

The background is a yellow architectural drawing of a city grid. A prominent red horizontal bar is positioned behind the text. The drawing shows various building footprints and street layouts, with some areas shaded in light grey.

CCI

SUMMER

FELLOWSHIP

Projects Brief



Empowering new cities with better governance to lift tens of millions of people out of poverty.

The Charter Cities Institute is a non-profit organization dedicated to building the ecosystem for charter cities by:

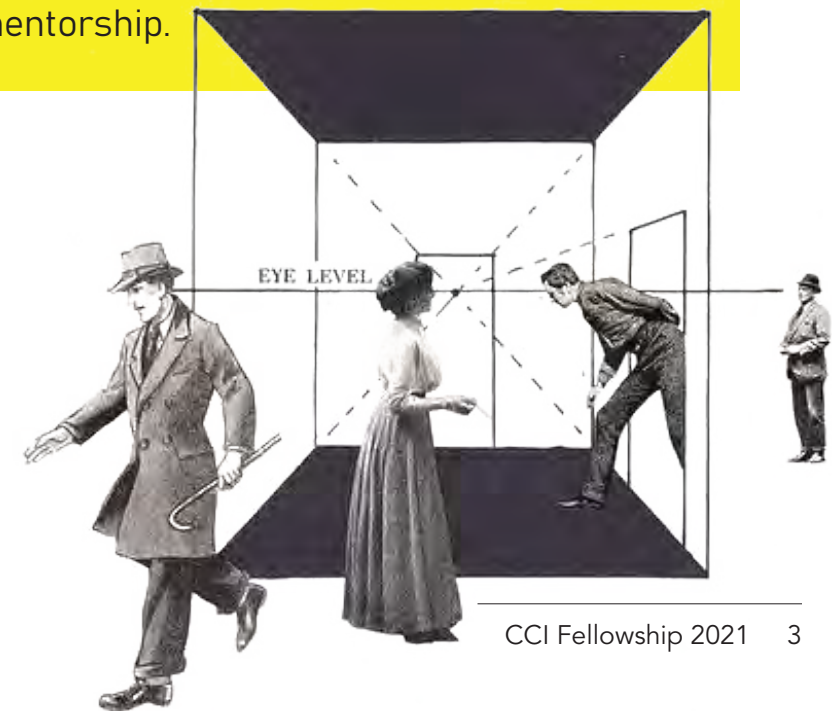
- Creating legal, regulatory, and planning frameworks;
- Advising and convening key stakeholders including governments, new city developers, and multilateral institutions;
- Influencing the global agenda through research, engagement, and partnerships.

The Fellowship

CCI Summer Fellowship is open to graduate students and young professionals from the Global South with expertise in urban development. The fellowship is a ten day program with the first three days dedicated to learning about charter cities, and the next seven days dedicated to self-directed projects with mentorship from CCI staff. Particularly impressive Fellows may have their project ideas selected to be further developed, funded, and published by CCI.

The Fellowship exposes participants to academic and real-life urban discourse. Fellows are connected with top leaders in the field and with several of CCI's partner organizations, from mainstream academic scholars, to tech startups, to international development specialists.

This document, through several Project Briefs, overviews the proposed projects of all CCI Fellows. The projects are a work in progress. Both "Spatial Manifestation of Self-Governance Groups" and "An Introductory Guide to Aspects of Charter City Financing in the Global South" will be sponsored by CCI for longer term mentorship.



Fellowship Structure



1 Onboarding Phase (Snapshot)

Learning about:
Charter Cities
New Cities projects & Research

2

Development & Mentorship Phase (Kickstart)

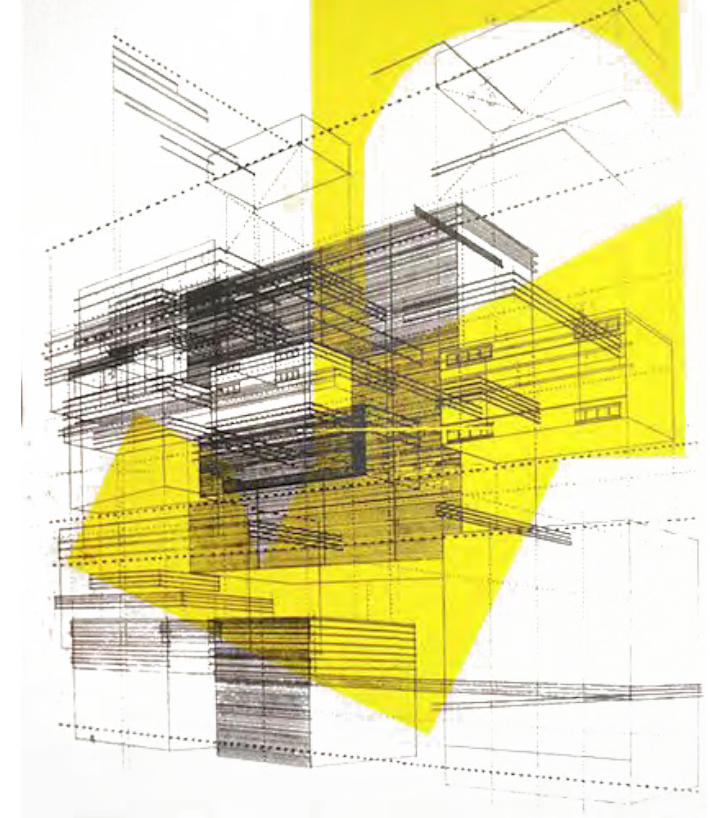
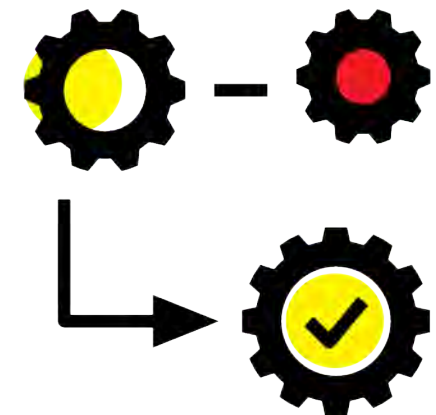
Developing:
Project Briefs



3

Execution Phase (Actualization)

Finalizing:
Final Projects
Full CCI sponsorship



The Fellows

Becarios
शोध छात्रों
زملاء



Ali Khan
London, England



Nadia Francisco
Barcelona, Spain



Rati Choudhari
Bangalore, India



Sara Alhassan
Khartoum, Sudan



Yasmin Bushra
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



Project Brief One

Community Land Trusts as a Vehicle for Economic Growth and Affordable Housing

Nadia Francisco

Mentor: **Carl Peterson**



'To seek 'causes' of poverty in this way is to enter an intellectual dead end, because poverty has no causes. Only prosperity has causes... the great cold of poverty and economic stagnation is merely the absence of economic development.'

- Jane Jacobs, The Economy of Cities

In the world of state-owned land that we live in today, market fluctuations caused by the real estate industry and rising land prices have a solid grip on housing prices¹. This has constantly led to a housing demand-supply gap; and in some cases housing is left unoccupied while informal settlements abound due to unaffordability of the formal housing sector. Efforts to aid informal settlement improvement and highly dense neighborhoods have resulted in unexpected outcomes: loss of community, abandonment of government provided housing due to not wanting to pay rent, and the creation of another informal settlement elsewhere. Another issue also hinders efforts: land security. The fear of eviction restricts occupants from making significant improvement to their home and surroundings.² A positive constant helping residents tackle such fears comes in the form of their community. Having faced similar hardships and lived together for many years, some born into the same geographical and economic area as a consequence of the "poverty trap,"³ communities strengthen.

As rapid urbanization, combined with climate change makes us realize how limited our resources are, the need to address housing, land, and unemployment issues has come to the forefront of policy debates.

The Community Land Trust (CLT) is a model that aims to address these issues. Primarily gaining traction during the Civil Rights movement before spreading around the world, their key concept is to have land "owned for the common good" by taking it off the market, so that it resists market fluctuations and maintains affordability for both housing and other land-use activities.

¹ See <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/bd/markets/market-news/house-price-boom-in-nairobi-slows-down-in-pandemic-hit-market-3278346> for example.

² Also seen in Robert Swann (1973); Land Trusts as part of a threefold economic strategy for regional Integration; Essays, International Independence Institute

³ World Bank (2006); World Development Report: Equity and Development, In World Development Report

The Community Land Trust is a legal entity, a quasi-public body, chartered to hold land in stewardship for all mankind present and future while protecting the legitimate use-rights of its residents⁴.

However, the following questions arise:

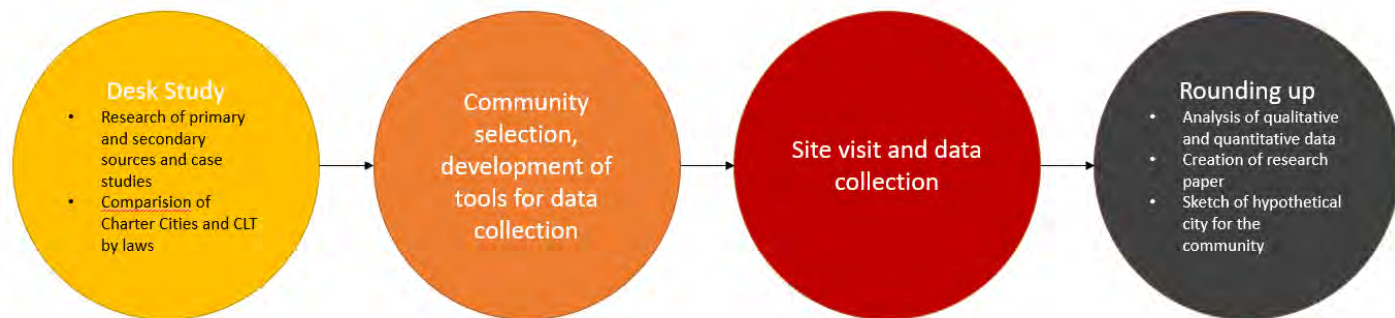
1. How viable are CLTs as vehicles for economic growth and affordable housing for select communities today?
2. What can we learn from successes and failures of previous CLTs?
3. And additionally, how can CLT models benefit or not benefit new cities?

Methodology

To answer the above questions, the first stage is to do a desk study of existing resources and documentation of Community Land Trusts, following the history and development of various institutions that promoted CLTs. Academic papers and case studies of prominent CLT projects will also be reviewed.

To answer the third question, Charter Cities Institute has created model legal documents including a model charter and other resources for the creation of new cities, featuring the best practices worldwide. Using these resources and resources from Community Land Trust model charters, a comparison between the two will be done to see how similar or different Community Land Trust models are and how differing by-laws could or could not benefit new cities.

The second stage is to identify certain communities which have potential to become a Community Land Trust, to research on each and using initial learnings, create a list of defining parameters to choose one community to focus and develop a theoretical Community Land Trust model on. A toolkit will then be created to understand if such a model could be implemented in this community, either for economic growth, for affordable housing, or for both. The toolkit would ideally comprise of a list of NGOs, governing bodies and communities living in the defined area, questionnaires to be targeted for qualitative and quantitative data collection, and a list of other media that can be used to obtain community and context-based information as thoroughly as possible (for example, photographs, videos and sketches).



⁴ Robert Swann, Shimon Gottschalk, Erick Hansch, Edward Webster (1972); The Community Land Trust, A Guide to a new model for Land Tenure in America; International Independence Institute

Preliminary findings: Brief outline and development of Community Land Trusts⁵:

THE LOWDOWN OF THE JOURNEY OF COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS

CLTs come in different forms and names: Ejido (Mexico), Gramdan (India) and Moshav (Israel). This timeline covers events in the USA:

1850
HENRY GEORGES
PROGRESS AND POVERTY.
Spoke of using unearned increment of rising land value for the development of the community and gave birth to Single Tax Colonies

1929
THE UGLY CIVILISATION
RALPH BORSODI
Said that Land should be held in trust and not placed in the speculative market; land as a common good

1940s
ROBERT SWANN
Swann, together with CB King and Slater King, put the community in CLTs by adding an open membership in the bylaws of the CLTs to all people living in the region

1972
THE INSTITUTE OF COMMUNITY ECONOMICS (ICE) created to provide training and published
THE COMMUNITY LAND TRUST GUIDE IN
Focused on development of social institutes & relationship with land

IT ALL LIES IN OWNERSHIP
'All things done with or on the land should be owned by the individuals creating them, but the land itself—a limited community resource—should be owned by the community as a whole.' — Swann

1982 THE COMMUNITY LAND TRUST HANDBOOK
Focused on affordability and balance between public and private interests

GROWTH FOR ECONOMIES
• Land use planning as a way of providing employment opportunities, especially for farmers
• Community Development Co-operations as a partner for handling small businesses, developing businesses and to handle recreation, health and schools too for example

AFFORDABLE HOUSING
• Land price excluded in house price thus housing prices can be lower
• Stewardship for first time homeowners
• As land is leased, small tax paid but this goes into community area development

TODAY...
UK + Europe: 168 + 29
Canada: 24
USA: 291
South America: 2
Australia: 2
Kenya: 1
Number of CLTs worldwide are growing

Notable CLTs in time:

1933 Norris, Tennessee: Planned community for the workers of the Norris Dam. Land was owned by the Tennessee Valley Authority and leased for commercial housing. However, once the work on the dam was done, it was later sold to private investors. Thus CLTs for communities based on short term was not advised.

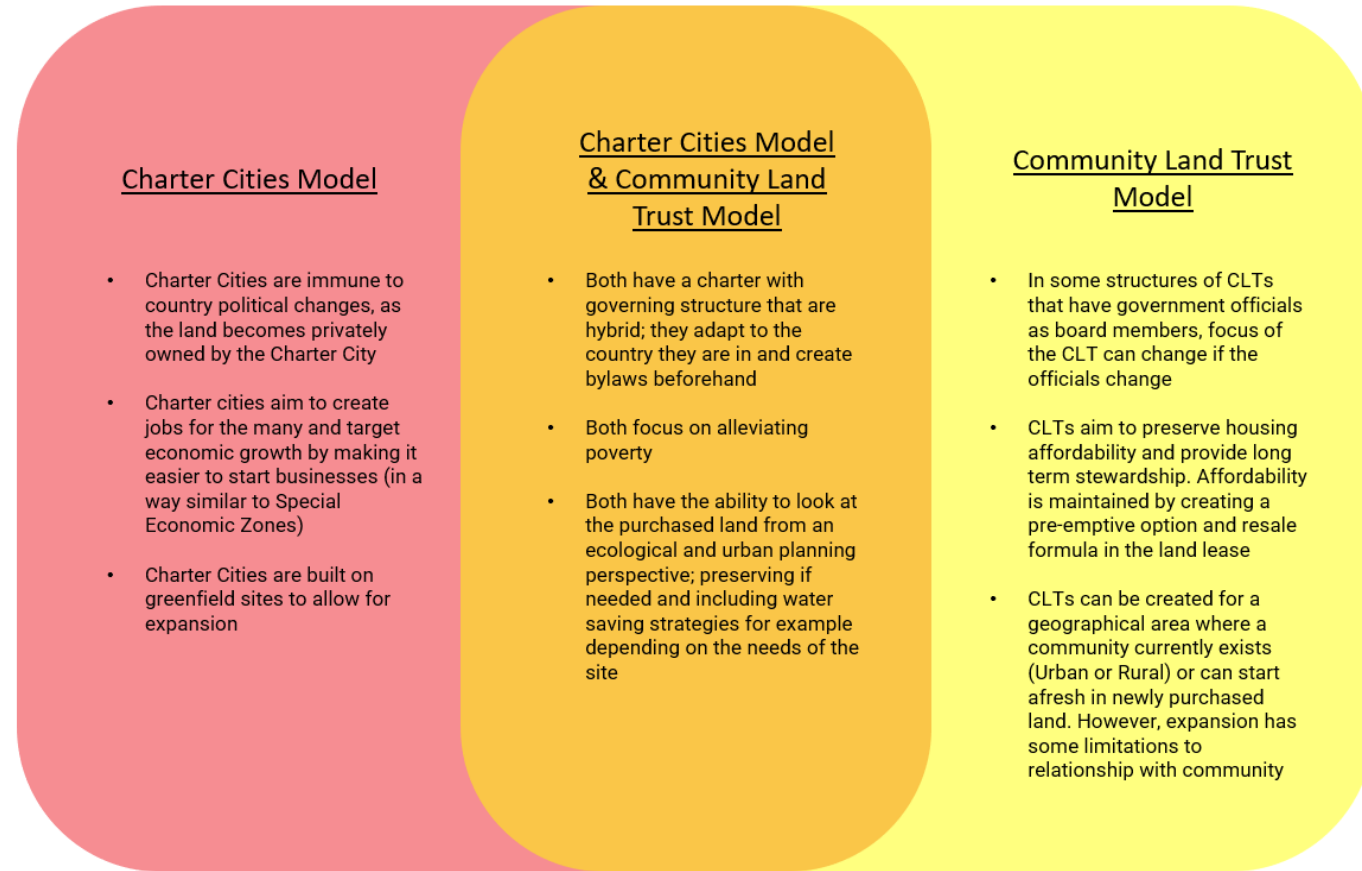
1964-1985 New Communities Inc: The first of ICE's CLT, created by modeling charter documents of the Jewish National Fund. Land was bought under debt for African American farmers in Albany, Georgia, but however, as production of the land was less, the debt could not be paid back. Hence buying land under large debt was approached less.

1980 Community Land Cooperative of Cincinnati: First Urban CLT, created to prevent displacement of low-income African American residents. Secured affordable housing and maintained control of prices. did not accept government funding but rather started through CLT network and religious leaders.

1992 Olkhon Raion Community Land Trust: aimed to preserve land for the Buryats in Siberia, who worked the land while preserving the watershed of the Baikal Lake. Included small businesses such as production of traditional medicines and targeted land preservation and community empowerment.

⁵ Sources include: John Emmeus Davis (2014); Origins and Evolution of the Community Land Trust in the United States; Roots and Shoots, David Harper (2007); Saving the Land to which we belong; Land Trust Alliance, Robert Swann (1972); Land, Land Trusts and Employment, and Susan Witt (1985); Regional Responsibility for Farmland; Schumacher Centre for New Economics

Preliminary findings: Sneak preview of similarities and differences between CLTs and Charter Cities⁶:



Preliminary conclusions/ further questions arising:

- Community Land Trusts have the possibility of being applied to different types of communities, and are thus beneficial. This is especially true for farming communities that need aid in economic development, as CLTs primarily concern land and activities that occur on that land⁷. Though an old model, models for farmland can be examined as a way of creating cities for farmers in cases where farming activities are declining and need aid.
- CLTs differ from Charter Cities in that they preserve housing affordability for future generations within the defined geographical area. This gives rise to the question: how can Charter Cities include measures for affordable housing?

⁶ Sources include: John Emmeus Davis (2007); Starting a Community Land Trust: Organizational and Operational Choices; Burlington, VT: Burlington Associates in Community Development, Kirby White (2011); The Community Land Trust Technical Manual; National Community Land Trust Network, Charter Cities Institute Reference Guide: Model Charter and Jeffrey Mason and Mark Lutter (2020); Introduction to Charter Cities; Charter Cities Institute

⁷ CLTs can work in partnership with other entities whose purpose relates to land issues. An example is Land Conservation Trusts who focus on preservation of ecologically rich land (See Susan Witt (1985); Regional responsibility for Farmland; Schumacher Centre for New Economics)



With the previous conclusions in mind, the next step of the research would be to identify possible communities that can be explored to analyze if a Community Land Trust model would seem a viable solution for them. A few preliminary communities were selected and are highlighted below:

- 1. Kibera, Nairobi, Kenya:**
Kenya is a country that is not new to the Community Land Trust model; the Tanzania- Bondeni community land trust⁸ is an example. Another organization that is gaining recognition is the Akiba Mashinani Trust⁹. However, with a growing number of grassroots organizations and many small communities living in Kibera, combined with a complexity of issue to be solved, the project study will take much longer and a CLT may need a larger organizing structure to meet all the needs.
- 2. Phillipi horticulture society, Cape Town, South Africa:**
Following the day zero drought crisis and the need to look for alternative water sources, Philipi Horticultural Society is placed directly over an aquifer zone; giving it a rich area for farming. However, the need to create social housing as well as ground water extraction schemes has led to some developers wanting to buy this land. The society would like to preserve its water table, farmland and the community itself, and has been fighting for this. Being small scale and with a target for ecological preservation, this would seem a feasible place to study. However, the land is subject to some political conflict and some farmers have opposing viewpoints.
- 3. Communities near Nkwashi, Lusaka, Zambia:**
Nkwashi is a new, master planned city currently in construction¹⁰. As it is located in the outskirts of the city of Lusaka, there is a possibility communities exist nearby and that communities within Lusaka too may be looking for a shift in geographical location. Looking into such communities would give important insight to the co-existence of communities within Charter Cities. However, such communities might not be open to involvement from outsiders.

The outcomes of the project would be a research paper (5000 words or less) outlining the complete preliminary findings along with key case studies and the comparison document, methodology and final findings, with a view to answer the above questions.

Final outcome would include sketches and photographs of the current community neighborhood and sketches of an envisioned community neighborhood/city that would surface upon speaking to the residents.

⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZhEZCyI10>

⁹ <https://www.citiesalliance.org/newsroom/news/cities-alliance-news/slum-upgrading-kenya-what-are-conditions-success>

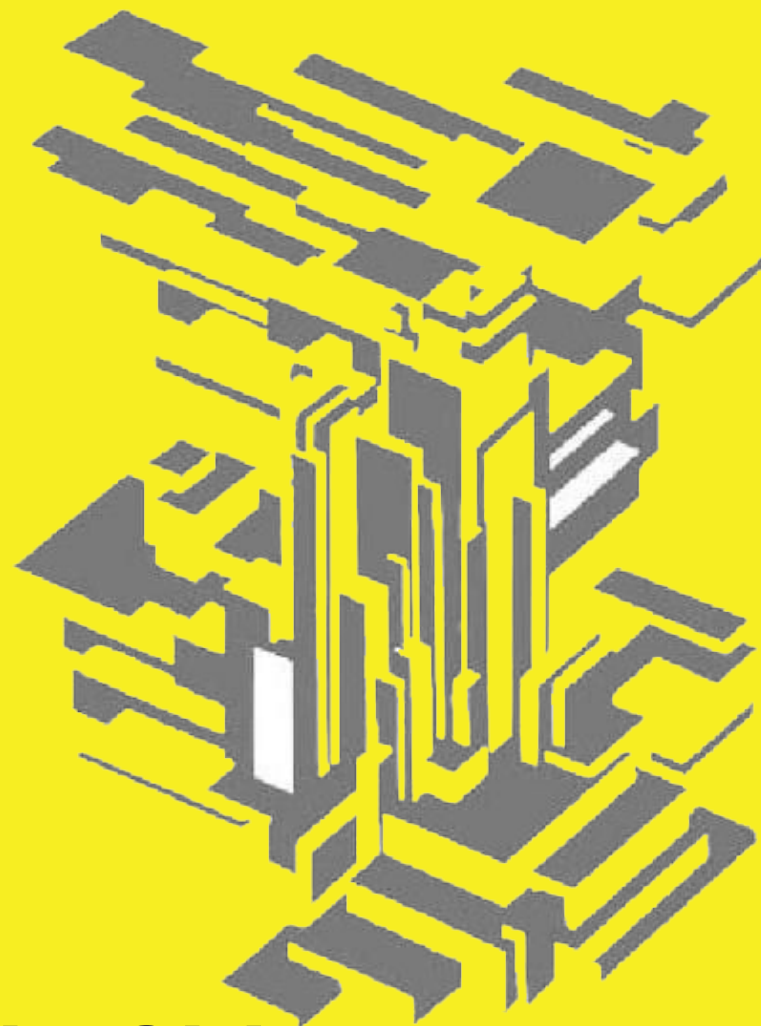
¹⁰ <https://www.chartercitiesinstitute.org/nkwashi>

Project Brief Two

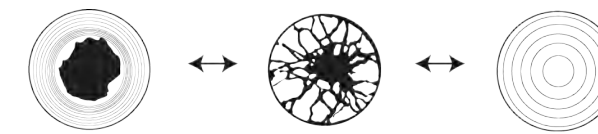
Reconfigurable Cities: A Modular Approach to City Planning

Rati Choudhari

Mentor: **Jeff Mason**



“Man is beginning to understand that he is confused about life in his cities and worried about the path he is following into an unknown future.” (Doxiadis, 1968, p.1) For decades, the world’s urban environments have struggled to adapt to changes in technology, socioeconomic structures, and environmental factors. Advances in technology and health have driven demographic change, leaving cities larger and older than in previous centuries (Fishman, 2016). As the world simultaneously experiences declining mortality and birth rates, the demographic transition underway will accelerate. The end of the 21st century will see a much older global population (Simpson, 2015).



Pattern In Which 20th Century New Towns Were Expected to Develop

Source : (Blowers, Hamnett and Sarre, 2014)



Pattern In Which 20th Century New Towns Actually Developed

Source : (Blowers, Hamnett and Sarre, 2014)

For cities to effectively respond to demographic change and other parameters affecting urban growth, these parameters must be treated as dynamic, rather than static, conditions. In response to the complexities of 20th century urbanisation, urbanists of the time developed revolutionary new approaches to organizing cities (Fishman, 2016). Today, we can observe the implementation of these revolutionary solutions to urban challenges of the past in new towns all over the world. Upon examination, however, we can see clearly that these new towns have failed to produce their intended outcomes of creating liveable communities or keep pace with the rapidly changing world of the 21st century.

Since 1947, India has been developing new towns developed new towns based on modernist approach like Ebenezer Howard’s “garden cities” and Le Corbusier’s “radiant city”, promising to create utopian solutions that would reflect freedom and break from the horrible past of colonial rule (Chandigarh Administration, n.d.). Located away from the megacities and intended to serve as industrial centres, these news towns failed to adapt to India’s growing population and their needs. Today, these towns are perceived as dull, and unexciting places where few wish to settle permanently (Sivaramakrishnan, 1977).

The rigidly planned residential zones in Rourkela New Town, established in 1954 as a major steel industrial centre, were located far from centres of employment and drove uncontrollable urban sprawl as there was little flexibility to expand residential units (RourkelaCity, n.d.). Despite the residential offerings of this new town, unplanned settlements emerged much closer to the industry the town was built to support in the first place (Sivaramakrishnan, 1977). Chandigarh New Town, modelled in Le Corbusier’s famous style of self-sufficient residential towers rigidly interspersed in designated sectors separating uses, was planned for a population of 500,000. The failure of this urban design model left the city totally unable to adapt to the needs of the 1.1 million residents that now call the city home (India Census, 2021), resulting in urban sprawl and informal settlements (Chandigarh Administration, n.d.).

The problems seen in India’s new towns is not just a function of 20th century planning approaches, but also the way the factors governing urban development have been treated. Doxiadis (1968, p. 2) argues that cities take a century or more to realize significant changes in the urban fabric. But recent cities have shown that rapid urbanization and technological advancement is driving changes in urban life and urban spatial allocation in a shockingly shorter span of time. Population growth, demographic structures, socio-economic conditions, technological advancements, environmental conditions, and social wellbeing all govern the growth of cities. These factors have been considered static elements in the past, resulting in the formation of rigid urban

structures that are difficult to change. These parameters are highly dynamic and bearing this in mind when planning timeless cities is paramount (Doxiadis, 1968).

Urban dynamism is not unique to developing nations like India but can also be seen in more developed cities. Le Corbusier's design of Grand Paris, which ignored the 'time' dimension of planning entirely, treated the estimated population of 2 million like the maximum extent the city could grow (Doxiadis, 1968). 11 million people reside in Paris today, a clear signal that cities grow organically and will not simply cease growing at an arbitrary limit (World Population Review, 2021). When considering the future, cities need to be planned for adaptability.

This paper discusses the principal problems with current planning practices and strategies, where, even after noticing the apparent failures of the so-called ideal cities like Chandigarh, India; New Songdo, South Korea; Cyberjaya, Malaysia; Milton Keynes, UK; and others., far too many contemporary new towns are making the same mistakes. New cities continue to follow outdated modernist principles advocating strict zoning patterns, horizontal planning, zero-flexibility, prioritising technology over people, and preferencing specific social groups. This research aims to start a dialogue within the urbanist community about how a stronger understanding of the various urban parameters, their interrelationships, and their dynamic effects over time necessitate a new approach to new city building. By including specific community groups in the design process and by applying modular design strategies, planners and city developers can create a stronger, more flexible urban fabric that avoids the challenges of top-down driven and highly capital-intensive interventions in the future.

Types of Urban Parameters and their Inter-Relationships

The complexity of contemporary urbanisation is strongly characterised by certain dynamic parameters that rapidly change over time and outpace urban development. Therefore, understanding the dynamics of these parameters, their relationship with each other, and how they affect a city's urban fabric is crucial. Christopher (2005, p. 10) argues that the methodology of forecasting can help designs maintain their 'adaptive flexibility' for a longer period, thus increasing the life of the city. If we understand the nature of change of urban parameters, then we can effectively forecast future rates of change and use this understanding to assess different possibilities that might occur in the future and respond with flexible solutions.

Demographics: Bhubaneswar's rigid neighbourhood planning on a gridiron pattern designed for a target population of 200,000 (Sivaramakrishnan, 1977, p. 42) led to catastrophic urban sprawl, in the form of slums, on the periphery of the grid when the population rose to 885,000 in a span of 50 years (Routray, Rath and Sahoo, 1996). The story nearly identical in Chandigarh or Rourkela, where inflexible population expectations resulted in significant growth outside of planning processes (Chandigarh Administration, n.d.; Sivaramakrishnan, 1977, p. 13-19). Urban sprawl is a global issue that has resulted from rigid horizontal planning of residential sectors which have effectively failed to accommodate rapidly increasing populations.

When talking about changing dynamics of population in cities, the possibility of population decrease is never considered. Due to lifestyle changes, better health care, and increasing cost of living, birth and mortality rates have begun to drop (Fishman, 2016). If this trend continues, the world may see a population decrease, with the elderly representing a growing share of the population, changing the entire demographic structure. This is already evident in the more developed countries today, while some of the developing nations like India have started showing signs of this trend, which could lead to natural decrease in population in urban areas (Fishman, 2016). Thus, discussions about the dynamics of demographic structure should not just include

population growth but should also be sensitive to the possibility of population decrease and changes in the age composition.

Social Structure: The quality of the urban fabric has immense power to determine the social characteristics of the city. Urban issues like social drift, crime, racism, inequality, etc., largely result from poor planning decisions and rigid planning. Tin Shui Wai (Hong Kong's 'City of Misery'), designed as a predominantly residential new town, does not provide enough local employment opportunities and forces thousands of residents to travel every day to adjoining built up areas of Hong Kong for work, deserting the town during the office hours. This in turn has resulted in increased crime, child and spouse abuse, and unemployment rates, all of which contribute to economic instability of the community. The adoption of strict zonal planning policies has made it difficult to incorporate commercial and office activities in these strict residential zones, which could otherwise generate employment while keeping the town lively. Instead, top-down, capital-intensive investments and services to transform this City of Misery into a liveable and secure environment will be necessary (Keaton, 2011, pp. 386-403). As seen in the case of Tin Shui Wai, when the urban structure is incapable of accommodating changing demographics, it cannot provide an inclusive and secure environment for all social groups, fails to generate employment, and gives rise to social issues making a community unliveable.

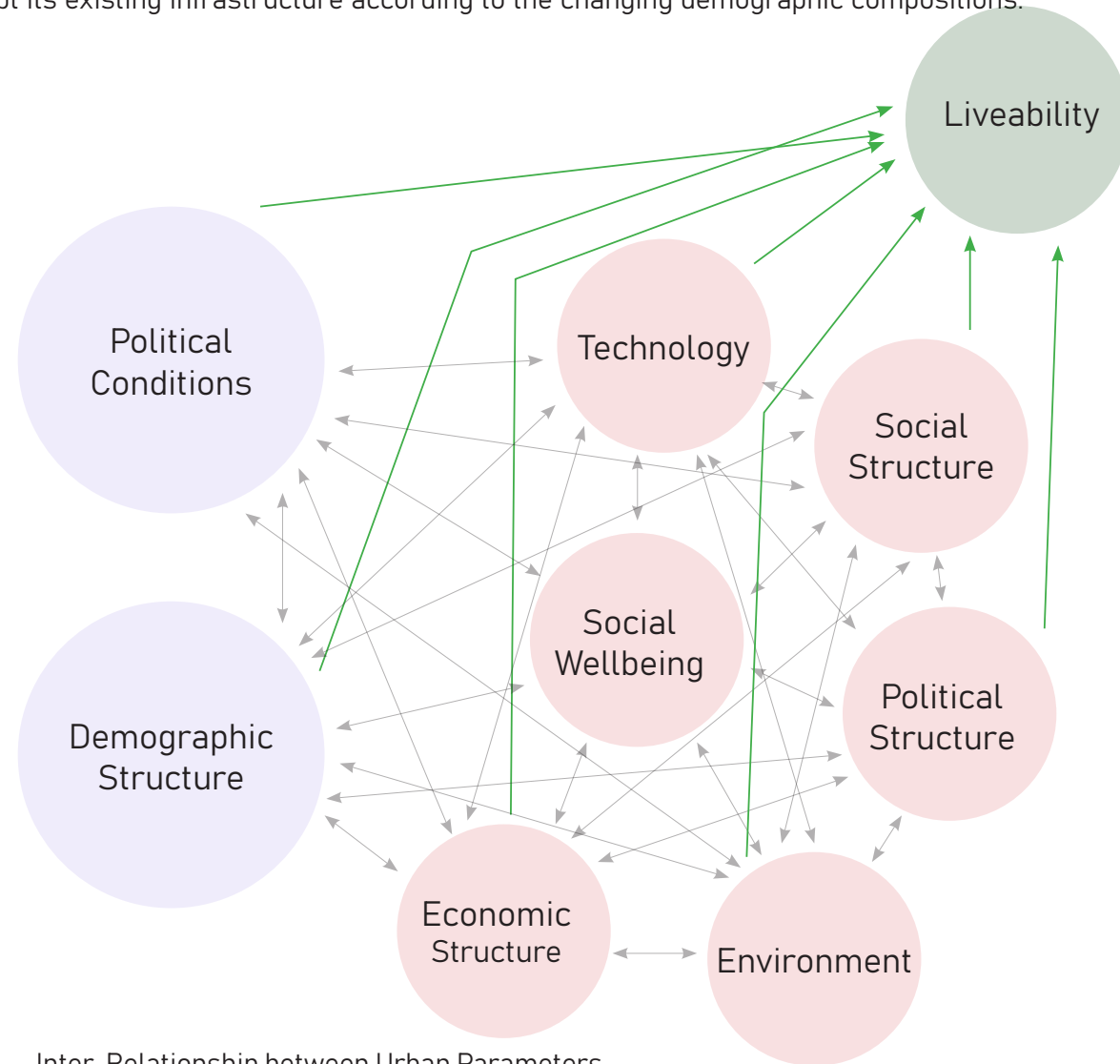
Technology: Marketed as the most liveable city, New Songdo, South Korea has not only created an ultra-efficient urban environment, bordering on the extreme, by putting technology at its very core that can record and track resident activities in the name of providing services, but has also made the town one of the most expensive cities to live in that is not accommodative of lower class residents (Keaton, 2011, pp. 307-331). In the United Kingdom, Milton Keynes', original grid framework that supported overlapping catchments and decentralisation of activity centres to create openness and choice, was completely altered to promote the use of technology, like cars. This turned the overlapping catchments into isolated, self-contained units. Replacing traffic lights with traffic circles and by forcing buses to reroute into the main grid to stop gave rise to a highly inefficient public transport system. With faster and efficient car transit and poor public transport infrastructure, 88% of Milton Keynes residents use cars as a primary mode of transport, making this English new town high unsustainable. Apart from the environmental considerations, the changes to the original grid in response to technological change, pushed local shops and services away from the main grid, limiting their visibility from the main roads and negatively impacting the local economy (Overtoom et al., 2017).

Economical: The new towns, including present day special economic zones (SEZs), were conceptualised to tackle the poverty and boost economic growth. However, rigid nature of these towns and the influence of technology have made many expensive places to live and enclaves for the wealthy. With a dramatic increase in the migrant population, Bhubaneswar was unable to provide basic infrastructure, services, amenities, or employment for all groups in local society. In response, lower income migrant groups forming slum communities, thus increasing the total area covered by slums from 26km² to 135 km² in a span of 50 years (Routray, Rath and Sahoo, 1996). Thus, instead of reducing poverty and slums, these towns have created further economic hardship.

Politics: A crippling economic crisis, political unrest, and violent street demonstrations in Cyberjaya, Malaysia scared off its international stakeholders, preventing the first conceptualised smart city from realising its vision of evolving into a high-tech hub. Instead, it was reduced to a city of 10,000 with a cluster of call centres and data processing firms (Keaton, 2011, pp. 332-349). Political conditions, along with efficient policy making,

plays an important role in the urban development and so does implementation of efficient policies. Singapore's retrofitting initiative to convert underutilised infrastructure into public housing compatible with the needs of the aging population was a result of efficient policies developed to promote economic diversity and its commitment to provide housing for all (Keaton, 2011, pp. 91-92).

All the parameters discussed above affect the liveability of a city. Population growth and demographic change outpaced the development of Bhubaneswar, resulting in an increased slum population and inadequate urban infrastructure. The strict zoning and segregation of living and working areas in Tin Shui Wai resulted in high unemployment, crime, and domestic abuse. Milton Keynes is a perfect example where prioritising technology has left unrepairable damage to the environment. The influence of technology over New Songdo has left its residents with little privacy. Political instability in Cyberjaya killed the city even before it ever came into a existence. At the same time, Singapore's efficient policies for public housing made it possible to adapt its existing infrastructure according to the changing demographic compositions.



Inter-Relationship between Urban Parameters

Defining Reconfigurable City

It is evident from the previous discussions that new towns around the world have not fulfilled their one and only primary purpose of catering to the needs and expectation of the growing population and their offspring. Be it Chandigarh or Bhubaneswar or Milton Keynes or New Songdo, the rigid planning and lack of flexibility which defines their urban fabric today, has failed to adapt over the decades, letting its people down and creating highly unsustainable and unliveable environments. While the paper has established in detail, the need to create future cities that are flexible, adaptable, and more sensitive to future needs, this section will define how such a fabric can be formed. Modularity simplistically can be defined as replication of scalable and modifiable basic units in various permutation and combinations to create 'n' number of possibilities.

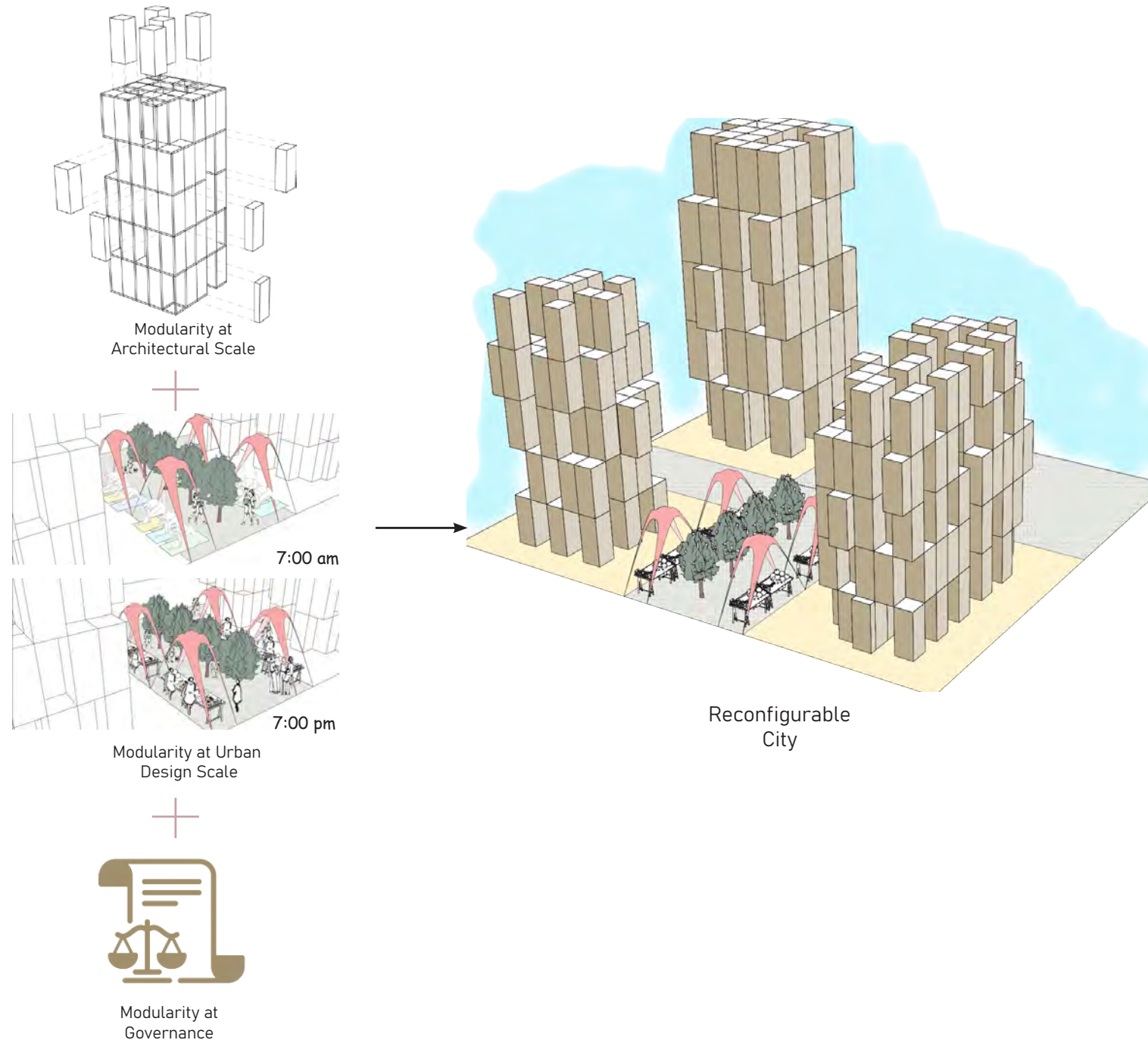
Although this concept has received appreciation from the entire built environment community, its application has been majorly limited to the construction and architectural scale. Archigram's Plug-in-City is the closest application that can be seen on an urban scale where a city is envisioned as a vertical mega-structure, having a diamond-lattice structural core, made of replicable tubular plumbing modules; supporting a vertical transit system and suspended detachable living and work units (Sadler, 2005, p. 14). This approach still did not take in to consideration, the real context and scale of a city, but treated the urban environment as an architectural element. Although this city design approach was highly criticised for its lack of aesthetic value, being economically unviable and having a machine-like intimidating urban fabric disregarding the human scale completely, the theory catered to the dynamism of the urban parameters, supported flexibility, advocated vertical planning and strong public transit systems – all the qualities that will create a timeless and resilient city (Sadler, 2005).

Reconfigurable city takes inspiration from the essence of Plug-in city but advocates a different approach to modularity, a more holistic and humanised style. A city is a complex amalgamation of various scales, thus creating a holistic flexible fabric requires integration of modular strategies at every scale. The reconfigurable city should have modular buildings which can house the rapidly increasing population and at the same time when population decreases in the future these structures should be able to transform the unused living units into a productive function. For example, when the size of the household decreases, the size of the living units must change, and any extra space must be used for a different function or by a different household. Efficient policies and development control rules can be used as a tool to make sure that people are not wasting the additional living spaces they have. Thus, along with modularity and flexibility at an architectural scale, flexibility at a political level is also important. Public spaces should be designed in a way that it can be used for various functions. Underutilised spaces with mono functionality are left deserted during certain specific hours of the day,

affecting the security of a place. A space that is used as an office parking during the day can be used as a food street at night or perhaps a drive-in theatre during the later hours. This will ensure that the public space will always have a human footfall, always keeping the area vibrant. Even the planning grid at the city level should be kept modular so that if the building needs to change horizontally as well, public space grid can be modified accordingly, thus reducing the threat of urban sprawl beyond the city limits.

Another important aspect that needs to be considered while designing a reconfigurable city is the communities it will cater to in the future. While designing cities, existing communities and their immediate needs are usually considered at the planning level completely ignoring the needs and expectations of the coming generations. For the reconfigurable city to realise its full potential, it will be very important to understand the behavioural

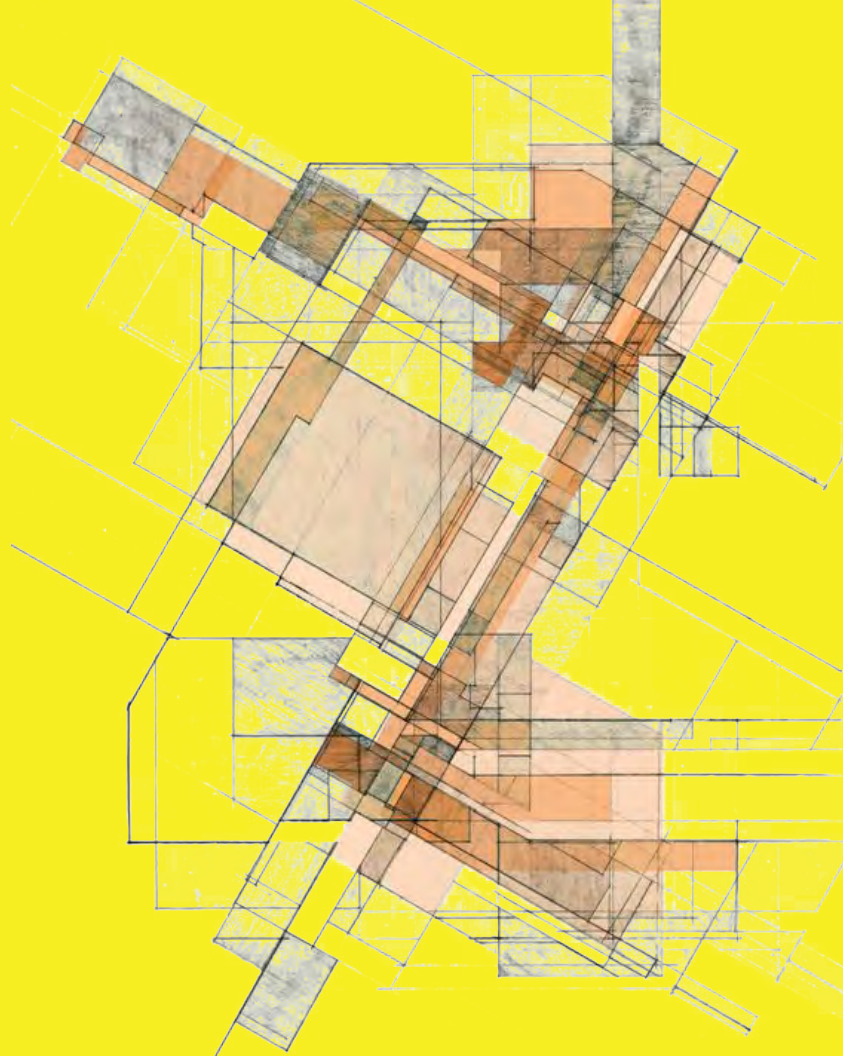
patterns for various generations and the change of thinking and expectations that arise due to this generation gap. Thus, the focus community, that will truly make the urban fabric modular and adaptable, will be the future adults of the society (i.e., the school and college students). It is very important to understand what kind of an urban environment they want to live in and design cities in a way that they cater to the present generation immediately and eventually adapt organically according to the vision of the future generation.



Thus, a reconfigurable city can be defined as an evolutionary process of city development that is modular and flexible at all building scales (city planning, urban design, architectural and governance levels) allows modifications without the need for top-down capital-intensive investments and keeps evolving into various forms according to the needs of the various generations it serves. It should have a brain of its own, similar to AI, where the urban fabric would learn from the data it is fed (like changes in demographic structure, technology, governance models, socio-economic structures and environmental conditions) and provide a liveable urban structure accordingly while maintaining its human scale.

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Project Brief Three

Spatial Manifestation of Self-Governance Groups

Yasmin Bushra

Mentor: **Heba Elhanafy**

Ethiopia is undergoing an exponential rate of urbanization. According to official figures from the Ethiopian Central Statistics Agency, the urban population is projected to nearly triple from 15.2 million in 2012 to 42.3 million in 2037, growing at 3.8 percent a year (World Bank, 2018). With expectations of even higher urbanization rates up to 5.4 percent a year. That would mean a tripling of the urban population by 2034, with 30 percent of Ethiopia's population living in urban areas by the year 2028. And 37.5 percent by the year 2050. (Ethiopia 2050 & BRP, 2020). Meanwhile poor urban service delivery remains a major urbanization challenge. Low economic activity, a growing population, inadequate maintenance, and haphazard upgrading have over the last 40 years rendered Ethiopian cities unable to adequately provide for their inhabitants. In urban Ethiopia, 80 percent of the housing stock needs either upgrading or replacement (Marrengane & Croese, 2020). Only half of the urban structures have private or shared water connections. The government estimates that 35% of urban solid waste is never collected, while only 10% of the population reports using a municipal waste collection system. 70% of the road network in the capital is gravel, slightly better than the national average of 85% (World Bank, 2018).

The public sector is unable to provide sustainable services to the current urban residents and is expected to struggle even further with the new urban influx. In order of the opportunities presented by rapid urbanization to contribute to sustainable development urban infrastructure needs to be created and managed properly and service delivery needs to be improved significantly while alternative paths need to be explored.

Parallelly in urban Ethiopia there exist strong self-initiated community organizations that are largely serving a social purpose (Dejene, 2009). Varieties structures of self-initiated community organizations exist. Eddirs are the most widespread institutions in both urban and rural areas primarily, it was established to provide aid in burial matters at instances of death and address other community concerns at times (Pankhurst, 2008).

Membership in such community organizations as Eddir (funeral associations), Ekub (saving/credit groups) and Mahiber (other groupings) is indispensable for low-income households as it provide an essential web of security through its social security arrangements. This research expects to explore the disconnect across these three imposing and unique urban realities – the exponential growth of urban spaces, the state's inability to meet basic needs for all, and the existence of community organizations with strong social capital in urban spaces. It will explore the potential to mediate these realities by use of existing and replicable practices that have stemmed from an attitude to service social resilience practices.

The objectives of this investigation are therefore to:

- Gauge the economic, social and political potential of self-initiated community organizations

- Understand the capacity of community organizations to strengthen urban service delivery and management equitably and sustainably
- Probe how self-initiated community organizations, social movements, local governments and state agencies interact around urban service delivery
- Investigate if collective participation creates the possibility of empowerment, in the engagement of citizens within communities participating in wider processes of social change and the promotion of radical thinking of the concept of citizenship
- Map the existing involvement of community organizations in the provision of urban services
- Understand the conditions that ought to exist for the practice of co-production in urban services

Within the existence of the aforementioned three unique realities in urban Ethiopia in general and Addis Ababa in particular, this investigation intends to reconcile high urbanization rates, poor urban service delivery and strong community led organizations. The research will make attempt to present a possibility of the emergence of enduring ties between state actors and society. The research studies the rarely documented practices of the Eddir institution in its engagement of urban service delivery in Addis Ababa and projects the establishment of new relationships of authority and autonomy at the level of local government.

Geographic and Substantive Focus

The study intends to investigate Eddir institutions that reside in Addis Ababa. The Bureau of Labor and Social Affairs for Addis Ababa had documented their number to be 7856. Of this number, 7212 are known by the city administrative bureau, while the remaining estimated 644 Eddirs are not known.

This investigation is limited to self-initiated organizations that give the service of Eddirs. The geographic focus of this investigation particulates to elemental Eddirs that operate within the vicinity of the city of Addis Ababa. Practically it is narrowed to the role and engagement of such institutions in the process of urban service delivery and how their engagement in such activities allows space for the reorganization of power relationships on the local governments' scale. It sets dimensions such as membership and social obligations aside and dwells on the reimagining of the concept of citizenship among Eddir participants in the presence of community based self-initiated organizations.

Constructivist Grounded Theory

In the presence of little documented information on the participation of Eddirs in the process of urban service delivery, this investigation offers a context that lays out an optimal approach for the application of the Constructivist grounded theory method. This method has its foundations in relativism and an appreciation of the multiple truths and realities of subjectivism (McCreadie & Payne, 2010) in a set of structured but flexible rules for conducting inductive qualitative research with the overarching intention of developing a theory. Undertaking a constructivist inquiry in the exploration of Eddirs therefore requires adopting a position of mutuality between the researcher and a plethora of participants in the research process. This framing, in turn, necessitates a rethinking of the grounded theorist's traditional role of the objective observer (Lisa M. Given, 2008). The importance of creating a relationship with participants during interviews and a meaningful reconstruction of their tales into this grounded theory model allows for the utilization of discourse analysis with linguistic analysis to examine how people use language to describe themselves and their environments. This integration is relevant in the context of this study to assess participants' and non-participants' attitudes toward Eddir and their relationships with other stakeholders involved in the service delivery process in their communities.

The data obtained during the fieldwork is coded on a continuous basis in a three step process. Open coding is the first step of separating research topics from a sample and classifying them. The process of categorizing new categories into core categories by studying the crossing relationships between them is known as focused coding and is the second step (Mills et al., 2006). Theoretical coding, the final step, is the process of recognizing and using relevant codes to provide a unified framework for the entire investigation.

Data Analysis and Presentation

This section of the research report will present the findings of the research. It is organized in accordance with the research framework recommended by the constructivist grounded theory approach. The sections will narrate the findings attained following the method of data collection in due order. They will also incorporate memos kept right after interviews with elemental Eddir members to frame the logic behind the theoretical sampling. This form of presentation will provide better insight onto the sample selection. Findings from the three stages of coding will be discussed and summarized with a figure. The figures will be preceded by discussions that include findings from secondary sources along with opinions and perceptions of Eddir participants. The following patterns have emerged from the I constructivist grounded theory's inductive process and are presented below as a framework of co-production between state and Eddir actors.

Co-creation

Five informants from the open coding phase, an additional five informants from the focused coding phase and three more informants from the iterative and theoretical coding stages fall within this category of urban service delivery engagement. Eddirs in this category perform and actively engage in the provision of social services within their communities. However, their intensity of engagement is gauged by incentive taken to entice respective woreda administrations to take actions requested by Eddirs. Examples include the designation of tertiary access roads as one-way streets to manage community nuances and requesting regular policing rounds to manage security issues within an urban block.

As a result, these Eddirs show the trait of a stronger relationship with their respective local governments. There is confidence in the data that they have surpassed the level of consultation and have attained a negotiation status to address their interest within their vicinities. This relationship stems from the recognition of Eddirs as pillar institutions within the community for human resource and knowledge mobilization.

Case Presentation for Co-creation Mode of Engagement

The exemplary case for this type of engagement was found to be an Eddir located at 8.997465, 38.792043 in the community found in front of the new Adey Abeba Stadium. The residents of the area settled in the vicinity as a result of the Dergue campaign to house public servants whose income was considered moderate and between 300 and 500 birr per month. The area was then named '25tu Mahiberat' as a consequence of 25 smaller cooperatives formed to construct the houses. 25tu Mahiberat is today an Eddir with close to 478 member families contributing 40 birr every month. The Eddir is primarily engaged in funeral, wedding and other social services such as insurance for major medical bills.

In the past decade, the Eddir is the primary body responsible for the neighborhood's upkeep. The Eddir actively regulates, maintains and provides the necessary equipment for the upkeep of the neighborhood designated open spaces. Over the course of twelve years, the Eddir has managed to build a fully standardized ground tennis court and a basketball court. It also has bought and operates from its savings a children's playground and general open space amenities such as open-air seating and waste disposal equipment within the open space compound. The rest of the area is used to plant fruit trees such as mango and papaya that are later sold back to the community at lower than market prices at community gatherings when ripe.

The Eddir has recently expanded its effort to farm an idle space that used to be an open-air garbage. The Eddir representatives that served from 2018 to 2020 GC managed to negotiate and convince the woreda administrative representatives to temporarily make use of an area estimated to be about 8688 square meters of linear space (24 meters * 356 meters) to be used to expand the ongoing effort of providing seasonal fruits and vegetables at a lower price to Eddir members and residents of the area.

More recently, the Eddir representatives have managed to permanently change a two way street into a one way street due to continuing nuances its members were experiencing particularly families residing in adjacent houses.



Space reserved and fenced by the Addis Ababa sports commission for the construction of multiple olympic standard sports arenas. The fences also house the newly built youth sports training center at a far distance.

Fence re-constructed after the community Eddir appealed and complained about increased organised robberies in the area to the local police and woreda administration.

The Eddir edible garden expanded over months time as household members actively encouraged the initiative by pitching in to facilitate necessary tools and equipment.

The area was previously cleared off by the woreda administration of informal settlements. The space previously guarded by rounding groups of police, has now been lobbied by the Eddir for the temporary use of the space by its members. The space is now used as an allotment garden where collard greens, cabbage, salad, carrots and tomatoes grow. The vegetables are sold back to the community to raise funds to maintain the garden.

Shades for a fence, reinforced by additional wire mesh

Vendors owned or connected to Eddir members are usually invited to such gatherings to sell and show their products.

The basket ball court is frequented by the youth on early mornings of weekends and late afternoons of weekdays.

Plastic stackable chairs belong to the Eddir bought after years of saving and loans taken from the Eddir members.

The basket ball court is used as a multipurpose space to host activities that assembe the Eddir members and other individuals and their families living near by.

Children from the neighbourhood gather and perform for the elders of the community on Eddir meetings right after major holidays and at the beginning / end of major eddir meetings - such as the annual general assembly.

Co-operation

Five Eddir informants from the open coding, six informants from the focused coding stage and two informants from the iterative theoretical coding stages respectively fall within this category. Eddirs had an active role in contributing to their communities' social infrastructures. Nonetheless, this category is set apart by the presence of a clear hierarchy within the relationship that defines its engagement with local administrative bodies. A total of thirteen informants were found to engage with their woreda administrations as subordinates. Eddirs are thought to have a better reach within the community be it for the dissemination of information or for the mobilization of individuals to perform actions that are of interest to the woredas. This understanding of Eddirs is clearly utilized. Examples include the stocking and management of local libraries that are built by local administrations by Eddirs. This is a distinct relationship from the co-creation framework because while the former plays a role in the -making of which activities it chooses to engage in, the latter only contributes to actions the local administrator prescribes.

Case Presentation for Co-operation Mode of Engagement

The selected case for the co-operation type of engagement is located in one of the founding sefers of the city of Addis Ababa. It is grounded in Serategna Sefer at 9.031466, 38.755430 adjacent to a building registered as a heritage site by the Arada sub-city administration and the Addis Ababa city culture and tourism bureau. Its members estimate Andinet Eddir to have aged two decades with an average of 275 permanent members. Andinet is based adjacent to the Mussie Minas residence in burnt and damaged section (date unknown).

The Eddir, as others, is primarily established to come to mutual aids in vital events and emergency occurrences within member families. However, representatives of the Eddir emphasized members of Andinet were also members of Eddirs Giorgis and Michael whose base locations are right next to Andinet's. Prominent members within Andinet emphasized that while the Eddir is to come to the rescue for families at times of emergencies, the contribution of one Eddir may not be enough to address all the different family needs .So, many families join multiple Eddirs to get an aggregate of benefits. As a result, Eddirs work started specializing more and address special and specific community needs

The Andinet Eddir in Serategna sefer is the prominent one and makes a substantial contribution to the public library found just in front of it. The library is said to have opened 30 years ago and has since served in nurturing students of the area. While the woreda 10 education bureau of Arada sub-city allocates an annual stipend to the library, the Eddir closely follows on the day-to-day operations of the public facility by maintaining damaged books, sagging shelves, repairing leaky roofs, broken desks & chairs etc. It also maintains close contact with the librarians to upkeep a generally pleasant environment for students to frequent. Generally, while the Eddir does not single-handedly contribute to the management of the public libraryBy physically maintaining the library space it is also directly contributing to the preservation of forgotten modern urban heritage.

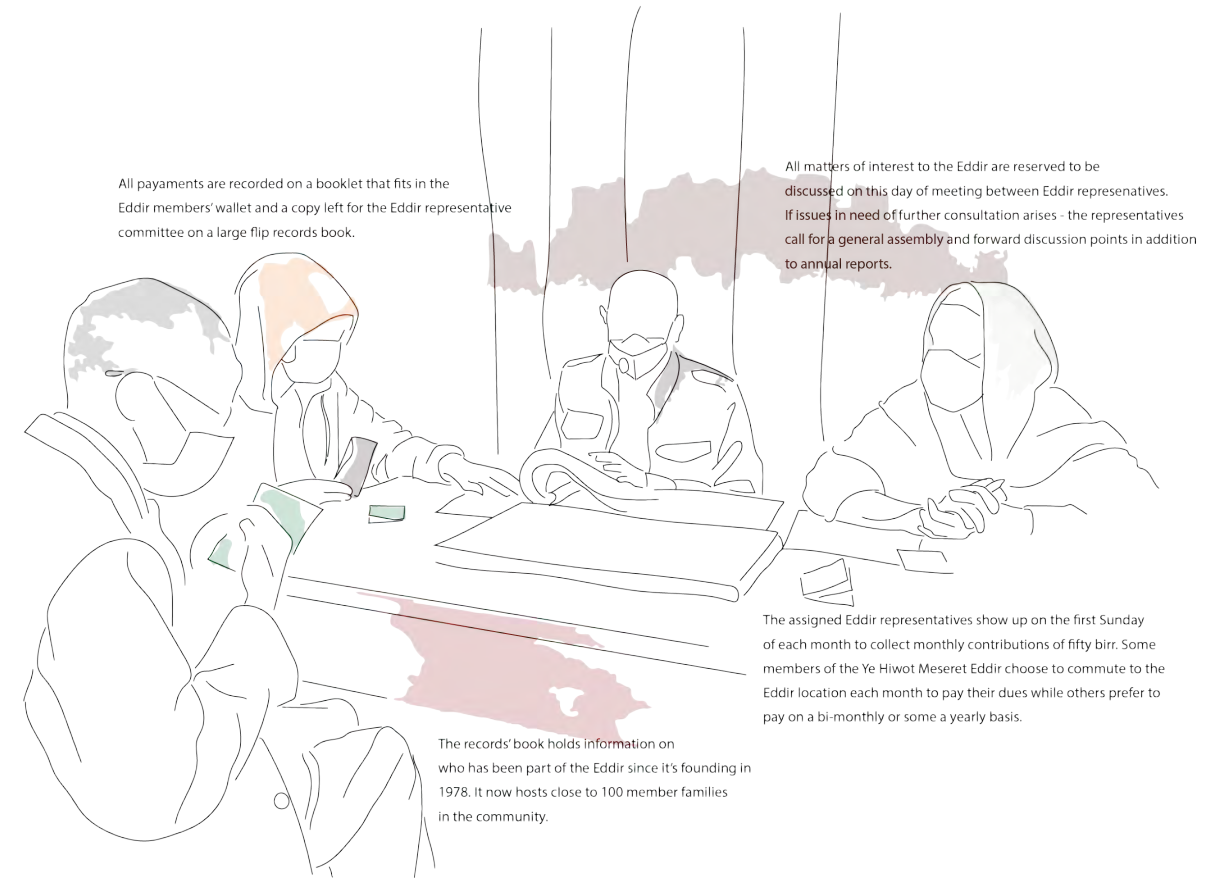
Co-optation

Three Eddir informants fall within a form of engagement with state actors. Co-opting Eddirs, similar to co-creating and co-operating Eddirs, have a significant role in performing activities that give service to the community. However, they are set apart by their preference in the rules of engagement with local governments. This section of Eddirs recognize and actively engage in the provision of social services but are selective about their activities to maintain Eddir as an independent entity. All six informants in this category expressed fear of coercion and being subject to usage as a political instrument.



Case Presentation for Co-optation Mode of Engagement

Ye Hiwot Meseret Eddir is based in the eastern part of the city at 9.010157, 38.803091. It was founded 35 years ago with 100 member families now. This Eddir is seen as the 'deciding body' for mobilizing when it comes to the neighborhood. It actively participates in the upkeep of the neighborhood cobblestone roads, foot paths, speed bumps et cetera. Its communication with the woreda administration and the previous kebele governing body is very limited, nor do the representatives show interest in forging such relationships.

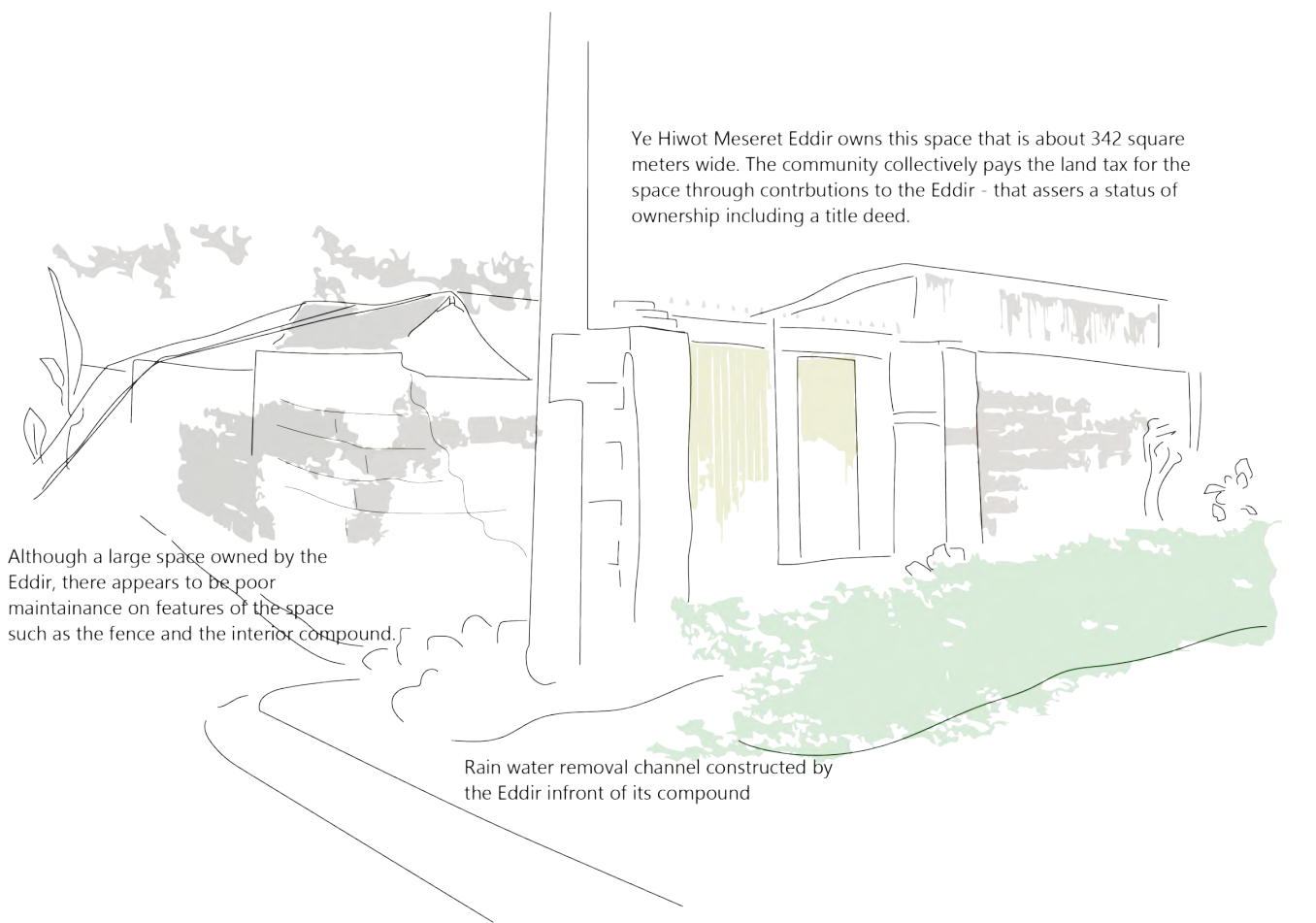


All payments are recorded on a booklet that fits in the Eddir members' wallet and a copy left for the Eddir representative committee on a large flip records book.

All matters of interest to the Eddir are reserved to be discussed on this day of meeting between Eddir representatives. If issues in need of further consultation arises - the representatives call for a general assembly and forward discussion points in addition to annual reports.

The assigned Eddir representatives show up on the first Sunday of each month to collect monthly contributions of fifty birr. Some members of the Ye Hiwot Meseret Eddir choose to commute to the Eddir location each month to pay their dues while others prefer to pay on a bi-monthly or some a yearly basis.

The records' book holds information on who has been part of the Eddir since it's founding in 1978. It now hosts close to 100 member families in the community.



Ye Hiwot Meseret Eddir owns this space that is about 342 square meters wide. The community collectively pays the land tax for the space through contributions to the Eddir - that assers a status of ownership including a title deed.

Although a large space owned by the Eddir, there appears to be poor maintainance on features of the space such as the fence and the interior compound.

Rain water removal channel constructed by the Eddir infront of its compound

Conclusion

This research endeavor investigated the potential of local self-initiated community organizations to be major actors in the practice of service delivery in the urban space. By taking a particular case of Addis Ababa under the title Co-Production of Urban Services for Spatially Just Ethiopian Cities, the research attempted to formulate a theory to reconcile three unique realities. The first is an high rate of urbanization, that will put Ethiopia's population at 200 million by 2050 and to the urban population close to 80 million. The second reality is an exceptionally weak urban service delivery that cannot cope with the demand of the population. The third and final one is the presence of strong self-initiated community organizations that largely serve a social purpose. The research set out to investigate a framework that can possibly reconcile these three imposing realities in the city of Addis Ababa.

Through a careful study of the literature, it was found that although self-initiated community organizations, ubiquitously Eddirs have historically been known to cater to communities during instances of vital events in an individual's life – they have recently come to be known as institutions that deliver largely social services to their communities. This was found through the informants of the research to be due to the Eddirs' initiation to bring their social capital together to solve the shortcomings of the respective local government- the woreda.

Having explored an unknown territory, with many known and unknown variables, the selected methodology of applying the constructivist grounded theory has allowed the researcher to understand and triangulate the practices of the Eddir institutions through explorations of informants' understanding of the reality, their attitudes towards their status quo and the modus operandi of engagement within their communities. The investigation in the end has come up with a framework of co-production through which urban service delivery and relationships to state actors could be understood through.

The framework entails three levels of engagement, of whom the first is the Co-creation mode. Eddirs that fall in this category of relationship were found to be the most active and engaging entities as compared to the remaining two. These Eddirs have managed to mobilize their social capital to reach a level of recognition and negotiation by woredas on activities that pertain to social service delivery in their vicinity. The second category of co-operating Eddirs also performed service delivery activities by having a status of subordination in their relationship with their woredas. The last mode of engagement was found to be Eddirs that have co-opted out of an active relationship with their woredas but still carry out service giving activities independent of state actors to benefit their communities.

The Co-production framework that is generated through this investigation can be used as a baseline to further examine the process of engagement of Eddir institutions in local communities and their understanding of urban service delivery. Unlike the initial understanding of this investigation, the framework can also be very useful to pursue further research onto what factors determine the mode of engagement of elemental Eddirs and why they fall into one category rather than the other in the broader perspective of economic status of members, number of permanent members, available capital et cetera. Expanding this investigation to cities of the Global South particularly in Nairobi and Khartoum where similar self-community organizations are pillars of resilience to the community, gives space to better understand how people claim responsibilities for themselves and capitalize on their collective resource to improve their surrounding.

Gaining this understanding particularly improves the position of the Charter Cities Institute to craft guidelines that are better intune with how communities cater for themselves in the absence of strong state leadership in urban service delivery and how this reality has opened up a possibility for communities to negotiate and exercise their right to the city. ·

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Project Brief Four

An Introductory Guide to Aspects of Charter City Financing in the Global South

Ali Khan

Mentor: **Carl Peterson**

Executive Summary

The content in this guide is primarily geared towards High Net-Worth individuals and Sophisticated Investors who are interested in investigating asset ownership in charter cities in the Global South, but who may be more familiar with financing and deal mechanisms inherent to investing in technology.¹

Today, severe problems have arisen from the twin challenges of rapid urbanization combined with poor governance in many countries of the Global South. If no interventions are implemented, these challenges are only set to worsen as urbanization continues apace over the next several decades.

Charter cities are one such proposed policy mechanism to address the above challenges by building community spaces with high-calibre infrastructure and governance systems on greenfield land. As with many investments and asset classes in the Global South, charter cities are not without their risks. Indeed, it is likely that charter cities—as an asset class—will attract parties with a track record in impactful, high-risk, and high-yield investments. The experience of such parties is often centered on disruptive technological products or services, and a particular mindset regarding deal processes. When it comes to building a ‘full stack’ new city project, having a more comprehensive understanding of the existing finance ecosystem for infrastructure development—an area quite distinct from the ‘tech’ ecosystem—would be beneficial for these parties. This document seeks to provide a high-level overview of this infrastructure development finance ecosystem.

The African Centre for Cities and UK Aid (as was known then) published a report in 2015 that addressed five optimal conditions for land-based financing for urban infrastructure in Sub-Saharan Africa:

- a. The necessary governance systems, tools, and regulations to manage land development processes and emerging urban land markets;
- b. Sufficiently clear policy, legislative, and governance support provided by national government for local government to manage the land development process;
- c. Sufficiently well-established developers who are able to access finance to cover the cost of property development;
- d. Sufficient certainty about land use, based on credible city planning frameworks and management processes;
- e. Power over land development, either through direct central ownership or having established powers of land-use regulation, in order to be able to grant development rights through a regulated system.²

The charter cities model allows for private-sector asset owners to engage in direct foreign investment through public-private partnerships (PPP), with the benefits of bespoke governance and management concessions embedded in the PPP.³ While this model provides new solutions for the development and sustainability of urban projects, the mechanisms by which these projects are financed and scoped currently follow a well-trodden model.

The prevalence of debt financing, as well as an established institutional framework that underpins PPPs, may seem like complex territory to navigate. Additionally, the role of Development Finance Institutions (DFIs) as multi-faceted facilitators of infrastructure project finance in the Global South needs to be understood.

This guide looks to provide a review of the development finance ecosystem and, by doing so, highlights both useful insights as well as practical questions to consider for potential charter city investors and would-be asset owners prior to any transaction.

¹ This publication has been written for information and education purposes alone, and does not offer investment advice. Accordingly, nothing in this paper should be construed as such. The information contained in this publication is not, under any circumstances, to be read as an offer, recommendation to buy or sell, or a solicitation of an offer or recommendation to buy or sell any securities, nor should this publication be seen as a recommendation to use any particular investment strategy.

² https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08978ed915d622c000227/61319C_Full-DFID-Report_Web.1.1.pdf

³ <https://www.chartercitiesinstitute.org/category/reference-guides>

The Economic Opportunity Post-Covid

In September 2020, the UN issued a Menu of Options containing a series of recommendations to consider for development finance in the post-Covid era, one of which was to encourage a shift from Global Value Chain (GVC)-driven, segment-targeted export orientation towards Regional Value Chain (RVC)-based export expansion, with domestic industrial clustering to build linkages and resilience.⁴ This recommendation can be seen to be part of a wider trend, where the centralization strategies inherent in globalization, managed by large international institutions, are increasingly being complemented by more localized, regional approaches.

Potential asset owners and sophisticated non-institutional investors with substantial business and investment experience may be attracted to charter city projects in the wake of this trend, whether out of a vision of providing sustainable infrastructure for a working population expected to increase exponentially over the next century,⁵ or as a type of long-term capital vehicle, or to benefit from the land value arbitrage, or all of the above.

With financial markets flooded with cash from government stimulus injections in the wake of Covid-19, and traditional asset classes no longer producing attractive yields, there is an increased demand for focus on alternative investments, such as infrastructure. Institutional investment in portfolios with a focus on the Global South is expected to rise, due to the perceived potential for enhanced returns, and due to sub-Saharan Africa's relative resilience against Covid-19 changing Western investor sentiment on the region.⁶ Emerging markets themselves are projected to invest an estimated 3.9% of GDP (USD 2.2 trillion annually) in infrastructure over next 20 years,⁷ opening a huge window of opportunity for private investment into charter city projects.

1. The Role of Debt in Charter City Project Finance

When approaching charter city development, it is particularly important to be familiar with the debt ecosystem that underpins project finance in the Global South. Equity investment is dominant in Silicon Valley, with only around 16% of all financing in the US venture space taking the form of venture debt.⁸ Whereas the optimum scenario for a successful SaaS company is to have a trusted relationship with its venture capitalist equity investor, Global South infrastructure projects tend to work best when aligning the multiple parties involved in a complex project through leverage.

Leverage has historically been used as the primary means of development finance. This is mainly due to the key aim of PPP models having been to align state owners of land with the international expertise required to execute and manage an infrastructure project. Additional reasons for the role of complex debt instruments and structuring in project finance include (i) the nature of cash flows from infrastructure projects being relatively stable, (ii) returns only maturing after the construction phases, and (iii) those returns tending to be more long-term for urban infrastructure projects.

Traditionally, infrastructure projects in the Global South involve a blend of private, public, local, and international stakeholders. Usually, a foreign equity investor would structure a project by setting up a special purpose vehicle (SPV) which would act as the project developer vehicle. Local equity, usually from the public or sovereign partner, would be invested here. Debt would be raised at this SPV level through non-recourse financing, meaning the net assets of the SPV act as the sole collateral to the financing of the project.

The fundamental metric used by creditors and debtors to ascertain the economic feasibility of a potential project is Cash Flow Available for Debt Service (CFADS). Cash Flow can be gained from a charter city development in a number of ways depending on its economic rationale(s). Sources for healthy cash flow on a charter city project can include rent, commercial port charges and docking fees, mining tariffs, company

⁴ https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/financing_for_development_covid19_part_ii_hosg.pdf p9

⁵ <https://www.cairn.info/revue-la-pensee-2018-4-page-86.html?contenu=resume>

⁶ <https://www.institutionalassetmanager.co.uk/2020/09/09/289417/institutional-investors-look-emerging-markets-hunt-returns>

⁷ <https://www.swissre.com/media/news-releases/nr-20200617-sigma-3-2020.html>

⁸ <https://2020.stateofeuropeantech.com/chapter/investors/article/venture-debt/>

registration fees, taxes, user or maintenance fees, among several others.⁹ Additionally, a progressive economic model may include revenue from a sale of pre-apportioned equity to citizens, to pre-existing community members, at either market price or at a discounted rate, in order to encourage local community buy-in for the project and/or induce 'first movers' to migrate to the city (thereby solving the first mover problem). This is mainly to give pre-existing community members along with new charter city residents a long-term stake in the city's success.

As projects tend not to yield any revenue through the first construction phase, CFADS will usually not be required to service debt until a particular milestone has been reached (e.g., stable population of the charter city). Debt providers also tend to structure repayments in a manner that adheres to a growth plan derived from detailed feasibility studies, and provide a 'ramp up' period towards the debt tenor, where payment of senior debt principal and interest accrues.

Obtaining a firm CFADS calculation within the financial model of a charter city is crucial to its capacity to raise project finance. It is a metric that contributes to the calculation of the debt size and the principal repayment schedule, as well as the Debt Service Coverage Ratio (DSCR), Loan Life Coverage Ratio (LLCR), and Project Life Coverage Ratio (PLCR) of a project.

2. The Role of a Common-Law Charter in Charter City Project Finance

As opposed to special economic zones (SEZs) designed to encourage economic development through tax efficient investment, charter cities are premised on a fully developed legal and governance framework designed to support a liberalized business environment. Relative to the broader host country, such a business-friendly charter city jurisdiction can help spur firm formation, crowd-in investment, encourage entrepreneurship, create jobs, raise incomes, and in turn kick-start long-run economic growth.

Typically, these charters will legally provide for themselves to act as an 'opt-in' jurisdiction, meaning parties can choose to resolve disputes under the laws of that jurisdiction. Should the legal system under the charter mirror the Common Law system used in England & Wales or the USA, elements of legal process that are familiar to Western finance, such as expedited debt recovery proceedings, injunctions, assignment of receivables, and insolvency proceedings, would serve to attract direct foreign investment.¹⁰

Part of the deal terms upon transaction would involve the public-sector/sovereign entity partner issuing a decree with provision for the greenfield site operating under its own charter (often with criminal, wills, and probate law of the host jurisdiction retained) before construction commences.¹¹ It will also provide for judgments issued in the courts of the charter city (as a 'conduit' jurisdiction) to be automatically enforceable on assets in the 'onshore' jurisdiction.

The charter would then include a law that stipulates that disputes to be heard in established jurisdictions with laws that mirror those of the charter city (e.g., DIFC, AIFC, ADGM), are immediately enforceable by the 'courts' of the charter city. This allows for disputes to be heard in jurisdictions that have a developed and internationally accessible court structure.¹²

The benefit of this is that an asset owner could then potentially present the greenfield site as collateral against debt to a far wider market. In the event of default, the debt provider could theoretically take possession of the underlying asset (the land, and any development already created on it) relatively easily, and almost certainly more efficiently than if relying on the local courts of the host jurisdiction, especially if it is a Civil Code jurisdiction.

⁹ See the chapter from the Charter Cities Institute's Governance Handbook on Tax Policy and Administration for various recommended ways for a charter city developer to raise revenues: <https://www.chartercitiesinstitute.org/post/governance-handbook>

¹⁰ For example, on insolvency or bankruptcy in a charter city see <https://www.chartercitiesinstitute.org/post/bankruptcy-in-charter-cities>

¹¹ For a sample Model Charter and/or Model Legislation see the Charter Cities Institute's Reference Guides here: <https://www.chartercitiesinstitute.org/category/reference-guides>. Model templates for the PPP Concession Agreement and for the Land Agreement are forthcoming.

¹² See the chapter from the Charter Cities Institute's Governance Handbook on Dispute Resolution for various recommended on optimal policies to efficiently and effectively resolve disputes <https://www.chartercitiesinstitute.org/post/governance-handbook>.

Typically, PPPs for infrastructure development construction use all-inclusive contract frameworks known as Engineering, Procurement and Construction contracts (EPCs). These provide for an agreed scope of work to be completed by an agreed date for an agreed cost. They are often required, either by law or by the parties themselves, to include clauses that clarify terms on a number of matters, such as liquidated damages, labor provisions, and liability, among others.

In the event of a dispute, the Common Law system typically gives more weight to the contractual intentions of the parties involved, whereas Civil Code jurisdictions tend to provide mandatory outcomes in specific circumstances. For example, under the Common Law, a 'force majeure' event does not excuse a party from performance under the terms of a contract unless the contract specifically states so. In Civil Code jurisdictions, force majeure is likely to give contractors an automatic excuse for late performance, and a defence against any claim for liquidated damages.

In addition, should creditors require legal assurances in the form of trusts, or insolvency set-offs in the event of default, or a floating charge on all securities or receivables (as opposed to fixed charges over asset-by-asset), these are all provided by the Common Law, and are almost fully unavailable in Civil Code jurisdictions.

3. The DFI Model for Charter City Project Finance

Historically, development finance had stood within the remit of parties at the state or quasi-state level. The mechanism by which that finance was disseminated was through loans and grants, demarked under the catch-all term 'Official Development Assistance' (ODA). In 1970, more than two thirds of financial flows to the developing world were under the ODA model, but by 2014, for every dollar spent on global ODA, roughly \$7.5 was spent by means of foreign direct investment. This reflects a change in investment approaches and attitudes since the immediate post-colonial era from one of public-sector domination to one that is largely private sector driven.¹³

Private sector interest and access into emerging market projects has developed over the course of the last half a century in collaboration with Development Finance Institutions (DFIs), who have the benefit of pre-existing access points into state-level networks.¹⁴ DFIs, sometimes referred to as multilateral development banks (MDBs), invest in private sector projects and serve a critical function for project finance, not only in their basic role as a loan provider, but as investment facilitator and as an important check on political expropriation. Their relationships with governments of the Global South—in particular, the ability of DFIs to either extend or withhold concessionary loans—help mitigate political risk. By doing so, DFIs are market creators, fostering deals and transactions that would not have occurred in their absence.¹⁵

DFIs are typically unregulated in specific jurisdictions and tend not to receive deposits. Their mandate is to provide financing for projects in order to reach specific economic development goals. Their investment decisions are guided by three success criteria: additionality (impact of an intervention), catalytic effect (speed of an intervention), and project sustainability (longevity of an intervention).¹⁶

These DFIs serve a fundamental role in the pre-transaction phase of infrastructure projects, not least due to their versatile knowledge of, influence over, and access to players on both sides of a PPP in the Global South. However, they also play a role in providing new innovative financial instruments and mechanisms to promote direct foreign investment into the Global South.

The impact of Covid-19 on international debt markets has raised significant concerns about liquidity. Governments were swift to announce stimulus packages, akin to those seen after the financial crisis of 2008, in order to counteract the crisis. International institutions such as the World Bank have announced a \$12bn emergency package to support developing economies, however, with private international commercial lending institutions entering into a consolidation phase, the role of DFIs to fill the lending gap has become increasingly important. Out of a desire to curtail over-reliance on DFI financing, these gaps are increasingly being filled by private equity, by local and regional banks in the Global South itself, and by specialist infrastructure funds.

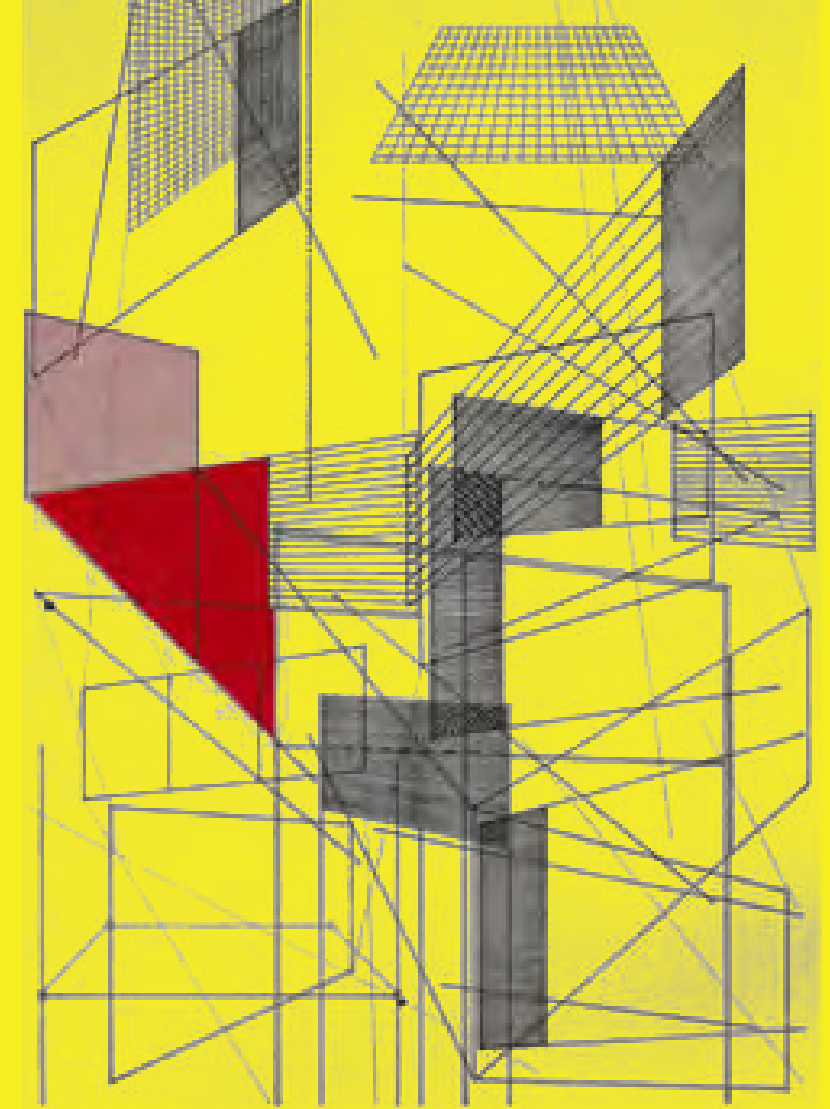
¹³ <https://www.forbes.com/sites/danielrunde/2014/10/17/development-finance-institutions-come-of-age-dfi/?sh=1ffb4465c2c>

¹⁴ <https://www.bakermckenzie.com/en/newsroom/2021/04/baker-mckenzie-new-report>

¹⁵ <https://www.chartercitiesinstitute.org/post/risk-mitigation-guide>

¹⁶ <https://www.edfi.eu/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Development-Finance-Institutions-Come-of-Age.pdf>, p. 15.

In such models, it is increasingly becoming the case that DFIs act as a medium by which competitive commercial outlets can avail opportunities to act as creditors on Global South projects. What had traditionally kept such creditors at bay had been both actual and perceived non-payment and political risk. DFIs, therefore, have been acting as guarantors for projects, providing both partial credit and partial risk (political risk)¹⁷ guarantees to help facilitate the entry of stakeholders from the non-development financial market.



Project Brief Five

The Militarization and De-Militarization of the Urban Fabric

Sara Al-Hassan

Mentor: **Heba Elhanafy**

Malaki vs 'Madani' are terms used to describe both military personnel and citizen, respectively. Malaki is translated as royal, while Madani is the civilians. Term normalized that represent the power that dominates the social, political, economic, and spatial sphere. This research attempts to explore the notion of militarism and its effect over the urban space in military governed cities of the global south and the possibilities and the obstacles of establishing new cities in this context. The body of research is inspired by Stephen Graham's Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism.

The research explores the notion of militarism and its connection to urban discourse and cities. It focuses on a specific case study of Sudan and focusing specifically on the capital Khartoum.

Project Background

Military districts need large extensive areas for their activities and strategic locations for defensive purposes. The notion of military urbanisms was recently introduced by Stephen Graham "Military urbanism" takes shapes in planning, power, over-security of space, hustle architecture, and controlling movement, controlling 'the youth', and normalization of military spaces in urban spaces. Military urbanism concerns the planning and implementation processes by which areas are fortified and militarized, it also includes modifications to outside built environment and cityscapes to strengthen or subvert control by authorities.

The research focuses on Khartoum as the main case study of military urbanization and its effects on urban governance and space production. Sudan has witnessed a series of military coups in power; and less than 11 years of multi-party democratic governance since independence in 1956. The coups has shaped urban governance and the production of spaces inside the city since. And like many cities it is rapidly growing; it has a significant impact on economic activities and environment,

Problem Statement

This research examines the spatial relationship between people, the city, and the state. Analyze the military districts in Khartoum city, the planning policies and methods that enabled and nurtured militarism in the urban fabric. It analyzes the power that created militias in social, political, economic formal, and informal activities. The analysis is done through The right to the city framework of Henri Lefvbre, start with urban mapping through a geographical information system (GIS), and vector data, it also conducts semi-structured interviews with experts in urbanization and military discourses to further investigates the various effects of military basis in the city

It is at this "micro-level of spaces of encounters with residents" that Fuccaro invites us to concentrate our research, shifting our "emphasis from the macro-level of the institutional setting of the state" (Fuccaro). This micro-level of observation allows a better reading and unraveling of dwellers' forms of activism, resistance, proximity, and place-making, and, thus, allows us to "[treat] violence as contingent on place and the rhythms of urban life [revealing] how the physical, material and immaterial qualities of the city become enmeshed with various forms of state and social power" (Fuccaro)

Objectives

The militarization of cities in the global south forms an obstacle in sustainable development; The overall goal of the research is to explore Military governance and urban governance and their influence over the spatial dimension. Once the effect of military governance on cities is analyzed, the research will explore further the spatial and policy solutions needed to demilitarize cities in the safest and most sustainable approach.

Planning and Military State

Looking back at the history of the city, the colonial planning of Khartoum pritorized the military spaces and districts surrounding the city to secure the colonial power with fortifications, barracks, etc.... , The rapid urban growth in Khartoum city in the past 50 years formed around the military spaces, the Military districts are situated among densely populated areas which create a hazard for living.

Certainly, the need for a defense that was strongly required by colonial rulers during the early stages of city development is no longer valid' (Mohammed). arguing that the need is no longer valid, taking into consideration the series of rules of the military in Sudan government and Questioning the security measures needed within the city from (military). Between the colonial strategy and today's; the military areas developed and increased with the development of Khartoum, and assuming due to the military context of post-colonial Sudan, that today's planning is an extension and legacy of the colonial planning and security strategies.

Today military districts are dominating central urban areas in the city with different military functions ranging from the military headquarters, ammunition factories ,military stores, and large military boot camps known as "Ishalk". The existing distribution of land use in Greater Khartoum reflects the scarcity of privateland created by militaray existance within the city. Military existance within cities also manefist in other practices like hostile architecture, fortifications and highly unsophisticated urban forms). The militarization of space can also mani-fest in blocking streets and prohibiting circulation and mobility.



Figure 1: crane filling fortification by sand to surround the military headquarter in Khartoum in early June 2021

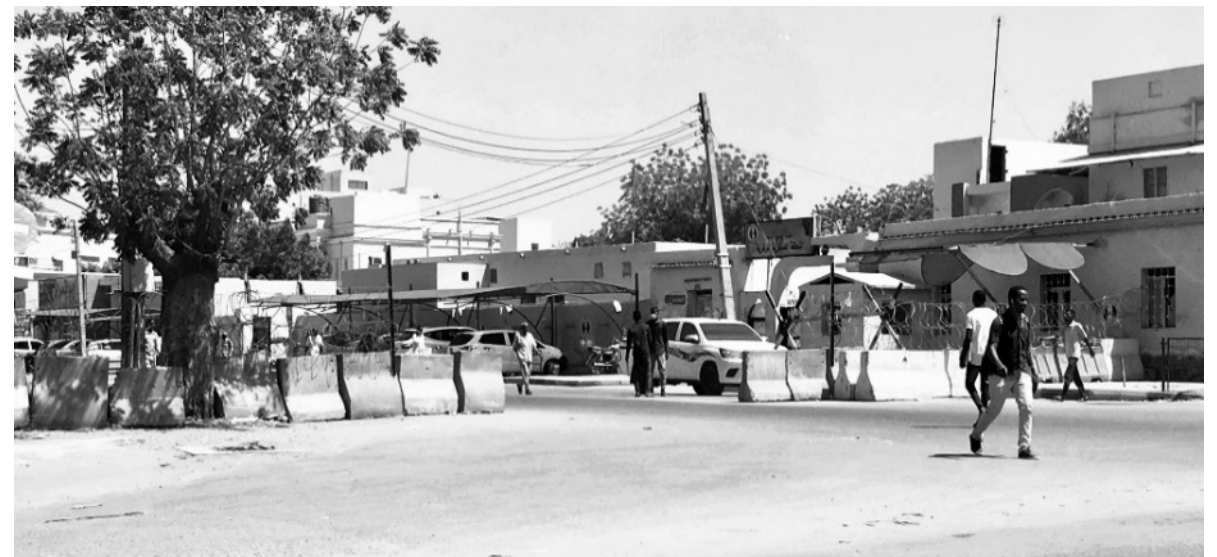


Figure 2: using concrete blocks to block the street in central Khartoum, early June 2021.



Figure 3: Map showing Khartoum center and military districts, red is the military districts, please note that to map military districts in Khartoum the process involves site exploration and advanced GIS mapping, this initial map is only to highlight some of the military districts.

Citation for dataset:

Topographical information used to generate contour lines were extracted from the (Advanced Spaceborne Thermal Emission and Reflection Radiometer (ASTER) Global Digital Elevation Model (GDEM) in ArcGIS. Version 002, retrieved from the online from DIVA-GIS (2021) Free Spatial Data by Country. <https://www.diva-gis.org/gdata> SRTM30 dataset. CGIAR-SRTM data

Multipale research has been done on the demilitarization of cities. It tried to understand how political actors mobilize urban planning instruments to help cities demilitarize through consolidating their power and contain perceived threats. This project will focus on the city of Khartoum studying the patterns of militarization inside the city, its effects and the possible connections towards a demilitarized city.

The project will further explore different power notions influencing spatial development. It is important to stress at the outset that such processes of urban militarization do not constitute a simple clean break with the past.

urban militarization is normalized in various cities and conflict zones around the world. the case of Lebanon explosion in 2020 is a direct outcome of military urbanism destructive effects on cities. Making demilitarization of urban spaces the much more urgent.

Working in developing an open blog based on literature, Collective mapping of centralized military planning and its influence on studied target society and interviews with urban experts and citizens of military-led countries; for example, but not limited to Sudan and Egypt. The project will further produce a series of publications (policies – papers – article) and planning frameworks to open the discussion about the discourses with academia and practitioners, the project aims to establish a network to tackle the power and politics of city development.

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