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Planning, temporary urbanism and citizen-led alternative-substitute place-making in the Global South

Lauren Andres^a , Hakeem Bakare^b , John R. Bryson^c , Winnie Khaemba^d ,
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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that planning in the Global South needs to be embedded within a more complex and systemic framework based on understanding cities' functions and transformations, at both local and regional levels, whilst advocating for and incorporating informal and temporary dynamics. This is to differentiate between two competing processes: formal planning and citizen-led place-making, here considered as a form of reactive alternative-substitute place-making that occurs when there is no available alternative. The paper calls for a better integration of such impermanent, adaptable, temporary and alternative forms of place-making into the planning process for regional futures.

KEYWORDS

urban systems; urban and regional planning; alternative-substitute place-making; temporary urbanism; Africa; Global South

JEL O2, O18, O21

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INTRODUCTION

Cities in the Global South face major intractable challenges from informal settlements, housing provision and transport to environment degradation (including air pollution). Nevertheless, these challenges are intensified through limited planning capacity and resource constraints. At the start of this millennium, Hall and Pfeiffer (2000) called for a new global agenda for 21st-century cities under the title Urban Future 21. They emphasized the importance of liveability identifying three types of cities (p. 139): those coping with informal hyper growth; those coping with dynamic growth; and weakening mature cities coping with ageing. Creating liveable cities involves a process of both planning at macro-scales and of micro-scale place-making. This reflects a combination


of bottom-up, citizen-led, unplanned, and informal actions and processes that are poorly accounted for in formal planning decision-making processes. In this paper, we propose a new way of understanding urban futures for Global South cities, focusing on South Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia, where planning plays a key role in transforming city-regions, despite major challenges. We recognize the diversity of these four countries and the African continent, specifically differences in planning systems and governance. The purpose here is to extract some overarching considerations that will facilitate planning regional futures, including alternative planning approaches, rather than attempting to generalize without appreciating diversity.

The argument is constructed upon two pillars: first, to address the complexity and diversity of urban


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environments, a system of systems approach is required to account holistically for the different connected components underpinning social, economic and environmental well-being; and second, such an approach goes beyond ‘planning’ and includes a significant element of place-making. This includes temporary and informal dynamics acting as alternative substitutes in places experiencing real difficulties in creating, implementing and enforcing formal planning processes. These approaches embed citizens or voluntary-sector organizations engaging in activities that alter their immediate surroundings through processes of localized place-making. Cities are the outcome of a layering of different types of interventions with very different geographies and time scales: from comprehensive city-region plans to what is often considered to be impermanent forms of temporary urbanism.

We recognize that our argument is provocative and not without risks of misinterpretation. Having said this, it complements existing research that has explored planning in the Global South accounting for both formal and informal processes as part of a critique of the inability of traditional planning processes to respond to urban challenges in such diverse, complex and unequal urban contexts (Harrison, 2006; Mirafteb, 2009; Watson, 2014). This led to debates into the meaning and use of participation for planning with recent calls for a move towards understanding ‘participation as planning’ for research conducted in the Global South (Apsan Frediani & Cocina, 2019). The present paper complements these approaches but shifts the debate beyond planning to place-making.

The analysis draws upon two distinct but complementary research projects. First, research in South Africa, which undertook the largest survey to date of planning practitioner attitudes toward the state of the profession (June–August 2017), comprising 212 questionnaire responses and 89 in-depth qualitative interviews. Second, research developing a systems approach to exploring environmental challenges and place-making based on 54 interviews with national, regional and local governments, non-governmental institutions (NGIs), researchers, non-profit (government) organizations (NGOs) and community-based organizations (CBOs) in Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia. Primary data were coded in NVivo using a combination of deductive (theoretically led) and inductive (data-led) approaches. The analysis highlights the importance of new forms of context-specific approaches to place-making, including combining alternative citizen and community processes with planning. Blending these approaches is a pathway towards more balanced, sustainable and resilient urban futures (e.g., the United Nations’ New Urban Agenda). These arguments contribute to ongoing debates about how best to approach and analyse cities and planning in the Global South, engaging with the calls to search for new ideas, methodologies and strategies across north–south contexts. This includes identifying new insights and innovative planning ideas (Watson, 2013, p. 96) whilst building upon ‘policy-generated or applied knowledge’ that ‘can feed a revival in theoretical reflections on the city’ (Parnell & Robinson, 2012, p. 603).

The paper is structured as follows. The next section reviews existing approaches to understanding planning and place-making focusing on formal planning, reading cities, shadow place-making and temporary urbanism. The third section identifies three pillars that contribute to a new planning and place-making approach (PPA) to understanding the evolution of African cities. The final section engages further with limitations arising from the alternative approach while reinforcing this paper’s primary contribution and its argument that African cities and Global South cities should be conceptualized as the outcome of layers of planned interventions combined with alternative-substitute place-making that represents different forms of ‘permanent impermanence’.

FROM PLANNING CITIES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH TO PLACE-MAKING

Formal planning in the Global South

Many cities of the Global South are characterized by dichotomic though contrasting dynamics. On the one hand, from the mid-1970s, many countries started applying master and development plans informed by planning approaches developed in the Global North (Okpala, 2009; Watson, 2013). By 1990, 196 Nigerian cities had town and settlement plans, while another 197 towns planned to develop master plans (Okpala, 2009). Master plans were developed by Addis Ababa, Dodoma, Lilongwe and Nairobi (Okpala, 2009), which included challenging visions (Watson, 2013) targeted at investors through forms of speculative urbanism (Goldman, 2011) as well as the upper and rising middle classes along with international expats, while ignoring the majority of the population. On the other hand, uncontrolled informal settlements are spreading on the outskirts of cities and where integrated planning solutions cannot be implemented (see Apsan Frediani & Cocina, 2019, for a recent overview). For Uganda, this results in political bargaining which then takes precedence over planning procedures, weakening formal planning processes encouraging the growth of informal settlements (Goodfellow, 2010). Those peri-urban areas where land is available, inexpensive and outside the control of urban land regulation are sites for localized citizen-led place-making practices.

Africa’s informal urban population is recognized as a key contributor to urban growth (Lund & Skinner, 2004), but informal settlements are initially excluded from formal planning processes (Baffour Awuah & Hammond, 2014). Calls to recognize the importance of informality, the need to rethink planning processes to embrace the informal, have been made (de Satgé & Watson, 2018; Roy, 2009; Watson, 2003). The literature on sustainable urban development highlights the need for congruency between planners and end users of planning outcomes to achieve ‘best for all’ results (Miescher, 2012, p. 1; Ross, 2018). Despite consistent evidence of current planning failures and suggestions on future strategies, planning and the redesign of urban peripheries continues to benefit urban elites and informal place-making continues to persist (Adam,

2014; Allen, 2003). Nevertheless, informality is not appropriately addressed by mainstream planning.

The planning challenges experienced by African cities and the recognition of their role as engines of growth amidst informalities represents a planning paradox in which areas experiencing rapid urbanization are excluded from the formal planning process (Alemayehu, 2008; Sihlongonyane, 2015). In this context, the urban periphery is marginalized in formal planning processes with urban residents either being displaced to benefit urban elites or their socioeconomic challenges ignored in planning or place-making processes. A significant gap exists between planning and the end users of planning outputs; Africa's problem is a need for a more inclusive planning system combined with implementation.

It is timely to consider what type of planning combined with localized and contextualized place-making is required for African cities that have different histories, lifestyles, environments and planning systems. Everyday living in hyper-growth cities is supported by blending citizen-led interventions with continual chronic and acute shocks. These persistent shocks result in continual citizen and household adaptation. The outcome is survival, but this is an inequitable process based on household location, capacities, capabilities and access to resources. Planning and place-making needs to be embedded within a more complex and systemic framework of city-region functions and transformations, whilst also advocating for and incorporating informal and temporary dynamics. This is critical and resonates with ongoing debates including Harrison's (2006) call for new models and the importance of focusing:

on how Africa, and its many different parts, is – through the resourceful responses of its residents to conditions of vulnerability – in the process of becoming something new that is both part of and separate from Western modernity. This new imaginary may provide a conceptual opening that would allow us to think about Africa in ways that are more hopeful and positive; that acknowledge the success of Africans in constructing productive lives at a micro-scale, and economies and societies at a macro-scale, that work despite major structural constraints.

(p. 323)

Part of this new imaginary is to explore the differences and interdependencies between top-down approaches to planning versus bottom-up micro-scale approaches to place-making. This is to highlight alternative processes of place-making and also of reading cities.

Reading and understanding cities

Alternative perspectives to exploring cities have emerged that include an emphasis on trying to 'look through a city' (Amin & Thrift, 2017), to try to 'make sense of cities' (Badcock, 2002) or to 'reading cities' (Bryson, Andres, & Mulhall, 2018). These approaches try to interpret the complexity of urban living, livelihoods and lifestyles by understanding the 'mangle of machines, infrastructures, humans, nonhumans, institutions, networks, metabolisms, matter

and nature – where the coming together is itself constitutive of urbanity and its radiated effects' (Amin & Thrift, 2017, p. 10). This 'coming together' is complex: cities are never homogeneous but rather consist of many different types of place. Urban theory has appreciated the diversity of urban life, but there is still a tendency to 'generalise from prevalent phenomena' (Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 8). This is unfortunate. There are many different forms of urban experience including important differences between global or extraordinary cities (Taylor, 2013) compared with more ordinary cities (Salder & Bryson, 2019).

City-regions are complex, dynamic and evolving systems. Evolutionary economic geography highlights the importance of the impacts of an accumulation of incremental decision-making producing path dependency or path creation (Boschma & Martin, 2010; Martin, 2012). Path dependency comes from accumulations of incremental decision-making that can be traced back centuries. These decisions take many forms including those made by governments, private sector firms, individuals and households. The many interconnected systems that support city-living must not be conceptualized as reflecting the outcome of a logical process that provides some form of functionality. This is to overlook perverse consequences and also the relationships between the provision of infrastructure-enabled services and their use. An alternative approach is to recognize that city systems are systematizing networks that may initially provide some shape to urban living (Latour, 1988). For cities in the Global South, the presence of alternative and informal structures and networks created in the absence of institutional interventions calls for exploring new approaches to planning regional futures (Simone, 2016).

Reading cities of the Global South and developing an alternative approach to planning regional futures requires understanding the complex interplay between micro- and macro-scale place-making processes. There is a tendency, inherited from colonialism, to control urban dynamics, uses and practices artificially through strict regulations and plans that in practice cannot be enforced. These are 'bad' plans and 'bad' regulations. This highlights three different processes. First, people- and household-based decisions may result in substitution interventions for structures and processes that currently do not exist in a city. This results in various forms of 'temporary urbanism'. These forms of individual and collective adaptation may result in physical transformation or in processes that encourage interactions between people and place. Second are flows of people, ideas, raw materials and products. A city is a complex concatenation of flows with different households and places having different forms of connectivity. At a household level, different individuals will engage with the city in very different ways by developing their own temporal and spatial rhythms. Third, spatial planning acts as the primary mechanism by which the local and national state engages in plan-making and place regulation. Spatial planning is about the formal and proactive management of the urban environment. Planning by essence is about foresight, designed futures and does not allow for an appreciation of

flexibility, especially short-term and everyday adaptability. Here there is a gap in dealing with temporary and fluctuant rhythms of the everyday and associated place-making dynamics.

Temporary urbanisms and shadow place-making

Temporary urbanisms are the outcome of processes and practices contributing to spatial and social adaptability, allowing places to be purposely used and activated responding to specific economic and social needs. This concept emerged to explore temporary solutions for housing, or social needs mainly in the Global North (Bishop & Williams, 2012; Oswalt, Overmeyer, & Misselwitz, 2013), but it resonates with research conducted on the realities and challenges of Global South cities where informal and formal interventions shape place (Miraftab, 2009, 2017; Watson, 2013, 2016). Global South and planning theory debates have begun to explore insurgent planning (Miraftab, 2009, 2016, 2017), informed by radical planning approaches initially explored by Friedmann (1973, 2002) and Sandercock (1998a, 1998b) recognizing citizens' practices as forms of planning (Miraftab, 2016).

Temporary urbanisms are forms of insurgent planning or 'an alternate planning as it happens among subordinate communities, be it informal settlements and townships in the ex-colonies or the disadvantaged communities in the belly of the beast – North America and Western Europe' (Miraftab, 2016, p. 3). It sits separately from traditional planning, theoretically distancing itself from traditional approaches focusing on practices rather than actors. This approach 'ontologically departs from liberal traditions of so-called inclusive planning that have held the inclusion of disadvantaged groups as an objective of professional intervention' (Miraftab, 2017, p. 276). 'Temporary urbanism' concerns places and areas that are left aside and neglected by the state, the private sector and planning (Oswalt et al., 2013, p. 11). It goes beyond neglect reflecting evolution rather than permanence. To thrive, cities and their inhabitants need to adapt and have opportunities for other choices to emerge from specific needs and contexts. These choices can occur if 'alternatives' are sought or as substitutes or coping mechanisms. Temporary urbanism is embedded within everyday, informal practices rather than long-term visions (Madanipour, 2017). Unpacking these temporalities within the built environment and in the process of place-making highlights the importance of physical 'grey spaces', informal settlements (Yiftachel, 2009), which remain in a state of 'permanent temporariness' or, as we shall argue, should be conceptualized as being in a state of 'permanent impermanence'.

Forms of temporary urbanism in developing cities are strongly connected to public and private sector failures in tackling key urban challenges and delivering adequate formal planning. Three literatures can be identified that explore these dynamics. First, Katz's (2004, p. 242) work on social resilience highlights how individuals and groups engage in autonomous initiatives reflecting strategies to get by through various forms of mutual support. This

emphasizes the importance of family and friendship networks as one element of a survival strategy. Second, recent research, informed by the alterity debate, has explored the provision of local infrastructure by blending non-capitalist with capitalist activities. In other words, the provision of local infrastructure-enabled services using an 'alternative' approach that attempts to address infrastructure exclusion by the development of citizen-led alternative infrastructure business models (Bryson et al., 2018). This highlights the role that citizens and communities play in shaping cities through alternatives to conventional forms of infrastructure provision. Third, during the late 1980s, Wolch (1989) realized that the scale and scope of voluntary or third-sector activities had increased as one compensatory mechanism for the ongoing restructuring of the welfare state in developed market economies. This led to the identification by Wolch of the *shadow state* as 'a para-state apparatus comprised of multiple voluntary sector organisations, administered outside of traditional democratic politics and charged with major collective service responsibilities previously shouldered by the public sector, yet remaining within the purvey of state control' (Wolch, 1990, p. xvi). This para-state apparatus undertakes many of the functions that were provided by the welfare state: it is independent of the state, but is 'enabled, regulated, and subsidised' by the state (p. 41). This account of the shadow state did not engage with the neo-liberalism debate (Mitchell, 2001), but these are closely connected debates.

More recently, 'after a period of disengagement, ... critical attention is once more being directed towards the shadow state concept' (Deverteuil, 2016, p. 43). In this more recent debate, the voluntary sector is not seen as inherently progressive or completely co-opted by the state (p. 41). One role the shadow state can play is as a translation mechanism for state policies that results in on-the-ground service delivery (Trudeau & Veronis, 2009). In the Global South, shadow governance has been equated with extortion, corruption and patronage (Olver, 2017) and marginalization (Alpa, 2010). The present argument is that the shadow state provides one entry point for considering place-making in the Global South, but in the context of moving beyond neo-liberalism approaches (Parnell & Robinson, 2012). This is to distinguish between shadow place-making by and for the people compared with place-making that is imposed on places by the para-state apparatus. This form of people-centric place-making fills gaps in provision given the absence of robust accountable institutions and transparent planning processes and frameworks. It is part of a process by which the marginalized can take ownership of places transforming informal settlements into liveable places. The key challenge is that, on the one hand, this type of temporary urbanism fills gaps left by the absence of formal planning. On the other hand, temporary urbanism will develop solutions for particular places reflecting the capacity and capabilities of people, but this will never result in a coordinated citywide approach to place-making.

Combining these three debates on alternatives to state-based solutions with forms of temporary urbanisms

characterized by their 'permanent impermanence', which we will further refer to as a process of 'alternative substitute place-making', provides a set of building blocks that inform the development of a new conceptual framework for considering planning regional futures in the Global South focusing on Africa. This concept differentiates our approach from the shadow-state literature given our focus on people-centric approaches to place-making. This framework must include the activities of the state, the shadow state, but also individuals and households. The ongoing evolution of Global South cities has a different balance between the actors involved in place-making processes. Planning has a role to play, but there are whole areas of these cities that have emerged as a direct result of individual and household micro-scale interventions as immediate solutions to housing provision and everyday living through different forms of alternative substitute place-making.

AFRICAN URBAN FUTURES: A PLANNING AND PLACE-MAKING APPROACH

The present review of these three processes involved in planning as a macro-scale intervention and place-making as a micro-scale practice highlights the importance of developing a new planning and place-making approach (PPA) to conceptualizing planning in the African context. We here specifically consider South Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia. This approach can be localized and contextualized to address the diversity of urban places accounting for the role individuals play in transforming cities in the Global South (Apsan Frediani & Cocina, 2019). This new framework begins by identifying a set of challenges facing African cities reflecting the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals (Figure 1). Although we recognize that Africa is very diverse, we also acknowledge the importance of international frameworks, typically the New Urban Agenda highlighting that 'particular attention should be given to addressing the unique and emerging urban development challenges facing all countries, in particular developing countries, including African countries' (UN-Habitat, 2017, p. 9). Agents of change, both formal and informal, are then identified including state- and citizen-led approaches to planning versus place-making. Our framework recognizes that formal planning has struggled to account for informal settlements and their residents tending to exclude and marginalize them (Miraftab, 2009, 2016; Roy, 2009; Watson, 2003). Collective and individual forms of place-making, building upon informal and formal regulations, are responses to the limitation of planning in such contexts (Apsan Frediani & Cocina, 2019, p. 145). The challenge is how to combine informal place-making with formal planning. The new approach combines formal and informal planning outcomes acknowledging alternative-substitute place making as a citizen-led permanent impermanent form of urbanism. Our contribution is to show how planning can embrace informal place-making to develop a more integrated approach to planning in the Global South. This calls for a planning approach facilitating informal place-making, but in the context of an

integrated approach to city planning. We now explore the key elements of this new approach.

Formal planning and permanent impermanence

Formal planning in Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and South Africa has evolved since the colonial period. In South Africa, since the end of apartheid in 1994, a succession of key planning Acts established planning frameworks aligned with new political directions, including removing spatial racial segregation and rights to housing. In 1995, the Development Facilitation Act 67 first positioned formal planning as key to transforming cities. The 2013 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) aimed to achieve social and economic inclusion in planning and land-use management practices. In Ethiopia, the government deployed integrated development master plans (e.g., the 2013 Addis Ababa and Surrounding Oromia Special Zone Integrated Development Plan).

Planners face a series of challenges, including difficulties of implementing master plans (Watson, 2013), coping with political change, corruption, and problems with data availability and resources. A South African planner noted that 'People meant to manage planning have such limited knowledge about the profession, making it difficult for planners to perform their duties' ((survey), planner, South Africa, 14 June 2017). Another respondent argued that:

Africa though vast in extent, lacks the purse to support planning activities as a result the planning sphere fails to effect change which is its *raison d'être*. Over and above, the planning sphere is heavily eclectic and tends to be infiltrated by other disciplines or professionals without the absolute skills and technocratic sensibilities to deliver effective solutions. The political landscape is equally at fault, ... a point in case is the proliferation of informal settlements versus legislative instruments and policies that impede development control.

(planner, South Africa, 13 July 2017)

Formal planning has failed to address the complexity of diverse cities, and particularly their informal and unplanned nature, leading to a proliferation of informal settlements with limited or no social services and public utilities (Okalebo, 2011; Rukwaro, 2009). Thus,

Kampala has developed faster than the plan. Many things are unplanned and because of that, you know, you find things being in place, before others being done, and that causes lots of challenges around pollution, around use of resources and the effectiveness of those resources.

(NGI NGO consultant, Uganda, 18 October 2018)

This rests upon the essence of formal planning which is about attempting to shape city-region futures guided by long-term visions based on often unrealistic scenarios and ambitions. Formal planning leaves very little space for informality. For South Africa, 'national building regulations and standards are just there for formal structures and comply with health and safety and structural

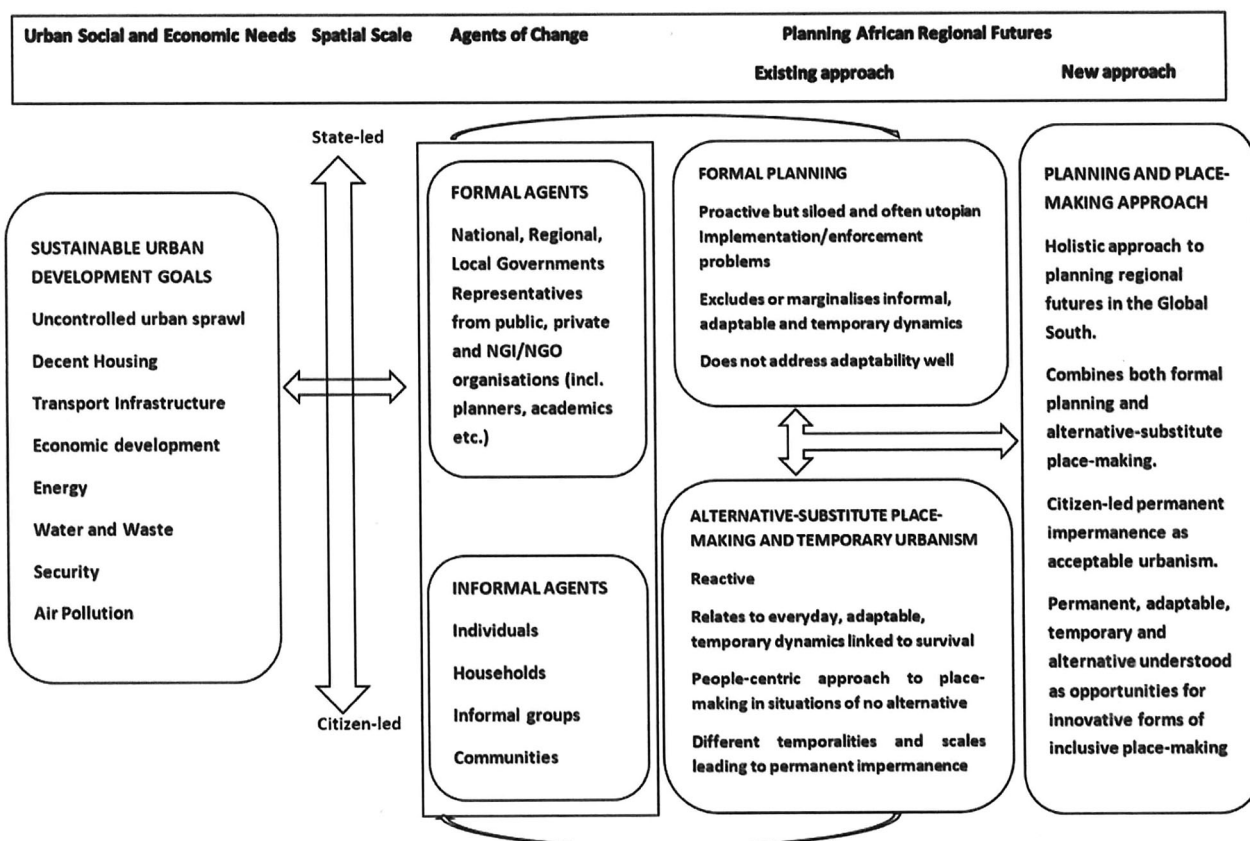


Figure 1. Planning and place-making approach (PPA).

requirements and nothing else. You know, it doesn't recognise informality, and sees informality as a contravention of the law' (planner, South Africa, 8 February 2018).

This is the case for East African cities. Plagued by land tenure, housing upgrading and infrastructure deficiencies (UN-Habitat, 2006), Kampala city's increasing informal activities have been described as a new 'normality' (Richmond, Myers, & Namuli, 2018, p. 3); in the present PPA this is characterized as a new form of permanent impermanence, in other words, a more, adaptable, dynamic and temporary place-making process. Permanent impermanence reflects different types of temporary urbanisms in such contexts from the transitory features based on social resilience to the impermanence of temporary structures. In the Buru Buru estate, Nairobi, Kenya, building regulations conflicted with residents' needs resulting in a call to rewrite the regulations (Rukwaro, 2009) recognizing this settlement as a form of permanent impermanence. This highlights the requirement to combine planning approaches with an appreciation of the role of informal processes including adaptability in formal planning processes and regulations. This includes formally allowing unplanned and uncertainty in urban-making processes and accepting the informal as a core, though mutable component of policy and place-making strategies.

The informal and unplanned nature of cities is complex as it includes access to housing and basic networks with limited adaptability but also wider societal issues including everyday coping tactics that shape communities' survival

(Odendaal, 2012; Watson, 2009). Planning in such contexts too often fails to develop a systematic approach given the difficulties faced by planners combined with capacity problems and perceptions that such forms of place-making are not acceptable forms of urbanism. Amongst other factors, those difficulties arise from the dynamic nature of informal activities (Harrison, Todes, & Watson, 2007; Watson, 2009). 'Do-it-yourself' practices grounded in survival mechanisms are common including access to water and electricity. The Hope for Communities aerial water project in Kibera, Kenya, one of largest informal settlements in the world, is an excellent example of an alternative solution to water provision. This highlights the role of adaptable, temporary processes of 'alternative-substitute place-making' through which individuals, households and collectives engage with place-based transformation.

Alternative-substitute place-making

Such forms of alternative-substitute place-making constitute a form of permanent impermanence characterized as an individual and collective shadow state mechanism emphasizing citizen practices as forms of planning. Alternative-substitute place-making attempts to develop local and immediate solutions to the distractions of the challenges of everyday living. These include shelter and temporary 'investments' in local infrastructures (e.g., transport, roofs) or services (e.g., water). The raw reality of survival involves an accumulation of discrete and mundane

initiatives undertaken by individuals and households as relatively micro-scale attempts to enhance the quality of everyday living. Alternative-substitute place-making is a local process, but the accumulation of many local and often relatively minor informal interventions has the potential to transform city living. It is the accumulation of these initiatives and survival mechanisms that plays an important role in transforming cities impacting on more formal approaches to city-region planning. Alternative-substitute place-making is a substitute for what is not yet provided by the state and by planning processes; it is 'alternative' as it represents a people-centric approach to place-making, but in situations in which there is no alternative. This includes two contrasting dynamics: regulatory and foresight dynamics, on the one hand, and the everyday, adaptable and informal, on the other. One of the interviewees emphasized that:

In Kenya, what we've been experiencing... urban planning infrastructure or service delivery issues... has led to a mushrooming in forms of settlement and slums leading to inadequate and unaffordable housing amongst urban residents and poor solid waste management.

(government representative, Kenya, 29 August 2018)

Alternative-substitute place-making is a partial substitute for planning. The outcome is a diversity of different types of alternative-substitute place-making reflecting different needs, temporalities and scales towards which planning professionals in the field struggle to understand and to manage. This creates paradoxes and tensions regarding how to include, account for and deal with contrasting realities. Thus:

We did an interesting study in Marikana. Residents made their own water channels and water systems because of the failure of authorities to provide for their needs. It's an informal settlement that is very much formalised, but they can't be formalised because of policy restrictions. So, yes, these people are located there and they are living there and they've got basically all the services that they need, but it's still informal. ... In practice it's real and it's happening, but in policies it's not allowed.

(planning academic, South Africa, 6 April 2018)

Some forms of alternative-substitute place-making may be ignored initially and eventually removed, but some elements of this place-making should be conceptualized as a form of permanent impermanence in which the application of planning processes will enhance this form of place-making rather than remove it. Absorbing this form of temporary urbanism into the planning process raises new challenges of how to decide which forms are acceptable for adaptation and which or not.

Understanding the ongoing evolution of African cities is a process based on understanding alternative-substitute place-makings' contribution to formal planning. This is to highlight the multisided nature of place-making that blends alternative-substitute place-making processes with

formal planning. These two approaches have different geographies and temporalities. On the one hand, the alternatives may be the dominant form of place-making in an area, and a resistance 'to Western models of planning and urban development' (Mirafat, 2009, p. 45). On the other, alternatives may develop in 'planned' parts of a city addressing individual and community needs. Upgrading alternative-substitute place-making has too often led to demolition under a credo of creating better living conditions (8 February 2018, planner, South Africa).

Alternative-substitute place-making – combined with planned interventions – will continue to alter places, including investments in infrastructure. These should be 'investments' in places that are incorporated into the city rather than ignored or removed. The accumulation of many alternative-substitute place-making activities contributes to transforming a city-region. Flexible and adaptable approaches, combining planning with place-making, enable cities to respond to contrasting dynamics and temporalities by drawing on expert and lay planning interventions. This highlights the importance of planning cities based on combinational knowledge with professional planners working alongside residents.

Citizens as end-user innovators in alternative-substitute place-making

Alternative-substitute place-making, as insurgent planning, places individuals as key change agents as an everyday coping and survival strategy. The recognition of this role, and support mechanisms, requires a shift in how these individuals are recognized as participating in place-making processes. Urban residents should no longer be conceptualized as passive receivers of services planned and provided by government, but as possible end-user innovators. Innovation used to be conceptualized as an activity undertaken by the private and public sector rather than by citizens. Von Hippel (2005) challenged this account of innovation by revealing that innovation was also undertaken by individuals motivated by personal needs or frustrations with existing products or services (Nielsen, Reisch, & Thøgersen, 2014). The end-user innovation literature has not yet been applied to public services or to place-making. Conceptualizing citizens as end-user innovators, directly and indirectly involved in alternative-substitute place-making, alters the ways in which the relationship between planning, communities and individuals is conceptualized. This is to shift the focus away from citizen consultation processes to include citizens as place-shapers, place-makers and place-innovators.

This type of end-user place-making is important as new solutions can be developed to everyday challenges and, in some cases, these solutions can be scaled-up. One challenge facing planners is:

Not providing what communities want or not understanding what different communities require for their well-being. I think a lot of our Town Planners are situated in offices, come from a wealthy background and we don't really understand what the lower income communities need. And I think

that's the difficulty that we face is to plan for them and to understand what they would need and to keep them happy.
(planner, South Africa, 23 March 2018)

This is a knowledge asymmetry problem; planners may not fully appreciate the place-making needs of residents and residents fail to understand planning processes. Incorporating alternative-substitute place-making into planning processes comes with a communications challenge in that 'most of these documents are prepared by experts and not for lay people, who are not conversant with policy requirements' (government representative, Kenya, 29 August 2018). One resident noted:

That is why it is important that once the government puts a policy in place, they should go a step further to provide a simplified version of that policy for the purpose of educating the populace ... in a language understood by people.
(residents' representative, Kenya, 22 February 2018)

Alternative-substitute place-making rests on the ability and capacity of individuals to organize, develop and create services to address everyday needs. This is an autonomous co-creation process where individuals become end-user innovators (von Hippel, 2005). There are many types of transformation across Africa. For example:

[An informal settlement from Mitchell's plan] was formalized. it was an informal settlement and then they organised and eventually it was formalised. ... The community was very mobilized, very organized, very orderly with its own street committee's and hierarchies around control in informal settlements. When it was formalized, they lost that, and it was each to their own.

(planner, South Africa, 8 February 2018)

Recognizing alternative-substitute place-making requires alterations in planning legislation, planning credos and training. If combined with formal planning, it would enable the development of more immediate local solutions while formally, and legally, empowering residents to engage in such activities. This should only occur with guidelines ensuring that citizen solutions are eventually incorporated into integrated solutions. This is about accepting non-permanence and hence adaptability as a feature of both planning and place-making responding to the challenge that 'planners don't know how to plan with more flexible standards' (planner, South Africa, 16 March 2018). It is not just about developing visions and strategies but about letting creative ideas emerge. Part of this includes 'asking communities to be organized, getting communities to come to us with a proposal and how we can help them?' (planner, South Africa, 8 February 2018). In addition, it addresses responsibilities and mandates regarding 'who is supposed to do what and where is the money coming from, arguments about if the people in the informal settlements need these services, are they actually paying for them, are they willing to pay for them' (NGI, NGO consultant, Kenya, 26 October 2018).

Advocating for change is part of the essence of planning. This means acknowledging the complexity of the urban system including alternatives and informal structures and networks. This includes appreciating the importance of alternative-substitute place-making and temporary urbanism in reading and understanding African cities. This form of place-making rests upon a more holistic understanding of the valorization of space. 'Value' should not be solely equated with price or monetarization; 'value' is not just an economic concept but is a social and cultural construct (Tonkiss, 2013). To Slater and Tonkiss (2001, p. 49), economics has much to say about price but nothing to say about value. This is unfortunate; value involves trust, sharing, community and is performative, disparate and conflictual (Boltanski & Esquerre, 2015; Mazzucato, 2018). Place-making individuals and collectives can substitute non-monetized inputs for the absence of investment in local infrastructure. Such interventions are about survival and a process of place-based embeddedness rather than financial investments. Thus:

I think for any planning to make sense, it has to take into consideration the reality that is existing and, in our case, we have people who will always be only able to afford housing in informal areas. So, when we are talking about planning and doing plans for our city we cannot do that without taking into consideration that there will be people who can only live in those kinds of area. So they have to be part of the planning and you must be able to ensure that we put in place mechanisms to make sure that much as it is informal people are still able to live with dignity.

(residents' representative, Kenya, 22 February 2019)

Such place-making processes reflect a place-based accumulation of different forms of investments including planning and finance provided by the state combined with the layering onto a place of many different individual and collective alternative-substitute initiatives. Value will differ between individuals depending on their perceptions and use of space potentially leading to tensions between formal and alternative-substitute place-making processes.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper explores new approaches to planning regional futures focusing on East and South Africa, but with wider implications for reading and understanding African and Global South cities characterized by complex dynamics between formal and informal processes, both inclusionary and exclusionary. This fits with the call for reassessing planning regional futures. Planning needs to be embedded within a more complex and systemic framework of regional understanding of city-region functions and transformations, at both local and regional levels, whilst also advocating for and incorporating informal and temporary dynamics, here insisting on the importance of adaptability as a central pillar of all planning processes. This methodological and conceptual shift acknowledges that planning often remains an under-resourced activity

despite playing an important role in determining urban and regional futures. This explains the importance of developing new ways of thinking to tackle local, regional and national challenges enhancing sustainable local development.

The starting point for this analysis is an appreciation that cities are complex system of systems underpinning social, economic and environmental well-being. It is important to distinguish between planning as a formal process, which tends to ignore and reject informality, and the more informal processes of alternative-substitute place-making, which enable individuals and communities to shape their living environment. African cities are the outcome of a complex interplay between different layers of planned and alternative-substitute place-making. Alternative-substitute place-making emerged out of our review of the ongoing debate on the shadow state, but the present analysis extends this theory by engaging with the literature on temporary urbanism. The emergence of a shadow state is part of a neo-liberalism agenda that does not apply to many cities of the Global South. Cities of the Global South instead are places and spaces of citizen-led micro-scale alternative-substitute place-making processes. For many urban residents in African cities there is no alternative to alternative-substitute place-making.

Under-resourced cities have left people and places on the margins. These marginalized people and places, within and on the edge of cities, experience different forms of public and private sector failure including planning and the provision of infrastructure-enabled services. An accumulation of incremental individual/household and collective activities in these places on the margins results in ongoing processes of place-making. This type of alternative-substitute place-making is also found in more planned parts of the city. There is an issue of scale here. The key driver behind alternative actions is necessity and the distraction of the immediate needs to survive through place-based localized initiatives. Cities of the Global South need to be conceptualized as a mosaic of different types of formal, informal, individual/household and highly localized collective place-making. There is a danger that the diversity of alternative-substitute place-making approaches are ignored by retaining a very traditional approach to planning, governance and power dynamics. The greater danger is to ignore the role and the voice local citizens have in shaping everyday living producing better outcomes for people.

The development of a more holistic approach to planning regional futures requires new approaches to planning recognizing the contribution made by alternative-substitute place-making. This PPA has important implications for the training and positionality of planners and for the relationships between formal planning processes and alternative-substitute place-making in current and future policy. Planning training practices, strategies and policy must include an appreciation of alternative-substitute place-making's contribution to urban transformation and approaches to management and

adaptation strategies. Citizen-led place-making should not be marginalized but be facilitated by formal planning processes. The outcome of the accumulation of many processes of citizen-led alternative-substitute place-making is too often considered as an unacceptable form of urbanism. Our argument is that this type of place-making should be considered as a form of permanent impermanence. This is to argue that cities evolve and that alternative interventions should be incorporated into a city through processes of inclusion, enhancing connectivity, service provision and structures. The impermanent, adaptable, temporary and the alternative then become opportunities for innovative novel forms of inclusive place-making.

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