for delivery elsewhere, or to purchase commodities from wholesalers to supply shops in the neighbourhoods, or alternatively, they may be hired to purchase goods and deliver these to particular homes. As such, operators have not only become trusted, but have also developed personal relationships with their clients. Many of the operators have acquired cellular telephones to facilitate communication with clients and amongst themselves. As one respondent and resident of Mzuzu outlined:

Though there have been some deviants, these boys [bicycle taxi operators] help us a lot. One does not leave one's job just to deliver a kilogram of beef home, so I pay him MWK100 to deliver it to my

home and report back. This is much cheaper than if travelling myself, and my work is not disturbed.¹⁷

A worker at the Aunt Clara (beer) bottle store in Chiwavi added:

Sometimes we run out of stock while there are many customers. We do not want our customers to know we have a shortage, as they may not come next time. So we ask *Sacramento* operators to ride to a wholesaler and purchase crates of drinks for us. This helps us satisfy our customers here, but it is also cheaper than if we hire motor vehicle taxis.¹⁸

The fourth benefit, and perhaps as yet misunderstood by city authorities in Malawi and elsewhere, is that *Sacramentos* are a major business engagement. Although Howe and Davis (2002) report that in Uganda, bicycle (and motorcycle) taxis are associated with high unit costs and relatively low incomes, *Sacramentos* are without doubt a lucrative business venture in Malawi. Some workers invest in bicycles and rent them out, or recruit employees not only in Mzuzu, but also in other cities and towns. Some of these businessmen are covertly engaged in the industry because of their positions in government or the police service.

An example is one respondent, Joseph Gondwe, who can be categorized as a middle-income government worker, and who has chosen to operate *Sacramentos* as an additional business venture. He works for the Mzuzu Central Hospital as radiographer, and holds a diploma in radiography from Malawi College of Health Sciences in Lilongwe. Previously, he ran a small grocery shop by his house in Chiwavi. In 2006, Dalison Mwakihala, a relative to a neighbour, requested Gondwe to buy a bicycle for him (Mwakihala) to operate as a taxi. Mwakihala had already worked for someone and he knew the business, but Gondwe did not. Dalison told Gondwe he would bring MWK250 daily and that would cover the cost of the bicycle within a month. Gondwe felt the need to help and engage in the business as it compared favourably with the profits from his grocery shop. He bought the first bicycle in various parts, and had someone else assemble it. The total cost came to MWK17,000. Dalison started operating the bicycle as a taxi, but since Gondwe was not very serious about the business, he never recorded his earnings. Later Gondwe bought more bicycles from his salary and profits, and started recording all income and expenditure transactions for each bicycle in a file. By end of 2010, Gondwe owned 15 bicycle taxis – all rented out.

An operator would collect the bicycle from his home in the morning and return it in the evening. Although some bicycles have been stolen in the past, some operators have become trusted and are allowed to keep the bicycle for a week. Each operator pays Gondwe MWK300 per day (any cash above this is retained by the operators who can take home between MWK500 and MWK1,200 daily). Each operator must sign an agreement that they will bring back MWK300 per day. Gondwe does not operate the bicycles on Sundays, as this is when they undergo repairs. With 15 bicycles, Gondwe earns MWK90,000 per month, which is over twice his monthly salary at the hospital. He uses the earnings to invest in tobacco farming and to give loans of MWK10,000 to MWK20,000 to fellow government employees at the hospital (at a 20 per cent interest rate). Gondwe is also investing in a house-building project.¹⁹

Challenges faced by operators

Despite the obvious benefits of the bicycle taxi industry outlined above, no specific policies exist for the regulation of bicycle taxis in Mzuzu, or indeed elsewhere in Malawi. According to Patrick Ng'oma, who owns a three-wheeled motorized taxi (refer to Figure 4.1), the authorities lack a policy framework and are not forward-looking. His story is illustrative of the obstacles and frustrations that bicycle taxi operators face in their attempts to consolidate their urban livelihoods.

For several years Patrick Ng'oma had worked in a pharmacy in Tanzania, before returning to Malawi in 1989. He applied to operate a pharmacy in Mzuzu but was refused permission, so he started operating a grocery shop in 1990. He stopped the grocery business because he found himself giving out items free of charge. In 2005 he bought a minibus. At one stage he owned three minibuses, but found that these were difficult to manage. His exploits made him believe the transport business was fine, as everybody in Mzuzu appeared to be time conscious. However, for a minibus to be filled with passengers it takes time. The alternative is operating motor vehicle and bicycle taxis. But since cars are expensive, he opted to buy a tricycle in Dar es Salaam at a cost of MWK450,000. He thought that passengers would prefer it to a bicycle for safety reasons. Also, since there were three seats, he would make more cash and help reduce congestion in town as passenger waiting time would be reduced. His view was that one day, bicycle taxi operators would graduate to the use of tricycles. However, he faced serious problems. Within a month of being issued with a red number plate²⁰ MZ 7957 to operate in town, Road Traffic Directorate officials reversed



Figure 4.1 Ng'oma's three-wheeled taxi: can it resolve the safety concern?
Source: Mtafu Manda (2011).

the decision because they said there was no law governing the use of his vehicle as a taxi. So Ng'oma went to the Road Traffic Directorate head office in Lilongwe and met the Director personally. Following the discussion, Ng'oma wrote a letter on 29 October 2009 to ask for permission to operate his taxi. The Directorate replied, advising the regional road traffic officer to 'define routes on which [Ng'oma] shall be allowed to operate [outside the town] and to grant permission to this applicant in writing with copies to police and this office'.²¹ The Chiwavi-St John of God route was specified for Ng'oma's use. This approval took nearly three months to secure, and required the intervention of the head office of the Directorate. Ng'oma found that such indecision showed that authorities had no policies and plans for how to resolve the issue. For him, banks and microfinance institutions could support operators to buy their vehicles, and to transport passengers more safely and more efficiently. However, such conflicts make it difficult to persuade banks or microfinance institutions to support these operators. A bicycle at best can make MWK30,000 per month; at worst, a three-wheeler can make MWK120,000 per month.

The second challenge to bicycle taxi operators relates to police harassment of their activities. While bicycle taxis are a major feature in all urban centres in Malawi, it is only in Mzuzu that operators have their bicycles seized. On a daily basis, at least one bicycle is seized by police, with operators charged between MWK2,000 to MWK3,000 to reclaim their bicycles. On 20 May 2010, the police, who call themselves '*boma*' ['the government'], seized 175 bicycles and each operator had to pay MWK2,000 to redeem their bicycle for the 'offence of operating in town considering the increased number of accidents involving cyclists' (*Daily Times*, 2010). Between 20 and 30 March 2011, over 200 bicycles were seized and each operator had to pay a fine of MWK3,000. Following a private fight between an off-duty police officer and an operator in Chibanja Township on 1 August 2012, the police, claiming operators had offended *boma*, seized 400 bicycle taxis. Again, operators had to pay a fine of MWK3,000 each for 'wrong parking' (*Nyasa Times*, 2012).

According to Mumtaz and Wegelin, the irregular and illegal nature of informal sector activities makes informal operators 'subject to official harassment or persecution ... [and] difficult to protect' (2001, p. 73). This is illustrated by the seizure of a bicycle taxi owned by Steve Gama for allegedly parking incorrectly. The bicycle had been parked and locked to an electric pole 10 m away from the road as the owner went into town. The police damaged the bicycle as they struggled to destroy the lock. When the owner arrived, he was bundled into the police van. At the police station, he was detained from eight o'clock in the morning until six o'clock in the evening for the offence of 'wrong parking'. His bicycle remained at the police station for three weeks. When he went to redeem it, he was refused because '*munankhwesa chomene imwe*' ['you people do not listen'].²²

During focus group discussions, operators complained that their bicycles were often seized, deep within township locations, for no clear reason. The story of Sailes Manda is frequently cited by operators: In 2010 he had his bicycle seized along St John of God-Chiwavi Road at Chalawambe for 'wrong parking'. When he protested that he was in the location where bicycle taxis are permitted, he was arrested and detained in a cell at Mzuzu Police Station, where he stayed for five days. He was beaten severely while in custody. Eventually he was released without charge.²³

During a focus group discussion, operators alleged that when bicycles are seized, only the poor are targeted:

Ise tikumanyana makola. Njinga zinyake zili mutawuni muno weneko nimabwana yaku police, ku barracks. Kweni zikutoleka yayi. Pala wakola

njinga zawo, wakulipilaso yayi iwo kula. Wakulimbana na ise wakavu. Ka ntchivichi chikuchitika? Wakukhmba kuwiska bizinesi zithu. Nase nimu tikugomezga mwenemumu.

[We the operators know each other very well. Some of the bicycle taxis on the road belong to bosses at the police or military barracks, but these bicycles are never seized, or when they are seized they are redeemed freely. They are always after us, the poor. What is going on? They want to destroy our business, but this is our livelihood].²⁴

In November 2009, the Mzuzu City Council banned the entry of bicycle taxis into the city centre, as a way to reduce congestion and potential accidents. The operators would have to terminate their routes at the following entry points:

- Chibavi Road junction at St John of God College of Health Sciences.
- Masasa Road at Chibuku Industries.
- Chiputula/Chasefu Road at PTC Kwiksava.
- Luwanga at Petroda filling station.
- Mchengautuwa at Bishop House.

According to an Mzuzu City Council official, 'The City accepts that bicycle taxis provide a service to the city, but our roads were designed only for vehicles; they are very narrow. Until such a time we have infrastructure, bicycles pose a serious problem, as they are major cause of accidents. They hit a pedestrian and run away'.²⁵ This concern was not necessarily without basis. In April 2008, an operator named Robson Jere was arrested for killing an unidentified pedestrian with his bicycle. Since Jere had injuries, he was taken for examination at Mzuzu Central Hospital. But he escaped before he had received any treatment. The police have failed to trace him ever since (*Nyasa Times*, 2008). It was for such reasons that the city banned bicycle taxis from entering the city centre.

For local authorities, the problems of *Sacramentos* emanate foremost from their not being registered, and from safety concerns. Registration of passenger transport is a requirement under the Malawi Road Traffic Act (Government of Malawi, 1997) to ensure road safety. Operators who are not authorized are therefore considered to operate illegally. Therefore, although bicycle taxis provide a major transport service, in the present legal framework they remain an illegal activity. The Malawian police appear to be keen to enforce this illegal status, even though police officers are amongst the beneficiaries of this mode of transport (refer to Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2 A bicycle taxi transports a police officer to work in Lilongwe.
Source: Mtafu Manda (2011).

A second major concern for city authorities is that bicycle taxis are in fact a major cause of traffic accidents in the city. Such concerns have been noted by Black, who suggests that although they are feasible in compact cities, 'bicycles do not have one of the best safety records on a per mile of travel basis' (2010, p. 203). According to Mzuzu City Council officials, though operators have created their own jobs, most of them have not received any proper training, and hence they do not ride on the correct side of the roads, do not follow road signs, and do not respect one-way roads.

We have had several meetings with them [bicycle taxi operators] so that they can follow basic road safety regulations such as parking their bicycles outside the road, but they do not follow anything. In several meetings we reason with them about the narrow carriageways of our roads. They appreciate this, and agree to follow simple road safety regulations, but they do not enforce their part of the agreement. The ban for entry to the city centre was not imposed, even though they were part of the proposal. We think the unregulated

entry and exit [of operators] is a major issue, as even when we train them, others join for a few days and leave.²⁶

Bicycle taxi operators said they agreed to stop entering the city centre just to meet the demands of the authorities:

Authorities should also appreciate that sometimes we carry sick clients that we drive to the health centre in the city centre. Some customers arrive late at the bus station, while others are new in the city, so for their security we collect them and take them home or to their lodgings [refer to Figure 4.3].²⁷

Available information suggests that most traffic accidents in Mzuzu are caused by motor vehicles, not bicycles. Between 2003 and 2007, there were 11,975 road accidents recorded (153 were fatal), the majority involving motor vehicles and pedestrians.²⁸ These accidents are often caused by 'driver behaviour' such as speeding and careless overtaking.²⁹ There has been no suggestion from authorities to ban motor vehicles in the city centre for causing such accidents.



Figure 4.3 Bicycle taxis are a transport mode of choice.
Source: Mtafu Manda (2012).

When the 2009 ban was implemented, it coincided with a severe fuel shortage due to a nationwide shortage of foreign exchange. As such, bicycle taxis were on demand to transport people to work and to roam around the city with empty 'jerry cans' in search of fuel. At this time, both the urban function and livelihood aspect of bicycle taxis became apparent, and according to the operators, the police never bothered them.

During focus group discussions, *Sacramento* operators also cited motor vehicle taxi drivers' aggressiveness as a cause for worry, because the police allegedly favour the latter:

The taxis deliberately drive too close to a bicycle taxi operator or sometimes push him off the road. They do not consider that there is a passenger on the *Sacramento*. After the operators and passenger fall down, the car drivers then shout, '*wakukhomela yayi awo*' ['those guys do not pay road tax'].³⁰

The operators tended to find this accusation quite surprising:

Wakuti ise tikukhomera yayi, kweni nga nisuzgo la ise; tikawaphalira kuti ise tiliwakunozgeka kulipira, kuti panji wangaleka kutisuzga. Kweniso, wamagalimoto wakuleka wanthu panthowa, ise tikuwafiska panyumba pawo. Pawemi ni mpha?

[They say we do not pay road tax, but that is not our problem; we have even written to the authorities to request for a fee they want us to pay. We have written to the Council for registration and given them a full list of members. They do not come forward. Above all, the motor vehicle taxi leave passengers on the road, we take them home. Which is better?]³¹

The apparent bias in favour of motor vehicle taxis was recognized by council officials. As Yonah Simwaka, assistant planning officer at Mzuzu City Council, stated:

It is just unfortunate that motor vehicle taxis are seen in the city centre. The meeting that agreed to ban bicycle taxi operators also banned motor vehicle taxis.³² The meeting required that all motor vehicle taxis board passengers from one point and drop them at their destination without boarding any more along the way. The agreement involved bicycle and motor vehicle taxi operators, as well as police, road traffic, road safety council and Council officials.

The idea was to reduce congestion and potential accidents in town. All participants at the meeting appreciated the narrow carriageway of our roads and that many operators lack knowledge of road safety regulation. This is why there was a proposal to conduct training courses for operators.³³

As noted by Ratcliffe (1981), the principal problem is the conflict that takes place between bicycles and motorized vehicles in a transport system almost exclusively designed for the latter. Roads in Mzuzu are narrow, having been designed only for cars. In residential areas, roads are 5.6 m (one-way roads only 2.8 m) wide, with a drain immediately after the yellow line, leaving no space for the passage of pedestrians or bicycles. As such, all traffic must share the roadway. For outsiders, it takes some ingenuity to drive through crowded roads at Mathabwa market or in Chiwavi and Chiputula townships. As noted by Jimu, the real challenge is therefore 'that road design does not allow for efficient cycling in cities and cyclists are often victims of road accidents' (2008, p. 44). For a city with a limited revenue base, benefitting little from national infrastructure investments, the challenge of proper road management is near perpetual.

Organization of the bicycle operators

Given the range of daily challenges faced by *Sacramento* operators, and the clear issues (ranging from policy exclusion to outright harassment) emanating from formal systems of governance, one might expect a response along the lines of political organization and representation amongst those involved in the industry. Indeed in 2006, many of the operators organized into the Mzuzu Bicycle Taxi Operators' Association (hereafter referred to as 'the Association'). The Association federates and manages 'route committees' named after specific departure points or ranks. According to Cervero and Golub (2007), since informal transport operators are usually loosely organized and hence politically weak, when they form associations it is mainly to establish cartels for profit maximization. Prior to 2006 however, Mzuzu operators were only the beneficiaries of an initiative by the Youth Crime Prevention Forum (YCPF), an arm of the community policing service branch of Mzuzu Police. The YCPF aimed to participate in activities related to reduction of road traffic accidents, crime reporting and sensitization of operators on road safety and security issues. When fully established, the aim of the Association would be to represent operators against any harassment

by authorities, to trace members through registration in case of thefts or accidents, and to enforce discipline through fines and sanctions.

However, the Association (which the YCPF assisted to establish) faced organizational problems early in its existence. For example, based on letters written to the chief executive of Mzuzu City Council, the Association changed leaders four times between July and December 2007 alone. As respondent Joseph Stima, former vice chairperson of the Association, commented:

It is not that we are disorganized but YCPF leaders misused money meant for the Association. We had agreed that each operator should pay a membership fee of MWK500 of which MWK350 was for IDs while MWK150 was for the Association. Elected leaders would lead the Association. We agreed to open a bank account but YCPF leaders disappeared with all the money. At that time there were about 500 registered members. We just heard the one who was chairman left for South Africa. The police did not help, yet they endorsed YCDF. This is what led to mistrust of any leadership as operators think anyone can run away with registration fees.³⁴

Whatever the arguments, the Association remained disorganized. They had persistent leadership wrangles and lacked any formal contact point except for a post office box and cellular telephone numbers. This situation left the Association's members and new operators without guidance. Another challenge emerged in 2009 with the formation and launch of a rival organization, the MMC Njinga Taxi Services (MMC). With the motto, 'Reducing problems faced by bicycle taxi operators', MMC aimed to 'promote cooperation amongst all stakeholders working towards reducing road accidents involving bicycle taxis ... [as a way] to improve service delivery in the industry'.³⁵ Membership of MMC was open to all bicycle taxi associations across the country, on a voluntary basis. Amongst other forms of support, MMC sought 'to help members whose bicycles have been stolen or require repair following road accidents and to support members to access bank and microfinance loans for purchasing bicycles and spare parts'.³⁶

While the emergence of MMC enabled the registration of some individual operators eager to benefit from loan promises, several operators became suspicious of MMC because of their reluctance to operate from a permanent base in Mzuzu. Instead it operated from Blantyre, a 700 km journey from Mzuzu, and had an agent working in the

city as a regional officer. When the police seized bicycles, MMC did not redeem them. One operator recalled that MMC officials were perpetually unreachable by telephone. According to a discussion with Joseph Stima, contrary to their promises, MMC had concluded a clandestine agreement with Mzuzu Police in which MMC acted as agents while the police facilitated MMC's revenue generation:

All operators were surprised to see MMC members forcibly confiscating bicycles in town and handing them over to Mzuzu Police. At the police station operators are ordered first to pay subscription fees to MMC before they can redeem bicycles. Yet some do not want to belong to MMC because our problems are worsening. The agreement between MMC and the police is not communicated to us. All members that hold MMC IDs were forced by this action.³⁷

This alleged complicity by the police, which contradicts Chapter 4, Section 32(2) of the Malawi Constitution (Government of Malawi, 1994) stating that 'no person may be compelled to join an association',³⁸ was confirmed by Jimmy Ng'oma, vice secretary of the revived Association. He operated from Namizu rank on the Chiwavi route, but had his bicycle seized by the police on 11 March 2011. When he went to redeem it, he was ordered to pay money to MMC first. So he paid MWK500 at the MMC office at Chiwavi. He then presented the receipt at the police station. The police ordered him to pay a further MWK3,000 to reclaim the bicycle. He paid the money and was issued Malawi Government General Receipt No. 921735 for the charge of 'wrong parking of pedal cycle'. Ng'oma explained that he had not gone back to MMC to pay an additional MWK500 required for an identification card (ID) because he was not a member of MMC, but rather he belonged to the Association, which was seen as working for the interests of operators, not the interests of the police. Ng'oma said:

The MMC ID does not help operators. The police sometimes tear the IDs up saying there is no government emblem on them, yet it is the police who send people to MMC. No one knows where the money they collect goes.³⁹

The MMC, which had 84 registered members, charged each operator MWK1,000 of which half was for membership and half for an identity card. Yet the fees paid by individual members ran contrary to the stipulations of the MMC's own rules. The MMC's noble aim to support

operators whose bicycles had been seized by the police, or stolen, was ultimately lost along the way, suggesting the existence of some hidden agenda. Jimmy Mzilahowa, the regional manager for MMC in Mzuzu, explained the situation as follows:

MMC stands for the operators; it is a mistake to suggest that we support the police to harass operators. In most of the incidents operators are innocent, but because they have no voice they are blamed. The Mzuzu City Council itself says it does not want operators because roads are only for cars. When MMC started its operations, the intention was to work with the Association so that all operators have one voice, but we found it was as good as defunct. There was no leadership. Therefore MMC formed its own citywide committee with rank-based branches. The aim of MMC is to stand for operators in the struggle with authorities. So we advise the operators just to follow the demands and go on with their business as it creates jobs for them and we organize training courses so that they understand and follow road safety regulations. For those that are trained, and we have evidence the police have wrongly seized their bicycles, we persuade the police to release the bicycles. For those that are seized for road traffic offences or for entry to the city centre, we say they meet the cost themselves. The confusion comes in because MMC has a sixteen-member patrol team that enforces discipline because that is the only way to win the favour of authorities. The patrol team does not look only for MMC members; rather, it targets all operators violating traffic regulations and the agreement never to operate in the city centre or those not observing regulations as these are issues that give a bad name to the business. It is true that the police send all operators to us when their bicycles are seized on the road before they are redeemed. The reason is that the police want all operators to benefit from the training courses that we organize and they can only benefit if they are our members. Some have actually registered because they learnt of these benefits. Registration is necessary for easy identification. The police say they want operators to learn road safety regulations because most have no knowledge.⁴⁰

It was only after such incidents that an attempt to reorganize the Association by electing a new committee and drafting new regulations was made in 2010. A request made to Mzuzu City Council for official recognition has to first wait for the drafting of new by-laws, but it is worthwhile noting that no such elected councils were permitted to operate

under President Mutharika's eight-year rule, which ended with his death in April 2012. Nevertheless, it appears that effective organization and mobilization for proper policy provisions is a necessity for the mutual benefit of both the bicycle taxi operators and wider society.

Conclusion

The bicycle taxis of Mzuzu are a viable business venture that not only create jobs and income for operators and their families, but also offer a valuable courier and transportation service in localities shunned by other public transport services. The taxi operators engage in the business because of the massive level of demand, and usually do so after careful market studies – even if these studies are made after a short stay in the city. Suggestions that bicycle taxis are simply a refuge or a source of temporary employment are not only empirically questionable but also, perhaps, prejudiced. There is evidence to demonstrate that it is not only the unemployed or recent migrants who enter the bicycle taxi business. Operators can include formal sector employees, some of them working in government, the police or the military. For some operators, this is a business or a second job to provide extra income – after all, few formal workers could resist being involved in such a lucrative venture. Malawi has a relatively small economic base that cannot absorb all job seekers. Some must find viable alternatives, as do bicycle taxi operators in Mzuzu city. A business niche appears to have been found that makes *Sacramentos* thrive. However, problems facing bicycle taxi operators relate to inadequate knowledge of road safety regulations, narrow road carriageways and the general lack of appropriate urban policies to regulate the sector. These problems are worsened by the harassment of the operators by city authorities, who fail to recognize the productive role of this public transport service in the local economy of Mzuzu, where housing locations often lack direct road access due to widespread informality and poor public infrastructure provisions.

Notes

1. Discussion with Joseph Stima (Ching'ambo, 15 July 2010).
2. Discussion with Patson Mwale (Lilongwe, 30 May 2010).
3. Patson Mwale recalled that the first person to operate a *Sacramento* was a man named Harawa. He was followed by Mailosi, Kapesa, Chisasa and himself, in that order, within August 2004.
4. In 2009, official rates showed that US\$1 was equal to MWK110; but in 2012, US\$1 moved from MWK165 in April to MWK250 in May and MWK300 in November.

5. The narrative is based on information contained in an article in *Weekend Nation* (2010).
6. Discussion with Patson Mwale (Lilongwe, 30 May 2010).
7. Discussion with Nthakomwa (Mzuzu, 23 December 2010 and 30 March 2011). His brother working in China sent him the motorcycle.
8. Associations of minibus operators had created a cartel that required vehicles to be filled to capacity before departing, much to the displeasure of their clients.
9. This is a division of a private media company called Mass Media Centre Limited, based in Blantyre and owned by a Malawian journalist.
10. Discussion with Jube Banda (Chiwavi, 30 May 2012).
11. Discussion with Mr Y (Mzuzu University, 7 May 2010).
12. <http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=MALAWI>, date accessed 4 February 2014.
13. Discussion with Steven Gama (St John of God-Chiwavi route, Mzuzu, 20 July 2010).
14. Discussion with Joseph Hara (Mzuzu, 22 May 2010).
15. Discussion with Joseph Stima (Ching'ambo, 15 July 2010).
16. www.nationmaster.com/transportation; www.wikipedia.org/list_of_countries_by_vehicle_per_capita/Malawi, date accessed 30 March 2011.
17. Discussion with mechanic Zebedia Makolo ('old town' part of Mzuzu, Salisbury Lines, 6 July 2010).
18. Discussion with worker at Aunt Clara bottle store (Chiwavi, 6 July 2010).
19. Discussion with Gondwe (Gondwe's house, Chiwavi, July 2010). Gondwe has since been transferred to Karonga in January 2011. He suspected his transfer was meant to frustrate his business.
20. In Malawi, a red number superimposed over a white background means a vehicle is authorized by the Road Traffic Directorate to carry passengers, as distinguished from ordinary vehicles with a black number over a yellow background.
21. Official Letter No. RT/1/4 (Malawi Road Traffic Directorate, Lilongwe, 11 December 2009).
22. Discussion with Steve Gama (St John of God bicycle taxi rank, Mzuzu, 6 April 2010).
23. Discussion with Jimmy Ng'oma (Chiwavi taxi rank, 25 April 2010).
24. Discussion with Focus Group (Mathabwa Market, 22 May 2010).
25. Discussion with Alexander Chirambo, director of planning, Mzuzu City Council (Mzuzu, 20 June 2010).
26. Ibid.
27. Discussion with Zikogha Simfukwe (Chiwavi, 21 March 2011).
28. Mzuzu City Profile, 2011, p. 87.
29. Ibid.
30. Discussion with focus group (Mathabwa market, 22 May 2010).
31. Ibid.
32. Apart from bicycle taxis, Mzuzu is also favoured by motor vehicle taxis that serve as public transport at a minimal fare. Since several businessmen have entered this market, there is stiff competition noticeable through unpredictable driver behaviour.

33. Discussion with Yonnah Simwaka (Mzuzu, 23 July 2010).
34. Discussion with Joseph Stima (Mzuzu, 28 May 2010).
35. MMC letter dated 12 September 2009, addressed to Mzuzu City Council.
36. Ibid.
37. Discussion with Joseph Stima (Mzuzu, 28 May 2010).
38. It is worthwhile noting that MMC Njinga Taxi Services is a private company, and not a non-governmental organization.
39. Discussion with Jimmy Ng'oma (Mzuzu, 19 May 2010).
40. Discussion with Jimmy Mzilahowa (Mzuzu, 30 March 2011).

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5

Relocation and Defiance in the Dhamidja-Azikiwe Informal Shopping Belt in Enugu, Nigeria: Actions Speak Louder than Words

Victor Onyebueke and Christopher Anierobi

Introduction

In Nigeria, informal sector businesses feature prominently in the urban retail system, with its four-pronged hierarchy of the central retail area, subsidiary markets, roadside shopping belts or linear markets, and discrete neighbourhood stores (Mabogunje, 1968; Okoye, 1985; Simon, 1998). Consequently, diversity in both dwelling and space usage has become a dominant urban pattern in the country (Simon, 1989; Onyebueke, 2000; 2001). Despite the embedded nature of informal businesses in Nigerian cities, the situation is still far from hospitable for many informal economic actors, particularly those at the lowest rungs of the urban retail hierarchy. In effect, street traders and other informal entrepreneurs in most Nigerian cities are frequently harassed, extorted, forcibly evicted and occasionally denigrated as ‘miscreants who want to deface the city’¹ (*Vanguard*, 2009; *Punch*, 2010; *The Tide*, 2010).

Such ‘love-hate’² relationships between informal entrepreneurs and planning officials (in some cases, with covert acquiescence of formal businesses) have serious socio-economic and planning consequences not only for Nigerian cities but also for other cities of developing countries (Brown, 2006a). Under conditions of highly unequal power relations, tensions often stem from the struggle between the notions of *conceived space* employed in urban planning, the *perceived space* of planning bureaucrats, and the *used* (or *lived*) space of ordinary urban residents, including informal traders (Lefebvre, 1991; Stillerman, 2006). Here, hapless informal entrepreneurs are known to employ various ‘spatial appropriation tactics’ (Bayat, 1997), involving both family or

social networks and extra-legal transactions such as bribery and coercive practices, to encroach on urban public space (Pratt, 2006; Stillerman, 2006; Brown et al., 2010). The reality of rival claims to this contested space has opened up new platforms in informality studies to challenge a 'received concept' of space, on the one hand (Brown, 2006a; 2006b; Stillerman, 2006), and the fundamental ideas of planning as theorized, taught and practised, on the other (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004; Brown, 2006b; Nnkya, 2008; Watson, 2009). More recently, the incorporation of social equity and rights-based questions in the 'struggle over urban public space' is now drawing attention to the associational life of African street traders and the various mediums through which they try to 'make their voice heard in changing local political environments' (Brown et al., 2010, p. 670).

Based on this frame of reference, this chapter examines a recent partial relocation scheme in the city of Enugu, in southeastern Nigeria. It is termed 'partial' due to its fractional conception and implementation that targeted only sections and fragments of this burgeoning linear market. Hence, the scheme involves the attempt of the Enugu State Housing Development Corporation (ESHDC) to relocate several street traders from the informal linear market aligning the Dhamidja Avenue and Nnamdi Azikiwe Avenue arterial routes in the Trans-Ekulu housing estate, a medium-income neighbourhood located in the northeastern fringes of Enugu city. The objective of the study is to examine the nature and procedure of this relocation exercise, with a view to ascertaining the rationale and consistency of the exercise as a whole. Furthermore, four specific objectives are pursued: (i) to examine the intentions and procedures surrounding the ESHDC relocation scheme; (ii) to assess the physical conditions of the trading places and the occupancy status of the street traders; (iii) to evaluate the impact of the relocation attempt on the businesses by revealing the narratives or 'stories' of the affected traders; and (iv) to sift valuable lessons for urban planning theory and practice as applicable to Nigeria in particular and other developing countries in general.³

The choice of a case study and narrative approach is both mediatory and intentional. It is mediatory in the sense that it is an offshoot of the Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS) case study workshop series held in 2009–2010,⁴ and intentional because the methodology is effective for eliciting an in-depth, process-oriented and context-specific account of the key actors in this state-led relocation project (Flyvbjerg, 2004; Lerise, 2009; Leedy and Ormrod, 2010). Moreover, Sandercock has argued that 'stories and storytelling are central to planning practice' (2003, p. 26). Hitherto in Nigeria, scant attention has been given

to case study methods in urban research to the extent that quantitative methods and techno-bureaucratic perspectives are often prized over qualitative and value-based assessments (Onyebueke and Geyer, 2011). With little or no opportunity or outlet in the popular press, least of all academic publications, to express their opinions and frustrations, most informal street traders are rendered voiceless. The current study sought to correct a lopsided focus that habitually sidesteps the yearnings and voices of people affected by planning actions. This is because capturing the opinions and lived experiences of informal sector operatives is fundamental to gaining a better understanding of the spatial demands and inner logic associated with urban informality.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first presents the study background and context as it pertains to the key issues involved in the planning exercise. Section 2 describes the study area, the rationale and procedure of the case study research method employed, as well as the event details and the roles played by key actors in the relocation scheme. Section 3 offers a narrative account of the ESHDC relocation effort with the expectation that the personal stories of diverse local actors will give perspective to the chain of events that unfolded. Based on all of this, the chapter concludes by drawing out lessons for planning theory and practice in Nigeria and other developing countries.

The study area

Trans-Ekulu housing estate is a medium-income neighbourhood located in the northeastern fringes of Enugu, the capital city of Enugu State, Nigeria. The neighbourhood has a total population of about 19,933⁵ and occupies a land area of approximately 65.5 ha. The neighbourhood was developed in phases, each one with a diverse mix of house types. Phases I, II and III were built between 1976 and 1981, and Phases IV, V and VI were completed in the early 2000s. The Trans-Ekulu neighbourhood was constructed through a contractor-finance arrangement by the institutional antecedent of the ESHDC.⁶

Over the years, the neighbourhood grew both in population and in size, for the most part in a northward direction. Before long, the only shopping centre built in 1977 alongside Road 12 in Phase I of the estate became increasingly isolated from the rest of the neighbourhood (refer to Figure 5.1). Apart from its stock of 48 well-built lockup stores, the outlying position of the Road 12 Shopping Centre relative to the rest of Trans-Ekulu and the main thoroughfares (Dhamidja Avenue and Nnamdi Azikiwe Avenue, in particular – refer to Figure 5.2) contributed to its unattractiveness as a viable trading location. No practical

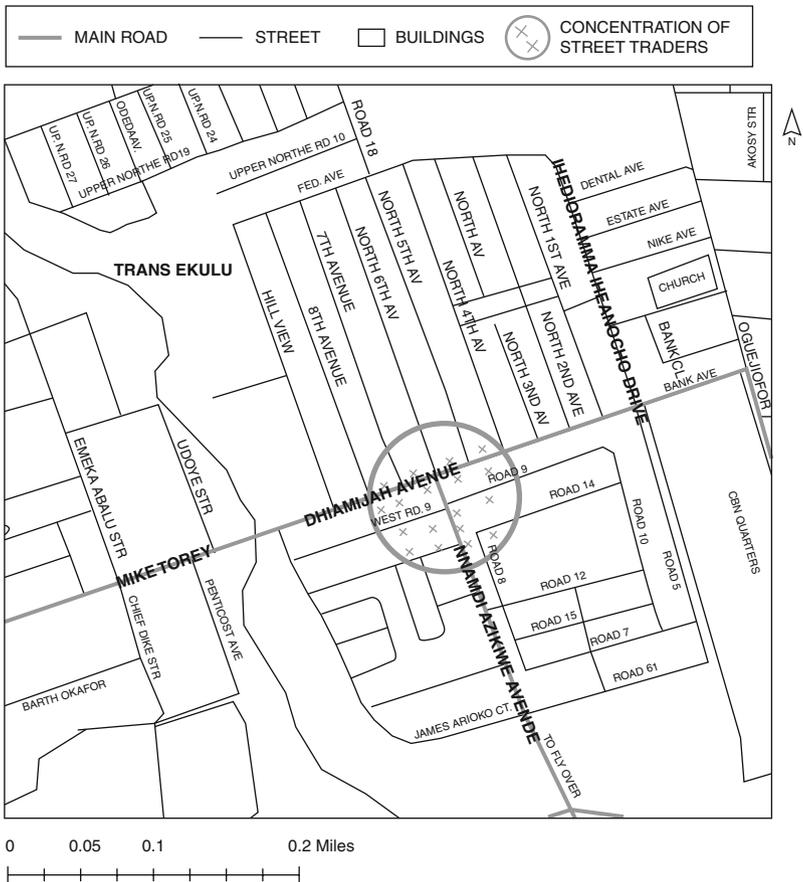


Figure 5.1 Sketch map of Trans-Ekulu neighbourhood, showing the Dhamidja-Azikiwe axis (encircled).
 Source: Victor Onyebueke and Christopher Anierobi's sketch (2010).

step was taken to provide an alternative trading and shopping facility until the late 1980s, only after the traders had shifted their business locations and attention to Dhamidja Avenue. Four main factors are known to have stimulated the new informal business agglomeration in Dhamidja Avenue: (i) centrality of this location; (ii) attraction of street traders to flows and concentration of vehicular and pedestrian traffic (Dewar and Watson, 1990; Dewar, 2005); (iii) availability of a lot measuring approximately 5,800 m² that adjoins the avenue; and



Figure 5.2 Sections of the shopping belt in Dhamidja Avenue in Trans-Ekulu, Enugu.

Source: Victor Onyebueke and Christopher Anierobi's collection (15 January 2010).

(iv) the general proliferation of informal sector enterprises in Enugu and other Nigerian cities due to the process of economic structural adjustment that commenced in the country in 1985 (Meagher and Yunusa, 1996).

Before long, the precipitous erection of makeshift stores and stalls in this outstretched space gave way to a spontaneous linear market extending along Dhamidja Avenue. The resulting informal shopping facility survived for over a decade until it was demolished in August 1993. While this linear market lasted, it contained a wide array of informal enterprises such as provision stores, fruit and vegetable stalls, eateries, beer parlours, barber and hair-dressing salons, laundries and so on. After the total demolition of the makeshift structures, kiosks, and stalls in the area, the ESHDC erected a row of 86 detached lockup stores to replace them. These survive to the present day. Each unit structure is comprised of two stores with a total floor area of about 8.5 m², including the storage sections at each end (see Figure 5.3). The setback of each structure



Figure 5.3 A perspective view (a) and elevation (b) of a typical double-store block in the Dhamidja Avenue shopping row in Trans-Ekulu, Enugu, built by ESHDC in 1990.

Source: Victor Onyebueke and Christopher Anierobi's collection (15 January 2010).

is roughly 3 m from the edge of the road. On completion, each unit structure sold for NGN120,000 (US\$6,936 at the equivalent 1993 value). Whatever the benefits of this project to the area in terms of design restoration and spatial order, they were sadly short-lived. This is because many tenants, particularly those whose houses abutted the major streets in the estate, were then emboldened to start copying this development style by erecting identical shop structures in nearby spaces. Even the new owners of the ESHDC-constructed stores had extensions built into the interstices that separated the double-store blocks (see Figure 5.2). A recent enumeration survey conducted by the authors revealed that the Dhamidja-Azikiwe Avenue linear market currently hosts a total of about 235 informal businesses or enterprises (187 lockup stores and 48 stalls), which make up nearly 61 per cent of the 388 businesses identified in the entire neighbourhood. The significance of this resultant business agglomeration is not only due to the disproportionately high number of businesses located here but also because of their wide variety. Table 5.1 indicates the categories and types of informal businesses in the area.

Table 5.1 Categories and types of informal sector businesses in the Dhamidja-Azikiwe Avenue linear market in Trans-Ekulu neighbourhood, Enugu (2010)

Enterprise category	Informal sector operators/activities
Processing	Grinding and milling
Repair works	Generator repairs, refrigerator repairs, television/radio/electronic garget repairs, shoe mending, cloth mending, mobile phone repairs and other minor repairs
Personal services	Laundry and dry cleaning, hair barbing, hairdressing and braiding, manicure and pedicure
Trading	Provision stores, pharmacies and patent medicine stores, specialized sales (electric and electronic, cooking gas, mobile phone accessories/cards, plumbing wares, engine oil), hiring services (plates and cutleries, wedding accessories, film videos and CDs, ladders and scaffoldings), boutiques, eating places, beer parlours, traditional snacks (<i>okpa</i> , <i>akarà</i> and <i>akamu</i>), ⁷ <i>suya</i> ⁸ stalls, fruits and vegetable sellers, and car washing
Technical services	Motor and motorcycle mechanics, battery charging, panel beating, tyre vulcanizing, metal welding, photography and video coverage, computer centres, and cyber cafes
Fabrication works	Metal fabrication, tailoring, cobblers or shoemakers

Source: Informal sector enumeration survey conducted between 7 May and 30 June 2010.

The following section describes how the research for this case study was carried out.

Case study selection and research methodology

Besides the general justification for case study methods highlighted in the introductory section, other area-specific rationales were also considered. As mentioned earlier, the multifaceted and intermittent nature of the relocation scheme made its implementation procedure somewhat ambiguous. A measure of this fact was that it was difficult for any interviewee to relate the appearance of the first removal notices on 9 August 2007 – inscribed in red paint on the store walls, stipulating a 10 September 2007 deadline (see Figure 5.4) – with a series of other ostensibly unrelated events in the entire planning scheme. These events included: (i) the expansion of the Road 12 Shopping Centre (shown in Figure 5.5) that began about 16 months later (on 10 January 2009); (ii) the second removal notice issued by the Enugu State Ministry of Environment and Solid Minerals (ESMESOM)⁹ on 17 August 2009; and (iii) the ESHDC business relocation attempt that took place four months afterwards.

The study spanned a period of nearly two years, from 5 March 2010 to 25 November 2011. Apart from some operational delays, the recurring need to cross-check available facts or verify new data as they arose also accounted for the amount of time spent doing fieldwork. For the sake of clarity, the research process can be categorized into five distinct stages, although in reality the fieldwork modules were undertaken concurrently. They included:

1. Study overview, mapping and photographic surveys.
2. Literature search/review.
3. Further data capture by means of site reconnaissance (or ‘wandering around’), spot surveys, questionnaire survey and interviews with key informants.
4. Fact-finding visits to the offices of ESHDC and ESMESOM.
5. Data collation and analysis.

Apart from the use of multiple data sources which enabled some common issues in the dataset to be properly double-checked for consistency and validity (methodological triangulation), a feedback mechanism incorporated into the data collection process ensured that respondents’ stories were cross-checked with the testimonies of other respondents or



Figure 5.4 Shops marked for demolition in Nnamdi Azikiwe Avenue in Trans-Ekulu, Enugu.

Source: Victor Onyebueke and Christopher Anierobi's collection (15 January 2010).

(a)



(b)



Figure 5.5 The additional 44 stores erected by ESHDC at the Road 12 Shopping Centre.

Source: Victor Onyebueke and Christopher Anierobi's collection (15 January 2010).

informants (data triangulation). These measures took cognizance of the fact that case study findings could be subject to continuous interpretation and revisions.

The study made use of both primary and secondary data. Whereas secondary data sources include published materials (books, journals, gazettes, newspapers and so on) and 'grey literature' (government and agency reports, circulars and so on), primary data were obtained from the field through survey work. Direct observations of the site enabled the researchers to gather visual and photographic information, as well as quantitative (business enumeration survey) and qualitative (the general condition and ambience of the study area) data. A stratified random sample of 200 businesses ($n=388$) in Trans Ekulu were issued with a questionnaire. This gave a representative sample of the businesses based on a percentage ratio of 60:40 for two conceived strata – the linear market and the rest of Trans-Ekulu neighbourhood respectively. This is not only because the Dhamidja-Azikiwe linear market is the key action area but also because it holds over 60 per cent ($n=235$) of the total business stock of 388 in the estate. The questionnaire sought to determine, amongst other things, the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, the typology of local businesses, the nature of the business locations and the impact of the ESHDC scheme. A total of 175 survey forms were collected, giving a response rate of 87.5 per cent. The questionnaire survey process provided an opportunity to get acquainted with, and build the trust of, many informal trader respondents, many of whom had become quite wary of and apprehensive toward any traces of 'officialdom' (see Pratt, 2006, p. 51). This made it easier to obtain crucial information from the traders. A number even volunteered information on follow-up contacts and potential interviewees.

In order to contextualize the ESHDC relocation scheme, an attempt is made here to serialize the chain of events as a framework for clarifying the causal relationships at hand. In this regard, we present a time-activity sequence showing the six ostensibly discontinuous steps in the entire scheme:

1. 9 August 2007: the first removal notice is inscribed on 'unapproved' shops and makeshift structures by the development control unit of ESHDC.
2. 10 January 2008 to 31 August 2009: the expansion of Road 12 Shopping Centre with the construction of an additional four blocks of 44 stores (plus two offices for ESHDC field staff).

3. July and August 2009: a written removal notice is served to traders and landlords, this time by ESMESOM.
4. 5 November 2009: the (partial) demolition exercise is undertaken.
5. November 2009 to mid-January 2011: traders and landlords count their costs and make efforts to cope.
6. 30 January 2011 onwards: period of adaptation and stabilization for the displaced traders. However, not a single one of these traders moves to the intended resettlement site (that is, the Road 12 Shopping Centre).

Although this event outline describes a planning scheme with a discontinuous course of actions, it still does not tell us much about the event details – that is, the minutiae of the roles and experiences of the key actors in the entire episode. As such, the study endeavoured to isolate and interview these people and a variety of relevant actors, including state planning agency functionaries, (un)affected traders and landlords, as well as witnesses, were interviewed during the fieldwork process undertaken in 2010 and 2011. It soon became clear that the narratives or stories of the key actors – ESHDC and ESMESOM officials, informal traders, landlords and residents – would provide a vital peephole into both this particular planning intervention and the planning administrative system in Nigeria.

Partial relocation at the Dhamidja-Azikiwe linear market: an account

Given the history of forced eviction of street traders in Enugu and other Nigerian cities (*TSM Magazine*, 1994; *The Guardian*, 1995; Olokesusi, 1999; *The Tide*, 2010, for example), the tensions and conflicts this particular planning intervention generated were not entirely unexpected. The main reasons given by ESHDC for embarking on the project included: (i) complaints of incessant incursions of businesses into the street sidewalks and verges made to the field officers; (ii) the fact that many shop eaves and canopies tend to exceed designated building lines, thereby contravening basic setback regulations; and (iii) the worrisome spate of on-street parking and traffic congestion along the bustling Dhamidja-Azikiwe road axis. Mr Chime, an urban planner by profession and head of an ESHDC unit, believed that a clearance operation was both justified and timely, stressing with apparent frustration that ‘the (whole) area is turning into a market’.¹⁰ Planner Chime is not alone in this thinking. In fact, such authoritarian viewpoints are quite common in many planning agencies, and often typify the interface between

planning and urban informality in Nigeria (Onyebueke, 2001). Could it be that the ESHDC relocation scheme was conceived and implemented under this same atmosphere of disapproval and deprecation?

The first removal notice in which various 'unapproved' shops and makeshift structures were marked (with a red paint 'X') was served by the development control unit of ESHDC on 9 August 2007. This notice gave the affected shops until 10 October 2007 to move. The ESHDC had intended to resettle the would-be displaced traders to the Road 12 Shopping Centre, a shopping facility with 48 lockup stores, built in 1977 (see Figure 5.1). Yet, the expansion work on this shopping centre did not start until 10 January 2008, nearly four months after the expiration of this deadline. After commencement, the expansion scheme took nearly 16 months to complete, and ultimately added an additional 44 open stores to the existing stock at an estimated total cost of NGN3.08 million (US\$20,534). Each open store cost about NGN70,000 (US\$467) to build. However, as we shall discover later, there was nothing in the choice of this resettlement site or in the adopted shop design, or even in the decision to provide 44 extra stores, to suggest that any consultation whatsoever was made with the traders or the residents. Neither do these planning decisions indicate that a quantitative estimate of need had been carried out. For instance, there is no indication that the number of additional store spaces provided matched the number of traders served with removal notices. Interviews conducted at the ESHDC office between 14 March and 6 April 2010 with Mr Chime revealed that all the 44 open stores were already taken, before displaced traders had an opportunity to purchase them, and that each sold for NGN150,000 (US\$934).

The fact that the shop spaces sold out so quickly and at double the cost of their construction elicited further queries as to the purchase incentives or the anticipated value of these open stores. Who received the money? Who were the buyers, and why had they not taken possession of the shops almost three years after their completion and acquisition? Were the buyers traders or property speculators acquiring the shops for rental purposes? Since 'research begets more research' (Leedy and Ormrod, 2010, pp. 6–7), the whole process and logic of the relocation exercise were brought into question. Acting on the allegation of one of the displaced traders, we were able to elicit two revelations based on interviews with Miss N (full name withheld), an officer in the estate unit of ESHDC.¹¹ The first was that 12 of the 44 new open stores were retained by the Corporation for rental purposes. The second was that an undisclosed number of the 32 open stores ostensibly available to the public were cornered by some ESHDC employees for rental or speculative

purposes. In a subsequent enquiry at the Corporation, we requested to know the ownership characterization of the remaining open stores, but Miss N declined to respond, insisting that the ESHDC confidentiality rule forbade the disclosure of its clients' identities. But after indicating that the requested information was for the benefit of a potential buyer interested in repurchasing one or two shops from the original owners, Miss N suddenly opened up. Straight away, she admitted to owning one store, but indicated she was not yet prepared to resell. She then turned impulsively to a male co-worker sitting in the same office to demand if he was interested in reselling his own holding. On receiving an outright refusal, she undertook to ask some other colleagues to see if they wanted to sell theirs. We shall see how this conversation corroborates with the account given by Mrs Eze (an evicted trader) later in the chapter.

The ESMESOM removal notice served on the Trans-Ekulu traders, and in some cases their landlords, between July and August 2009 read as follows:

Remove all eave projections and the likes in your premises within seven (7) days from the date of this notice. A penalty of NGN10,000 (about 66 US Dollars) awaits any defaulter at the expiration of this notice or prosecution at the environmental protection court. **Do not allow yourself [to] be a culprit.** (ESMESOM Removal Notice, 17 August 2009, emphasis in original)

No mention was made anywhere about either the first removal warning or the specific area to be targeted by the scheme. Yet, considering ESMESOM's statewide operational mandate, the seriousness of the notice was not lost on any of the stakeholders (the street traders, landlords and concerned residents alike) although most were unsure about the process and purpose of the initiative. Many could not understand why this second removal notice had been issued by ESMESOM and not the ESHDC, whose field officers had initially marked offending structures for demolition in 2007. Amidst this confusion, some traders had petitioned the ESHDC, questioning whether ESMESOM had authority and jurisdiction to act in this manner, but could only sense a mute acquiescence between the two agencies. When Mr Ani, director of ESMESOM, was asked during a telephone interview about the role of ESMESOM, he defended the agency's right to intervene anywhere within the city and state, arguing that matters constituting 'contraventions' and 'environmental hazards', such as the Trans-Ekulu case, were within the range of their legal authority.¹²

Despite Mr Ani's confident and authoritative manner, it is doubtful that ESMESOM acted independently of the ESHDC on this account, since these particular removal notices were not served to traders operating outside the Dhamidja-Azikiwe linear market. Another factor betraying the existence of a loose alliance between the agencies was the abrupt abandonment of the dictates of the first ESHDC removal notice in favour of the second issued by ESMESOM. For instance, the latter notice formed the basis for a predemolition evaluation, which Mr Chime told us the ESHDC team had conducted, and in which they observed a compliance rate of almost 85 per cent. A similar transposing was to be observed during the demolition exercise of 5 November 2009. The ESHDC bulldozer cleared all the stalls and makeshift structures on Dhamidja Avenue overlooking the ESHDC-constructed stores, as well as any structures supposedly protruding beyond building lines. One curious divergence from the initial plans of the relocation scheme was that those row-shops along Nnamdi Azikiwe Avenue originally marked for demolition in 2007 (see the wall inscriptions in Figure 5.4) were spared altogether. Regardless, the demolition and other coercive strategies employed in the ESHDC scheme failed to relocate all traders from the Dhamidja-Azikiwe roadside shopping belt to the expanded Road 12 Shopping Centre (the planned resettlement site) as was originally intended. The large number of empty or unoccupied stores at the resettlement site confirmed this failure. At last count in December 2011, more than two years after the demolition, all of the 44 additional open stores erected by ESHDC remained vacant. Was this a consequence of inappropriate design and location? What other factors could have accounted for this? To answer these questions, it is worth assessing the extent of damage incurred by local traders during the 2009 demolition exercise, as well as their responses, by recounting their in-depth stories and experiences.

Impacts of and responses to the relocation scheme

Even though, for many people, the demolition exercise had fewer ramifications than had been feared, it still left quantifiable impacts and damage in its wake. The damages are clearly evident in both the sheer scale of physical and livelihood devastation in the area, and the deep socio-economic and psychological upset experienced by the affected traders. Overall, more than half (59 per cent) of the informal traders or entrepreneurs admitted that their shops were affected in one way or the other by the demolition exercise. Those affected were mainly traders who owned shops or businesses within the Dhamidja-Azikiwe linear market. The extent and range of the impact varied from one trader to

another, as illustrated by Figure 5.6. Three distinct categories of affected groups were identified from the questionnaire survey: (i) ‘slightly affected’; (ii) ‘moderately affected’; and (iii) ‘severely affected’ groups. Using a narrative approach, the distinguishing characteristics, losses and responses of these different categories of concerned traders are outlined in more detail below.

Group 1: ‘the slightly affected’

Businesses that suffered little or no damages due to the demolition, but still felt somewhat plagued by having to pay what most considered ‘too many levies’,¹³ constituted roughly 37 per cent of the sample population. These businesses were either located outside the path of the ESHDC bulldozer, or they had had the foresight of dismantling their shop-eave projections long before the demolition. The anguish and complaints of this group of traders were typified by the story of a 67-year-old retiree called ‘Papa’. Papa ran a betting (pool) office in a makeshift extension located in First Avenue, adjacent to the bustling Dhamidja Avenue in Trans-Ekulu (refer to Figure 5.1). The jovial old man introduced himself as a ‘poolarian’, a comical coinage of his livelihood as a betting pool agent. Although he did not receive either of the two removal notices, he felt quite agitated by the rumours that

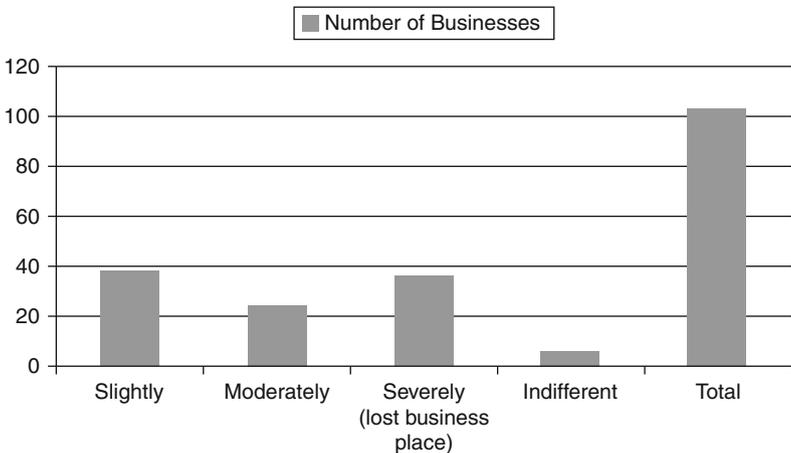


Figure 5.6 Extent and range of impact associated with the ESHDC demolition at the Dhamidja-Azikiwe linear market in Trans-Ekulu Estate, Enugu.

Source: Victor Onyebueke and Christopher Anierobi (April 2010).

something menacing was in the offing. When we chatted with Papa, he could not hide his apprehension, since he was the victim of a squatter settlement clearance back in 2006. He was upset about what he termed 'over-taxation of the poor', and when asked to explain, Papa sadly continued, 'excessive levies from government agencies are pushing us to live from hand to mouth. The poor has no room in this country ... in fact, government does not want the peasants to live'.¹⁴ In addition to his rent obligation on the small makeshift structure he occupied, the old man paid the Enugu East local government levy, the business registration levy, the business premises levy, the Enugu State Waste Management Agency sanitation charges, plus his utility bills. Like most other informal business operators, Papa wished for a day when these civic and fiscal obligations to government could earn them the legitimacy and acceptance they deserve.

Group 2: 'the moderately affected'

The moderately affected group constituted about 23.3 per cent of the traders. These traders admitted to having suffered moderate damages during the demolition, implying that their shop eaves, walling or display extensions that breached a building line had been knocked down by the ESHDC bulldozer. Apart from the pensiveness and vague bewilderment of the traders that their civic-minded efforts and responsibilities had gone unacknowledged by the government authorities, their chief complaints centred mainly on the fact that: (i) their views and opinions were hardly heard; (ii) the planning of the demolition and resettlement process both marginalized and excluded them; and (iii) the destruction of their store extensions severely impeded their sheltered display and manoeuvrable spaces, making them and their wares more vulnerable to rain, sunshine and heat. Beyond these admissions, many did not consent to detailed interviews. In spite of our reassurances, they could not see our motive and were generally suspicious that they could be singled out for voicing their opinions. 'Urban silence' is not an uncommon scenario in most developing country cities, where people shy away from making critical remarks about government and its programmes and projects. Myllylä sees urban silence as a corollary of collective action that is dependent on political and socio-cultural factors such as 'welfare state perception, authoritarianism, bureaucracy, egoism, tolerance, powerlessness, lack of ownership and sense of community, as well as improvisation and resiliency' (Myllylä, 2001, p. 118).

A tiny subgroup of this category (around five per cent) suffered moderate damages but chose to remain silent about their experiences.

With or without stakes in the businesses, many residents and landlords secretly empathized with the affected traders but were often reluctant to comment on the rationale of the relocation scheme. However, when the question shifted to identifying the core motivations for erecting stores and other extensions, some interviewees such as Elder Ebi, a slightly built man in his mid-sixties, owning a two-bedroom bungalow in Road 9, adjoining Dhamidja Avenue (see Figure 5.1), became less restrained. At the border of his plot and the ESHDC-constructed stores, he had cleverly built a row of about three stores housing, amongst other things, his own property agency and a local office of the Enugu State Licensing Bureau. A space was also provided for a trader stocking domestic gas cylinders. Elder Ebi's wife ran a nursery school from the living room of their residence. When we asked why he was sheltering this diverse range of businesses, he replied without hesitation that it was to add more money to his pocket, while providing an accommodation for people to trade and do business (which he insisted was a kind of social service rendered by the landlords), all of which amounted to insurance against retirement.¹⁵ Apparently, the main driving force underlying the wilful erection of stores in every 'nook and cranny' of Trans-Ekulu is primarily pecuniary in nature (also see Onyebueke, 2000), and in many instances, this occurs without regard to basic design and land-use requirements.

Group 3: 'the severely affected but coping'

This third group, roughly 35 per cent of the surveyed traders, consisted of traders evicted from the narrow portion of land on the side of Dhamidja Avenue opposite the ESHDC-built stores (refer to Figure 5.1). This segment was originally conceived as a planting strip and utility reserve path, but over the years kiosks and table stalls had sprung up. More than the other groups, these displaced traders nurtured deep grievances against the ESHDC's actions and were often quite vocal about their complaints. Hence, the interviews provided an uncommon opportunity for these traders to tell their own stories and make their views and grievances known. This is akin to giving vent to hitherto suppressed voices which otherwise could 'bottle up'. Most of the traders saw their eviction as sheer betrayal, since they claimed that some unnamed ESHDC officials had previously acquiesced to their occupancy and use of those places. Moreover, they complained that the Road 12 Shopping Centre, the proposed resettlement site, was both inaccessible and deficient in design. Interviews with four evicted traders (Mr Ekuma, Mrs Eze, Mrs Ade and Mrs Ede) threw light on the foregoing issues and,

in particular, on why the evicted traders defied the initial directive to move to the Road 12 Shopping Centre.

Mr Ekuma was a 52-year-old cobbler who had been doing business in Dhamidja Avenue for up to 18 years. After the eviction, he had to spend nearly one year moving around town before securing a new workplace situated in a wall recess or alcove in front of a residence at the Hill View Avenue end of Dhamidja Avenue (see Figure 5.1). During an interview, Ekuma recalled the exact date of the demolition exercise (5 November 2009) and recollected the financial difficulties his family suffered as a consequence.¹⁶ Asked why, like other displaced traders, he did not keep returning to the place from which they were evicted, he said he was too old to run. For emphasis, he gestured laboriously around his new shop, as if to take stock of the assorted but meticulously arranged tools and goods, and muttered in clear Igbo, *'Agám ebu-nwụ ihe ndiá niné gbá-nwụ oso?'* [*'Is it possible for me to scurry away carrying all these items?'*] Ekuma's grouse with the whole operation rested on a contrary notion of how space should be used and valued (the social use value outweighing the conceived exchange value of space) and his reservations about the design of the stores subsequently built at the Road 12 Shopping Centre extension. In a rather relaxed manner, he intoned:

Isn't it all meaningless? Now that they have driven us from the place it is now left for grasses and flowers. Of what use is it? They told us to move to Road 12, stores built like a 'butcher house' without parking stores. And by the way, how many customers will even come looking for you there?¹⁷

Another displaced trader expressed a similar utilitarian view of space but, unlike Ekuma, Mrs Eze was in the habit of sneaking back to work in the cleared area. This determined and married woman in her mid-fifties had lived with her family in Trans-Ekulu for over 20 years. But the makeshift structure she erected in this area to house her small provisions store had been demolished. When we asked why she had defied the prohibition order to stay away from the location, Mrs Eze's retort hinted at her deep grief, as well as the inherent intrigues of the whole relocation scheme. In a resigned tone, she asserted:

No condition is permanent. I have to keep coming back here. My husband is retired and my two graduate children are still unemployed. We all have to survive. But it appears our government

does not want us to live. If they say that they built the store places well, let their wives go and occupy them.¹⁸

Mrs Eze was evasive and would not be drawn into spelling out whom she meant by 'they' in the above statement, but there is little doubt that she was alluding to ESHDC and its workers. She narrated with her husband, a retired civil servant who happened to be present at the time of the interview, how they paid ESHDC a sum of NGN2,000 (about 14 US Dollars) about five years previously to secure the place which they then lost in the demolition. Mrs Eze maintained that her husband and herself had enquired at the ESHDC office regarding the possibilities of purchasing a shop space at the Road 12 Shopping Centre, only to be told that all the stores were already sold out. The Eze family responded to this verifiable information with disbelief and suspicion. Mrs Eze reckoned that ESHDC employees had restricted information on the store sales in order to benefit themselves and a few close associates. To some extent, this indictment is corroborated by the unwitting disclosure of Miss N, as mentioned previously, raising grave concerns about the transparency and probity of the entire scheme.

Not all the displaced traders demonstrated similar resilience and improvisation like Mrs Eze. Mrs Ade was a 43-year-old mother of four children who ran a family business, together with her daughter and a young female assistant, selling fruit and vegetables. After the demolition exercise of November 2009, she moved the business to the family residence located in Road 10, adjacent to Road 12 (refer to Figure 5.1). When asked how she was fairing in the new location, she was quick to point out the sharp drop in the number of customers and hence her income (even though Mrs Ade's residence was located within 120 m of the Road 12 Shopping Centre). She freely expressed her yearning to move back to Dhamidja Avenue. In December 2010, this aspiration came true when she secured a place in a row of lockup shops not too far from Mr Ekuma's new shop. However, it took Mrs Ade until February 2011 to start doing business in the new location, due to the time required to fit the shop and restock her wares. She considered the new place as 'satisfactory'. She gleefully uttered, 'At least I can [now] feed my children from it'.¹⁹

Perhaps in the anticipation that customer patronage outside the Dhamidja-Azikiwe linear market might not be as rewarding, several displaced traders had refrained from venturing further afield like Mrs Ade had done. In a desperate bid to remain in the area, many squatted either around a portion of the cleared or evacuated sites (like Mrs Eze)

or in intervening spaces lent to them around the ESHDC-constructed row-shops by sympathetic acquaintances. Regarding the latter category, Mrs Ede's account is a case in point. After the kiosk from which she and two adult daughters sold foodstuffs was torn down, they were forced to conduct business in front of a shop in Dhamidja Avenue, whose owner had kept the store shut for more than six months. We were to learn much later that Mrs Ede and her daughters had made several unsuccessful overtures to the family owning the shop, in the hope of persuading them to sublet it. The tenacity of purpose and clever improvisation that enabled Mrs Eze and Ede, and many other displaced traders, to resist eviction from the Dhamidja-Azikiwe linear market gives testament to the high locational advantages of this informal business agglomeration (see Dewar and Watson, 1990, pp. 23–53). Mrs Ede's parting but succinct remark captured the allure of this centre for traders when she asked, in impeccable Igbo: '*Afiá Trans-Ekulu, ókwá Dhamidja?*' ['What is trading in Trans-Ekulu if not in Dhamidja?'].²⁰

What inferences can be drawn from the actions of ESHDC officials, when considered alongside the responses of Ekuma, Eze, Ade, Ede, and Ebi, who denote the archetypal moods of aggrieved traders, nurturing a deep distrust for planning and government? The state officials Messrs Chime and Ani's side of the story is dotted with all the trappings of technocratic and prescriptive planning, a traditional approach that disavows the merits of inclusion and democratic participation in public governance. Alternatively, the traders' version of the story is predicable on two issues: firstly, the general tactics, hindrances and frustrations of 'muddling through' the maze of planning administrative and socio-economic obstacles in order to gain some foothold in a contested space, and secondly, the defiant responses of the traders to a patronizing scheme that excluded their individual and collective interests in its planning.

The main factors accounting for the failure of the ESHDC relocation project were the fact that the plan process itself was neither inclusive nor transparent, making its execution quite discrepant, and that the ESHDC plan betrayed a general ignorance of the characteristics of informal businesses and spatial agglomeration dynamics in the area. These issues made the relocation plan selective in scope and ineffective in purpose, raising serious questions about the capacity of state planning practitioners to intervene meaningfully in informal urban settings. The partial relocation exercise reminds one of a zero-sum game in which, as with many planning projects in other Nigerian cities, rule of thumb actions matter more in urban development than words spoken or written – suggesting that ultimately actions speak louder than words.

Conclusion

This case study has traced the chain of events in a partial relocation project undertaken by Enugu State Government agencies, centred on the Dhamidja-Azikiwe linear market located in Trans-Ekulu, a middle-income neighbourhood in the city of Enugu. The case narrative has provided evidence to show that when under threat from unpopular regulations and plans that jeopardize their interests and survival, informal traders often resort to subtle tactics and modes of 'quiet resistance' as dependable counter-authority mechanisms. The study holds valuable lessons for urban planning in Nigeria and other developing countries, particularly as it relates to an attempt to govern urban informal sector businesses. The underlying lessons derived from this relocation project and its concomitant narrative hinge on at least two issues. Firstly, the non-inclusion of the traders and other stakeholders in the relocation plan acted to negate their rights to livelihood and self-determination, and secondly, resulting from the former, ESHDC officials showed an acute ignorance of emergent knowledge on the spatial dynamics and activity systems of informal sector businesses. In her study of Lusaka (Zambia), Kazimbaya-Senkwe alluded to the revisionist transformations unfolding in contemporary urban planning theory and practice, many of which are still lost on planning practitioners:

It is therefore fair to conclude that if urban planners want to be relevant to the urban development agenda, then they should rethink their fixation with master planning ideas which hitherto has limited their roles in the informal sector. They must adopt approaches in which solutions do not come from master planning textbooks but rather are developed with the people concerned, using planning tools that respect the economic reality of the city and the voices of other stakeholders. Only in this way can planning make a positive contribution to enhancing people's lives and be made relevant to the economic and social context of today's developing city. (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004, p. 116)

For a country such as Nigeria, where the administrative milieu of planning is characterized by technocratic and prescriptive planning arrangements, there is an urgent need to tilt towards a 'right to the city' ideology (Parnell and Pieterse, 2010), or a rights-based perspective, within urban planning and management thought and practice. Such an arrangement should seek, amongst other things, to guarantee inclusion

and democratic values in planning, to make plans more integrative and flexible, to ensure that state planning agencies like ESHDC and ESMESOM act with greater accountability and efficiency, and to promote the organization and voice of vulnerable and marginalized individuals or groups affected by planning actions (UN-Habitat, 2008; Brown et al., 2010).

Notes

1. This excerpt is from a statement accredited to one Prince Clem Agba, the commissioner for environment and public utility in Edo State of Nigeria. The full quotation reads as thus: 'He said Benin City must be rid of miscreants who want to deface the city, adding that the security enforcement workers would be running two shifts from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., and 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. daily' (*Vanguard*, 2009).
2. This phrase was borrowed from Kamete (2004, p. 123). It aptly denotes the equivocal posture of government and its agents towards many informal sector workers.
3. The study was guided by the following research questions: What is the rationale and nature of the relocation scheme? Who are the actors in this chain of events, and what are their respective roles and story lines? What is/are the outcome(s) of this planning intervention and whose reality counts? Are there winners and losers in this whole saga, and who might they be? What lessons do these events hold for future relocation projects and urban planning in Nigeria and elsewhere?
4. Especially a capacity-building workshop organized by AAPS and held in Accra, Ghana from 28 June to 1 July 2010, as part of the Rockefeller Foundation-funded 'Revitalising Planning Education in Africa' project.
5. This represents the 2011 population figure for Trans-Ekulu neighbourhood and it was projected from the 1991 National Population Census statistics. This is because the more recent Nigerian Population and Housing Census done in 2006 did not disaggregate the population figures by cities and neighbourhood tracts.
6. With the creation of Enugu State out of the old Anambra State in 2000, the then Anambra State Housing Development Corporation (ASHDC) had to be partitioned between the two states. The segment that remained in Enugu was renamed the Enugu State Housing Development Corporation (ESHDC). ESHDC is the public parastatal with the statutory mandate to manage and carry out development control in the state.
7. *Okpa* is a local delicacy made from Bamabara seed flour; *akará* are bean balls, while *akamu* or pap is made from milled corn.
8. A traditional Hausa form of barbecued meat.
9. ESMESOM was established by the Enugu State Law No. 8 of 2004 to undertake the 'general protection and the development of the environment', amongst other functions, in the state. Although ESMESOM is bestowed with sweeping responsibilities intended to ensure 'clean and healthy environment in Enugu State', many continue to view it as an 'intruder' in the development control arena because of its relative newness, and a very low level

- of public awareness of its role. According to the Enugu State Government Gazette of 2004 (pp. 24–25), the agency may, amongst other things, apprehend ‘any person(s) selling goods or other articles of trade in place(s) not authorized for that purpose and seizing all such goods or other articles of trade and disposing such articles if not redeemed within seven days’.
10. Interview with Mr Chime (ESHDC office, Enugu, 14 March and 6 April 2010).
 11. Interview with Miss N (ESHDC office, Enugu, 23 and 24 November 2011).
 12. Telephone interview with Mr Ani (20 July 2011).
 13. Our investigation revealed that the average monthly income or earning in the area was below NGN20,000 (or 132 US Dollars). The businesses are under obligation to pay no less than three separate levies – Enugu East Local Government (EELG) business registration and business premises levies, and the ESWAMA (Enugu State Waste Management Agency) sanitation service charge – all adding up to a minimum of NGN400 (nearly 3 US Dollars) per month.
 14. Interview with Papa (Trans-Ekulu, Enugu, 11 June 2010).
 15. Interview with Elder Ebi (Trans-Ekulu, Enugu, 11 June 2010).
 16. Interview with Mr Ekuma (Trans-Ekulu, Enugu, 28 May 2011).
 17. Ibid.
 18. Interview with Mrs Eze (Trans-Ekulu, Enugu, 9 June 2010).
 19. Interview with Mrs Ade (Trans-Ekulu, Enugu, 9 and 10 June 2010).
 20. Interview with Mrs Ede (Trans-Ekulu, Enugu, 11 June 2010).

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6

Participatory Planning: A Case Study of a Solid Waste Management Improvement Project in Enugu, Nigeria

Joy Ogbazi and Nkeiru Ezeadichie

Introduction

Participatory and partnership approaches have become widely accepted within planning and development discourses (Healey, 1997; UN-Habitat, 2009). Theoretically, their importance is attributed to the perceived capacity to ensure: responsiveness, credibility of intervention, the building of trust amongst participating individuals and establishments, and a sense of ownership on the part of local residents and others. Increasingly, participation is considered an important characteristic and indicator of good governance. In many societies however, access to participation is variable due to limited democratic space.

Various forms of participation have been presented in the form of a ladder (Arnstein, 1969), strategies (Burke, 1968) and other typologies (Pretty, 1995; White, 1996; Cornwall, 2008). What all these models have in common is a sliding scale of involvement that ranges from education therapy/manipulation/nominal, considered as the 'weak' form, to citizen control that is generally regarded as 'strong' and the most transformative. Other forms include informing, consultation and partnership. Some conditions and characteristics have also been presented as preconditions for meaningful and successful participation (Newman and Jennings, 2008).

It has become important to explore the practical applications of the new participatory planning approaches and to understand how these processes and mechanisms work in context. In Nigeria, as in most parts of sub-Saharan Africa, despite the recent democratic dispensation, the traditional bureaucratic institutional base has offered very limited

formal procedures for allowing the public to participate in planning decision-making. Planning laws, standards and development control mechanisms, inherited from the colonial era, have actually been restrictive and contextually obsolete in addressing the current socio-economic realities. Centralization of authority in infrastructure and service delivery still poses a vexing problem in developing other arrangements that could be responsive to the rapid rate of urbanization. While participation involves sequentially planned steps, people's desire for effective access to decision-making, which has traditionally been suppressed, may yield other approaches with increased levels of participation. With the many challenges facing government, there is clearly a need for participatory space in development.

This chapter presents an in-depth account of how a participatory approach evolved in the New Haven pilot solid waste management project in Enugu to illustrate the 'realities' of a transformative form of participation. The central focus is on the change in perspective and attitude of government staff and other actors that inspired changes in law, institutions and procedures. Using the case study research method and narrative approach, the chapter focuses on the relations and interactions between the state government, the funders, the private sector, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the community through their representative associations. By exploring the details of the communication between these various actors, the chapter explores the complex reality of the interactions that uncovered institutional weaknesses, and in turn led to a governance transformation that has kept New Haven clean and generated citywide improvements in solid waste management. The chapter describes the events that led the funders to conclude that the project was a failure as a 'quick-win' demonstration of a reform towards good governance. It also reveals the context within which the government and residents of the city considered the institutional reform that followed a huge success for solid waste management and the participatory method adopted. We argue that the transformative power of participatory approaches depends on the context within which they are used and not on a list of preconditions, which cannot be exhaustively given. When leadership shifts in attitude, the process of change succeeds.

Enugu, like other cities in Nigeria, is faced with the challenge of providing better urban services including solid waste management. Rapid population growth and changing consumption patterns have resulted in increased waste generation and an obvious capacity limitation of the responsible agencies to deal with this problem. It is common to find

large heaps of refuse along the streets, on open drains, in markets and open spaces, and even near houses, in most Nigerian cities. Apart from creating a visual eyesore, they also pose serious health and safety risks to people (Akintola, 1978; Olu Sule, 1981; Ogbazi, 1997; Agunwamba, 1998; Onwuteaka, 1999).

Successive governments since the 1970s have recognized the problem but their attempts to redress the issue have been inadequate and unsustainable. A notable effort was the monthly clean-up, undertaken as part of the 'War Against Indiscipline' by the Buhari Military administration in the mid-1980s. A renewed effort was made in the 1990s, when the state environmental sanitation authorities and later the environmental protection agencies were created to deal with the problem and other environmental issues. Although some measures of success were recorded at various periods, the problem remained unsolved. Over those decades, the paradox of increasingly poor solid waste management and high levels of awareness of its dangers amongst Enugu residents was noted in several works (see Ogbazi, 1997; Onwuteaka, 1999). The continued failed attempts by governments to deal with the problem arguably led to residents' apathy, distrust of government and acceptance of heaps of solid waste as part of the urban landscape. It was further noted that low residents' satisfaction was related to decreased willingness to pay for services. It is within this context of a series of failed top-down government interventions, public apathy and mistrust, and a yawning gap for change, that the New Haven solid waste management pilot project was designed and implemented.

This chapter is arranged in several parts. The following section describes the origins of the New Haven solid waste management pilot project and introduces the key actors and institutions involved in its inception. Section 2 then describes the initial stages of project implementation, and the early obstacles encountered by the various key actors. Section 3 describes why and how the project leaders shifted towards the adoption of a participatory planning approach, as well as the institutional implications of this shift. The chapter concludes with reflections on the implications of this case study for general thought surrounding participatory urban governance in Africa and elsewhere globally.

Inception of the project

In January 2002, a group of five NGOs working in the area of environment and development met to discuss areas of common interest. According to the meeting minutes, one of the major outcomes of the

meeting held on 25 January 2002 was the identification and prioritization of the environmental problems facing the state.¹ Solid waste management was on top of the list, justified by the eyesore, as well as health and environmental risks, created by large heaps of refuse lying on every corner and roadside in Enugu. Supporting her story with the minutes of the meeting, the project coordinator explained to the authors that a two-pronged approach was adopted. The first was to engage in intensive public sensitization on the risks of living with the waste. The second was to meet with various components of the state government, specifically the Enugu State Environmental Protection Agency (ENSEPA), the Town Planning Department and the Ministry of Health, and engage them in developing a realistic strategy for waste management. It was also decided that a meeting should be held with the Enugu State coordinator of the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) for possible support and funding. There should also be a meeting with selected neighbourhood-based associations to secure their interest and participation.

On 13 February 2002, the five NGOs met for a report-back on actions taken on the above decisions. It was noted from the minutes of the meeting that:

- DFID was willing to partner with the NGOs and a meeting had been scheduled between the coordinator and representatives of the NGOs.
- ENSEPA already had a proposal for improving solid waste management in the city and was awaiting government's response, but was also willing to work with the NGOs.
- The ministries indicated interest in working with the NGOs as long as it required no financial commitment on their part. They made it clear that ENSEPA should fulfil its existing mandates.
- Four neighbourhood-based associations who were consulted indicated strong interest in the participatory process.

The minutes further showed that considering the task ahead, the five NGOs decided to formally establish an umbrella network to be known as the Environment and Sustainable Development Network (EDNET) and to encourage similar organizations to join. With EDNET formed, it held several meetings with the DFID coordinator and with the neighbourhood associations in preparation for the intended collaboration.

Meanwhile, the state government had at the time made a request to DFID for assistance in dealing with the solid waste problem (Barratt, 2003). With a focus on demonstrating that good governance can be

achieved, DFID granted the request for assistance through its State and Local Government Programme (SLGP). The aforementioned project proposal, already prepared by ENSEPA and submitted to a newly established Enugu State Reform Team (ESRT),² was adopted by SLGP to demonstrate the potential reform impact of a 'quick-win' pilot project on solid waste management (Barratt, 2003). Funding for the project would be provided by the Enugu State Government, SLGP and other DFID programmes, especially its Partnership for the Delivery of Health Services (PATHS). At a meeting with EDNET in July 2002, the DFID state coordinator discussed the proposal and the NGOs agreed to be part of the implementation process, having adjudged it to be in line with their earlier request.³

Working together as the drivers of the project, SLGP and ESRT targeted service delivery improvement. It was expected that the quick-win demonstration would 'yield immediate and tangible results in poverty reduction, convince those finding it hard to conceive of abstract reform issues, provide opportunities to draw reform lessons from actual practice, and re-orientate the programme towards service delivery improvement targets' (Barratt, 2003, p. 14). At the core of the proposal was a pilot scheme to be used as a demonstration. From the perspective of SLGP/ESRT the selection of a scheme to improve solid waste management in Enugu was apt given the magnitude of the problem and the impact the expected outcome would have on many – both inside and outside government. To carry out the pilot project and establish sustainability, SLGP/ESRT considered it crucial to build the high-level political support required to drive the financial and institutional changes and engage the private sector and NGOs for effective implementation.

In selecting the project site, SLGP/ESRT considered the characteristics of the 22 formal layouts located in Enugu based on settlement density. Three project sites were selected from high-, medium- and low-density residential areas. These were New Haven (medium-density), Independence layout (low-density) and a high-density area in Enugu East. However, implementation later focused on New Haven due to the consideration that a high-density neighbourhood may prove difficult to manage as a pilot case. Designed as a residential area, the New Haven layout accommodates an estimated population of 59,207, as well as substantial commercial and other informal activities. These activities exert pressure on the skeletal infrastructure and contribute to waste generation in the area. Although it did not appear to be the dirtiest part of the city, the refuse heaps lining New Haven roads were used as landmarks at the time – indeed a local bus stop was commonly referred

to as the 'dustbin stop'. Explaining further the reasons for its selection, the ex-permanent secretary of the Ministry of Environment stated that being at the heart of Enugu, 'New Haven has the unique position of having a mix of uses with high, medium and low densities intertwined without your knowing it'.⁴ SLGP/ESRT thus considered the site as a good case for the demonstration. DFID scrutinized the proposal and the merits of selecting New Haven as the pilot during consultative meetings with EDNET in 2002.⁵ From EDNET's point of view, the already growing number of business operations in the neighbourhood also justified its selection as a site exemplifying the growing solid waste issues in Enugu. At the meetings, EDNET members emphasized that if a major change in solid waste management governance was to be achieved, a participatory approach had to be adopted.⁶

Getting started

The project started in January 2003. A project steering committee was set up with members drawn from ENSEPA, SLGP, the Ministry of Environment and the private sector. EDNET representatives observed their omission from the steering committee membership and subsequently met with the DFID coordinator, requesting to have a representative on the committee.⁷ They were informed that their request 'was being considered', but ultimately 'the inclusion never came'.⁸ The project began as set out in the ENSEPA proposal, which involved, amongst other things, the use of private sector participant (PSP) operators to collect wastes from households using handcarts (Barratt, 2003). ENSEPA would then transfer the waste to a receiving station, for evacuation to the landfill. A councillor and environmental officer were assigned to oversee an office close to each of the transfer stations. The councillor gathered fees for the waste collection into a joint account, from which the PSP operator was paid. The government retained a certain percentage of the intake to cover administrative costs. Pre-existing landfill sites would also be prepared and provided with a feeder road, for receipt and disposal of the waste.

PSP operators were invited to bid for the supply of equipment and the engineering work at both the project and the landfill sites. Those bidding were interviewed according to the procurement guidelines laid down by SLGP/ESRT, which partly relate to the capacity of the companies to deliver. However, the contracts with the PSP operators were delayed at this point. As this was 'a vital part of the project', the SLGP consultants had recommended that the draft contract be reviewed

by relevant stakeholders and that the cost recovery model be developed further and incorporated into the contract during future stakeholder workshops (Barratt, 2003). This was considered necessary given past failures. The ex-permanent secretary of the Ministry of Environment later explained that at the time 'the project was very important to us and we wanted to avoid past mistakes'.⁹ Perhaps there was scepticism around the ability to source effective private service providers. Nevertheless, after further scrutiny, the contract for the supply of bins and handcarts was awarded to *Techdot* on 3 June 2003 and delivery was expected within 28 days. The contract for the renovation of landfill sites was awarded to *Veen* and activities were also expected to be completed within 28 days. From the perspective of some PSP operators, this constituted a partnership. One PSP later explained that signing a contractual agreement with the state government was a major step away from the 'government can do it all' syndrome. 'We also believed we would be duly paid without unnecessary deductions and gratifications'.¹⁰

Meanwhile, on 14 March 2003, the NGO members of EDNET were evaluated based on their experience in working on similar projects and two were selected to work directly with local residents and their associations. Although some NGOs were not supportive of selecting specific organizations rather than working with the entire network, the criteria were justified. Their major responsibility was to raise public awareness and overcome any perceived problems in transparency, and to monitor and control implementation at the New Haven project site. EDNET members resolved to continue to work with the residents and their associations and monitor progress of the project independently.

The first in a series of radio programmes was held on 10 May 2003 aiming to sensitize the public and explain the new approach. The second programme came two weeks later. It was a phone-in programme. The ex-permanent secretary of the Ministry of Environment later recalled his mortification at the level of criticisms and distrust of government that came from callers.¹¹ They wanted to know what had happened to the dumpsites provided by the government in the 1980s, why government officials passively watched ENSEPA staff harass and arrest people, why they collected money incessantly from residents without providing any visible services and why they marked 'X' (for demolition) on temporary structures occupied by business operators. They also wanted to know whether government had only recently realized that residents could participate, once their streets were overflowing with waste. The general accusation was that government was acting like previous military regimes in Nigeria. They had voted, trusted and hoped for change, but

this government had simply turned out like those before it. Some were actually pleased that government wanted to implement a participatory approach, but made it clear that ENSEPA was a problem. The extent of people's distrust was clear. However, the EDNET coordinator had not expected anything less, later explaining that the power and bureaucracy of government tended to shield government staff, causing them to lose touch with the realities and normal lives of local residents.¹²

In the steering committee meetings that followed between 13 May and 26 May, some actors considered the option of carrying on with the project 'without allowing the populace to bring government down'.¹³ But SLGP's focus for the project was different, as it wanted to involve civil society, the private sector and the different sectors of government in working together on a service improvement pilot.¹⁴ This meant that the participatory approach remained a key aspect of the project. As the ex-permanent secretary of the Ministry of Environment explained, 'We actually went into self-diagnosis. We wanted the change and decided to work for it. One thing was clear; we could not do anything with ENSEPA because it was the rotten apple in the bunch'.¹⁵

With their contracts signed, the NGOs initiated activities to sensitize the public and promote awareness of the project. The NGOs engaged in advocacy visits to leaders of the neighbourhood associations and local business operators, and held interactive seminars for the residents and business operators at places including schools and health institutions in the neighbourhood.¹⁶ One of the NGOs, POVINAA (Poverty in Africa Alternative), successfully organized a clean-up demonstration of the neighbourhood, which was widely commended by the residents. A third NGO was later engaged to carry out a 'roadshow', printing and distributing education and communication materials with information on the project. SLGP supported their activities with media programmes. Considering ENSEPA's previous failures in attempts to sensitize the public, the NGOs' messages focused on the health hazards of having refuse heaps located near homes. Waste recycling, reduction and reuse measures were also promoted. ENSEPA's approach had centred on the willingness of residents to pay, which generated public distrust and apathy, as residents were sceptical about the agency's ability to provide adequate services.

Stakeholder participation

At this point the key actors as the drivers of change were the funders (DFID/SLGP), the regulator (government) and the providers (private

sector operators and NGOs). This reform was not demanded or initiated by the residents. We have to emphasize at this point that the context of the implementation of the pilot project was one wherein the government lacked experience in both community and public involvement in service delivery. Thus a participatory space had not been created for the residents, beyond informing them how to dispose of their waste. The shift from a bureaucratic approach to a participatory one was expected to bring change, which can only happen through stakeholder interaction on common issues.

The first step in the shift towards a participatory approach had come with the arrival of the SLGP consultancy team in February 2003. Meetings and New Haven site visits were held with the various stakeholders. These meetings were attended by the consultants, private sector suppliers, state and local government departments and representatives of NGOs (Barratt, 2003). However, EDNET decried the non-inclusion of local residents in a project targeting governance reform.¹⁷

Nevertheless, the stakeholder meetings and site visits were judged to be useful (Barratt, 2003). The consultants further interviewed relevant stakeholders, and following a one-to-one consultation process with the various stakeholders, more vital information was elicited from different perspectives. The meetings provided a forum for sharing information. The fact that the stakeholders were willing and enthusiastic to engage in the consultation process, and spoke openly, was seen as a sign of general commitment to finding solutions to the problem, and was considered a potential success factor (Barratt, 2003). A debriefing meeting was then held with ESRT and ENSEPA. Based on the outcome of the stakeholder interactions, the consultants presented various recommendations for the revision of the proposal. These included the need to detail relevant institutional responsibilities, which had been overlooked despite past problems emanating from conflicting and overlapping functions between state agencies (Barratt, 2003).

In essence, the ENSEPA proposal was developed from the broad-based participatory mechanism of the Sustainable Enugu Project (SEP).¹⁸ It was expected that the project would build a similar method into its implementation.¹⁹ While various government departments were brought together to coordinate their activities and collaborate on the project with the private sector and NGOs, the residents were not included so far.

Later commenting on the non-inclusion of residents at the beginning of the project, the ex-permanent secretary of the Ministry of Environment, a key actor in the coordination of the project, explained that 'government had not reached that level at that time. Participation

of that nature was not in existence before. That was the essence of the pilot project and a demonstration was needed'.²⁰ He further lamented that it ultimately took an international partnership to convince the private sector that government can be a serious partner to work with. The SLGP project officer agreed that they were working with a method that was new to the Nigerian context, noting that participation can occur at different stages of the planning process.²¹ As such, there was a need to encourage a gradual innovative process, as New Haven was only a demonstration project.

However, at the time of project initiation local residents suspected that government was working on 'a new method that would eventually lead to an increase in levies' and hence did not expect an invitation to participate.²² Their neighbourhood groups had agreed to resist any form of forceful collection of levies from its members. In terms of being part of the decision-making process, they realized this was an ideal which government might not explore in practice. This is not an unusual case. Chapter 5 of UN-Habitat's (2009) review of participatory planning and governance in various parts of the world indicated that top-down and technocratic approaches were still the norm in many parts of the global South, including in Africa. Concepts of decentralization and participatory planning are well accepted in academic literature and policy discourses, but are still rare in practice. Another noteworthy omission from the early project development process was professional planners. As an urban planner in the Enugu State Town Planning Department commented:

It is important to even correct the impression that maybe my department was in charge of that programme. The programme was handled by the Ministry of Environment, and ours is Ministry of Lands, Survey and Urban Development. But as a town planner, I have interest in the environment. I wouldn't be able to give details of what actually happened because my department actually did not participate in the programme. The workings of government sometimes might not be exactly what it should, otherwise ordinarily all stakeholders in the built environment should be involved in the enhancement of urban development.²³

They further explained the implications of a participatory governance approach for planners and planning practice, stating that 'before now, or before the era of participatory planning, a town planner acted as a god. He makes his design and nobody questions him. But in the era of

participatory planning, the people who are being planned for should take part in the planning process and they are no fools. They know what they want'.²⁴

Further stakeholder meetings were held on 3 and 5 June 2003 to prepare a detailed action plan using a first draft presented by the consultants. Actors from ENSEPA, the NGOs, ESRT and local government were assigned responsibilities, and timelines were prepared. Subcommittees were set up for each cluster, namely the public awareness and sensitization campaigns; the transfer facility at Enugu East (now included as a pilot project so as to capture a high-density housing area); the clean-up operation at the landfill site; as well as site monitoring, control and accountability. To ensure timely delivery of the action plan, a 'champion' for the project was appointed from ENSEPA, to be supported by the local SLGP consultant. Other activities such as clearing of the landfill site, establishing infrastructure, construction of a transfer station, and the acquisition of pushcarts and collection bins had already been completed. Up to this stage, the issue of user fees had not been determined (services were being provided free of charge, partly due to residents' cool reaction to the project) but household studies had been completed and analysed by the Ministry of Economic Planning. The idea was to put in place a billing system that was fair in terms of household income and size.

The ex-permanent secretary of the Ministry of Environment later suggested that the hallmark of the project was the series of meetings that provided a continuous learning process. The focus was on change:

We, I mean those steering the project, underrated the residents at first but later we agreed with them. ENSEPA was corrupt and it represented government and by extension government was corrupt. ENSEPA actually demolished the old dumpsites in neighbourhoods and sold the sites to individuals to build shops. It was only the intervention of the SLGP that gave the project some hope.²⁵

The SLGP consultants observed in their report on Phase 3 of the project that 'a considerable amount of progress has been made and the institutions are to be congratulated in their willingness to accept that the fundamental objective of the project is reform and not a solid waste management project per se' (Barratt and Diyoke, 2003). They added that a slow process of thinking 'outside the box' and attitudinal change had begun. Stakeholder meeting participants also 'noted the change in attitude in the way participants from the various government departments worked together and with the members from the private sector and NGOs'.²⁶

Two workshops were held in Enugu on 11 and 12 June 2003. One was concerned with strategy development and the other with financial planning. The workshops were well attended by stakeholders from various sectors, including residents of New Haven (Barratt and Diyoke, 2003). By inviting residents and business operators to the workshops, the project drivers hoped to change the local public's attitude towards the project.²⁷ The consultants noted that 'it was particularly pleasing that many people felt able to comment on difficult issues such as corruption in the public sector even when senior government officials were present without being intimidated' (Barratt and Diyoke, 2003). In the strategy workshop, stakeholders worked to collaboratively develop a common understanding of the problem and the overall aim and objectives of the project. Four work groups (formed around the four adopted objectives) elected chairpersons, deliberated and presented their discussions to the entire meeting. This was followed by an open discussion. The workshop developed, amongst other things, an agreed action plan, a cost recovery scheme and a monitoring framework. The financial planning workshop, which involved financial experts from the various stakeholder organizations and the state accountant general, built upon the output of the strategy workshop. It tested the cost recovery model, dealt extensively with public expenditure management and developed an incentivized mode of service delivery.

At the strategy workshop, business operators recalled their ordeals working in waste collection: they paid various fees, levies and rates to ENSEPA, local government agents, private operators and, occasionally, touts posing as government agents. When they refused to or could not pay, their properties would be seized. Many participants spoke about the multilayered payments they were compelled to make under the government service delivery system, which was not peculiar to New Haven. The high level of disorderliness in government was even discussed by government officials themselves. The weaknesses of the private sector operators were also discussed. Residents complained of poor service delivery by private operators using old, malfunctioning trucks that would break down frequently in the neighbourhoods (waste would also spill out the open trucks onto the streets as they moved about). But ultimately, residents felt their presence made a difference to the outcome of the workshop. A discussant pointed out that the basic messages of the project were already known from the NGOs' awareness-raising interventions, but they needed to know that government agencies were determined to address the problem.²⁸

Furthermore, government and ENSEPA officials attending the workshop of 11 June 2003 exposed the real reasons for the weaknesses

of ENSEPA. These included a lack of motivation, skills and training amongst staff; the fact that senior staff were overloaded while junior staff were underutilized; and poor revenue collection processes, leading to corruption and embezzlement.²⁹ Ultimately, the workshops had brought the various stakeholder groups together and became the 'springboard' for further interaction and collaboration.³⁰ In order to buttress the willingness to work together, the tipper drivers' unions had 'agreed to take 50 per cent of their normal charge as part of their own contribution to the success of the project'.³¹ However, despite these gains, the SLGP consultants argued that the workshop and other observations had revealed a very weak institutional arrangement and recommended that a new solid waste management authority be created for the city (Barratt and Diyoke, 2003). These and other observations on the weaknesses of ENSEPA led to the proposal that a full institutional review be undertaken, with a view to embarking on a reform process.

In order to promote project sustainability, at the workshop it was decided that there was a need for a long-term strategy or policy to support the initiative (Barrat and Diyoke, 2003). The result was the Solid Waste Management Strategy for Enugu, drafted in open work group sessions that included broad-based stakeholders such as business operators and executive members of various neighbourhood groups and associations. The strategy presented a common vision of how to improve and develop solid waste management practices through participatory processes. The three sustainability criteria adopted were public participation and ownership, active and corruption-free institutions, and the rights of citizens to demand quality service. The draft strategy document was later circulated amongst stakeholders for their comments, which were then collated by the consultants. Neighbourhood associations in the pilot site received draft copies and scrutinized it along with EDNET partners. With this information, all stakeholders understood the essence of the strategy.

The Solid Waste Management Strategy took a number of steps considered essential to promoting sustainability. Firstly, it sought to build a high level of political support. Secondly, it instigated appropriate financial and institutional reforms. Thirdly, it outlined a consultative process to sustain decision-making and action. The strategy was adopted by the Executive Council of Enugu State in order to remain a priority political agenda. The adopted development model involved four interrelated components: improved services, public awareness, improved cost recovery and increased investment.

A further outcome of the workshops was an extensive revenue and expenditure tracking process carried out within ENSEPA, from 6 October

2003 to 14 October 2003. Two financial experts carried out this process. They held discussions with ENSEPA staff including the general manager, chief accountant, revenue officer, cashier, internal auditor, head of administration and head of planning. In addition, they scrutinized ENSEPA's accounting records. Their findings were that, amongst other things, the 'financial system is so weak that it does not appear to capture and account for revenues collected and the expenditure incurred ... consequently transparency and accountability are undermined. The financial records lack credibility' (Okonji and Eze, 2003, p. 4). As a result of these findings, a recycling study and cost-based analysis for solid waste management in Enugu were carried out, and both informed the recycling and the cost recovery strategies eventually developed for the city. As part of this process, an intensive training programme for private sector operators was held.

However, by June 2004 the private sector operators at the New Haven pilot site were experiencing problems due to equipment breakdown and general lack of capacity. Waste was not being removed and fees were not being collected. The SLGP consultants felt that 'despite the continued effort of all concerned to bring about change, we are back to square one in terms of waste collected' (Barratt and Anyaegbudike, 2004, p. 3). An interviewed PSP operator explained that they had experienced capacity limitations in raising and sustaining the capital needed to provide services at the required level: 'They talk about cost recovery and investment which are good on paper but we did our best'.³² Their contracts were terminated and ENSEPA took over waste collection responsibilities.

In June 2004, the attorney general of Enugu State, who had been commissioned to draft a waste management law, submitted the final draft. It was passed in the same year as the Enugu State Waste Management Authority Law (No. 8), which created a new regulatory body, the Enugu State Waste Management Authority (ESWAMA). This meant that ENSEPA was dissolved, and by December 2004 approximately 120 redundant staff had been retrenched. The new body has widely been adjudged to be better equipped in terms of personnel, orientation and funding, amongst other factors.³³ The death of ENSEPA convinced many that government can indeed change.³⁴ Local residents and business operators felt that it brought some relief and a degree of confidence in government.³⁵ An interviewed ESWAMA officer made the point that a degree of consciousness had been brought to society as a result: 'A number of residents now come in to support government by paying their rates and other waste-related fees'.³⁶

A consultant report produced in 2007 noted that DFID/SLGP had declared the New Haven pilot project on solid waste management a

failure (Gbakon et al., 2007). Transparency in procuring engineering contracts seemed to be lacking. Contractors were defaulting and carrying out substandard work. These facts were 'not exemplary' and definitely could not be considered successful attributes of good governance. However, the report further noted that the pilot project provided an entry into serious institutional reform. It provided lessons for the newly established waste management authority 'regarding the achievement of effective, transparent procurement for engineering contracts and maintaining rigorous contract management' (Gbakon et al., 2007, p. 9).

Looking back on the project during focus group discussions held in 2011, residents applauded the inclusion, albeit belated, of their associations in the planning and execution of the project.³⁷ They were first informed of the project by the NGO partners of EDNET and were asked to suggest how it could be made effective in their neighbourhoods. In addition to handbills and posters, 'roadshows' were organized and samples of waste collection bags given out free of charge. The NGOs provided information on the health implications of waste in residential neighbourhoods, as well as the socio-economic benefits of proper waste collection and disposal practices. Radio programmes on composting and recycling had been organized. Many residents found that their participation in the project workshops had changed their view of government and the intentions surrounding the project. They related well to ESWAMA and willingly carried out the monthly clean-up exercises, which were arranged on Saturdays. Neighbourhood associations also engaged in public sensitization of local residents using a megaphone. They reported back to residents whenever they attended workshops or meetings with ESWAMA or NGOs. As one resident explained, 'this came as a result of the tremendous improvement in cleanliness in New Haven to the extent that people were proud to say they live in New Haven'.³⁸ Another neighbourhood representative justified the success:

Really, in recent times, [participation] appears to be the way out in solving some urban challenges, because you know in this country, anything that is owned by the government is owned by nobody. But when members of the public are brought in then such a project tends to have security.³⁹

According to the same representative, local residents were now more cautious about how they disposed of waste. She referred to the project as being the collective responsibility of government and residents. Neighbourhood associations had undertaken to monitor the indiscriminate dumping of refuse. Defaulters were made to repack the waste and to dispose of it at the

designated receiving station. Residents were willing to provide voluntary services to ensure the continued cleanliness of the area. For instance, a local medical practitioner offered free treatment to those injured during neighbourhood clean-up exercises. It is important to note that all discussants referred to the project as a 'partnership'. A key point made by one discussant was that, 'when there is real partnership, the people see the project as their own; thus there will be no need to use force'.⁴⁰

An interviewed SLGP officer explained that although the demonstration project 'failed', strictly speaking, the reform of ENSEPA to ESWAMA and the passage of the waste management law could be seen as successful accomplishments.⁴¹ Furthermore a strategy and policy to promote sustainable solid waste management in Enugu had been developed as an outcome of the project. Another important success was the census carried out for residential houses in Enugu and New Haven to ascertain the number of households, the number of rooms in each building and so on, without which an accurate billing system would not have been possible. Thus, the partnership formed the bedrock of the current, relatively clean New Haven, which demonstrates that improved service delivery and new avenues of state-society engagement can be achieved through participatory mechanisms. The once deplorable environment that was an eyesore and health hazard to apathetic residents improved greatly, and gave its residents a sense of belonging.

Conclusion

This case revealed how initial resistance to a project from local residents, in conjunction with changes in attitude of government officials, motivated and informed changes extending beyond the technical aspects of solid waste management to include the laws, institutional structures and procedures of urban environmental governance. In Enugu, this culminated in the establishment of a new agency, ESWAMA, to learn from and address the problems pertaining to its predecessor, ENSEPA.

Some key principles of participatory planning approaches are highlighted in the case. In a structural and cultural context of enforcement and control, shifting to a participatory approach may not follow traditional procedures of engaging with the public. Communication was an important component of the process, which created the participatory space that generated the changes realized by the project. Compared to the apathy that characterized the pre-project period, it is important to note how issue-based participation can increase interaction amongst various actors, thereby catalysing transformative practical initiatives.

Open discussion of the challenges stemming from a lack of government capacity, transparency and accountability was one positive result of the participatory forum established as part of this project. Workshops, work groups, field visits, phone-in radio programmes, consultations and stakeholders meetings were effective techniques in actively involving new actors and participants.

Building trust between various actors was also a major challenge, which seemed to have been addressed towards the end of the project. Distrust for government is not surprising considering the bureaucratic constraints and the military approach that dominated past urban planning efforts in Nigeria. Acknowledging the importance of stakeholders' voices in the planning process indicated a change in power relations. Thus, by widening the circle of participation from stakeholders with authority, to service providers and finally the community, experiences were uncovered that dispelled anger, distrust and apathy, leading to changes in attitude of both government officials and the public.

The need to change the views, attitudes and behaviour of decision-makers is often seen as a prerequisite for the development of trust and organizational change. If the perceptions of public authorities change, everything shifts. This is supported by this case. Furthermore, where there is opportunity for inclusion, and genuine interest in participation, residents take strides to manage their own environment. They can establish structures to sustain the process of change. The acceptance of the project by residents as 'their own' was a crucial success factor, motivated by attitudinal changes amongst government bureaucrats, which in turn reflected a self-recognition of government's weaknesses and the need for a new planning approach. By including local neighbourhood associations in the project, sustainability was targeted in the institutional structure of waste governance and in the quality of service available to residents. Furthermore, the active participation of civil society actors injected new knowledge, skills and concerns into the development of waste management strategies and action plans. In this case, the enabling environment was created by SLGP through supporting government activities and in promoting information dissemination by NGOs.

The role of the NGOs in enhancing communication, education and public sensitization is also substantiated by this case study. The informal participation of the umbrella network, EDNET, and its NGO members, generated enthusiasm amongst residents for the project and what could happen beyond. When end-users are included in service delivery decisions, real change can happen. On the one hand, NGOs played a catalytic role in arousing residents' interest, encouraging them to claim

ownership of the project and to trust the intentions of government. On the other hand, the international development agency (DFID) played a catalytic role in building political will and support for a shift towards good governance practices in waste management.

It is important to note that no urban planner participated directly in this project. Although there was no record of an attempt to systematically select participants, one would expect that urban planners should be amongst the key actors. Moreover, it was observed that agencies such as ENSEPA and the Ministry of Environment did not have professional planners amongst their staff. Urban planners are employed in the Town Planning Department of the Enugu State Ministry of Lands, Survey and Town Planning, and by town planning authorities at the local government level. This means that the traditional planning approach in Nigeria tends to keep urban planners within the confines of the development of the physical environment. The growing literature on the new, central role of urban planning in sustainable urbanization (see UN-Habitat, 2009) runs counter to urban governance in a country such as Nigeria. It implies that for planners in Nigeria to play this key role, the purview of planning practice has to be widened and hence reforms are needed. The challenge of finding new ways of addressing pressing urban environmental, social and economic issues demands that planning should be institutionally located to contribute to this process in a meaningful way.

Based on the insights of this case study, planners should be able to comprehend the changing governance environment, which demands of them new roles and skills. Some of the skills and competencies that drove the implementation of this case study project are noteworthy, especially the capacity to use information, education and communication in increasing public awareness and changing the attitudes of residents. Planning education, therefore, should build the skills of future planners in this direction. A revision of planning curricula at the tertiary level should be undertaken to emphasize knowledge of and skills in communication, negotiation, consensus building and networking, amongst other things. Old skills also have to be sharpened for application to a wider range of current issues.

Finally, the case study research method adopted in this chapter successfully provided the in-depth knowledge that would not have been available with another method that, for example, relied only on survey data. Participation, transformation and success are context-based phenomena and are better understood when the method of presentation aims to tell the story of how events unfolded, and who was responsible for them. Studies such as this, focusing on an in-depth account of topical

issues in the African context, enrich the development of planning theory and practice that is best suited for the continent. The research and educational value of this work for planners and development workers cannot be overemphasized, in line with what Watson (2009) describes as 'seeing from the South'.

Notes

1. Minutes of EDNET meeting (Enugu, 25 January 2002).
2. ESRT was formed in February 2002, with the responsibility of developing ideas, strategies and action plans for governance reform in Enugu State. Top civil servants (permanent secretaries and directors), commissioners and special advisers to the governor were members of the team. Only one member, a representative of the Catholic Church, was included from outside the top government circle (Barratt, 2003).
3. Minutes of EDNET meeting (Enugu, 17 July 2002).
4. In-depth interview with the ex-permanent secretary, Ministry of Environment (Enugu, January 2011).
5. Minutes of EDNET meetings (Enugu, 25 January, 17 July and 11 November 2002).
6. In-depth interview with EDNET coordinator (Enugu, January 2011).
7. Minutes of EDNET meeting (Enugu, 12 February 2003).
8. In-depth interview with EDNET coordinator (Enugu, January 2011).
9. In-depth interview with the ex-permanent secretary, Ministry of Environment (Enugu, January 2011).
10. In-depth interview with a private sector operator (Enugu, January 2011).
11. In-depth interview with the ex-permanent secretary, Ministry of Environment (Enugu, January 2011).
12. In-depth interview with EDNET coordinator (Enugu, January 2011).
13. In-depth interview with the ex-permanent secretary, Ministry of Environment (Enugu, January 2011).
14. In-depth interview with State and Local Government Programme (SLGP) officer (Enugu, January 2011).
15. In-depth interview with the ex-permanent secretary, Ministry of Environment (Enugu, January 2011).
16. In-depth interview with State and Local Government Programme (SLGP) officer (Enugu, January 2011).
17. In-depth interview with EDNET coordinator (Enugu, January 2011).
18. The Sustainable Cities Programme methodology adopted the broad-based participation of stakeholders from the public, private and community sectors in working groups and city consultations to generate agreed priority issues. Participants were identified on the basis of their stake in the issue, expertise, information and control of implementation instruments. ENSEPA was a participating stakeholder in the Sustainable Enugu Project (SEP) that prioritized waste management and prepared an action plan. It adopted the city's environmental profile developed by the project as a working paper that formed the basis for the proposal it submitted to ESRT/SLGP.
19. In-depth interview with EDNET coordinator (Enugu, January 2011).

20. In-depth interview with the ex-permanent secretary, Ministry of Environment (Enugu, January 2011).
21. In-depth interview with State and Local Government Programme (SLGP) officer (Enugu, January 2011).
22. Focus group discussion with residents and officers of neighbourhood-based associations (Enugu, November 2010 and 7 February 2011).
23. In-depth interview with town planning officer (Enugu State Town Planning Department, Enugu, 2011).
24. Ibid.
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Part III

Case Study as a Teaching Method

7

Case Method as a Way of Teaching Architecture at Makerere University, Uganda

Stephen Mukiibi

Introduction

Unplanned development in Kampala has to some extent been attributed to a lack of adequately trained architects, urban planners and engineers (Nakirunda, 2003; UN-Habitat, 2007). Furthermore, questioning of teaching methods in schools and especially in institutions of higher learning has been a topical issue, not only in Uganda but also in other parts of the world (Barnes et al., 1994). The demand to have professionals trained to adequately respond to society's needs is a growing call in all sectors of education in Uganda.

Architecture is a non-exact science and in the training of an architect, three methods are commonly used: studio, lectures and case studies. Of these, lectures and case studies complement the studio, which is the main mode of training. Studio is a method of choice for architecture and planning education, which isolates the design problem from the context of a real design process, and where lectures are used to deliver information and knowledge, often outside of real developmental contexts. Alternatively, case studies deliver information and insight either on a single building, the design process itself, or how a designer faced and solved specific problems (Pollalis, 2012).

The case method may be used for research or teaching but in this chapter the focus is on the use of the 'real-life case' or 'live case' for teaching. The live case teaching method involves the use of a real-world design problem, for which students are required to produce a design solution. As a teaching and learning approach, it is characterized by the immersion of the student in the field; identification and definition of the design problem in collaboration with the local community and (often) local government authorities; close engagement with the

community during the design process; as well as extensive use of studio training. The role of the educator in the live case is to act as a facilitator – planning the studio structure, making contacts with authorities and communities to negotiate the design issue, site, approach and expected outcomes. The educator fosters critical thinking and problem-solving capacity by guiding students through the process of learning, encouraging them to be resource providers in an independent learning process, while at the same time encouraging teamwork.

This chapter seeks to describe the conduction of a live case teaching approach in the Department of Architecture and Physical Planning at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda. It is arranged in three main sections. Section 1 provides a review of the literature surrounding ‘service learning’ or ‘studio’ courses in tertiary architecture and planning education based on the engagement between university and other actors, especially local communities. It focuses on the rationale, benefits and challenges relating to the conduction of such courses, highlighting some of the implications of this teaching approach for the expected role of the teacher. Section 2 then discusses the use of a live case studio to train architects and planners at Makerere University. Some of the advantages and challenges of this approach are illustrated using the example of work undertaken by fourth-year students in Bwaise, an informal settlement in Kampala, in the 2006–2007 academic year. Section 3 discusses some of the key lessons learnt from the Bwaise studio project, with implications for the enhancement of future case-based teaching projects. The chapter concludes with reflections on the utility of the live case teaching approach, and the case of Bwaise specifically, for the purposes of training effective urban practitioners and producing realistic design solutions in ordinary African urban contexts.

Studio and service learning programmes in education

The use of ‘community service learning’ or ‘community engagement’ as both an approach to teaching and the production of knowledge has received renewed interest in a range of academic disciplines, including planning (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000) and geography (Oldfield et al., 2004). In architectural and planning curricula, the basic rationale for undertaking these courses stems from two points. On one hand, it is held that ‘the complexity and uncertainty encountered in practice situations cannot be duplicated in the traditional classroom-oriented education’ (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000, p. 101). On the other, student involvement in community processes means that

'academic learning will be enhanced while individuals and community organizations receive direct and indirect positive benefit' (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000, p. 101).

While design workshop or studio courses have been extensively used for graduate planning education in the past, the importance of this approach has declined in many schools in the United States of America and elsewhere over the past three decades (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000; Dalton, 2001). However, recently there has been a resurgence of interest in studio teaching approaches, particularly those seeking to incorporate elements relating to community service learning. This shift has been embroiled in the wider critique of positivism and instrumentalism as the framing paradigms of planning epistemology. Leonie Sandercock, for example, has offered a critique of 'the man of technical reason' or 'Rational Man' as the central subject of planning education and professionalism (2003, p. 65). She has further critiqued the 'model of technical rationality' as the dominant 'epistemology of practice': a 'model of instrumental problem-solving made rigorous by the application of scientific theory and technique' (2003, p. 66). Instead, she has posited the need to take the 'voices from the borderlands' seriously, or taking the desires of those who actually inhabit urban areas as a starting point for intervention, rather than something to be managed by the expert professional (Sandercock, 1995).

The shift towards 'engagement' as a principle of education for urban professionals has been driven by the conviction that other actors in the planning process hold useful knowledge, and that knowledge itself may take different forms, some of which are more or less useful for the purposes of architectural and planning practice. For Sandercock, useful planning knowledge includes forms of self-reflection and practical 'know-how' that are produced and validated through dialogue between actors, and mediated through 'experience, intuition, and imagination' (2003, p. 68). Furthermore, the process of gaining knowledge is linked to a realization of the limits posed by conventional definitions of knowledge and norms for intervention:

Perhaps one of the most difficult tasks of planning educators is to teach the limits of technical rationality, to demonstrate that the scope of technical expertise is limited by situations of great uncertainty, instability, uniqueness, and conflict. (Sandercock, 2003, p. 66)

As such, processes of 'learning by doing' become more important to the education of urban practitioners than the necessity of memorizing

abstract predictive theories and mastering techniques. This learning has an empowering function, as the role of the planner becomes one of enabling 'communities to do things for themselves' (Sandercock, 2003, p. 81) rather than planning for, or on behalf of, communities.

These discussions have appeared mainly in the English language planning literature, produced by publishers and authors located, for the most part, in North America and Europe. Indeed, the takeover of planning education and practice by positivism and technical rationality has not necessarily unfolded in the same mode, if at all, in many parts of Africa. Many schools located in Francophone and Lusophone countries remain strongly rooted in continental *urbanisme* traditions. Many planning degrees offered in departments of Anglophone Africa are still closely related to architecture or physical planning programmes, emphasizing the teaching of empirical analytical methods and design techniques (in the British tradition of town and country planning), often through engaged and interactive studio courses involving multiple actors within the academy, government and civil society. That being said, a large number of planning schools in countries such as Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa have developed programmes focusing on policy-based development planning, or have been strongly influenced by the North American social science-type model of planning education (Duminy, 2010).

Student learning from community engagement

The notion of 'engagement beyond the academe' in the production of knowledge has attracted increasing attention across a range of disciplines (Oldfield et al., 2004, p. 291), and particularly in relation to the education of urban professionals such as architects and planners. Teaching approaches, such as the 'student learning from community engagement' methodology (SLCE) described by Bourner (2010), have sought to establish an applied approach geared towards the empowerment of local communities:

If the main purpose of traditional university education is to equip students with the knowledge, skills and attitudes to serve the advancement of knowledge of an academic subject, then what is the main purpose of [SLCE]? It is to equip the students with the knowledge, skills and attitudes to make a difference to the lives of those in the community. (Bourner, 2010, pp. 143–144)

In this view, the student is envisaged less as a critical tester of ideas, than as a 'change agent' capable of interacting with communities

in a spirit of reciprocity, or 'give and take': 'Students give their time and talents to community groups and organizations and receive valuable learning' (Bourner, 2010, p. 139). Therefore, the main differences between SLCE and traditional educational approaches relate to the types of knowledge, skills and attitude that are sought. Firstly, it seeks to produce a type of knowledge that is 'distilled from experience' (rather than by learning abstract, rule-based theories from textbooks), and which ultimately fosters a 'self-knowledge' on the part of students: a form of knowledge that involves an understanding of their own 'talents, strengths and weaknesses' (Bourner, 2010, p. 144). Secondly, SLCE approaches seek to complement the critical thinking skills that are sought in more traditional forms of university education with reflective and strategic thinking skills. Listening skills become more valued than those of written communication aimed at an academic audience. Developing 'personal transferable skills' are a major goal – preparing graduates to confront and face very different problems and issues, meaning that their skills have to be 'transferable between a wide variety of different situations' (Bourner, 2010, p. 144). Thirdly, in terms of attitudes, the kinds of sensibilities sought as a result of SLCE processes relate to the desire to 'make a difference', as well as a sense of proactivity (a 'bias towards action') and commitment in their engagements with local communities (Bourner, 2010, p. 145).

Yet questions remain over what is specifically important about 'engagement' approaches from the perspective of educating urban practitioners such as architects and planners. The main argument is that such approaches can generate context-specific forms of knowledge, providing possible strategies of action and intervention in conditions of high complexity, which invariably characterize urban development problems. Roakes and Norris-Tirrell argue that service learning is particularly relevant for the purposes of education in applied disciplines such as planning because 'effective professional practice' requires 'an operational understanding' or a practical 'competence' (2000, p. 102). They use four core characteristics of service learning to construct a framework for course development:

- *Promoting different ways of understanding*: this demands that the teacher exert less control over the realities and experiences to which students are exposed. Learning unfolds as an interaction between subjective habitus and the objective environment.
- *Focusing on experience as a source of learning*: situated learning enables the student to learn by actively applying the knowledge

they have acquired, thereby gaining insight into its purpose, the contextual factors affecting implementation, and the potential for such knowledge to be transferred to other situations.

- *Promoting reflective thinking*: referring to 'a set of strategies for increasing self-awareness about the impact of individual and group behaviour, thereby creating the opportunity for professional growth and development' (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000, p. 102).
- *Developing an ethical foundation that emphasizes 'citizenship'*: this refers to developing a personal relationship and sense of 'ownership' between students and communities, ensuring that students are sensitive to the environments within which they practise – while appreciating the 'limitations and potential of their role' and the need to set 'realistic goals' (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000, p. 102).

The notion that extra-university engagements conducted as part of studio courses can produce 'better citizens' is linked to the idea that such processes can exercise a positive impact on the student's 'moral reasoning, sense of social responsibility, intercultural understanding, and complexity of thought' (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000, p. 102). Therefore, service learning or community engagements conducted as part of studio courses are seen as capable of producing professionals who are reflective, committed and capable of understanding, framing and responding to the 'wicked problems' that attend most instances of planning practice (Balassiano, 2011).

In Africa and other regions of the global South, where extreme urban poverty offers a major challenge to urban planners and architects, extra-university engagements have the added incentive of sensitizing students to the everyday material inequalities and exclusions faced by many low-income urban residents. This can be particularly important in contexts where students come from very different backgrounds to those for whom they will ultimately plan. By interacting with those living in harsh conditions, the necessity of listening, evaluating and responding to the interests of local residents and other actors can become apparent. Ideally then, students develop context-dependent knowledge capable of guiding praxis in specific local situations, at the same time as garnering skills that are 'transferable to a wide range of situations' (Bourner, 2010, p. 147).

Implications for the organization and conduction of studio courses

What do the aforementioned shifts in the purpose and objectives of architectural and planning education entail for the precise manner in

which a course should be conducted? For one matter, studio courses conducted in partnership with local community structures demand a very different role for the studio teacher or facilitator. The first essential task is for the facilitator to search for and identify an appropriate site and project, which should ideally stem from their 'regular interaction' with community-based organizations (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000, p. 103). For studios concerned with the development of neighbourhood-scale spatial plans, interaction with other professionals, as well as with local government and non-governmental organization (NGO) actors, will often be necessary.

Based on their experiences as teachers of service learning studios, Roakes and Norris-Tirrell (2000) recommend at least three criteria for the selection of a local community. These are: the needs of the community, their level of 'buy-in' and willingness to participate, as well as the proximity of the site to the university campus. Usually the chosen community will be one that has a need for planning assistance, which cannot be met through the use of existing local resources. The objective will thus be one of 'filling a gap' in knowledge or expertise rather than to 'duplicate an existing programme' (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000, p. 103). The commitment of the community to the studio process is often a key prerequisite for a successful process. One element of securing this commitment is by ensuring that community representatives either sit on an organizing committee, or are intimately involved in all stages of studio preparation and implementation. Finally, the requirement for the project site to be in close proximity to campus is a logistical issue relating to student time and resources.

After the community and site have been selected, it will be necessary for the facilitator to develop a relationship with relevant stakeholders, and to oversee a formalization of this agreement through memoranda of understanding or funding contracts. Such memoranda will typically set out 'the roles of the community, students, and instructor', clarifying such details at an early stage in order that 'all participants can have a clear understanding of their roles' (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000, p. 103). A series of course development meetings may then be required to decide on logistical arrangements, and to collaboratively develop the scope and objectives of the project, in relation to the actually existing needs of the community.

Generally speaking, the role of the studio instructor is less one of 'the expert' and more oriented towards 'facilitation, consultation, and mentoring' – working with students to enable them to develop each other's competencies and to discover their own answers to challenging

problems (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000, p. 104). Uncertainty on the part of students is perhaps inevitable (and indeed is probably necessary for the subjective moral transformation described above to take place), particularly for those unsure of their abilities, and the instructor should strive to manage this uncertainty by, for example, adopting an encouraging attitude, ensuring regular feedback is given to students, and by 'creating an open and safe atmosphere that encourages discussion, critical thinking, and experimentation' (Roakes and Norris-Tirrell, 2000, p. 104).

Despite the numerous advantages associated with live case studio courses, clearly they are not without profound challenges. Some of these challenges relate to the tasks of determining the scope and capacity of the project, communicating and collaborating with sometimes severely deprived local communities and their political structures, as well as preparation and logistical issues. In the first instance, it is often the case that such engagements reach to only a few powerful individuals or groups within any particular community. Furthermore, planning of these studios is highly time-consuming, and it may be difficult to fit university schedules with the time frames and needs of local communities, which in many African urban settings are incredibly pressing, given the scale of infrastructure deficits and the poor quality of living environments (Winkler, 2013).

If key criteria for success are the establishment of trust and open communication between the partners involved in the studio, a major challenge relates to how communities can be involved in all phases of the process, from the identification of problems and data collection, to the collaborative production of desired outcomes and proposals for implementation (Winkler, 2013). The issue of how the facilitator and students gain access to the site and community is of crucial importance, and can often set the tone for the entire project. Following this, studio organizers face the challenge of constructing and maintaining longer-term and reciprocal relationships between the partners (Winkler, 2013).

Many African urban contexts present serious methodological issues in terms of breaking down any perception of researchers, facilitators or students as 'outsiders'. Resulting suspicions may manifest in the forms of community 'gatekeepers', who actively manage the university partner's access to information and local political structures. This may limit the ability of facilitators and students to make contact and interact with the full variety of interest groups and actors present in the community, thereby undermining the potential for a widely inclusive process of collaborative decision-making. The 'outsider' issue also creates problems

if university participants are not regarded as equals during the process, thereby generating power imbalances that may undermine the good intentions that initially frame the project.

Perhaps the greatest challenge to the success of university-community partnerships concerns the setting and management of expectations on behalf of both parties. Baum notes that 'expectations of partnerships are often so grand, and available resources so limited, that those who create partnerships may substitute fantasy about how partnerships will magically create abundant problem-solving resources for realistic analysis, organizing, planning and funding' (2000, p. 234). Although organizers may have ambitious hopes for such partnerships, their capacity to change the fate of the local community may be limited in ways that are not anticipated – a reality often resulting in programmes 'that may improve living conditions but leave institutions largely unaffected' (Baum, 2000, p. 242). While ambition is a necessary aspect of partnerships (otherwise, what would be the point?), it remains that 'unless they are honest about what they can accomplish, they will easily make inflated claims, ignore difficulties, and lose the ability to plan or evaluate' (Baum, 2000, p. 242). Dishonesty, cynicism and blame may arise as a result.

How can expectations be managed? A starting point is the adoption of a normative frame for assessing these engagements. This may take the form of, for example, the five participatory action research values of empowerment, social justice and equity, supportive relationships and inclusion, mutual learning and reciprocal education, and respect for diversity and power sharing (Winkler, 2013). More practical strategies relate to resource management: the studio should be planned so that the resources available match the original purposes of the partnership (Baum, 2000). These resources include knowledge, time and money. In terms of the former, facilitators of studios should be prepared for processes of open-ended learning, with each engagement presenting its own obstacles and necessary adaptations:

Partners should treat partnerships as experiments, or action research. They need to act to learn – not just about substantive matters such as housing or education but about how communities and organizations act in these fields and strategies for influencing them. (Baum, 2000, p. 242)

It can take many years to develop a shared vision of strategic action, within which time faculty staff, community leaders and even the basic

identity of the partnership itself may very likely change. To be sustainable, the partnership will usually require ongoing attempts to recreate it and to rethink its purposes. Finally, in terms of finances, third party funding is often necessary, but can give rise to problems. Where possible, funders should become partners in the process, and partners should be made accountable to one another. All partners have to be willing and committed to the process, and capable of responding to one another's concerns and requests. It is therefore necessary to carefully articulate these obligations beforehand, despite the difficulties inevitably involved in doing so.

The final point that can be made about university-community partnership is the basic question of who benefits from the engagement, and to what extent. Tanja Winkler (2013), reflecting on her experiences of running studios in partnership between the University of Cape Town, local governments and a local NGO affiliated to the international advocacy network Slum/Shack Dwellers International, agrees that while students may have valuable learning experiences, gain critical knowledge of urban planning issues and undergo positive transformations in their personal value-base, it is equally possible that the intervention from outside (that is, from the university) may undermine the existing power dynamics in the community, and the political capital of community leaders.

Winkler's (2013) work, however, does not suggest the futility of such engagements; on the contrary we are invited to interrogate with greater urgency their ethical challenges, our critical awareness of the limitations of conventional pedagogical methodologies, as well as potential responses to such issues. The necessity of appropriately managing expectations, on the part of all parties, puts renewed attention on how university, NGO, community and government partners communicate, and indeed reemphasizes the point that all roles and responsibilities of studio partners should be clearly stipulated beforehand. Another strategy would be to manage expectations by lengthening the period of engagement, conducting studios over several years in order to facilitate gradual access to the community and the establishment of trust.

With these discussions and rationales in mind, the following section describes the approach to studio teaching used to train architects at Makerere University. Reflection on practical issues of implementation will add depth to the preceding discussion, and will further provide an important guide to educators seeking to develop courses drawing upon the university-community engagement approach.

The live case in architecture education at Makerere University

As mentioned above, the use of 'cases' in teaching is not a particularly new practice in the urban disciplines, including architecture. Internationally, it has been used for some time by colleges and universities to promote critical thinking skills (Brooke, 2006). The case method is described by Herreid (1994) as an inductive process by which students learn through their joint, cooperative effort as opposed to conventional techniques whereby the lecturer simply conveys facts or views to students. Thus, the case method is an active, experiential and student-centred approach to learning, which offers opportunities to explore new avenues to enhance student learning.

Being confronted with the desire to bridge the gap in knowledge between theory and practice and to train architects relevant to the needs of Ugandan society, the Department of Architecture at Makerere University decided to use the case teaching method in training its students. Behind this decision lay the question, 'is the case method an effective way of teaching architecture?' Effective teaching in architecture may be assessed using a number of indicators organized under the following dimensions: product, process, and person. For 'product', assessment indicators such as content knowledge, concept resolution, presentation, hard and soft skills, as well as intuition, can be used. 'Process' judgement involves consideration of interdisciplinary or cross-cultural aspects, engagement, hard and soft skills, professional practice, reflective practice and intuition. The 'person' is then judged using categories of self-awareness and management, engagement, learning approach and style, reflective practice and 'magic' (Zehner et al., 2009).

The training of architects demands the practical application of theoretical knowledge and in general, it tends to treat applications of knowledge as equally important to the exposition of theory. In Makerere University, the use of structured live cases is the most commonly used method in Architectural design portfolio courses. This is the core course of the architecture programme, offered in each of the five years of training. It is based on key principles including: leading the student to focus on questions instead of providing them with answers, understanding that there are no right or wrong answers, that the student should propose a strategy solution to a design problem and that process or procedure are vitally important in the development of the design solution.

In the fourth year of their training, Makerere students take the Architectural Design Portfolio Studio VII course, which requires them to exhibit an understanding and mastery of planning skills, on both a comprehensive and a detailed level. Students are expected to gain an awareness of interrelationships between social and physical elements in planning, as well as how to plan and design for a target group. In the subsequent Architectural Design Portfolio Studio VIII course, students acquire skills relating to detailed design in complex urban situations. In order to meet these learning objectives, students need to understand the challenges of the study assignment by interacting with real-life experiences.

Although the use of live case teaching methodologies for the training of architects is not a new phenomenon, either at Makerere University or elsewhere internationally, the difference in this assignment was that students were encouraged to have a more intimate interaction with local community members, as they were handling not only an architectural project, but also one that involved planning of the local area as the first stage of the design project. The design portfolio assignment in this case spanned the two semesters of the fourth year of study, whereby students undertook the planning of the area in the first semester, followed by a local housing project in the second semester.

Design of the assignment

The overall assignment was designed to have two parts: the planning component was handled in the first semester, while a housing design assignment was undertaken in the second semester of the academic year. The portfolio course lecturers had three weeks to prepare the draft study assignment for the two tasks and present it to the departmental authorities for consideration and approval, before it was distributed to students. Students had a total of 79 days to work on the planning assignment and 40 days for the housing assignment.

The project preparation stage involved the course tutors setting out the assignment. Usually, new design portfolio assignments are organized by tutors towards the end of the preceding semester. In this case, course lecturers used the last two weeks of the second semester of the previous year to develop the study assignment. This preparatory phase continued into the December (summer) vacation period, during which time the lecturers contacted and liaised with local community leaders and Kampala City Council (KCC) officials to gather relevant preliminary information for preparing the design brief and to agree on the respective roles of each stakeholder.

The first week of preparation was spent with officials of the Physical Planning Department of KCC to identify and agree upon an appropriate and convenient site for the study. Important criteria for selecting the study site related to the educational challenge of ensuring that students gained an adequate understanding of the relationship between social and physical elements of planning and designing in an informal urban neighbourhood. In the second week, contact was made with local community leaders in the area to brief them about the proposed educational assignment and its objectives. Lecturers sought the views of the residents about the proposed assignment, especially with regard to planning activities, establishing rapport with community members and identifying appropriate groups to work with. In the third week of the summer holiday, lecturers presented their draft project brief to departmental authorities for consideration. Here, other members of the Makerere teaching staff made suggestions for improving the brief, specifically recommending that student groups be reorganized after concluding the first part of the assignment, and that marks be redistributed appropriately amongst the various assessment criteria.

As described above, the overall project assignment consisted of two components: the planning and housing assignments. The planning assignment spelt out expected outputs such as the development of land-use zoning proposals, as well as proposals for appropriate local densities, plot coverage and plot ratios.¹ It also involved proposing building lines and heights, street layouts and alignments, road gradients and widths, traffic junctions, proposed plot boundaries, as well as layouts of utility services including water, sewerage, garbage disposal, electricity and telecommunications infrastructures. Working in groups, students were expected to produce visual illustrations of the future development scenario associated with their plan proposal, making physical models and three-dimensional representations of the area. These would be accompanied by a written justification, containing a by-law proposal that would be used to implement and manage the local plan.

The housing design assignment was an individual assignment that included identifying specific plots for detailed design demonstrations. The work process included developing design briefs, sketch designs, plans, sections and elevations, presentation drawings and models, detailed drawings all in prescribed scales, doors and windows schedules, and cost estimates of the proposed development. The housing assignment also involved specifying relevant materials for construction while considering aesthetic and environmental issues pertaining to the housing designs.

Bwaise informal settlement was selected as the 'live' study area. Comprising two parishes (Bwaise II and Bwaise III), the site was chosen in cooperation with the Physical Planning Department of KCC, with the intention that the students' planning solutions should serve as inputs to KCC's own planning processes for the area.² The specific site chosen was that adjacent to the Muganzilwaza–Nabweru junction in Bwaise. This junction lies 370 m west of Bombo Road, along the connection between Gayaza Road to the east and Hoima Road to the west.

The specific area of Bwaise targeted for the project was a low-income settlement with mixed commercial and residential establishments. According to the students' findings, the study site covered an area of 129,561 m², with a population of 1,800. It was estimated that by 2011 the population would increase to a total of 3,041 residents. Local economic activities were largely small-scale enterprises. More than half of residents were low-income earners, 38 per cent were middle-income, while seven per cent were high-income earners (Rubaramira et al., 2006). Furthermore, Bwaise is a flat, low-lying area that is constantly threatened by floods, partly due to its high population density, which has led to the destruction of the natural swamps that formerly regulated water drainage. With the intensive construction of buildings in the area, in conjunction with a lack of planning for storm water drainage and poor solid waste disposal habits (that have led to blocking of drains), the area has been subjected to numerous life-threatening floods and outbreaks of disease. Due to these characteristics, the settlement provided development challenges likely to be found not only in other parts of Kampala, but also in most other African cities.

Bwaise was found to be a settlement that would enable a student to meet the learning objectives of the design course. The area is a densely populated unplanned informal settlement, lacking basic services. The settlement is located approximately 1.5 km from Makerere University, making it easy for students to visit the area whenever the need arose. In addition, Bwaise had already been targeted by KCC for planning attention, as part of the local authority's programme to improve conditions in the informal settlements of Kampala. As such, Bwaise provided an appropriate setting for gathering the information necessary to address the planning and design challenges of an informal urban environment. The design process was driven by the desire to ensure that the local residents of Bwaise participated in the planning of the area, as a way of dealing with a real-life development problem in a pragmatic way.

The fieldwork process

Preparatory fieldwork was conducted in the form of survey work to uncover the topographic, demographic and economic aspects of the site, as well as current infrastructure standards and traffic considerations (due to the fact that Bwaise lies near an important arterial road). Students collected baseline data to gain an understanding of the complex nature of the planning assignment, and to appreciate the various strategic options that could be pursued to address the problems of planning an urban informal settlement. Data were collected using photography, by making sketches, conducting interviews and carrying out discussions with local residents. Students collected topographic data for the area, demographic information about the local population, household data (income, size, employment and so on), as well as data on the type and state of dwelling units, building materials used, the availability and state of infrastructure, and local construction skills. They interacted with the residents of Bwaise in seeking solutions to the problems of how and where to provide road access, water and public sanitary facilities, and other community amenities, such as a community centre, clinic and market.

According to the project brief, fieldwork was to be undertaken in two weeks, but in order for the students to maximize the utility of the data collection process, and since the case area was located in the vicinity of the university, students were given the opportunity to carry out field visits throughout the training period, amounting to 15 weeks. This enabled students to check and verify their design proposals in the field while continuously gaining input from the residents of Bwaise. Students worked in groups, with an emphasis on maintaining close contact and good relations with the residents of the area and the local authorities.

Studio work process

For the two weeks set aside for fieldwork, students spent the whole of each day in the field. After that time, students mostly worked in the studio at Makerere University, although they could use some time in the afternoons to visit the field to clarify issues of interest. Often, the initial collection of field data was not comprehensive and once in the studio, students were frequently confronted with information gaps that required revisiting the field. For example, basic information regarding road dimensions and the locations of key landmarks and drainage channels was often neglected during the first field visits. As such, having a study site located nearby, to which frequent visits could

be made from the university, was a major advantage of working in Bwaise. Furthermore, the movement between site and studio made the students interested in details, and taught them not to take information for granted.

Student groups responded to the assignment in different ways. One group's proposed planning interventions involved creating protected areas to restore swamp biodiversity, introducing multilevel housing developments to reduce land-use pressures and allow for green open spaces, aligning road networks with an effective drainage network, raising building ground levels, promoting water harvesting, establishing water treatment ponds (prior to disposing effluent into swamps), as well as organizing garbage collection points (Rubaramira et al., 2006).³ The group's intervention further involved zoning the area into residential, administrative, commercial, institutional, recreational, transport and special areas. The residential zones were categorized into high- and medium-density areas. With over 55 per cent of the residents being low-income earners, high-density areas were planned to cover 46,575 m², with medium-density developments to occupy 35,750 m². The administrative zone covered 1,500 m² and the commercial zone 3,000 m². For the latter, the group planned mixed-use housing units (commercial buildings with residential units located on the third floor) to accommodate wholesale and retail enterprises, entertainment activities and market areas. The industrial zone consisted of single-level developments covering 2,300 m², with areas set aside for carpentry workshops, metalwork and vehicle repair garages. The institutional zone, covering 17,550 m², would also consist of single-level developments including churches, mosques, schools, health centres and other civic centres. The recreational zone was designed to cover 2,300 m² and comprised a playing field and various wandering paths through the neighbourhood. The transportation zone would occupy 20 per cent of the total site area (25,912 m²). Road design interventions included establishing pedestrian, bicycle and motorcycle traffic routes. Special protected areas, such as green zones, buffers and areas for communal technical facilities, were also included in the design. In the second part of the assignment, the student group then refined their structural plans for the area, with a focus on local housing issues.

Presentation of data and assessment of the assignment

The planning and design assignments were assessed using a continuous assessment method, involving a series of interim presentations, which constituted 40 per cent of the total mark, and the final

presentation (looking at the project in totality and assessing all the learning requirements of the project) carrying 60 per cent of the total mark. The student proposals were assessed by a team of six people, consisting of four academics and one representative each of the KCC planning department and the Bwaise community. Residents were given the opportunity to elect their representative amongst themselves. Assessment was then carried out according to five stages: survey and analysis, planning, detailed designs (sketches), detailed designs (presentation drawings), and detailed designs (working drawings). Although the residents' representative was not an urban development professional, they played a significant role in the assessment process by guiding the panel on the practicality of the students' proposals. This made the whole exercise more pragmatic and meaningful than would have otherwise been the case.

Lessons learnt

In carrying out the planning and design exercise in Bwaise, a number of issues were observed that can be built upon to enhance future teaching projects. In terms of the utility of the live case as an approach to teaching and learning, the study revealed a number of clear advantages. The method provided for greater interaction between teacher, students and members of the local community. The students also found the studying and learning process enjoyable, as they avoided the monotony and boredom that are associated with learning in the traditional 'classroom and textbook' environment. Students and tutors 'opened up' to each other more intimately to discuss matters concerning the assignment, with the relationship being more collegial than one resembling the hierarchy of 'teacher and learner'. One student applauded the experience, in that it exposed him to the realities of urban life. Commenting on the exercise after discussing his housing design proposal with a resident named Semambo, he said:

I never knew I could make a difference to the slum life I have always considered unredeemable! If my simple contribution has made a difference in the life of Semambo's family it gives me pleasure and encouragement to pursue my course to completion.⁴

In developing their solution schemes, students used well-informed ideas, backed by information gathered from the field. Interacting with residents and local leaders exposed them to different options and

strategies to deal with local planning and design issues, such as how to ensure appropriate waste management in an environment where vehicular access is unavailable, and where 'formal' plots of land are almost non-existent. In such an environment, conventional teaching methods are rendered inadequate.

Working in the 'live environment' of Bwaise, students had an opportunity to get involved in an intensely and intellectually stimulating learning environment. They were able to consider the appropriateness of applying various planning and design concepts and principles learnt in the classroom environment. The live case experience challenged students to create relationships with the various stakeholders they were working with. At the same time, it offered them an opportunity to test their ideas with the wider community and to obtain feedback from real clients about their planning and design proposals. This fostered their commitment to the learning experience.

In terms of selecting a live case study for teaching purposes, the Bwaise experience showed that a site's accessibility and proximity to the educational venue are highly important factors in the learning process. Bwaise, being located near Makerere University, provided an ideal opportunity for students to test their data collection and verification techniques as they were able to visit the area several times, even at times of their convenience outside of allocated school time.

With respect to the implications of the project for curricular development, several specific points can be made. The curriculum used by the Department of Architecture at Makerere University tends to assume that learning is a linear process and, as such, learning is compartmentalized into various courses or subjects. This tends to hinder students' appreciation of the relevance of some courses to the practical training they are undergoing. The Bwaise case, however, provided students with an environment to draw from previous knowledge, gained from other courses, in handling the exercise. For example, while moving through the settlement, the students could examine environmental conservation issues in context, after realizing that the indiscriminate littering of garbage affected rainwater run-off and blocked drainage channels, thereby aggravating the risk of flooding in the area.

In terms of course preparation, the Bwaise experience showed that ideally such an assignment requires more than three weeks (which the lecturers had available) to prepare as an exercise with realistic expectations. Being very ambitious, especially by attempting to address all the developmental concerns or priorities highlighted in the study site, may offer significant problems in terms of capacity (and meeting

the expectations of the various project partners, including those of the local residents), but this ambition can be contained by focusing on addressing only issues that fit conveniently within the academic timeline and the proposed learning outcomes.

Supervising a live case teaching project requires experience and good preparation for the exercise to move on smoothly. In the case of Bwaise, a number of unforeseen supervisory challenges were encountered. Some students wandered off topic by pursuing other issues of interest that they encountered during the study process. Others involved themselves in long and unnecessary conversations with community members, and a few became preoccupied with different activities observed in the study area. The exercise required maturity and trusting the students' ability to handle the assignment in an independent way. Fortunately, being in their fourth year of study, and having had preparatory experiences in their previous years of study, this concern did not feature so prominently. Nevertheless, the case teaching approach may run the danger of being time-consuming, especially if a project is not planned and prepared thoroughly. However, despite being time-consuming, the exercise provided an invaluable learning opportunity associated with in-depth exposure to the realities of the settlement, while fostering shared learning between students and residents. It further provided a platform for students to develop their teamwork skills, confidence and a sense of social responsibility, which are paramount in the learning process.

Another challenge was working within the academic timeline and course timetable. Generally, study timetables are scheduled such that various courses are expected to be undertaken at fixed times during each week. This is certainly a convenient and realistic practice when dealing with lecture and studio teaching methods. However, the field-work component of the Bwaise case study showed that it is not always reasonable or possible to keep to rigid schedules. For example, at times students had to spend whole days at the study site collecting data and establishing contact with the residents. This occasionally called for the rescheduling of other lessons that students were expected to undertake. Furthermore, group work processes sometimes stretched beyond their allocated time in the work schedule, when group members failed to make contributions timeously and to cooperate in completing the work according to set deadlines. The experience demonstrated that thorough planning, involving systematic and detailed preparation before the assignment is introduced to the students, while ensuring some flexibility in the preparation and management of the study timetable, is essential for avoiding major interruptions or delays in the study process.

The Bwaise example also reveals some lessons regarding the attitudes and responses of students to the live case method. Judging by the students' attitude towards the assignment, the encounter with real-life problems and real people was a rewarding one. Generally, they worked hard and performed well throughout the exercise, although time constraints may have in some instances limited the completeness of their final design work. This would rarely happen if they did not find the exercise interesting and hence were only committed to meeting the minimum learning requirements. At the same time, the case method enabled students to work intimately with the target community, thus sharing knowledge and acquiring practical skills in the field. However, some students with a poor attitude to learning took the opportunity to exploit the case method design. Most group members worked loyally with their peers, but occasionally individuals failed to deliver their required inputs. Some students developed a tendency to 'ride on the backs of others', providing few contributions, and consequently gaining less from the learning experience than was expected of them. To some extent, this challenge was mitigated by reshuffling the groups at various intervals throughout the exercise.

Considering the danger of undertaking service learning or live case projects that leave community partners with their expectations unmet, it is critical to consider the benefits of the exercise to the residents of Bwaise, and to other project partners. Most residents appreciated the exercise as they felt it had encouraged interactions between them and the university students as a starting point to addressing development problems in the area. One resident, commenting on the benefits of the exercise, observed:

University lecturers and students should spend more time with us to help us solve our problems that Kawempe Division [the local council in charge of Bwaise area] has failed to resolve for ages. In return we will also teach them real-life survival skills.⁵

Another confided in a student by saying, 'I always thought sending my child to school up to university level is a waste of time and money since many of them are jobless. Now I will try to educate my son so that he may help me live in a better house'.⁶ For KCC officials, involving students in live cases was recognized as a way of helping the Council to arrive at workable solutions to planning and design problems in the city, both easily and inexpensively. Officials acknowledged

that the proposals developed by the students could easily be used by the Kawempe Division in preparing their three-year urban development plans.

Conclusion

Using 'live cases' is an effective approach to teaching in the architecture and planning disciplines, as it is more effective than conventional teaching techniques in addressing the three dimensions of learning – product, process, and person – in a holistic way. In the Bwaise exercise, the solutions eventually presented by students were informed by detailed knowledge pertaining to the study area's problems and their dimensions. Students showed creativity in developing and applying their planning and design concepts, which facilitated the development of hard and soft skills and the application of intuitive judgement. Working in groups under a less controlled learning environment enabled students to collect vast, rich data that could be used not only for the assignment at hand, but also for further informal settlement upgrading interventions.

The Bwaise experience showed that the live case approach facilitates the undertaking of a wide range of project activities within a short time frame, at the same time as offering opportunities for the verification of gathered data. This approach helped to generate accurate information and new knowledge on planning challenges in informal settlements of Kampala such as Bwaise. While information about the status of the general living and housing conditions of Bwaise is available from previous studies carried out in the area, students came to better understand many intricate characteristics of the informal environment through the intimate interactions enabled by the case study approach.

Despite being limited in scale, the case study of Bwaise proved to be relevant and useful in achieving the academic objectives of introducing students to addressing real-life challenges. Students learnt, often unconsciously, how to evaluate a problem, work in teams and appreciate non-academic alternatives to problem-solving, while interacting and building rapport with members of the community. It provided the opportunity for an academic institutions and local residents to work together in seeking common solutions to real-life developmental problems. Based on the performance of the students, their responses, and the views received from both course tutors and community members, the live case method was an effective tool for generating realistic solutions

and providing opportunities for all key stakeholders to actively contribute to the process of developing planning and design proposals. Nevertheless, carrying out a successful live case project requires careful and extensive preparation and supervision on the part of the teacher or educator, particularly in relation to managing the expectations of both community and local government partners.

Notes

1. Density refers to a number of units (of people, dwellings and trees, for example) in a given land area. Plot coverage is the extent of a plot covered by building(s) or structure(s), expressed in terms of a percentage. Plot ratio is the term used to define the ratio of a building's floor area to the total area of the land parcel on which it is built. All these factors are generally determined by the development standards of the relevant local urban authority.
2. In retrospect, this rarely happened to the intended degree but nevertheless, within the pertaining limits, the cooperation was beneficial to both parties.
3. The group consisted of Pearson Rubaramira, Victoria Kasisira, Linda Okoth, Josephine Nalubega, Peter Ouma and Paul Semanda.
4. Conversation with student (Makerere University, Kampala, March 2007).
5. Conversation with local resident (Bwaise, July 2007).
6. Student feedback form (Makerere University, Kampala, August 2007).

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8

Learning from the Field: Informal Recyclers and Low-income Housing in Johannesburg, South Africa

Sarah Charlton

Introduction

In their third year of study, urban and regional planning students at the University of the Witwatersrand (located in Johannesburg, South Africa) can choose to do a semester-long course on the topic of low-income housing.¹ Amongst other things, the course covers theories and concepts relevant to an understanding of housing, shifts in housing policy approaches internationally since the 1960s, the particular form of housing policy adopted in South Africa after the advent of democracy, and contestations and conflicts in the housing terrain. The course also aims to highlight the connection between housing and the broader set of urban issues confronting planners – in other words, to actively counter any tendency to view housing as a compartmentalized or sector-specific issue, and to widen its relevance to an urban planner.

Within the overall course description prescribed by the University, course facilitators have the flexibility to conceptualize and design the specific curriculum in order to meet more detailed aims identified for the course. In 2009 this housing course was divided into two sections, with sessions in each quarter relating to an overall 'guiding question'. The first half of the course was predominantly theoretical and conceptual in orientation, and aimed to understand the policy approach to low-income housing in South Africa relative to key theories, concepts and approaches elsewhere in the second half of the twentieth century. This part of the course was structured around the question: what is the nature of the South African housing policy, and how does it relate to low-income housing theories and concepts?

The second half of the course sought to explain some of the frictions, tensions and gaps evident in the South African housing environment,

despite the government's record of extensive and large-scale housing delivery to the poor. The question asked was thus: 'if the right to housing is entrenched in the South African Constitution and there is a vigorous programme of housing delivery, why are evictions, relocations, removals and court contestations a feature of our housing context?' Through seminars, this part of the course explored practices such as land and building invasions, and responses to these.

A key activity in the second half of the course is a project: an assignment focused on a particular area of the city and a specific set of circumstances. In 2009 the project set out to explore living circumstances amongst poor people in Johannesburg. In documenting and describing these conditions, the project sought to make a link between the two halves of the course: are those people encountered during the project's investigations finding shelter through the South African state's low-income housing programme, detailed in the first half of the course? If they are not, how are they being housed, what frictions (if any) result from their alternative housing circumstances and how can this be understood?

As facilitator I chose to approach the research into the matter of shelter or housing to be investigated in the project from a particular angle, that of focusing on the daily activity or work of the person in the first instance. From this starting point discussions would move on to their accommodation circumstances, and any links that could be made between the two. This approach to issues of shelter was partly a reaction to prevalent discussions on housing issues in the central areas of Johannesburg, where poor living conditions are typically assumed to parallel reduced personal circumstances.

In well-located parts of the Johannesburg there is a dire shortage of decent, cheap accommodation. The South African state's active low-income housing programme focuses mainly on delivering houses for ownership in newly developed suburbs which are generally at some distance from central or affluent areas. But people house themselves in central areas anyway, in a variety of living circumstances that are unacceptable to authorities, including informal settlements, 'bad buildings',² occupied warehouses, public buildings, and private and public spaces used in ways not sanctioned by authorities. Despite the pervasiveness of these conditions, little specific information is available to planners and policymakers on the people who occupy such accommodation: their daily activities, routines, form of income generation, household structures and so on. In all this, what is their relationship to what might be termed the 'functioning of the city' (economically and socially)? In the absence of

this information, assumptions pervade about the people that live in such accommodation: for example their possible links to crime, drugs, alcohol and other criminal or socially undesirable practices. Choosing poor but economically active people as research subjects had the potential to explore these sorts of assumptions, if poor shelter circumstances were encountered.

The project was thus oriented towards an exploratory and fieldwork-oriented activity, related to two dimensions of an opaque issue: first, the housing circumstances of poor people making use of central parts of the city, and second, the productive economic activities of people living in conditions outside of government housing norms. The idea was that deeper insight into peoples' lives could shed light on why they might live in problematic living conditions, and on what they contribute to the city. This understanding could then inform the nature of the 'housing problem', and its specific dimensions. Ultimately this can assist with developing new ways of thinking about low-income housing policy responses.

Students therefore researched a particular group of low-income earners, and how their work connects with their shelter conditions. The focus in this case was on informal recyclers (or reclaimers) who pick through domestic or commercial waste in the streets of Johannesburg. As noted the selected entry point into recyclers' housing was their daily activity, and the insight this can provide on how and why people sleep or live as they do. In effect, the project directed the students in studies of a particular issue evident in our immediate context. Their task was to explore the nature and character of recyclers' activities and living circumstances, drawing mainly on interviews with recyclers for source material. The project then sought to use the practical and concrete knowledge gained in this way to reflect on low-income housing policy and theory. In reflecting on the experience, I draw on the case study methodology to describe and analyse the teaching approach used in the project.

The chapter is arranged in five sections. The first presents the various aims of the student project on which the chapter is based, whilst the second discusses aspects of project design and preparation. Section 3 focuses on the questions of how and why informal recycling was selected as the key issue for this project. Implementation of the teaching project is the subject of Section 4, which includes mention of how fieldwork and the presentation of data were carried out by staff and students. Section 5 presents some key findings of the project, and briefly considers their implications for overarching urban issues

and concepts. This is followed by concluding thoughts on how the teaching project addressed its stated learning objectives, at least in the eyes of the students, and on the overall lessons learnt for future case-based teaching projects of this nature.

The proposed project

Beyond the content-specific focus on low-income housing, the teaching project had at least four different teaching and learning aims. First, the exploratory nature of the project was intended to encourage students to spend quality time on and give due consideration to identifying the nature of a problem – or at least their understanding of it – before a subsequent phase of proposing solutions or interventions. The problem in this case was the living conditions and housing difficulties of poor people in well-located parts of Johannesburg.

Second, the project was aimed at surfacing, examining and learning from an aspect of city life sometimes unseen, ‘below the radar’ or outside of our consciousness, in a real situation in our immediate surrounds. Informal recyclers are very visible on Johannesburg roads, but have not been much acknowledged in policy or practical terms. We could not find any information on how or where they sleep.

Third, the project encouraged students to make connections and draw links between different dimensions of the urban experience (such as income generation, travel and housing), and between policy prescriptions and actual practice. The project was therefore intended to prompt students to consider ways of accessing information, and to reflect on the value of paying attention to the activities identified. Then in terms of skills, the teaching project introduced, fourth, some research concerns and techniques likely to be encountered in the subsequent honours-year research report.

Project design

The properties of the case study method have been important in this project in two ways: first, in providing a framework for assessing and analysing the teaching exercise, and second in influencing the techniques and approaches used by the students in their investigations. Case studies are characterized by intensive or in-depth examination, focusing on ‘detail, richness, completeness’ (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 301). Attention to context is integral to the case study – acknowledging and engaging with the specific environment or surrounding elements in

which an issue unfolds. Case studies also typically examine an issue over time, and it is the set of events studied that add up to the case (Lerise, 2009). But this time frame could be long in duration or very short: 'even a single day's intensive research can be turned into a case study' (AAPS, 2011, p. 9).

Lerise (2009) notes that in case study research, asking the 'how' and 'what' questions offers an easier route to uncovering reasons for something than asking a direct 'why' question, which can be paralysing in its complexity. The focus on 'how' reinforces the idea of activities over time, requiring researchers to 'analyse the process by which a state of affairs came into existence' (AAPS, 2011, p. 7). In sum therefore, the case study is valued for revealing what has actually happened in a given setting, and how this has happened (AAPS, 2011). This chapter uses the case study method to discuss what happened through the course of a teaching project in urban planning at the University of the Witwatersrand (also commonly known as 'Wits'). The teaching project itself made use of a form of case study research, focused on informal recyclers in Johannesburg, and had three key characteristics, as described below.

First, the project was research-based, and explicitly focused on unpacking a problem. Its aim was investigative: to explore the dimensions of a situation in order to understand it better. This differs from those student projects that are oriented towards proposing an intervention or a solution to a problem that is defined in a pre-given brief.

Second, the project involved gathering data in the form of interviewing, through discussions with ordinary people who navigate and use the city in a particular way. Students were to learn by collecting and making sense of the information themselves, not by reading about research work done by others. This form of fieldwork required students to engage with a range of issues: technical points about interviewing and capturing data, ethical points about approaching potential participants and securing informed consent, and personal attitudes towards the interviewees and the nature of the fieldwork. This also differs somewhat from projects where students have sourced information from key informants, professionals, officials or office bearers, or a community group, in situations where interviewees' willingness to participate in the project has been facilitated for the group of students.

Third, the project emphasized analysis of the data gathered, both at an individual level and also collectively, requiring students to work with each other's information and insights. Finding tools for synthesizing and analysing pooled information was part of the challenge, as was identifying the significance of the findings.

Preparation for the fieldwork came in diverse ways: the housing-related readings of the first part of the course provided background information on housing issues. Then, towards the end of the first half of the course a planning colleague talked to the students about her own research work into recyclers, her findings, and her tips and suggestions for the students' fieldwork. The students were then given a brief for the project assignment. The first stage of the project required students to individually formulate a research question for the project and identify relevant concepts for this area of research – basically, to each write an initial brief for the fieldwork component of the project. The intention here was to get students thinking about the project and actively involved in its design – how to go about doing it – rather than receiving instructions. After discussion in class a joint brief was then agreed on, with the overall research question expressed as 'what activities are poor people doing to earn an income and how does this impact on their living circumstances?' Guiding interview questions were then developed for use in the field.

So, whilst the choice of interviewee group (informal recyclers) was determined by the course facilitator, the details of the fieldwork were designed by the 13 class members. One student reflected on this at the end of the project:

What was interesting about the project is that we went through the thinking process in terms of how to do it together. Each and every one of us constructed a brief and we synthesized all the main ideas that we wanted to come through. The output of this project therefore is a reflection of our combined individual work, our perceptions, our perspectives, and our stories. (Londeka Thanjekwayo, 2009)

Together the students then worked through the University's standard application form for ethics clearance. This required them to reflect on how they would make contact with interviewees, how they would introduce and explain themselves and the research, how they would capture the data, and importantly, how they would protect and respect interviewees' rights. Students' personal safety in the field was discussed, along with logistics and language proficiencies, and note-taking, recording and photography. In explaining their project to informal recyclers they hoped to interview, students made use of the following introductory information:

We are part of a project which is trying to understand informal recycling/waste-picking. Our project involves talking to people doing

this work in this and in other areas, and learning about it from those people. We are interested in where you go to, how you work, and whom you connect with. We would like to be able to walk with you while you do your work, watch how it works and to talk to you about it. We would like to accompany you for a few hours. We are also interested in where you go to when you are not working, and where you stay at night. If you agree we would also like to take photos. We have chosen you by chance because we saw you in this street. We will also try to talk to other recyclers in this area.

We undertake not to use your name and not to show your face – we will not identify you except using a false name that you choose. The information we collect will be used in discussions in our lectures at university. We will present to other students and to staff what we learn, not just from you but from other recyclers that we will talk to over the next three weeks.

You don't have to agree to this, and if you don't want us to accompany you there is no problem – we won't bother you anymore. If you do agree, you can also stop talking to us at any time if you don't want to continue with the discussion, and you can refuse to answer some questions if you don't want to. If you are unhappy with how we behave or with anything about this process you are welcome to phone my lecturer using my cell phone if necessary.³

Selecting the issue

As facilitator of the course, I selected informal recyclers for investigation in the project. This choice was informed in part by my colleague⁴ who was researching their waste collection practices and strategies. Her work and her willingness to talk to the students about it in preparation for their project were important in influencing the selection. Furthermore, reclaimers' work, dress and image suggested they were likely to be poor city residents, and our research concern was to probe if and how the income-generating activities of poorer city dwellers shaped their housing circumstances.

Also, reclaimers are visible whilst undertaking their activities on Johannesburg's streets and pavements. From a research point of view therefore this visible activity in public spaces across wide areas of Johannesburg offered frequent opportunities for approaching

reclaimers and securing agreement for a discussion. Then, the subsequent conversation could take place in these open, publicly visible areas, offering practical ease of contact and lessening safety concerns for student interviewers.

In addition, there appeared to be a clear information gap around informal recyclers. Despite being a common sight on Johannesburg roads, there seemed to be little available documentation on their lives.⁵ In addition, relatively little was documented on their activities.⁶ Whilst there is writing from across the globe on the experiences of reclaimers' support and lobbying organizations, and government responses to informal reclaiming, South African studies have tended to focus on waste pickers at landfill sites rather than on informal recyclers. In her Cape Town study of recyclers, Klopper (2003) emphasizes the lack of recognition or value accorded to recyclers by authorities and much of the public in efforts to improve and 'clean up' the city.

More specifically, there seemed to be no available information on how and where informal recyclers find accommodation, and generally little information in the South African literature on the living and sleeping circumstances of other low-income and or informal earners. Comparatively few of the studies on informal traders in South Africa for example have specific references to accommodation issues (for very brief references see for example WIEGO, 2006; Dobson and Skinner, 2009). More typically, literature concerned with work and home (such as those that take a livelihoods approach, for example), and home/transport/work studies, start from a fixed point of accommodation, and explore life from this base. This project took a slightly different orientation in taking the income-generating activity as a starting point and tracing back to the range of living circumstances of the actors.

Despite these various reasons for why informal recyclers in Johannesburg seemed an ideal case for the research, there were some reservations. Informal recyclers are not typically seen as 'respectable', legitimate members of urban society by many established city residents. Letters to the popular press often refer to informal recyclers as 'vagrants'. A number of students were initially either apprehensive about the fieldwork, or sceptical of the value of interacting with these city users. With the perspective of hindsight, student Lerato Motloun commented on the project:

In reflecting on one's state of being after the lecturer's first briefing to the class about the project, it took quite some time until one could completely grasp what the project was all about ... In all truth before

the project, one has always seen informal recyclers as part of the city's dirtiest dumps, and in all honesty did not realize the enormous contribution that this industry of informal recycling has on the city's economic as well as environmental wellbeing ... It was not until the class finally had the opportunity to go in the field in search of informal recyclers to interview that one started enjoying the project. This was also driven by the fact that the informal recyclers interviewed were very welcoming of our research as they were more than willing to answer all questions posed to them, as busy as they always are. Working closely well as a group, all interviews were conducted smoothly. Everything about the fieldwork was fantastic, except of course the fact that one had to wake very early in the morning in an attempt to rush as early as possible as a group to the areas of study concerned. Nonetheless one is glad not to have let the opportunity of going in the field pass one by. (Lerato Motlounq, 2009)

Implementing the project

The students started their investigation of the case of reclaimers in Johannesburg by reviewing literature on informal recyclers, waste pickers and recycling companies in South Africa and elsewhere. In small groups they presented the information collected on their topic to each other. In this stage of the research it became clear that to significant sections of the city administration recyclers appear invisible: for example they are not acknowledged as users of public infrastructure such as roads, or factored into policy interventions such as the non-motorized transport policy developed in 2009. Students Tshepo Monakedi and Mduduzi Nhlozi were tasked with establishing as far as possible the City of Johannesburg's attitude to informal recyclers. They reported amongst other things that the City's waste management company (*Pikitup*) does not have a relationship or policy towards informal recyclers, instead it favours partnerships with established companies involved in waste recycling.

Six areas of Johannesburg were selected where I, as facilitator, or students themselves, had observed informal recyclers. We chose suburbs both to the north and the south of the city centre, and a section of the central business district itself. Early in the morning on garbage collection days during September 2009 students approached informal recyclers randomly to request a discussion. Interviewing was done in small groups of two to three students, with several groups clustered in close

proximity in an area to facilitate a spread of language skills as well as mutual support and assistance amongst interviewers.

Transcripts or a record of discussion was produced for each interview, as well as students' observation notes. Lisete Raymond commented:

While conducting the interviews we found that following the questionnaire was difficult. It was better to let the informal recycler lead the conversation. By leading the conversation they mostly spoke about their lives and their job conditions. From listening to their stories we were able to extract the most relevant information that related to the project. (Lisete Raymond, 2009)

Students had different styles in which they reported on their discussions. For example, Tshepo Monakedi produced a close-to-verbatim transcript. In the extract below he asks the recycler about his home and living arrangements:

- Recycler: I am from Free State.
Interviewer: Ok, and what about here in Johannesburg, do you have a house here?
Recycler: Yes I own a room, a backyard shack which I rent from a friend.
Interviewer: Where exactly is this shack located?
Recycler: In Kaldevin.
Interviewer: How much does it cost you to go to Kaldevin and do you use a taxi?
Recycler: Yes I use a taxi, it's R30.
Interviewer: So what, do you wake up from Kaldevin every morning and travel into to Johannesburg to collect waste?
Recycler: (Laughs) No brother I only go there month end and during public holidays like Good Friday, otherwise I just sleep on exactly this pavement we are sitting on now.
Interviewer: Hmm! Aren't you scared?
Recycler: Not really, I guess you get used to it, but the only problem is the thieves that bother us because they know sometimes we have money from selling our waste.
Interviewer: So how much do you pay for the backyard shack?
Recycler: Errr! R250 per month.

(Tshepo Monakedi, 22 September 2009)

Other students provided more description of the interview experience:

We saw some recyclers in the distance and approached one of them. The man seemed to be in his 40s or 50s, he had no front teeth and was wearing a hat, an overall top and bottom (which said 'Tropicaoe Fruit' on the back) with old closed shoes. He had a trolley, which had been reinforced by wood, and had ironing board legs as a handle. On his trolley was a relatively full sack of plastics, cans and white paper. He seemed confused as to why we were talking to him at first and once Pitlana explained what we were doing to him he was fairly accepting to us. His answers were brief and he remained determined to move from bin to bin but could not talk and recycle. He lost concentration when he tried to do both. Two other recyclers walked past us, there was minimal interaction between the other guys and our interviewee, but there seemed to be no tension either. Then he seemed to get agitated with us and asked if we could leave him to do his work. (Geoffrey Bickford and Pitlana Ramokgopa, 21 September 2009)

These and other transcripts, notes and observations formed the basis of the primary data. Students also mapped (using images from Google Earth) the routes where they had encountered recyclers and the waste buy-back depots they had found in these areas.

Once all the interviews had been done, students worked in groups to sift through the collective batch of interview material. Each group extracted points on an assigned topic, such as 'the work' (the economy, geography, equipment and so on of recycling), or 'the people' (demographic and social information). In reading all the transcripts students were asked to look for what the research showed (trends, patterns, anomalies, exceptions, etc.), and why this appeared to be so – what explanations could be offered, and what theory or concepts helped explain the findings. Students were also encouraged to look for particular anecdotes, stories and examples – any direct quotes to highlight, as well as indicative or illustrative examples. They were asked to identify any links to the desktop research – the initial background work done by the groups. Importantly, they were tasked with extracting any possible links between people, their circumstances, income generation in informal recycling, and housing. They were encouraged to make links also to the seminar on housing options for poor people in South African cities, and to identify any further information that was needed, any questions that arose and anything that puzzled them. They were also asked to consider

how best to *present* the material. Later, they were also asked to provide their personal reflection on the project as a researcher – the experience of doing it, learning, critiques and suggestions for future projects. Students were encouraged to capture their analysis using a range of techniques, including graphic representation, and individual interim presentations were made using PowerPoint. In these presentations students had some scope to explore particular areas of interest, such as the economy and production cycle of the business of reclaiming.

The project aimed to collate the research outcomes as a whole, rather than generate individual project documents. Two main products resulted: first, a composite collection of documentation, group work and individual subassignments (for example, interview transcripts, sketches and diagrams, and project reflections). This assisted the external examiner for the course in assessing students' individual contributions to the project. It also provides a systematic record of the stages of the project and the various materials collected. Second, students filmed a DVD of the research and its learning. The filming occurred during the course of a day's worth of description, reflection and analysis in front of an invited panel of participants. The footage was subsequently edited with music and annotations added.

In early 2010, a number of students participated in a discussion of the project material with spatial planners in the City of Johannesburg's urban planning and development management department. The DVD has been subsequently been used as material in an exhibition of student work.

Findings

Below are two examples of students' conceptual thinking and analysis represented visually. Figure 8.1 shows informal recyclers depicted as many small mice, whose collective (but unprotected and insecure) work carries the large elephant of the formal recycling company that the informal reclaimers supply with waste.

Matthew Jackson explains his thinking in relation to the graphic:

I started out with an ambition to build a methodology to understand the relationship that informal recyclers share with formal recyclers as connected and interdependent rather than as two-tiered. In this sense I wanted to test an idea that a city's economy is an ecosystem in which there are interdependent economic activities that cannot be neatly categorized in formal/informal or first/second economies.

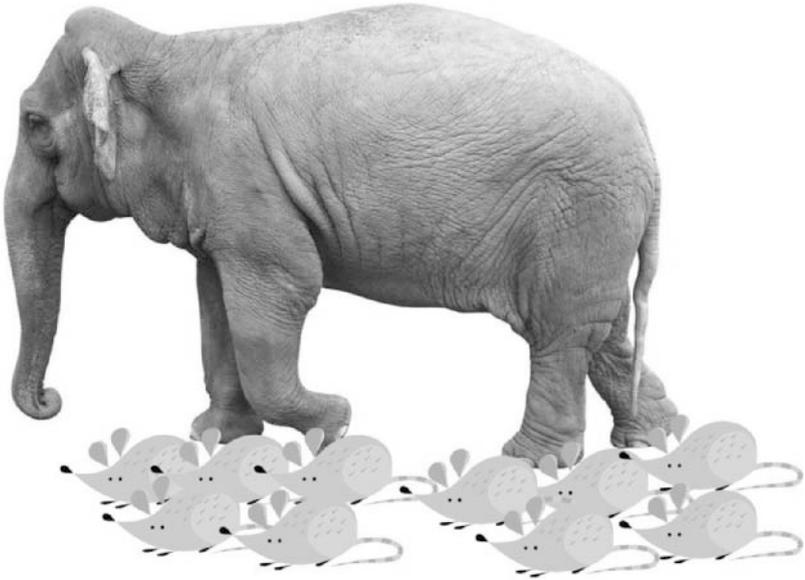


Figure 8.1 Visual depiction of the waste recycling metaphor used by a student.
Source: Matthew Jackson (2009).

This relational study between the formal businesses and informal entrepreneurs in the recycling industry resulted in one profound lesson. The informalization of the work involved with recycling has resulted in the externalization of business risk. This externalization of business risk has increased the costs of living in the city for the recyclers. This increased living cost decreases the buying power and investment potential of the incomes earned doing recycling work. This dynamic that evolves around risk and costs is at the core of poverty in Johannesburg. (Matthew Jackson, 2009)

Figure 8.2 below shows ‘the ladder’ of progression through housing circumstances, which is referred to in some of the housing literature. In this case, the ladder has been extended at its lower end to include the kinds of basic shelter categories encountered in this research, as Yasmin Shapurjee explains below:

The bottom tier consists of limited shelter, usually occupied by informal means (typical options include pavements, basements, open *veld*

and under bridges). The middle tier represents relatively secure forms of tenure in the informal housing market (options include backyard shacks, unoccupied housing, subdivided rooms). Finally, the upper tier is the idealized housing option (RDP house). As illustrated, the ladder of housing at the lower end of the scale is highly complex: access to housing is often determined by external variables such as social, human and economic capital. Also, the rungs of the ladder at the bottom end of the scale may turn out to be unstable 'footholds' to securing sustainable tenure. (Yasmin Shapurjee, 2009)

Yasmin's observations focus on the core objective of the research, which was to reveal the housing circumstances of informal recyclers. Fascinating information was collected on where and how recyclers sleep, and how this related to their daily work. Informal recyclers interviewed for this project slept in a wide range of circumstances, but a significant number of those interviewed were what might be termed 'rough sleepers': sleeping in parks, open *veld* or on pavements. One interviewee would buy sleeping space for R10 per month from a security guard controlling an open parking lot. Some recyclers lived in the basements of buildings or in warehouses, seemingly in 'bad building'-type conditions, although little



Figure 8.2 The ladder of cheap living.

Source: Yasmin Shapurjee (2009).

detail was gained on this. One interviewee shared a flat in downtown Johannesburg; two commuted from houses in township areas.

From a housing perspective, therefore, the range of living circumstances outside of formal accommodation was striking. Also noteworthy were those recyclers with more than one type of accommodation – nightly accommodation versus weekend or end-of-the-month housing in a different part of the city. Two interviewees had formal government-provided houses but were not sleeping in these on a nightly basis, because they were located too far away from their daily collecting ranges. Those sleeping rough reported being frequently harassed by the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police, who chased them from public places and confiscated their goods.

We found that there were a variety of reasons for sleeping in what might be considered inadequate circumstances: for some, available formal acceptable accommodation was too far away from collecting opportunities; for others, low earnings did not allow adequate accommodation to be bought or rented. Some recyclers chose to prioritize family or homes outside the city and so were living as cheaply as possible during work time. There were collecting cycles and variations in this, so that some slept with their goods until their one-ton bag (transported on a pull cart) was full enough to make it worthwhile to visit a waste depot.

This picture of informal recyclers sleeping in circumstances deemed inadequate accords with Tipple and Speak's (2009) observations that in developing countries large numbers of people who sleep on pavements, under bridges or in their pushcarts are 'working and productive members of society' (2009, p.140). By contrast, rough sleepers in developed countries are considered homeless and are more typically seen as welfare cases. Tipple and Speak's book *The Hidden Millions* (2009) draws on material from various parts of the world to highlight the range and diversity of inadequate living circumstances in many cities in the global South, and the conceptual and terminological blurring of this living with the notion of 'homelessness'.

The insights gained into people's housing circumstances were juxtaposed with the theoretical components of the course. This had focused on the approach taken to low-income housing in South Africa and how this could be located relative to housing theory, concepts and strategy in developing countries. Students were encouraged to reflect on what the empirical data from the project revealed about the strengths and limitations of the country's housing policy. It became apparent

that the government's housing programme had little to offer in these circumstances.

Matthew Jackson describes the learning connections he made:

The project drove home the intricate link between incomes and housing options. The personal involvement in the questioning of several recyclers who were sleeping rough in front of the Lothlorien recycling depot in Randburg was truly an 'aha' moment. Whilst the recyclers did have a 'home' in peripheral locations in Orange Farm or Carltonville, there were limited work opportunities in these peripheral locations. This need to find work combined with some sort of connection to someone who has been working as a recycler in either the northern or southern suburbs leads to work opportunities being sought out in these more 'core' areas.

The ideas of a geography of economic opportunity and related poverty density came to life as I heard how living rough was the least costly option to earn money in the northern suburbs whilst not having to spend too much money on housing and travel. The reality that the peripheral areas really do have limited economic opportunities whilst there really are not any affordable housing options came home loud and clear. This dynamic is at the heart of the spatial challenge of addressing the apartheid city. This is at the nub of the challenge facing housing policy formulators and planners, geographers, sociologists and the odd architect who are concerned with the unbalanced and inequity-generating spatial economy that really does underpin Johannesburg.

The course has brought to life how nationally driven housing policymaking has a tendency to standardize and simplify the housing problem ... The challenge that informal recyclers pose for housing policy formulation include: insecure, volatile incomes that are linked to a geography of economic opportunities that requires low-cost options for people who may not want to make or indeed can't afford to make a long term investment that the current housing model requires. (Matthew Jackson, 2009)

A key finding of the research was the clearly productive nature of the reclaiming work. Generally speaking, informal recyclers specialize in collecting particular products, have developed a variety of skills

related to their work and typically possess other skills from previous employment. They work in a competitive environment, do very hard physical work and exert a particularly low carbon footprint. They generate income from collecting goods valued for recycling by companies, and they do so in a manner that has very little environmental impact. Their earnings vary considerably. Furthermore, they are largely unsupported in their work by the City, homeowners and businesses, but there are some exceptions where items are set aside for them to collect, for example. This 'benign neglect' approach of authorities does seem to allow a certain extent of freedom and independence from interference, at least during working times.

The project also raised a range of issues relating to the use of public space (for commuting, working and sleeping), to the relationship between 'informal' and 'formal' systems, and to the attitudes and responses of the City of Johannesburg. In reflecting on the project, Geoffrey Bickford commented:

This project constantly raises the question of what determines one's rights to the city? Does someone have to participate in the formal housing and employment market to be able to operate in the city? What determines how one can use public space? And furthermore what determines 'the public'? ... This project has highlighted that there are a group of people, who are by no means an homogenous group, that are directly contributing to the economic output and the improvement of the city, but they are constantly in a struggle for use of space in the city, both in how they work and where they reside. Surely there operations should not be neglected and ignored? (Geoffrey Bickford, 2009)

Conclusions

The project elicited much debate amongst students and staff, and some students spoke of the personal journey they experienced during the project and how it shifted their perspectives. There was good feedback from almost all the students who saw the research project as a strongly positive experience. Their research led to personal reflection, engagement with the City on an important issue and contributions to a proposed publication. The DVD they produced provided inspiration for the 2010 group of housing students. For the lecturer, the work with the students was extremely rewarding experience, and has stimulated my own research work, including linking with my PhD research.

However, from a teaching and learning perspective, undertaking this kind of case study research in a coursework environment has some constraints and limitations. These include the relatively short duration of the project component of the course (six weeks), the limited dedicated project time available within this period, and the relative inexperience of the students in skills such as interviewing. The project also had several dimensions to it, some of which I, as lecturer, with a research focus on housing issues, had very little knowledge or experience of (for example the field of reclaiming or recycling as an activity). Issues that emerged during the research were interesting and absorbing, and from the point of view of the housing objectives of the course, perhaps distracting, although they did serve to flag the potential connections between work, life in the city and housing. In the short period of time there were practical limitations to the depth with which the project was explored, and some aspects remained superficial.

Nevertheless, most of the learning objectives were met to a significant extent. As noted this project differed from those student projects that have a policy or spatial planning proposal as a main objective: those that require students to propose an intervention or a response to a situation. Rather than structuring the project in terms of housing solutions for city dwellers such as the recyclers, this project was investigative in orientation, setting out to identify, record and interpret a set of circumstances that can then be used subsequently to inform proposals or interventions. This relates to a key principle of the case study method: that of gathering information in detail to illuminate a specific issue in a particular context. The project was about deepening understanding and knowledge through research. The following extracts from students' reflections on the project indicate the extent to which this learning objective was addressed:

During my undergraduate years at Wits, I have been exposed to wide-ranging literature on informality, and even though I enjoyed reading this, I never got a real picture as to how informality works out. To put this in a nutshell, even though much emphasis has been made on the existence of informality, informality did not really exist in my world, and also I used to think that some of the facts about informality were exaggerated. The research on informal recyclers has really opened up my eyes and really broadened my understanding of informality: that this is really happening out there, and there are people who are in situations where they do not have alternatives, but have to work assiduously to get something to eat at the end of the day (Mduduzi Nhlozi, 2009).

It was interesting to engage in this style of planning where we, as planners, engaged directly with the recyclers in a way that made them comfortable and at ease. This posed the question: do town planners that work with local authorities really engage with the people that they are planning for? This experiment prompted the realization that planners need as much direct information as possible to clearly understand the true needs and desires of citizens. Although the experiment was fairly small, it was interesting to see how many of my misconceptions had been proved wrong after the experiment and how much more I had to learn about the industry. (Pitlana Ramokgopa, 2009)

A second learning objective focused on exploring an aspect of city life not prominent in our minds:

The best thing about the project was that it gave a face to the 'invisible' livelihoods that so many have in Johannesburg when living in an informal sense. It was humbling to interact with these people who were just trying to make ends meet at the end of each day, they definitely erased some of the earlier perceptions that myself and many others had about them prior to this project. (Richard Edey, 2009)

A third objective was to encourage students to make connections between different aspects of the urban experience and dimensions of their learning.

Does location really matter? I am quite puzzled given the fact that the profession itself requires recyclers to travel large distances. What is their prime location? One of the major housing questions is centred on well-located land close to employment opportunities and other amenities. Recyclers walk vast distances on a daily basis; is the aim to make them walk less? Or to ensure that they are somewhat centrally located in order to gain better access to the areas within which they operate? Creating housing options would thus entail that housing for recyclers is geographically well spaced in order to avoid infighting and conflict amongst recyclers for work areas. The resultant impact of such an intervention is that the profession is regulated somewhat, as recyclers' boundaries will be limited because of their locations.

I do not recall any of the recyclers mentioning going home permanently; it is as if they have convinced themselves that because there

are no opportunities where they come from that the situation will remain the same. I cannot help but wonder what it is that makes them hopeful of making it here in the big city with higher competition than from where they originate. (Eulenda Mkwanzazi, 2009)

To listen to the informal recyclers' real stories was really an overwhelming, and in some cases emotional experience. Simon, one of the informal recyclers I interviewed, told me about the conditions he has to live by in order to make sure that his family and grandma have something to eat at the end of the day. He, Simon, has to sleep on the pavement for four days every week, as he cannot afford currently available housing options. This therefore goes to show that even though the government has over the recent past endlessly worked towards providing for the so called low-income housing, there is still a long way that lies ahead as the available housing options are, for wide-ranging reasons, not far-reaching enough to address multifaceted issues of 'the poor' in South African cities. (Mduduzi Nhlozi, 2009)

With regard to the fourth objective of developing research skills, a number of students clearly enjoyed the interviewing experience, but this is an area that deserves further attention. For many students it was one of their first experiences of formulating a piece of research, considering ethical issues, and undertaking fieldwork of this nature. Making sense of and analysing findings were particularly challenging for students, and also presented a teaching challenge. In future I would plan to spend more project time on the processing of interview material, discussing how to extract themes, trends and particular points of interest. I would then seek to give more guidance on how to digest, analyse and consider the significance of these findings.

Also, the making of the DVD was a fun and creative exercise for the students, but it required a lot of editing work (by two of the students) to make it more accessible as a product. I would consider creative ways such as this of capturing project material but would also try to identify and build into the brief the energy and effort such processes require. I would also structure more systematically a feedback and commentary session with City officials. Perhaps most importantly, I would in future consider more carefully how the findings and insights from the project could be fed back or made available to interview participants as part of the project, and the set of issues that needs to be considered in this regard. This accords with the case study method, which emphasizes that those studied in the research should participate in it (AAPS, 2011), and that one dimension of this is the way in which feedback is approached.

Applying case study principles in reflecting on the teaching project has been illuminating. As with research case studies which typically study a set of events over time (Lerise, 2009), the case-based teaching project focuses on a bounded set of activities over a period, which could be delimited. The students' series of written and graphic exercises and reflections on the project provide a rich record of detailed observation and description, as well as of their experiences of participating in the project. The context of the low-income housing course in the urban planning degree at Wits and the teaching project within the course constitutes one part of the environment, whilst Johannesburg as a site of study for the research forms another part of that environment. Paying attention to the environment or context is integral to the case study approach. Finally, in data gathering through interviews using a case study approach, the technique of asking 'how' is advised to be often more effective than 'why' (as it is a less confrontational or 'loaded' approach) (Yin, 2003, p. 90). Applying this principle to this analysis of the teaching project, asking *how* the students carried out the project, what the steps, processes and activities were, and how the decisions leading to these were taken, helped answer the question of *why* this project was an important learning and teaching experience.

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Notes

1. The course is named ARPL 3013 Housing Theory, Law and Policy.
2. Generally used to refer to high-rise formal residential or commercial buildings currently occupied in ways that do not comply with a variety of regulations (because they are overcrowded, underserved, badly maintained, in payment arrears or deemed hazardous, for example).
3. ARPL 3013 course handout (University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2009).
4. Dr Tanya Zack.
5. 'Remarkably little is known about reclaimers in South African cities and scant attention is being paid to them as municipalities are beginning to try to implement "sustainable waste management systems"' (Samson, 2008, p. 1).
6. Samson (2008) notes that there is a dearth of information on reclaiming and the recycling industry more generally. Research is needed on issues

such as: who reclaimers are, the different kinds of reclaiming work currently being conducted in South African cities, how they organize their work, how reclaimers relate to one another, how reclaimers fit into the broader recycling industry, the overall structure of the recycling industry, and different municipal approaches to reclaiming and recycling. Such research should be focused on generating information and analysis that can be used by stakeholders in sustainable waste management systems to develop more inclusive and transformative approaches (Samson, 2008, p. 53).

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9

Learning through Real-life Experience: Using Case Studies for Urban Planning and Design Education

Karina Landman

Introduction

Within the global context of increasing urbanization, it is important to acknowledge that there is a difference between the processes and outcomes of urbanization in industrialized countries, and those of low-income or developing countries with larger rural populations and greater degrees of informal activity. Africa, as the least urbanized continent globally, is also currently experiencing the most rapid rates of urbanization. The continent faces huge challenges relating to urbanization and development, including meeting the need for adequate shelter and infrastructure for all urban residents, and the promotion of social justice, equity and economic opportunities alongside environmental security and transparent governance (Landman, 2006).

In order to address these challenges effectively and sustainably, there is a need to reconsider 'Northern' models of planning and development, to re-engage with local African cultures and values in finding solutions that recognize global structural challenges and trends on one hand, yet maintain a realistic view of what is possible, applicable and relevant in the African context on the other. This necessitates the generation of in-depth, context-specific information and knowledge on the challenges and realities present in various local urban contexts. It has long been argued that utilizing case studies in education can enhance learning by exposing students to real-life experiences (Dewey, 1994; Kreber, 2001; Penn State, 2011). The primary question addressed in this chapter is whether a case study teaching strategy can be effectively used to expose urban planning students to real-life experiences, and to enable students

to reflect intelligently on the applicability of international ideas to the South African context.

The chapter is arranged in several parts. Sections 1 and 2 discuss, respectively, the general requirements of urban planning education, and how the preparation and transfer of teaching case studies can be performed. Section 3 offers an illustrative example of how case study research can be utilized in planning education, discussing how the case of Cosmo City in Johannesburg was applied within a specific learning module at the University of Pretoria. The chapter concludes by reflecting upon the general value of case-based teaching strategies for enhancing the practical and critical competency of future planning practitioners in specific urban contexts such as South Africa.

Planning and education

As mentioned above, urban planning practice requires a critical understanding of local contexts and dynamics in order to reconsider the extent to which international and local ideas are relevant and applicable to the South African context. To foster this critical understanding, urban planning and design students need to be exposed to real experiences in different contexts. This raises questions about what education or learning methodologies are appropriate to the task. Much has been written about teaching principles in education and indeed this constitutes an area of study in itself. Many of these discussions have been summarized by Callaghan (2008) and are depicted in Table 9.1. Yet a variety of teaching strategies can be used to implement these principles in practice. This is especially important in light of the fact that people learn in different ways, and therefore educators need to utilize different teaching strategies and techniques to accommodate different learners (Callaghan, 2008).

Different teaching strategies and techniques should facilitate not only different ways of learning, but also progression through various stages of learning. Jensen (2000) proposes five stages of learning (see Figure 9.1). The first stage concerns *preparation* and entails providing direction and background for the new learning process. During the next stage – that of *acquisition* – students are introduced to new learning material that can be offered in various ways, including lecturing, explanation, experimentation, reading and group work. During this stage, initial but weak conceptual connections are formed in the brain, which must be strengthened before real learning can occur. To strengthen the weak connections, students need to engage in the learning process

Table 9.1 Summary and description of teaching principles

Number	Principle	Description
1	Activity	The learner should be actively involved in the learning process
2	Motivation	Extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, intellectual excitement and the demand for quality
3	Socialization	Learner-learner contact and the social context
4	Diversity	Recognize and incorporate differences of learners in the learning process
5	Contact	Learner/facilitator/management contact and learner support
6	Control	Monitoring of the learning process as well as assessment and feedback
7	Planning	Well-organized learning processes and material
8	Perception	Linking learning material to previous experiences and to real-life applications
9	Totality	Present a holistic picture of and integrate learning content
10	Science	Subject matter based on pure science of the topic, and presented based on the science of teaching

Source: Callaghan (2008, p. 98).

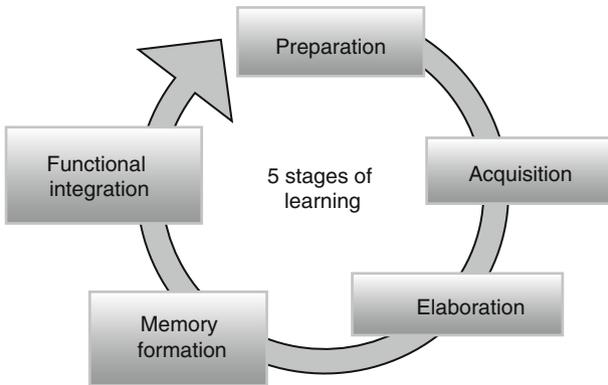


Figure 9.1 The five stages of learning.

Source: Callaghan (2011, p. 2).

both ‘explicitly’ and ‘implicitly’. Working with the learning material explicitly includes the use of strategies such as discussions, readings and lectures, while implicit engagement could include simulations,

games and the gaining and sharing of life experiences. All this takes place during the *elaboration* stage. Here giving feedback to the learner is of utmost importance to help guide the learning process. Feedback may be provided through marks, discussions, peer reviews, and the use of self-assessment exercises, rubrics and question-answer sheets. In this way, weak conceptual connections can be strengthened in the minds of learners, and complex neural pathways developed to connect disparate subjects in meaningful ways.

The next learning stage of *memory formation* is dependent on a number of psychological and physiological factors, which also relate to the student's environmental context, including levels of rest, nutrition, prior learning, as well as their emotions and state of mind. The last stage, namely that of *functional integration*, manifests through the utilization and application of the obtained knowledge and skills in different settings and contexts (Callaghan, 2008, pp. 78–79). It is imperative that teaching strategies and techniques engage with all these various stages to ensure that the learner acquires the skills to effectively apply new knowledge in practice.

Urban planning and design is a complex discipline in the sense that it always deals with many different contextual variables in the course of practical settlement intervention. These variables include the physical, social and institutional contexts for urban change and intervention. The biophysical context for practice includes natural elements (for example, water, soil and vegetation) and elements of the built environment (roads, 'hard' open spaces, buildings and so on). The social context includes the range of actors who interact with the environment in various ways, through their daily use patterns or as part of their duty to plan, design or manage a settlement. The institutional context includes the governance system and relevant legislation and policies, which have a direct impact on the way in which settlements are conceived and transformed to serve local residents. As these contexts are constantly changing, one can at most provide guidelines and examples of how to deal with specific challenges arising in practice. It is therefore imperative that urban planning and design education conveys this complexity and the interrelationship of multiple variables in practice, without discouraging the learners or students. Given this, there is a need for a structured way to put together the different 'building blocks' of effective practice (understanding of challenges, possible solutions and mechanisms to implement solutions) and to transfer the knowledge and skills to recognize, assess and address these in practice. This should be carried out so as to accommodate principles of good teaching

and the five stages of learning outlined above. Utilizing a case study research approach to urban planning education can start to address this need. However, before discussing the relevance of a case study research approach to urban planning and design education, it is necessary to consider what a case study is, and how one can go about preparing a case to transfer knowledge to learners in an effective manner.

Preparing the case study and transferring case knowledge

Bent Flyvbjerg (2011) suggests that not all definitions of case studies are particularly useful. According to him, the most straightforward definition of a case study is from Webster's Dictionary, where 'case study' is defined as 'an intensive analysis of an individual unit (as a person or community) stressing developmental factors in relation to the environment'. This definition highlights a number of essential factors underpinning a case study, such as the detailed analysis involved, the study of a bounded analytical unit, the focus on process, as well as the close relation to a specific context. Therefore, in order to prepare a case study, it is necessary to consider at least five interrelated and inter-dependent aspects: the type of case study, the unit of analysis and data required, as well as suitable research methods to collect data and relevant teaching methods to transfer information (see Figure 9.2). There are various types of case study and the choice of a specific type will

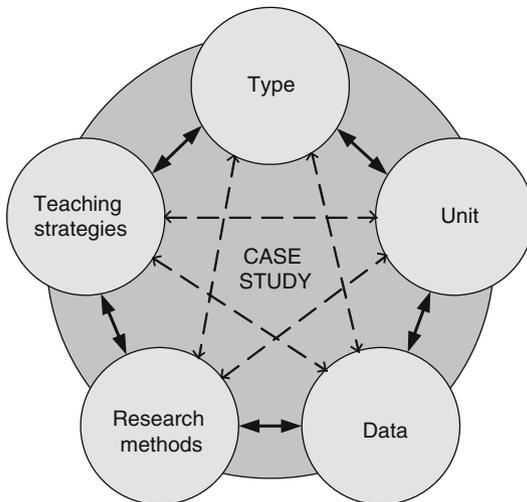


Figure 9.2 Five considerations for the preparation and transfer of case studies.
Source: Karina Landman (2010).

depend on the overall purpose of the research. Different case types and their respective purposes are summarized in Table 1.1 (see Chapter 1).

Case studies focus on an 'individual unit' (Flyvbjerg, 2011) or what Stake refers to as a 'functioning body' or 'bounded system' (2005, p. 444). Therefore, according to Flyvbjerg, the decisive factor in defining a case study is 'the choice of the individual unit and the setting of its boundaries related to the choice of what is to be studied' (2011, p. 26). In the case of urban planning and design processes, the case boundaries may be determined physically, socially and/or institutionally. For example, the case may be a specific city, neighbourhood or precinct (determined through physical or administrative demarcation), a community (defined through social relations or interactions), and/or a specific governance system (demarcated by function). Given this, the case study is a useful research strategy to explore various phenomena in the built environment, as it entails a research design that focuses on intensive analysis of the dynamics present within bounded urban settings (Amaratunga et al., 2002). Case studies can offer a fine-grained understanding of the topic in question, highlighting a variety of different perspectives on the processes and the outcomes linked to a specific demarcated area, event or system. Case study design is especially useful where there is no clear definition between the phenomenon under investigation and its context (Yin, 1994), as case studies emphasize how specific actions or events occur in relation to their contextual environment (Flyvbjerg, 2011).¹ Defining the boundaries for the individual unit of study therefore determines what is considered as 'the case', and what then becomes 'the context' (Flyvbjerg, 2011).

Case studies are also 'intensive' analyses or, in other words, they comprise a search for detail, richness, completeness and variance (Flyvbjerg, 2011). As such, they are suitable for in-depth analysis of a particular phenomenon, which can be facilitated by using multiple sources of evidence (Robson, 2002). The use of multiple sources of evidence is a major strength of case study research and data collection (Yin, 1994), although each source of evidence or method of gathering data can have both advantages and disadvantages. Sources of evidence relevant for urban planning and design research may include the social environment (individuals or communities, relationships, activities and so on), the physical environment (for example, the form and functioning of the natural and/or built environment), as well as the political or institutional environment (for example, the structure and operation of different spheres of government).

Case studies are ideally suited to exploring new processes or behaviours that are currently not well understood (Amaratunga et al., 2002). Classical

case studies emphasize 'developmental factors', meaning that a case is often studied as it evolves over time as a series of interrelated events that occur 'at such a time, in such a place' (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 2). As such, case studies have an important function in both building theory and offering context-specific depictions within built environment research.

The individual unit of case analysis may be studied in a number of ways, for example 'qualitatively or quantitatively, analytically or hermeneutically, or by mixed methods' (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 1). Case study research is therefore a heterogeneous activity encompassing a range of research methods and techniques, potential units of study, and types of data (Amaratunga et al., 2002). Typical sources of data and methods of collection used as part of case study research in planning and urban design include semi-structured and structured interviews, focus group discussions, surveys, spatial analysis, direct observations and documentation review. Documentation review may be conducted on, for example, the official rules and regulations of municipalities or organizations, information brochures, minutes of official meetings, as well as reports produced by resident associations, community groups, local companies and so on. The type of data and methods of collection used in the case study research process will ultimately inform the choice of teaching strategies used to transfer case knowledge.

There are many strategies available for educators to enable the transfer and uptake of knowledge by learners. The selection of a particular or combination of teaching strategies will depend on a number of factors including the type, level and nature of the teaching content, the learning environment, as well as the particular requirements and competencies of the students and teacher. A successful educator should aim to choose the most appropriate strategy or strategies to achieve the desired learning outcomes (Callaghan, 2008). They should further aim to provide 'complex, multi-sensory immersion' and 'rich environments' for learning (Jensen, 2000, p. 14), to develop the capacity for complex thought according to the so-called 'whole brain' approach to learning (Callaghan, 2008, p. 94). This approach entails the use of a range of strategies to stimulate and develop the different styles of learning and thinking identified by Herrmann (1993), namely academic (result-driven: 'know it'), traditional (task-driven: 'do it'), humanistic (feelings-driven: 'sense it') and futuristic (opportunity-driven: 'try it') styles.

Various teaching strategies that could be employed include direct instruction, as well as those based on active learning, collaborative learning, cooperative learning, problem-solving and experimental learning. A case study approach facilitates both work-related and experimental

learning. As Kreber explains, this can entail ‘the detailed description of a particular real-life situation or problem as it happened in the past or as it could happen in the professional life of a student’ (2001, p. 222). Yet, in order to be effective, case-based teaching needs to be well-planned and properly structured to ensure that students keep track of the large amount of information usually presented in case studies (Callaghan, 2008). Preparation of a teaching case study can be divided into five steps: identifying the problem, distinguishing the problem from the underlying solution, generating alternative problem-solving strategies, evaluating alternatives to select the best strategy, and finally, developing an implementation plan for the solution (Callaghan, 2008, p. 105). Learners should be encouraged to use intuitive, creative and logical reasoning skills when studying a case. Their active involvement with the learning material, as well as experimentation and reflection, can promote generative learning.² Furthermore, the case study teaching approach engages a problem-solving teaching strategy (Callaghan, 2008, p. 106). Case assignments can be carried out individually by learners, or in groups. Cases that are carried out in groups enable learners to brainstorm solutions and share the workload amongst one another (Penn State, 2011). In this way, the work process facilitates collaborative and cooperative learning. Finally, it is possible to incorporate real-world data into other teaching assignments, which are not necessarily open-ended, and still claim the benefits of exposing learners to realistic situations. In summary, the benefits of the case study teaching approach are its capacity to expose learners to real-world contexts, to enable them to explore multiple perspectives, to develop their critical thinking and analytical skills, and to allow them to synthesize overall course content (Penn State, 2011). However, the efficacy of a case-based teaching strategy is entirely dependent on the relevance of the type of case study to the desired learning outcomes, the unit of analysis, the research data and how this data has been collected.

Utilizing a case study for urban planning and design education

In order to discuss the relevance of case-based teaching strategies for urban planning and design education, this chapter makes use of the specific example of Cosmo City in Johannesburg to illustrate how a case can be utilized to incorporate all five stages of learning, as well as different teaching strategies. The remainder of the chapter then shows how such an approach can be utilized for a specific teaching module to add value to planning and design education.

The case of Cosmo City

Cosmo City is located in the western reaches of the city of Johannesburg, close to the suburb of Randburg, and in close proximity to many employment and retail opportunities, including the Kya Sands industrial area and numerous shopping centres. The Cosmo City project began as an attempt to provide adequate housing to residents of Riverbend and Zevenfontein informal settlements. Although initial negotiations around the development proposal started in the late 1990s, the project was only approved in 2005, after local property owners raised some resistance to the initiative. When completed, the project is intended to accommodate approximately 65,000 to 70,000 residents.

Cosmo City had been studied as part of a multi-year research project on medium-density mixed housing in South Africa conducted by the national Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). The research project was conducted from 2006 to 2009 and the author, then employed by the CSIR, was the project leader and principle researcher.³ The development of medium-density mixed housing is widely promoted internationally as a means of addressing some challenges of urbanization, by promoting urban integration and densification in order to develop balanced and equitable neighbourhoods providing access to adequate shelter, infrastructural facilities and socio-economic opportunities (CABE, 2005). When combined with mixed housing, these types of developments can have a positive social impact by: promoting the potential for interaction between different social and income groups; reducing negative area effects; attracting and supporting a higher level of local socio-economic services; providing for a variety of household composition types; and creating additional employment opportunities, by ensuring higher average disposal income levels in the area (Baily et al., 2006). Indeed, a number of studies highlight the positive contribution that medium-density mixed housing can make towards the development of sustainable human settlements (CABE, 2005; Jenks and Dempsey, 2005; Baily et al., 2006; Talen, 2008).

South Africa, however, poses a number of context-specific challenges to the implementation of medium-density mixed housing, relating to the country's history of segregated urban development, a prevailing culture of low-density housing development, as well as high levels of physical insecurity in urban areas, which may hinder interventions focused on promoting integration and densification. These contextual factors imply that international ideas cannot simply be transplanted in South Africa without reflection or modification, and that one

cannot assume that different types of developments will require the same planning response. The aim of the Cosmo City research project was therefore to determine the appropriateness and applicability of medium-density mixed housing development approaches to the South African context. The project entailed three main objectives:

- To identify and describe the factors that residents, officials, developers and financiers consider to be necessary for medium-density mixed housing to be successful in terms of affordability, design considerations as well as promoting security and neighbourliness.
- To determine whether these factors can be successfully achieved in South Africa, how this could be done, and what should be put in place to create a supportive enabling institutional environment including appropriate management and housing models.
- To assess the extent to which the above factors and an appropriate enabling environment would contribute towards making settlements in South Africa more sustainable in terms of acceptability, viability, feasibility, security and stability.

In terms of case type, Cosmo City could be understood as an extreme or deviant case, as the purpose was to obtain information on an unusual case (the first large-scale integrated and mixed housing development in the country), which was seen as particularly useful in order to test the general relevance and appropriateness of medium-density mixed housing in South Africa. The selection of case studies, including Cosmo City, for the CSIR research project was based on several main criteria, namely that they should comprise medium-density housing (between 50 and 125 dwellings per hectare), as well as various forms of mixed activity (in terms of types of housing unit, tenure arrangements, income levels and land use) within a low-rise development (with a maximum of three to four storeys). The unit of analysis was taken to encompass the entire neighbourhood of about 12,000 ha. This included approximately 200 ha reserved for open spaces and conservation, 100 ha for commercial and industrial purposes and 15 ha for social services. Commercial and industrial areas, as well as sites for churches and other activities had been sold on the open market, but ultimately the project catered for the affordable subsidized housing market, especially for first-time house buyers. Upon final completion the development is expected to host a total of 12,300 housing units, consisting of four housing and tenure types: 5,000 fully subsidized units (so-called RDP⁴ units) with floor areas

of 32 m², located on plots of 250 m²; 3,000 partially subsidized units, of approximately 60 m² in size; 3,300 'bonded' houses, to be sold on the open market; and 1,000 social housing apartments, available for rent. The provision of different housing types therefore offered the opportunity for a mix of tenure arrangements, ranging from privately owned to rented units.

In order to address the research objectives listed above, the selected case studies utilized multiple sources of evidence structured around two components: the settlement context (the socio-spatial environment) and the views of key stakeholders, including local residents and relevant developers, financiers and state housing officials. The research process therefore required a range of data types, which implied the need to use various methods of data collection. As a result, the case studies made use of a mixed-method approach, including both qualitative and quantitative research techniques. Methods and tools used to address the research objectives included spatial analysis to assess the physical context of each case settlement, a structured questionnaire to conduct household surveys⁵ amongst samples of residents, as well as semi-structured interviews with developers, officials and financiers (for a detailed discussion of these methods, see Landman and du Toit, 2008).

The research approach described above resulted in the production of a detailed and rich account of the socio-spatial context of Cosmo City, as well as the views of residents and other actors involved in the development process (for more details see Landman et al., 2010). Overall, the case studies served to confirm most of the critical success factors identified in the international best practice literature, indicating that it is possible to implement medium-density mixed development approaches in South Africa, although this process largely depends on the nature of the surrounding enabling environment. This is where the research project findings provided significant value: demonstrating the relationships between critical success factors and the enabling environment, and thereby identifying areas of innovation and flexibility needed within the South African context, to provide an appropriate enabling environment to facilitate development implementation. The findings from the research cases further illustrated the direct impact of the various critical success factors, and the nature of the enabling environment, on the sustainability of both the specific development project and the larger urban area. As such, the type of case study, unit of analysis and data employed provided an excellent foundation for an educational project designed to expose urban planning and design students to real-life experiences in the South African context.

Utilizing the case of Cosmo City for planning education

As mentioned in the introduction, in order to learn effectively and to critically assess whether international ideas are relevant or applicable to the African or South African context, urban planning and design students need to be exposed to real-life experiences situated in specific contexts. A case-based teaching strategy can be utilized to expose students to different practical experiences in South Africa and to facilitate the transfer of knowledge and skills to enable graduate planners to work in dynamic and varying subcontexts. This is illustrated here by discussing the five-step case study preparation model (summarized by Figure 9.3) in relation to the case of Cosmo City.

Concrete experience (Sensing/Feeling) <i>Simulation, life experience, role play, games</i>		
Reading the Case		
Active experiment (Doing) <i>Discussions, work sheets, games, peer review, answer sheets</i>	Activist–Accommodator CREATIVE Alternative solutions: experimenting with intuitive insights (step 3) <i>Insights based on real-life 'experience' of actors in specific case in specific context</i>	Reflector–Diverger REFLECTIVE Generating alternative problem solving strategies (step 3) <i>Different housing and development models to accommodate new planning principles in that context</i>
	Pragmatist–Converger PRACTICAL Developing and implementing strategy (step 5) <i>To illustrate the process, phases and context-specific challenges related to implementation in SA</i>	Theorist–Assimilator CONCEPTUAL Evaluating alternatives and selecting a strategy (step 4) <i>Different 'places' to intervene in case – what would be most relevant and effective?</i>
Identifying and Analysing the Problem (step 1 and 2) <i>Foundation to illustrate 'typical' urban problems/challenges within a specific context</i>		
Abstract conceptualisation (Thinking) <i>Lectures, reading, field visit, internet search</i>		
Reflective observation (Watching) <i>What actors did, how others responded, how they had to resolve conflict and work together</i>		

Figure 9.3 Experimental learning as applied and adapted for the use of case studies for urban planning and design education.

Source: Callaghan (2008, p. 106).

Steps 1 and 2 of the model involve identification and analysis of the problem. Due to the highly detailed and rich nature of the data collected from the Cosmo City research project, the case could be used to illustrate a wide range of 'typical' and more specific urban development challenges. Through Cosmo City urban planning lecturers and students could engage with, for example, criteria for mixed housing or large integrated neighbourhood projects (both as a whole and within specific categories, in terms of public perceptions, affordability, design, security and neighbourliness); detailed indicators for measuring spatial performance; specific preferences of different groups of residents; specific aims of government agencies and financiers; appropriate housing models for integrated developments; the influence of various institutional platforms; issues of ongoing maintenance and management; and the overall sustainability of the development. In addition, they could start to analyse the impact of different and conflicting stakeholder views on development processes, as the nature of these impacts is not always clear in the course of practice. The identification of key social or analytical problems could also focus on specific subissues. Key issues that emerged in the case of Cosmo City concerned how to promote social inclusion through appropriate housing mixes and mixed-design approaches, appropriate proximities of different income groups, and other methods to encourage greater diversity in urban development. As such, an educational focus on the case would not have to be limited to the original research questions, as the richness of the study data offers many contextualized planning and development issues for exploration, elaboration and functional integration.

Step 3 is concerned with the generation of alternative problem-solving strategies in the domain of urban planning and design. This could include experimenting with intuitive local insights to generate alternative solutions and, in the case of spatial planning and urban design, spatial plans. For example, the case of Cosmo City gave a clear illustration of the various experiences of different actors and the experimental practices they employed to confront some of their livelihood challenges. Residents also highlighted a range of important management and maintenance issues relating to the need for: information sharing prior to development implementation, communication, representation and the establishment of local 'rules of conduct' or by-laws. The existence of community leadership structures and communication mechanisms, for instance, was a key issue for residents of all three housing types in Cosmo City. In the view of one survey respondent living in the relatively low-income RDP section, the existence of such

structures could play a key role in relation to, amongst other issues, the formulation of crime prevention strategies:

Street committees are necessary for things to run smoothly i.e. crime combating strategies etc. [sic] (Male respondent, aged 25).

The need and importance of participatory structures were also supported by respondents residing in the credit-linked housing section:

Resident association [is] preferred. Residents formed own neighborhood watch. [sic] (Male respondent, aged 26).

All residents need to be involved in community uplifting. [sic] (Male respondent, aged 31).

These responses indicated that resident associations could be key mechanisms for community mobilization against social ills such as crime, as well as for contributing to social upliftment. A case study teaching strategy based on Cosmo City could therefore provide planning students with insights based on the real-life experiences of different actors in a specific urban context. It could further serve as a foundation to discuss and generate alternative strategies to promote public participation, community mobilization and social upliftment within urban development processes in South Africa. Discussing the experiences of other stakeholders, such as Cosmo City developers and housing officials, could also provide examples of how it was necessary to generate unconventional problem-solving strategies within the planning and management of the project. Yet a good case study would document not only the successes of the development project, but also the frustrations experienced by various actors. In Cosmo City, the project developers and officials from the City of Johannesburg had to deal with resistance from both local property owners and higher-income groups residing in the bonded housing section. They were forced to generate alternative strategies to deal with the potential conflict, eventually appointing community liaison officers to work with different income groups and establishing a Cosmo City newsletter to allow the sharing of information and concerns.

Following the generation of alternative problem-solving strategies, Step 4 is concerned with their evaluation and the selection of a specific strategy or design to accommodate the development's overarching goals and objectives. For example, in Cosmo City, the developers and

urban planners had to consider a number of different designs and neighbourhood layouts to accommodate various housing types and income groups in the best possible manner. Although an ideal layout would have located different housing types and income groups closer to one another (within neighbourhood blocks and individual streets), it was not feasible in this context. As a result, different income groups and housing types were accommodated in different precincts within the same neighbourhood (for a detailed discussion, see Landman, 2009). Experiences of real development situations such as these can thus introduce students to the many challenges faced in practice, and the ways in which actors are forced to evaluate alternative options before selecting a feasible strategy or design.

Step 5 deals with development and implementation of a strategy, or project in the case of Cosmo City. The findings from the Cosmo City research project identified a number of specific developmental challenges, and revealed how the original planning strategy was adapted over time to accommodate and deal with emerging challenges. It further showed that project implementation was ultimately made possible by the existence of an enabling environment operating in a specific manner in the South African and Johannesburg contexts. For example, the existing institutional platform for housing development in South Africa allowed the Cosmo City developers to apply for RDP subsidies to provide low-income housing. Although the construction of RDP housing is associated with relatively low rates of profit return, the developers could compensate through the sale of more expensive bonded houses. Making use of an appropriate combination of housing models (RDP, credit-linked, bonded and social housing) also enabled the developers to address housing demand emanating from a broad range of income groups (including very low-income, low-income and low- to medium-income residents) on land located close to employment opportunities. The concept of 'mixed development' was supported through the provisions of local and national planning policies, while the Integrated Settlement Development Programme run through the national Department of Housing provided a mechanism to facilitate more integrated development practices. The fact that the project involved a range of willing stakeholders, engaged in a number of partnerships, further enhanced the likelihood of successful implementation. The provincial housing department provided housing subsidies; *First National Bank* provided additional funding mechanisms for low-income earners; and the municipality provided the land, 'top-up' funding for infrastructure provision in the RDP housing section, and general funding for bulk and

link infrastructures. The municipality was also able to secure capital from national government, including Municipal Infrastructure Grant funding, for the development of additional infrastructure and facilities. As such, by examining this development process, planning students would be exposed to various challenges that can emerge during project implementation, as well as examples of how key actors dealt with these in a specific context. Case study teaching could focus either on the entire five-step model, taking students through the whole development process over several classes or study periods, or on specific steps within the model, to emphasize particular issues or techniques.

In addition to accommodating the various steps outlined above, a case study teaching strategy should accommodate different types of learners and learning activities, as well as facilitate the development of different skills. Steps 1, 4 and 5 engage with thinking skills and can involve teaching techniques such as formal lectures, readings and field visits. These are vital problem-solving skills for urban planners and designers, relating primarily to problem identification and analysis, the evaluation of alternative plans or strategies, and their implementation in practice through the development of strategies or projects. Steps 3 and 5 force students to 'learn by doing' – a process that can be facilitated by distributing class worksheets and conducting guided discussions and peer reviews. Such teaching strategies can not only stimulate those learners oriented towards practical action (rather than conceptual knowledge), but also allow students to experiment with different solutions and activities suitable for various contexts, thus facilitating the learning stages of elaboration and functional integration. They can also offer the opportunity for teamwork – a reflection of the professional situations in which most urban planners find themselves when they practise as part of larger built environment teams. Step 3 further offers the opportunity to simulate and share concrete experiences through techniques such as role-play exercises and participation in real planning projects. These activities are invaluable for preparing students for the situations they will face in practice. The last key learning activity relates to reflective observation or 'watching', which is facilitated by Steps 3 and 4. It is highly important for an urban planner or designer to be able to 'stand back', consider alternative ways of solving specific contextual challenges and evaluate these options objectively. In terms of learning material, such an activity would focus on what actors did in particular situations, how others responded and how conflict was resolved in working together. In practice, the most suitable context-specific solutions are often generated by carefully observing key actors

and understanding their needs in relation to contextual factors. Case study research can offer an ideal tool to illustrate this capacity in the classroom, thereby assisting students to develop the skill of 'watching' carefully and purposefully.

Application to a specific learning module

This logic regarding the suitability of case study research for urban planning and design education has been applied in a specific learning module offered at the University of Pretoria in South Africa. The module is called 'Settlement Planning and Housing Delivery' and is offered to urban planning students in their second year. The module introduces students to the technical issues and procedures involved in settlement design, layout and establishment, and further provides a broad understanding of housing delivery processes in relation to settlement layout. The intention here is to enhance the student's capacity to become a competent settlement planner or designer, as well as a useful decision-maker and participant in settlement establishment and housing delivery projects, which are activities highly demanded of urban planning and design professionals.

Based on previous teaching experience, the educational challenge was threefold: to translate abstract theoretical ideas about settlement planning and housing delivery into concrete practical realities; to illustrate the dynamics of constantly changing settlements at neighbourhood and district scales; and to show the nature of different context-specific responses to various local challenges and constraints, while making provision for different learning styles and skill types. In order to address these challenges, the module was structured into four components (see Figure 9.4).

Initially, the students are introduced in class to the theoretical concepts relevant to the five key themes covered by the module (see Figure 9.4). The intention here is to familiarize the students with key concepts and terminology, preparing them for practical application of theory at a later stage. Each of the themes is then examined in terms of their applicability to the case of Cosmo City. For example, the project's vision and objectives can be used to illustrate the application of a normative approach to planning, or its use of various housing types for different income groups can illustrate innovative, yet context-specific approaches to housing delivery. This allows students to engage explicitly with the learning process and to strengthen the weak conceptual connections formed in the initial learning stage of acquisition. The students are then asked to research another case study settlement,

<i>Theory in class</i>	<i>Case in class</i>	<i>Case in studio</i>	<i>Practical application in project</i>
THEMES	CASE STUDY: COSMO CITY	CASE STUDY: PENNYVILLE	PROJECT
Normative approach	Vision, objectives	Exercise 1: normative planning	Assignment 1: project vision, principles
Contextual analysis	Context (institutional, social, physical)	Exercise 2: context analysis	Assignment 2: context analysis of project site & environment, development of programme (need)
Housing	Target groups, type of housing, facilities	Exercise 3 & 4: need & policy	Assignment 3: concept and final layout plans and designs for neighbourhood, implementation plan
Layout & design	Design ideas, challenges, residents' views	Exercise 5 & 6: Evaluation of plans/ designs	
Settlement establishment	Establishment process, partners, delivery models	Exercise 7: reflection on development process	
PREPARATION (study guide and introduction to concepts and theory in class lecture)	ACQUISITION (practical explanation of lecture and context-specific application of abstract concepts and theory)	ELABORATION & MEMORY FORMATION (research & reading of case & preparation for studio work – exercises, group discussion & assessment, marks & feedback on exercises, confidence development)	FUNCTIONAL INTEGRATION (learning applied in different context – project area)

Figure 9.4 Incorporation of different learning phases in the TPS 220 Module. Source: Karina Landman (2010).

Pennyville in Johannesburg, in preparation for studio work. During these practical classes, students are expected to complete specific exercises relating to each theme, working in small groups. This facilitates group discussion, allowing students to work under the supervision of their lecturer in applying their theoretical knowledge to practice, while being able to ask questions of guidance if they feel unsure. Every exercise is assessed, with feedback given in the following week. The

feedback and marking procedures provide students with an indication of their current understanding and skills, and areas where they could improve. Working with other students and under the guidance of the tutor not only assists with building confidence, but also enhances memory formation. Finally, students are expected to synthesize their learning in a large project that is run throughout the whole semester. The project is designed to represent 'real-life' processes, and allows for the functional integration of everything learned during each module component and learning phase. Using case study research for teaching purposes therefore provides the opportunity for all five stages of learning to be accommodated, while simultaneously preparing and equipping students to understand and work with changing dynamics and different strategic responses in various local contexts, before they are expected to apply this knowledge in a practical project setting.

The value of the case study teaching strategy

The preceding discussion has argued that the utilization of a case study teaching strategy can have significant value for the education of urban planning and design practitioners. A case-based teaching strategy facilitates the incorporation of all ten teaching principles, allowing students to learn in different ways and through different learning strategies. It is especially useful in accommodating the teaching principles of *perception* and *totality*. As mentioned previously, *perception* is related to the linking of learning material to previous experiences and real-life applications. Utilizing a case study such as Cosmo City exposes planning students to real-life experiences in a specific context and develops their skills to deal with the challenges and problems immanent within specific built environment contexts. Through continuous exposure to different cases, students can enhance their experiential knowledge of how to deal with the challenges arising in constantly changing neighbourhoods, towns and large cities. The principle of *totality* is related to the presentation, comprehension and formulation of a holistic 'picture' of the learning material and context. It is highly important for urban planners and designers to have the capacity to 'see the whole picture', to see how all the events of a development process unfolded over time within a specific spatial, social and institutional context, involving a wide range of actors. Case study research offers a valuable tool to demonstrate and enhance understanding of this 'bigger picture', as illustrated here through the case of Cosmo City and the use of different cases in a specific learning module for second-year students. It also offers learners the opportunity

to engage with various parts of the development process in more detail and to develop the relevant skills (including thinking, doing, feeling and watching) to generate appropriate development strategies or spatial plans for local development problems.

The case study approach therefore provides a structured way to put together the different 'building blocks' of knowledge and competency required by an urban planner or designer, including the developmental challenges, key issues, possible and appropriate solutions, and mechanisms to facilitate implementation necessary for a specific urban context. This is a critical part of what any professional urban planner should be able to do. For example, according to the Municipal Structures Act (2001), all South African municipalities should develop an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) every five years to guide growth and development within the municipal area. The main phases of the IDP process are preparation, contextual analysis, strategy formation (development of vision objectives, strategies and projects), integration (of various programmes and projects into overall plan), approval (by the municipal council), and implementation (of IDP projects, programmes and plans).

It is evident that a case-based teaching strategy, as illustrated through the Cosmo City case study, can prepare planning students to engage with the IDP process in its entirety, and in strategic planning processes in all 281 local municipalities in South Africa. At the same time, by adapting the process slightly, the example of the learning module illustrated how a case study teaching strategy can prepare and equip students for spatial intervention at a neighbourhood scale in terms of layout and design. Related to the principle of *totality*, a case-based teaching strategy facilitates the incorporation of all five learning stages and especially that of functional integration, which takes place when new learning is used and applied in various settings, and which is a critical skill needed to compile any appropriate strategic or spatial plan.

Conclusion

This chapter considered whether a case-based teaching strategy could be used to expose urban planning and design students to real practical experiences as a means of enhancing their capacity to intelligently reflect on the applicability and relevance of different planning ideas or strategies in the South African context. Through a discussion of Cosmo City in Johannesburg as a case of medium-density mixed housing development, it was shown that research case studies can indeed be effectively used to expose students to real planning and development experiences.

The case-based approach can be used in specific learning programmes, as with the Settlement Planning and Housing Delivery module described in the chapter, to prepare and equip students to understand and work with changing dynamics and different types of local contextual responses, before they are required to apply this knowledge in the course of a final practical studio intervention. Exposure to various cases can introduce students to context-specific challenges and the ways in which different stakeholders are forced to evaluate and select feasible strategies or plans to address these. Research cases can also highlight the various challenges that emerge during the course of implementing a development plan or project. In this way, urban planning and design students can be effectively prepared to critically consider the relevance of Northern (or more specifically North American and European) planning and housing models for implementation in a context such as South Africa. In addition, the case study teaching method can accommodate different learning strategies and learning preferences amongst students, by providing opportunities for the use of multiple teaching strategies. In conclusion, case-based teaching strategies offer significant educational value through their capacity to link new knowledge to previous experiences and real-life situations, and to help students develop a comprehensive understanding of an entire development process and its attendant challenges. Teaching through research case studies provides a structured means of assembling the different 'building blocks' of planning knowledge and skills, with the aim of enhancing future planning practitioners' ability to intervene meaningfully in the planning and reconstruction of the built environment in specific urban contexts.

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Notes

1. Miles and Huberman suggest that the term 'site' might be preferable to that of 'case', as 'it reminds us that a "case" always occurs in a specified social and physical setting: we cannot study individual cases devoid of their context in a way that a quantitative researcher often does' (1994, p. 27, cited in Robson, 2002, p. 179).
2. Generative learning involves testing and reflecting on existing knowledge to develop a new understanding of an issue, often involving a 'paradigm shift' (Callaghan, 2008).

3. The author was assisted by Dr Jacques du Toit (University of Pretoria) in terms of the refinement of the research methodology and statistical analysis of the quantitative data. Getrude Matsebe and Maema Mmonwa (CSIR) assisted with data collection and analysis, and further contributed to the case study reports.
4. This refers to the subsidized houses built under the South African Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) from 1995 onwards.
5. Structured questionnaires were distributed to a sample of households (minimum 30 households but up to 60 in larger developments) in each of the case study areas. The questionnaire included a section to obtain demographic information, including household income, a section obtaining the resident's views on the critical success factors, and three open-ended questions at the end to obtain any additional information that may not have been covered in the structured questions. The questionnaire therefore included both closed and open questions and as such facilitated both quantitative and qualitative data analysis.

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Conclusion

James Duminy and Vanessa Watson

This book has argued for the use of a particular research method as a foundation for developing new approaches to planning, in contexts where conventional planning concepts are largely inappropriate to local urban realities, and where understanding of these realities is limited. The basic rationale for the book, and the workshop series that informed it, was that the case study research methodology is a particularly important approach for studies of African planning due to the unique ability of this method to take context into account, as indicated in the foreword by Bent Flyvbjerg. Developing a better understanding of local contextual realities through case study research is key to producing appropriate concepts for and modes of planning practice in Africa. As an added benefit, this process can contribute to a wider agenda around reorienting global flows of knowledge and confronting the dominance of Northern theoretical concepts within planning thought. Giving close attention to how context shapes urban realities and planning processes allows us to avoid and call into question methodological approaches that uncritically import and apply theories and concepts developed elsewhere (usually Europe or North America) to African urban situations.

Coming from a background of planning education, the book has also pursued another question related to context – that is, how do we learn to become more relevant practitioners in the specific circumstances of African urbanization? Although the contributions in this volume have applied and discussed the case study research methodology from different perspectives, ranging from the governance of informal wood-working in Kumasi and bicycle taxis in Mzuzu, to appropriate teaching approaches for South African planning education, a central thread runs throughout. This is the critical role of learning for planning practice and urban life more generally. How planners learn to make practical

judgements and creative solutions, how ordinary urban residents learn to survive and flourish amidst hardship, and how these processes of learning may be inhibited or encouraged in different contexts, are pressing questions facing planning educators. In this conclusion, we reflect upon the characteristics of case study research in relation to how we as planners learn, and enable others to learn. We point towards the potential for the case study research methodology to contribute to learning in and of the cities of Africa and the global South.

The past decade has seen a number of calls for planners and urbanists to 'see from the South' and challenge the dominance of ideas from the global North in shaping urban and planning knowledge (Yiftachel, 2006; Roy, 2009; Watson, 2009; Brownill and Parker, 2010). Perspectives rooted in the realities of the global South, Vanessa Watson (2009) argues, can help to unsettle various assumptions about what Southern cities are, and how we should begin to address pressing developmental problems of rapid urban growth, poverty and inequality. In particular, it is the interface between techno-managerial systems of state administration and the marginalized conditions of urban informality – a peripheral space of unpredictable encounter and contestation – that is seen to offer opportunities for exploring and generating alternative planning approaches and practices (Simone, 2011). However, operationalizing these ideas in constructing a body of 'Southern theory' on planning and cities remains a daunting challenge, not least because of Northern dominance within the global political economy of knowledge production and circulation (Connell, 2007). The epistemological and ethical imperative of 'seeing from the South' is difficult to realize where publication routes and financial incentives are largely oriented towards ideas and debates taking place in North America or Europe.

Here we pursue a slightly different line of argument with respect to generating knowledge in and of the urban South. We ask whether engaging with questions of how we learn to understand and act can offer a fruitful path to alternative modes of knowledge and praxis in the South. We believe that educational and learning theory can be a major point of engagement for Southern scholars, as they seek to unsettle dominant assumptions about cities and intervention in their local contexts. After all, if there is a future for Southern planning theory, is it not in contributing to the way that urban practitioners and inhabitants learn, believe and interact with the world around them? If cycles of knowledge production are difficult to change, then perhaps our attention should also be directed to how this knowledge is taken up and operationalized in the course of urban practice and urban life more

generally. Case study research and teaching is one promising means of contributing to learning in the urban South, by providing learning resources, documenting innovative learning processes, as well as developing new educational practices and interventions.

Here we approach the idea of 'learning in and from the South' from four different perspectives. The first surrounds the question of how planners learn, and the type of knowledge that is suited for producing planning graduates capable of effective practical judgement in conditions of change, uncertainty and widespread informality. This, in turn, is related to an ethico-political question of how to produce planners with the capacity for critical, reflexive and progressive practice that seeks, amongst other progressive goals, to further social equity and the human rights of those whom planning actions affect. Second is a wider question around how urban actors of all kinds learn to survive, operate and prosper in circumstances that are often difficult and circumscribed, and how this learning may take place between and across local contexts. Third is the issue of how this knowledge about different modes and types of learning in the African context can have wider relevance for knowledge production and education in other parts of the world, including urban areas in the global North and the rest of the global South. And fourth is the question of the critical place of comparison within learning, and the interrelated roles of comparison and case study methodology within a critical strategy for both research and educational praxis.

As set out in the Introduction and Chapter 1, this book was greatly influenced by Bent Flyvbjerg's (2001) work which has emphasized the general potential for case study research to foster the in-depth 'phronetic' learning process and knowledge required for enhancing expert practical judgement in planning. The detailed, contextualized knowledge characteristic of case studies can feed back into planning education and teaching courses to develop skills in problem analysis and creative solution making. In particular, this knowledge can be useful to promote a mode of experiential 'learning through reflection'. Schön and Rein (1994) argue that understanding planning practice is not about extracting 'rules' of effective planning or policymaking. Instead, planners and policymakers generalize from their particular experiences to construct a 'usable repertoire of unique cases' (Schön and Rein, 1994, p. 205). In practice, planners search their repertoire of cases for points of similarity with a situation at hand, and build an appropriate judgement based on experience. In the process, understandings of both the previous situation and the present case at hand are transformed. Case-type

research outputs are therefore critical to building 'repertoires of unique cases' and producing effective planning practitioners globally.

Lisa Peattie (1994) has specifically argued the utility of case study research in the context of urban practice in the developing world, partly through its capacity to aid understanding of urban development processes in circumstances of complexity. The chapters comprising Part II of the volume showed that case study research can indeed generate knowledge suitable for enhanced urban practice in Africa. They revealed a complex picture of how and why informal activities exist, and how they are related to and affected by formal systems of urban planning and governance. They further accounted for changes in these relations over time, as both local practices and wider contextual factors intersected to produce the observed outcomes in each case. We believe that these sorts of studies provide the nuanced understanding of causality that has the capacity to foster phronetic learning and enhanced practical judgement, even in situations far removed from those of Mzuzu, Kumasi and Enugu. Given their attunement to contextual factors, complexity and process, they provide the sort of knowledge that is appropriate for planners working in Southern urban contexts affected by rapid change and uncertainty.

A related issue concerns the ethico-politics of planning (Roy, 2008; Winkler, 2012) and learning within planning education. In particular, there is a question of how different modes of learning can foster critical yet pro-urban attitudes amongst future African policymakers and planners. A key challenge facing African planning educators is how to train professional planners with practical competence who are at the same time critical of simplistic assumptions, usually derived from Northern contexts, about what ought to be done in African cities, and by whom. The use of case studies in classroom teaching would appear to be one way of enhancing this sort of critical and reflexive thought, as thinking through the complexities of case studies and making estimated case judgements can enable learners to question planning principles and standards derived from the global North (see Chapter 9 by Landman in this volume).

Another general challenge for African planning educators is how to instil the idea amongst learners that cities and urbanization, including informal areas and processes, can be positive forces for socio-economic development and change, provided appropriate infrastructural services and regulations are implemented in advance of growth (UN-Habitat, 2013). Planners should see their interventions as, first and foremost, striving to further the human rights of all urban inhabitants, especially

marginalized residents. Case study research and teaching offer ways of enabling a progressive ethico-political transformation on the part of investigator, teacher and learner. This is because both learning and changes in ethical disposition can be driven by personal, practical engagement with real development issues, such as the circumstances and needs of poor urban groups. In Chapter 7, Mukiibi showed how 'live case' teaching in Kampala, involving real urban residents and development problems in the informal settlement of Bwaise, can generate opportunities for students to question the appropriateness of conventional planning principles taught in the classroom environment. As such, the process of conducting detailed case study research, or of participating in a live case teaching project, allows a real-life engagement with urban development actors and problems, which can challenge prevailing ideas that see, for example, urban growth as a negative phenomenon to be halted or ignored, or those living and working informally as delinquents in need of radical discipline or eviction.

The above points emphasize the importance of learning primarily on the part of planners and urban practitioners. Recently, Colin McFarlane (2011) has called our attention to other issues and questions surrounding learning, knowledge and urbanism. Based on his research in the informal settlements of Mumbai (India), McFarlane highlights the haptic and translocal micro-techniques and processes through which the city is lived, stitched together and contested. He shows how urban social movements and actors from different backgrounds in the city learn to operate and consolidate in circumstances that are highly diverse and often unpredictable. He argues that learning is central to urban political strategies and the production of cities, and that it offers a critical opportunity to develop a progressive international urbanism. For him, a critical geography of urban learning would entail three ongoing and interlinked aspects: *evaluation* of existing urban knowledges and their effects, *democratization* of learning processes, and *proposing* new and socially just forms of learning. McFarlane's work, therefore, points us towards the question of how urban planning research can document and conceptualize processes of learning and acting in the city, with a view to enhancing the role of the city as a place of potential for the generation of new capacities amongst a wide range of urban social actors.

The interrelated imperatives of enhancing the learning of planners as well as other urban social actors in Southern contexts are neatly served by case study research, with its attention to the detailed micro-practices and transformations surrounding African planning and 'cityness'. However, the notion of learning from the South through case study

research highlights not only the need for more research products, to aid learning and better understanding of how learning happens in the city, but also the question of what Africa and the global South have to offer for general ideas about learning and education. With McFarlane (2011) we argue that the complexities of learning and praxis surrounding 'informal' urban processes and experiences of poverty – which are in some cases the predominant African urban experience – offer a key point of departure for thinking and realizing the 'city yet to come', both in Africa and elsewhere (Simone, 2004). In-depth research and knowledge on the interfaces between formal techno-managerialist and informal processes and systems can reveal new imaginaries, learning practices and moments of strategic opportunity with the potential for wider applicability (Watson, 2009). As the crucible of informal processes, a politics of anticipation and 'movement at the crossroads', Africa has much to offer for general knowledge about cities, and ways in which we conceptualize urban futures, problems, learning and intervention (Simone, 2011). Case study research and teaching offers a promising means by which to generate this knowledge.

Another significant point surrounding questions of learning and urbanism concerns the importance of comparison for translocal urban learning, both for professionals and for ordinary urban residents and groups (McFarlane, 2011; Robinson, 2011). Comparative learning takes on particular significance for translocal citizen networks such as Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI), which uses community-to-community exchanges as a means of creating learning opportunities for members of urban poor groups by sharing and translating knowledge and techniques between different contexts (Satterthwaite, 2001).

Case study research and teaching is a key means of developing comparativism as a critical strategy to reveal the limitations and assumptions of particular theoretical claims, as well as to formulate new lines of enquiry and more situated accounts of urban life and practice (McFarlane, 2011). This is not only because single-case study research is always implicitly comparative to some extent (Eisenhardt, 1991), but also because comparative case-oriented urban research is a key strategy for transcending traditional conceptual divides ordered along the lines of metropole and periphery, developed and developing, or First and Third World (McFarlane, 2006; Robinson, 2011). This can be achieved by adopting a relational comparative approach that seeks to bring different urban contexts into close communication and contrast, stressing their interconnected trajectories, and letting them pose questions of one other (Ward, 2010). This raises important questions

about how a learning process across different (Northern and Southern) 'theory cultures' might be conceived and operated so as to foreground the relations between global regions, and the power imbalances that characterize these (Connell, 2007; McFarlane, 2010). From the perspective of planning practice in Africa, however, the major question is how processes of comparative learning can be used to train critical, relevant and effective urban practitioners.

Comparison as a critical learning strategy has in many ways underpinned the work of the Association of African Planning Schools (AAPS), as an international peer-to-peer network, over the past decade. This volume itself is the outcome of a series of regional workshops on the case study research methodology, which sought to bring together African planning educators from different contexts to compare and exchange experiences and techniques in research and teaching. By providing a platform for educators to reflect upon similarities, differences and interconnections between their respective contexts and practices, AAPS has sought to promote the critical reflexivity needed to trigger educational reform and foster new creative ways of responding to the challenges faced by planners and planning schools across the continent. A key initiative in this regard has been the organization of a series of 'live' learning studios on informal settlement upgrading, involving AAPS member schools and local SDI affiliates, enabled through a memorandum signed with SDI in 2010. Those involved in these studios (conducted in Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda and Namibia) have had the opportunity to share techniques and experiences through meetings organized by AAPS. Overall, there are promising signs that these comparative learning engagements are leading to educational innovations in different parts of the continent. Several of these studios have resulted in the formation of standing relationships between planning schools, local SDI affiliates and informal communities. These relationships have worked to shift the perspectives of planning educators, students and communities towards urban informality, curricular development and the practice of planning in Africa (see Chapter 7 in this volume). As AAPS seeks to engage with other institutions within Africa (including across linguistic boundaries) and globally, there is significant potential for the further refinement of a comparative approach to learning that crosses academic-civil society and North-South divides.

So, whither case study research and urban planning education in Africa? Clearly there is a need for greater engagement in planning research and education around different questions of learning, including how ordinary people learn under difficult, changing conditions, and

how future planners should learn the skills and competencies necessary to respond to urban changes in an effective and equitable way. This raises the question of how best to capture these processes, modes and outcomes of learning through research, and how to package this learning in forms beneficial to planners and other actors in civil society. The case study research methodology offers significant potential to enhance and develop conceptions of and interventions in African urbanization, by engaging with questions of learning and comparison. We hope that this volume provides a starting point for this learning process.

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