CHAPTER 7: Policies and Programmes for Urban Resilience in Africa

Abstract

In the context of global environmental change, much hope is placed in the ability of resilience thinking to help address environment-related risks. The term 'resilience' is widely used in policy, practice and academic discourse. It is applied in different contexts, including engineering, ecology, organisational and management studies, psychology, risk management and disaster reduction. Literature suggests that there is a complex interplay between environmental risks, built infrastructure, governments and institutions and sociocultural factors that can either promote or undermine resilience. The methodology used in this study includes desktop review, reports and magazines, government documents and statistical reports. Little attention in Africa has been given to building resilience and adaptive capacity in development programming. It is important to note that building resilience is critical to ensure equitable and sustainable trajectories out of poverty. Evidence suggests that the frequency and intensity of environmental hazards such as floods, cyclones and droughts, may be increasing, leading to high volatility in many parts of the world. The impact of these events falls unequally on the most vulnerable individuals, households and communities. To date, there is little subnational and local area data available to measure the exposure and risk of individuals, households and communities to environmental shocks and stressors. Where data exist, they are often not disaggregated by critical measures of vulnerability, including sex, age, poverty status or social capital. Programmes and policies are being slowly developed, but are often not rigorously evaluated or evidence-based. A long-term vision and 'durable solutions' approach for the reintegration of displaced people and the sustainable management of an enabling environment are fundamental to fostering resilience. This requires integrated policies and strategies to address national and local development priorities that are climate-smart, environmentally friendly and gender-sensitive and that address the drivers of displacement.

INTRODUCTION

The agenda for resilience is recognised in both developed and developing countries following Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Anticipation

strategies work against known problems, while resilient strategies are better against unknown problems (Normandin *et al.,* 2007). In this context, urban planning is a central component of global ambitions to deliver climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction and emerging urban policy agendas have galvanised around the notion of resilience (Moglia *et al.,* 2018; Pelling *et al.,* 2018; Elmqvist *et al.,* 2014). Resilience is recognised as central to achieving the SDGs, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) 2015-2030 and the Paris Climate Agreement (Twigg *et al.,* 2019). Resilience is defined as a set of capacities that enable a person, household, or community to withstand and recover from adversity or turbulent change (National Biodefense Science Board (NBSB) 2014;Meyers and Hardee (2017). The main focus of this chapter is to map policies and programmes that can enhance urban resilience in Africa. Attention to building resilience and adaptive capacity in development programming is critical to ensure equitable and sustainable trajectories out of poverty.

It has been conceptualised in various ways, ranging from traditional ideas around resistance to shocks and the ability to maintain or bounce back to the status quo to more progressive ideas linked to adaptive management and the creation of new capacities to deal with unforeseen changes (de Bruijne *et al.,* 2010; Manyena *et al.,* 2011). In the fields of development, DRR and adaptation, resilience programming has been strongly influenced by systems thinking regarding the interactions between human societies and the environment (Walker and Salt, 2006). Small- and medium-sized cities and towns in sub-Saharan Africa are growing fast and accumulating risks. Local governments seek to build the resilience of their cities in conditions of complex interdependent urban systems and gaps in data and information. Technical and financial capacity issues often lead to them resorting to external expertise, which shifts the decision-making power away from the citizenry and elected leaders. To capacitate cities to lead their resilience-building processes, new decision-support tools are required that can operate on data that are good enough and can enhance inclusive decision-making processes and local ownership (Urban Africa Risk Knowledge, 2019).

METHODOLOGY

Mixed-methods behavioural and social science research was used in this study. This study also employed innovative demographic methods, longitudinal panel surveys, qualitative studies and implementation science

to assess vulnerability and resilience in households and communities and to develop and test programme solutions. The study aim was to measure and understand how household and community responses evolve over time and whether negative effects are compounded by multiple intersecting shocks.

BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

In 2010, a third of the world's extreme poor lived in fragile states (Goldstein *et al.,* 2015). Eight years later, the proportion increased to one half and was projected to reach two-thirds by 2030. Illegitimate governance, weak institutions, conflict and violent extremism have also led to unprecedented levels of humanitarian need in recent years, including four famines or near famines in 2017. The ultimate goal must be to address the underlying causes of conflict and fragility. However, there is an urgent need for understanding what makes households and communities more resilient in the face of these types of shocks as a complement to conflict mitigation and management efforts.

If adaptation is about shaping the future through judgements on what to enhance, retain and discard, then resilience helps set the frame of reference to legitimise these decisions. Resilience narratives frame policy discussions, bound the aims of climate change adaptation and disaster risk management and give legitimacy to specific forms of knowledge – and to those who hold and produce this knowledge (Owens *et al.,* 2006; Goldstein *et al.,* 2015). These narratives are constructed by dominant actors and countered by subordinate actors to shape the possibility for urban futures and are associated with clear practical and material implications (Sandercock, 2003; Friend and Moench, 2015).

Others focus on the general features of resilient systems, trying to integrate resilience, disaster management and climate change adaptation at policy and programme levels (Bahadur *et al.,* 2010). Resilience theory and programming also need to take social power relationships into account, as the benefits of resilience may not be distributed equally within and between communities (Cannon and MüllerMahn, 2010; Levine *et al.,* 2012). In Thailand, institutional structures have also been put in place. The National Disaster Management Committee (NDMC), an inter-ministerial committee, was established in 1999 to develop policies and coordinate DRD activities throughout the country. A National Disaster Management Office (NDMO), under the Ministry of Labour and Social

Welfare, was established in 2000 to serve as the secretariat of NDMC (Levine *et al.,* 2012).

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Resilience has now become a buzzword and is being used by actors and organisations from both science and policy backgrounds operating at different scales and with different purposes and meanings (Brown, 2014; Meerow *et al.,* 2016). In this respect, while becoming a hegemonic framing at the policy level, resilience acts apparently as a boundary object (Brand and Jax, 2007) in urban politics, able to bring together actors and organisations with otherwise different agendas and interests.

A coherent approach is required to address these environmental threats in a manner that is consistent with the development and social priorities of different countries. It is particularly important in light of the global nature of many of the challenges described above. In some cases, such as climate change, countries cannot individually reverse adverse trends (OECD, 2001). In others, such as biodiversity and water shortages, consequences of continued degradation spill over national borders. Globalisation of economic activity and changes in countries' relative economic weights have also shifted policy priorities from the local and national levels to the regional and global ones (*ibid.*). As a result, national policies in many areas have become less effective on their own, prompting calls for new multilateral responses. International co-operation, however, requires shared priorities for action and criteria for sharing its costs. It is difficult to reach an agreement on these priorities when large disparities exist in economic conditions among countries.

The concept of resilience has broad policy and scholarly appeal and has contributed to the modern understanding and management of complex socio-ecological systems such as cities (Berkes, 2003; Seeliger, 2013). However, this concept is also fast becoming a cliché. Different political actors from non-governmental organisations to policy-makers employ resilience to promote different agendas, ranging from the provision of protective infrastructure and enforcement of land-use regulations to changing livelihood sources and resettlement of vulnerable communities (Anguelovski *et al.,* 2016). In urban planning, climate change and disaster studies, resilience refers to the capacity of a socio-ecological system to withstand and recover from threats (Berkes, 2003). This includes the

degree to which a system is capable of stability, persistence, adaptability and transformability (Seeliger, 2013; Walker *et al.,* 2004). Adaptability is a characteristic that allows a system to cope, survive, learn and self-organise in response to threats (Berkes, 2003). Transformation, on the other hand, involves creating a fundamentally new system when ecological, economic, social and political conditions make the existing system untenable (Walker *et al.,* 2004).

The most common policy applications of resilience are efforts targeted at improving stability and persistence and, to some extent, adaptability (Berkes, 2003). Examples of transformation are limited, perhaps because it represents an irreversible regime change (Pelling, 2010). Transformation destroys old coping mechanisms and structural barriers to deep ecological, economic and social reforms, while creating new sets of demands, accompanied by a radical shift in behaviours, politics, culture, economic processes, worldviews, institutional arrangements and development patterns (Bahadur, 2014; Pelling, 2010). Favourable transformation can enhance resilience but undesirable transformation may lead to loss of resilience (Bahadur, 2014). Crises provide a window of opportunity for transformation (Pelling, 2010, Seeliger, 2013). However, contemporary resilience planning at such periods has not been transformative. At best, they tend to "build back better" (e.g. construction of higher levees in flood zones) and this is often done within existing institutional and socio-political parameters (Taylor, 2014). In other words, resilience planning and actions are directed at accommodating risks and their root causes, rather than the root causes themselves (Pelling, 2010).

Conventional thinking and planning for resilience have been criticised for failing to adequately take into account the multiple stressors that shape urban societies. These societies are not only vulnerable to environmental and climatic risks, but have become increasingly vulnerable to the outcomes of economic restructuring under neoliberal and entrepreneurial principles, changing property markets and global capital pressures (Datta, 2015). These global metabolic assemblages and the political economy in which they operate, played a key role in creating the present environmental crisis that resilience thinking is mobilised in response to (Swyngedouw, 2015). Davoudi (2012) states that resilience, as a concept, also fails to take into account the power relations, politics and social

conflicts, among actors, involved in adaptation but, instead, reinforces existing inequalities brought about by neoliberal governance (Swyngedouw, 2015). The fact these issues are under-theorised within conventional thinking, makes the uncritical promotion of resilience as a goal in urban planning and adaptation problematic.

This literature notes that cities' resilience challenges are multi sectorial, multifaceted and contextually specific (Bicknell, Dodman and Satterthwaite, 2012; Cutter, Burton and Emrich, 2010; Sherrieb, Norris and Galea, 2010). Consequently, urban resilience interventions need to involve social and economic strategies as much as physical ones (Jha, Miner and Stanton-Geddes, 2013; Tanner *et al.,* 2009). However, the literature's findings diverge between studies that find that effective resilience-building interventions should be varied and tailored to specific city contexts and those suggesting more prescriptive processes, solutions and implementation.

Past evidence also supports these strategies. The literature suggests that resilience planning and plans are needed in cities (Berke and Smith, 2009). Literature also cites notable barriers to successful implementation, including the lack of funding, institutional constraints and difficulties in anticipating long-term physical and social needs such as climate change scenarios (Biesbroek and Lesnikowski, 2018; Bulkeley, 2013). Some evidence indicates that resilience activities should include a focus on institutional change in government operations as well, such as de-siloing efforts between emergency management and community development entities (Aylett, 2015; Martín *et al.,* 2016). However, past attempts to transform city government or public operations and planning through staffing, intensive technical assistance, or funding, are few and far between and have provided few documented outcomes or impacts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The goal of resilience-building is transformation. The transformation has been described as 'an approach to holistically and fundamentally build, reshape and enhance people's capacity to adapt to, anticipate and absorb shocks and stresses' (Bahadur *et al.,* 2015:12). It is a deliberate, strategic

process, usually involving innovation, empowerment and fundamental changes to how people's capacity to adapt to, anticipate and absorb shocks can be built, reshaped and enhanced (Bahadur *et al.,* 2015).

Findings suggest programming to strengthen community resilience should centre on community networks and social capital and should support community-driven responses (Community and Regional Resistance Institute (CARRI), 2013). With the skyrocketing number of urban dwellers, cities will struggle to provide water due to hydrologic changes and increased need; modelling found that by 2050, one billion people will reside in cities with perennial water shortages (not accounting for access issues or quality of water) (Population Council, 2018). In the first global survey of large cities' water sources, researchers found that previous analyses overestimated global water stress because they did not account for infrastructure. However, despite significant infrastructure, one in four cities remains water stressed due to geographical and financial limitations (McDonald *et al.,* 2014).

Evidence about city networks affirms their increasing importance for sharing resilience lessons (Alger, 2011). It is argued that cities must be brought together in a network that encourages global environmental governance (Bulkeley, 2005; Gustavsson, Elander and Lundmark, 2009). Though there is strong political and ideological support for these networks (Giest and Howlett, 2013; Hakelberg, 2014; Lidskog and Elander, 2010; Toly, 2008), efforts often fall short of expectations as the ability to deliver results depends on many factors that are often not considered by all network members (Fadeeva, 2005). Beyond city outcomes, network use also leads to outcomes relating to the management and structure of the network itself. Bouteligeir (2013) notes that city-to-city networks often face complex power dynamics and unequal involvement is unavoidable. Successful curation of the network is, therefore needed, especially in a network's early formation.

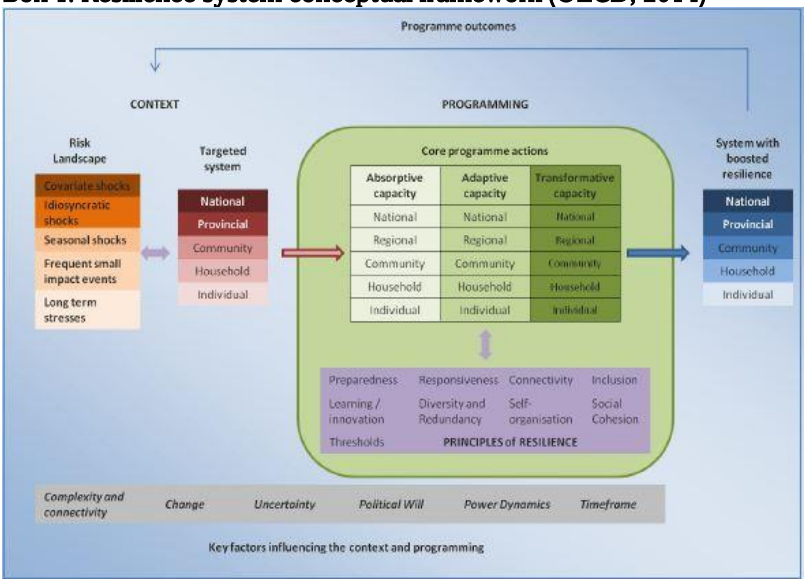
In this context, recent research has called for more attention to be dedicated to urban knowledge systems (Jon, 2018; Muñoz-Erickson *et al.,* 2017). Several scientific tools and technical devices, such as maps and

Geographic Information Systems (GIS), are routinely used in urban planning and support the development of resilience strategies (Pelling, 2011; Godschalk,2003). Practices such as community vulnerability and risk assessment and resilience action plans pervade and also delineate how resilience is constructed (Kitchin *et al.,* 2012; Porter, 1996). Science is not a monolithic block and different epistemologies and forms of knowledge exist (Knorr Cetina, 2007). With regards to resilience, much knowledge comes from natural science disciplines, with social science often limited to vulnerability assessments (Donovan and Oppenheimer, 2015).

Quantitative tools are generally granted more authority than other forms of knowledge(Kovacic, 2018).Yet, rather than more physical science knowledge, it has been argued that it is more social scientific knowledge that is needed to understand, for example, barriers to climate change adaptation (Hackman *et al.,* 2014; Lorenzoni and Whitmarsh, 2014). At the same time, several authors have questioned the dichotomy between lay and expert knowledge (Wynne, 1992) and emphasized the value of local knowledge, such as in the case of climate change adaptation (Naess, 2013). Box 1 shows the conceptual framework for a resilience system. To integrate resilience into programming, it is critical to understand the key concepts underpinning resilience systems analysis. The analysis process, summarised in Box 1:

- starts with an understanding of the risk landscape in a particular context.
- looks at how those risks will affect society's systems.
- gathers information about how those systems are set up to cope with those risks and whether this makes them resilient.
- determines what needs to be done to boost resilience; to help the different parts of the system to either absorb those shocks, adapt so that they are less exposed to those shocks, or transform so that the shock will no longer affect them.
- the result is a resilient system, which will then change the overall context and risk landscape.

Box 1: Resilience system conceptual framework (OECD, 2014)



Boosting resilience is an iterative process: resilience programming targets specific societal systems and the risk landscape affecting them. The outcomes of programming will, in turn, affect the context.

Attempts have also been made to identify common features of resilience at the community level (Twigg, 2009; Arup International Development, 2012). A recent review identified nine core elements of community resilience: local knowledge, community networks and relationships, communication, health, governance and leadership, resources, economic investment, preparedness and mental outlook (Patel *et al.,* 2017). Although many different matrices have been developed, there is no consensus on how to measure resilience in the field. It is generally agreed that resilience is highly contextual, requiring multi-sectoral approaches adapted to local circumstances (Winderl, 2014; Levine, 2014). Without the ability to identify and serve these populations, humanitarian aid after disasters and longer-term development programmes may inadvertently systematically exclude them when creating policies and programmes (Population Council, 2018). This will leave out vulnerable groups that are

unable to plan for and adapt to change and are exposed to loss of housing, property, life, employment and opportunity for economic and social development.

Increasingly, resilience is being understood in terms of building different types of capacity within communities and social-ecological systems. Many agencies use the approach of the Building Resilience and Adaptation to Climate Extremes and Disasters (BRACED) programme, which identifies three types of capacity: adaptive, anticipatory and absorptive (often referred to as the '3As') (Twigg *et al.,* 2019:3; Bahadur *et al.,* 2015). Adaptive capacity is the ability of social systems to adapt to multiple, long-term and future climate change risks and to learn and adjust after a disaster. Anticipatory capacity is the ability of social systems to anticipate and reduce the impact of climate variability and extremes through preparedness and planning (Bahadur *et al.,* 2015). Absorptive capacity is the ability of social systems to face and manage adverse conditions or emergencies. The 3As approach is widely used by operational agencies to plan and evaluate resilience programmes. Linked to this is transformation, the series of deliberate attempts to engineer the changes required to build capacities and achieve the desired goal – for example, to alter institutional policies or power relations – often involving innovative technologies and processes (*ibid.*). Table 1 provides some examples of the three types of capacities, for different categories of capital within the livelihood system.

Table 1: Some examples of the three types of capacities, for different categories of capital within the livelihood system

	Absorptive capacity	**Adaptive capacity**	**Transformative capacity**
Financial capital Human capital	- Support access to markets to increase the sale of agricultural/livestock products - Setting up and linking savings groups, pooling of community goods, mutual solidarity banks. - Integration of displaced children into new schools in host communities	- Better access to micro-credit and revolving funds, to encourage risk-taking for new incoming generating activities - Introduction of e-banking mechanisms - Increase understanding of the rights of the child (including education) - Establish formal health insurance schemes	- Open a formal insurance market - Social protection systems. - Simplify and explain the tax law to limit corruption - Provide free education - Decentral ise the healthcare system

	- Use of traditional medicine - Social support groups to help families pay for health care		
Natural capital Physical capital	- Sale or slaughter of livestock - Moving to a more secure area -Vaccination - Reforestation - Setting and securing national park boundaries -Strengthen committees in charge of infrastructure maintenance -Ensure community participation in planning processes for community infrastructure	- Diversification of livestock holdings Animal vaccination -Support to the REDD+ process - Introduce new technologies: efficient combustion fireplaces, recycling and improved management of waste, alternative energy sources -Promote civic education in schools, including a component on energy, environmental protection and climate change	- Reform of Land tenure Law: assuring proper planning and synergies with different land-users - Advocate for greater decentralisation of national budgets and systems
Political capital Social capital	- Better transparency and accountability in community decision-making -Support and strengthen local initiatives for community meetings and for land conflict resolution - Use of mediation and peace committees -Community networks for the protection of children, youth patrols to prevent theft and rape	- Support community organisations to participate in local power structures, including greater inclusion of women and different ethnic groups -Educate voters, strengthen democratic culture and increase dialogue between political parties - Training of peace committees and another group -Promotion of shared community spaces and natural resources -Strengthen the role of women in community governance	- Advocate improving election transparency -Educate citizens about democratic principles -Advocate for the respect and the reform of land-related Legislation - Support the restoration of formal justice systems and promote trust in these mechanisms -Reinforce women in leadership positions -Remove the stigmatisation of those suffering from rape and other critical protection incidents

Aid and development agencies face significant challenges in building resilience in unstable and violent contexts, especially in protracted crises (Levine and Mosel, 2014). Conflict reduction and DRR initiatives are usually carried out separately and there has been little progress in adopting more integrated approaches (Peters, 2017). A 2016 report by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) observed that, 'in reality, policy-makers and practitioners know relatively little about how to reduce fragility and increase resilience' (OECD, 2016: 13).

However, superficial value-neutrality does not mean that value conflicts are resolved, rather, conflicts overvalues maybe suppressed and hidden (Simon and Randalls, 2016; Welsh, 2014). If so, this may only delay and deepen tensions and potentially undermine the long-term functioning of integrated planning approaches that are thought essential for sustainable urban development (McEwen *et al.,* 2017; Mitra *et al.,* 2017; Bull-Kamanga *et al.,* 2003). The meaning and practice of resilience are shaped by competing and unequally powerful actors in the city and beyond (Leitner *et al.,* 2018; Wilson, 2012). Where diversity is not acknowledged, debates over resilience will undermine the potential for more integrated policy and democratic decision-making. Consensus will be built on false foundations and may undermine trust between urban actors (Solecki *et al.,* 2017). On the other hand, if urban resilience is negotiated and even contested, through a process, it can help to surface these tensions and better situate and ground the focus of resilience goals and activities (Harris *et al.,* 2017; Friend and Moench, 2013).

RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY OPTIONS

The World Food Programme (WFP)'s 2016–20-Zimbabwe strategy ('Building resilience for zero hunger') also addresses long term recovery and resilience-building to address the underlying causes of food insecurity and nutrition, while maintaining humanitarian assistance capacity. Specifically, resilience can help build the capacity of states and societies to deal with increased risk, recover their core functions quickly after a shock and deliver long-term solutions. The European Union(EU) aims at a dynamic, multi-dimensional approach to resilience at all levels to address the risk nexus, that is, vulnerability to multiple interrelated risks, including environmental and economic shocks, disasters, conflicts and global threats to health – and enhance the resilience of the most vulnerable people, particularly in countries facing protracted or recurrent crises. This

requires operationalizing the humanitarian-development nexus by strengthening the links between relief, rehabilitation and development. According to Urban Africa, Risk Knowledge (2019) for resilience to take place the following recommendations were made:

- Build a common understanding and awareness about the city's resilience and promote urban resilience planning using 'good enough' data in a participatory manner, based on the knowledge and perceptions of municipal staff and local communities.
- Leverage local knowledge of urban risk through inclusive consultations, participatory risk mapping and focus group discussions and build local ownership of the city resilience planning process to define priority actions in the short-, medium- and longer-term, within a 10-year vision and with minimum interventions from externals.
- Develop local capacity and engagement to facilitate the implementation of identified priorities with clear responsibilities assigned to different stakeholders.
- Use the resulting city Resilience Framework for Action (RFA), which allows local stakeholders to self-organise and can be used for leveraging funds from sub-national or national authorities or external partners.

Although some aspects of resilience in fragile and insecure contexts have been researched, for example, issues linked to climate resilience or informal coping mechanisms, there is need to better understand the relationships between insecurity and fragility and resilience, based on empirical evidence from programmes. Private sector organisations can play an important role in such contexts by creating jobs and economic opportunities and as programme partners, implementers and intermediaries in contexts where state institutions lack the authority or capacity to play this role effectively.

Resilience-building and livelihood approaches in fragile and volatile environments need adaptive management and flexible programming. International donors and policy frameworks should acknowledge that experimental learning and a readiness to pilot new ideas and learn from failure can be key success factors, but this takes time. Sustainable and predictable funding should be allocated to conflict prevention and peace-

building in fragile contexts, with different and adaptable approaches, to contribute to building resilience and enhancing livelihoods.

Interventions enhancing community resilience should be tailored to the specific characteristics of the local context. Interventions aiming to move from a short-term humanitarian perspective to a longer-term development one should invest in background analysis to understand how local resources (socio-economic, institutional and environmental) define local vulnerabilities, but also how they can be key to building resilience strategies. International donors and policy frameworks should promote dynamic and multidimensional approaches to resilience. Building resilience to multiple and interrelated risks requires multifaceted solutions integrating humanitarian assistance and development, covering different sectors with interventions that are both nutrition-sensitive and climate-smart at global, regional, national and local levels.

Governments also need to "lead by example" in promoting sustainable development. Governments should, therefore, focus their internal policy design and implementation processes on more effectively integrating the three dimensions of sustainable development (economic, environmental and social); improving their capacity to support sustainable development; and developing transparent and productive mechanisms for interacting with civil society. They should improve the capacity for policy integration at all levels of government by:

- ensuring that key economic, environmental and social considerations are integrated into sectoral policy analysis, design and implementation before decisions are taken, using tools such as environmental, social and regulatory impact assessments and cost-benefit analysis.
- ensuring that the best scientific advice on sustainability issues is coordinated at the highest possible level within government and communicated promptly to decision-makers.
- co-operating internationally to develop common approaches for making economic, environmental and social policies mutually supportive.
- assessing the coherence of their international engagements, to improve international policy-making processes.

- identifying sustainable development policy targets and timetables and conducting regular reviews of progress (including through peer review).
- developing the capacity within government to use information and communication technology to coordinate effectively across government.

CONCLUSION

Resilience is enhanced by improving the anticipatory, absorptive and adaptive capacities of households and communities to moderate the impact of shocks and adjust responses to changing internal and/or external drivers. This helps to build transformative capacities for systemic change. Addressing climate change is a particularly urgent challenge, requiring strong international cooperation and leadership from OECD countries to act rapidly to achieve the mitigation levels envisaged under the Kyoto Protocol. OECD countries need to better align their domestic policies with climate change objectives. They also need to introduce market-based measures, such as emission trading systems, carbon taxes and subsidy reforms and to combine these policies with focused programmes for technology development and diffusion that include low carbon emissions energy sources. They need to develop long-term mitigation policies and strengthen their partnerships with developing countries, to stabilise concentrations at levels that avoid dangerous interference with the climate system.

This study reveals the complexities and 'messiness' of resilience planning and adaptation in the context of an emerging future city in an African megacity. It shows that resilience planning and climate change adaptation are not necessarily mutually inclusive, as some actions may lead to maladaptation where attention is not paid to issues of power relations, capital accumulation, discursive politics, knowledge contestations and marginalisation of the poor and vulnerable. Theoretically, this study brings into closer dialogue UPE scholarship and the resilience and risk debate in the context of future cities. The study revealed how 'future city planning' as a political project, perpetuates enclosure and commodification practices to increase the resilience of capitalist investors, the economic elite and the transnational class. Furthermore, knowledge generated from this endeavour, adds new impetus to the scrutiny of the constructive and destructive processes associated with certain State-sponsored public-private adaptations.