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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHITECTURE AND BUILDING SCIENCE

SCHOOL OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

**ANALYSIS OF CHANGING POSITIONS AND INTERESTS OF STAKEHOLDERS:
THE CASE OF SOWETO EAST, KIBERA PILOT PROJECT**

BY

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**RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE
REQUIREMENTS OF THE MASTER OF URBAN MANAGEMENT DEGREE IN THE
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2010

DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references and that this work has not been submitted before for any other degree at any other university.

Signed: 20/9/2010.....

Date: 

Jacinta Juma

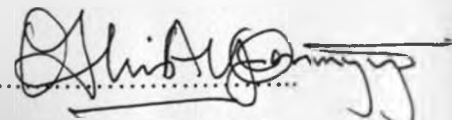
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this report to my husband Isaac and children, James, Asaso and Abinya for their love and support during the period I was undertaking my studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My sincere gratitude goes to all the key stakeholders of the Soweto East Pilot project.

Without their cooperation this study would not have succeeded. I am most grateful to

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I thank my family for tolerating my prolonged absence from home during my two years of studying and fieldwork and for bearing with me when I was busy writing this report. I thank my parents; Mr. & Mrs. Duncan Otiende, who sacrificed in order to send me to school. I say to them, you have given me an inheritance that I will never be able to repay. God has blessed your efforts. Above all, I would like to thank the Lord Jesus Christ for leading me this far and for giving me strength, confidence and grace throughout my academic career.

Abstract

One of the key landmarks in the process of slum upgrading in Kenya is the implementation of the Soweto East pilot project. The project is one of the many projects envisioned in the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP). The programme was initiated by the UN-Habitat and the government of Kenya in 2001 with an aim of improving the livelihoods of people living and working in the slums and informal settlements starting with selected slums of which the area of study was part. Kibera's Soweto East village was selected as a pilot project owing to its high density and physical characteristics. The process of upgrading this informal settlement has not been without its own challenges including lack of finances, lack of technical capacity, political interference and conflict due to changing positions and interests among stakeholders in the project.

This study established how the various stakeholders involved in the project had changed their positions and interests over time and the impact of this change on the project. The study has provided a background of KENSUP and specifically some of the key stakeholders of Soweto East pilot project. A general statement of the problem which led to the research has been stated. The major objective of the study was to determine whether the positions and interests of stakeholders of the Soweto East Pilot project had changed over time and the causes and effects of such changes on the project. This study was conducted because it is the analysis of positions and interests of stakeholders over time that is key to minimal conflict and better management of slum projects. The study was limited to Soweto East pilot project and the key stakeholders in the project. It analyzed the stakeholder, equity and conflict theories which formed the cornerstone of the research findings. The study adopted a case

study as the type of research design. It analyzed and identified all the relevant key stakeholders before using the purposive method to sample those that provided primary data. Interviews and focused group discussion were used to obtain data. Participant observation and retrospective analysis of reports, correspondences and minutes of meetings were used to supplement information from interviews and focus group discussion. The data was analyzed manually using descriptive method. Data has been presented in the form of statistical graphs and charts. The conclusion and recommendations have been provided as part of the output of the research study.

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The first section of the journal is devoted to the study of the moral dimensions of business. This section includes articles that explore the ethical implications of various business practices, such as marketing, advertising, and sales. The second section of the journal is devoted to the study of the moral dimensions of business. This section includes articles that explore the ethical implications of various business practices, such as marketing, advertising, and sales. The third section of the journal is devoted to the study of the moral dimensions of business. This section includes articles that explore the ethical implications of various business practices, such as marketing, advertising, and sales.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.0. Background to the study

According to a report by United Nations (2008a), human civilization reached a historic landmark in 2008 when for the first time ever, more than half the world's population lived in its cities. By 2050, cities are projected to gain over 6.4 billion people, making the world's human population 70 percent urban (UN, 2008a). Most of this growth is expected to take place in the developing countries. According to United Nations (2008) it is projected that by 2050, Asia and Latin America's urban population will increase by 1.8 billion and 0.2 billion respectively. In Africa the urban population will increase by 0.9 billion people, due to increased natural demographic growth of urban populations, rural- urban migration and expansion of urban boundaries (UN-Habitat, 2008b).

In a world that is fast urbanizing, where cities are the centers of economic growth and human life, increasing demands are made on governments to build, expand and equip cities to provide for the millions who are added onto the urban population every year. The rapid urbanization in developing countries, without adequate policies and plans has led to the increase in the number of people living in slums. It is approximated that about 75 percent of the world's one billion poor people live in urban slums without decent shelter or basic sanitation, health and other city services (UN-Habitat, 2008). Kenya's capital city; Nairobi, has some of the most dense, unsanitary and insecure slums in the world (World Bank, 1999). Almost half of the city's population lives in over 100 slums and squatter settlements within the city, with little or inadequate access to safe water and sanitation (UN-Habitat, 2008). Housing conditions in slums are deplorable and most residents have no form of secure tenure (UNCHS, 1996).

Proliferation of slums in Kenya has been caused by a host of factors that include; poor land tenure system, lack of an integrated plan, increased urban poverty, lack of decent cheap housing, lack of an adequate housing policy, lack of coordination amongst stakeholders, politicization of development, among others (Senteu, 2006). The global and local responses, paradigm shifts, have been highly politicized and compounded by numerous actors with different interests and unequal powers. Efforts to harmonize and coordinate stakeholders' actions have always borne mixed results (Kedogo, 2009).

The Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme was initiated to address the root causes of slums in the country and to offer practical solutions (UN-Habitat, 2008). It was the result of a meeting in November 2000 between the then President of Kenya and the Executive Director of UN-HABITAT at which the Executive Director offered to spearhead a slum upgrading programme for Kenya starting with Nairobi's largest slum, Kibera (Gok, 2006; UN-Habitat,2008). The programme was initiated in 2001 with an overall goal of improving the livelihoods of at least 5.3 million people living and working in the slums and informal settlements of Kenya (GoK, 2006). The broad goal of the programme, according to the Government of Kenya, is to improve the lives and livelihoods of people living and working in slums and informal settlements in the urban areas of Kenya through provision of security of tenure, housing improvement, income generation and physical and social infrastructure (GoK, 2006).

At the time of the study, the programme was in the implementation phase having gone through the inception and preparatory phases (GoK, 2006). During the inception and preparatory phases a number of studies, including but not limited to baseline surveys, situational analysis for Nairobi and the selection of initial sites for the upgrading projects were done, of which Soweto East village in Kibera was one of them. The pilot project is aimed at operationalizing the principles of

good governance, providing a broad range of social and physical infrastructure services, providing security of tenure and improved housing, enhancing opportunities for income generation and employment creation, attracting private sector finance and encouraging investment in slum upgrading, promoting a culture for environmental conservation and management, enhancing the capacity for research, planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and replication of shelter and human settlements programmes, addressing and mitigating the prevalence and impacts of HIV/AIDS (GoK, 2006).

Implementation started with establishment of institutional arrangements at the National level where KENSUP Secretariat was established. The secretariat is charged with the responsibility of coordination of all activities and the day to day running of the programme including the Soweto East pilot project. In the case of Soweto East pilot project, Programme Implementation Unit (PIU) and Settlement Executive Committee (SEC) were also established at the Nairobi City Council and community level respectively. Social and Economic mapping and Actors study were carried out to understand socio-economic characteristics of the residents and to document the various actors in the 12 villages in Kibera. This was based on the emerging consensus that for successful slum improvement to occur action must be undertaken by all stakeholders i.e. Government at all levels, communities, development partners, Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), private sector bodies, and academic institutions, among others. The project in collaboration with the Ministry of Home Affairs (Prisons Department) and Ministry of Lands secured a 2.5 hectares piece of land at Lang'ata as a decanting site. This site was for the purpose of constructing housing units to serve as temporary relocation premises for those residents of Kibera who were relocated to pave way for upgrading activities in their previous locations. The construction of 600 number, 3 roomed housing units at the decanting site was completed and the

relocation of Soweto East residents took place as had previously been envisioned. KENSUP Secretariat officials in consultation with the community established the management of the housing units and other facilities at the Decanting Estate. Other outcomes of the project include but are not limited to formation of Housing cooperatives to mobilize financial resources of the community towards the eventual ownership of housing units to be constructed in Soweto East Kibera, partial construction of an access road, a resource centre, water and sanitation facilities and development of a master plan showing the proposed land uses in Soweto East Kibera.

The project like other slum improvement projects identified the importance of building broad inter institutional partnerships and strategic alliances across public and private sectors in order to sustain city wide upgrading program (GoK, 2006; UN- Habitat, 2008). Various actors have been involved in the project since its inception including; development partners and donor agencies, the Government of Kenya, civil society organizations, political groups, local authorities, private sector, professional and academic institutions and most importantly the community of Kibera. However, such arrangements are difficult and likely to result in tension and conflict due to distinct interests and priorities, diverse backgrounds, differing institutional and funding capacity and various levels of power and influence (Sanyal & Mukhija, 2001). Stakeholders can be a major source of uncertainty in any project. This uncertainty encompasses who relevant stakeholders are, how they could influence a project, and what their motives are in so far as their actions affect project activity. It is from this background that this research project sought to establish if, why and how positions and interests of key stakeholders of the Soweto East pilot project had changed and the effect such changes had on the project.

This study analyzed the changing positions and interests of the key stakeholders in Soweto East pilot project by first conducting participatory stakeholder analysis (focus group discussion) and reviewing project documents to determine the key stakeholders. A semi structured interview was then conducted to find out whether their interests and positions had changed over time and the causes and effects of these changes on the project. The study also sought to establish whether Equity theory could account for the changing positions of stakeholders towards the project. Interests and positions of stakeholders at different project phases were used to provide a focus in the data collection, subsequent analysis and interpretation of data. They formed the basis for including and excluding literature reviewed.

1.1 Problem statement

In Kenya, the problem of slums and squatter settlement is still persistent despite the establishment of the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme by the government of Kenya in collaboration with other partners. More of these settlements are coming up in many of the urban areas. The implementation of the pilot project has faced serious challenges. This is because the programme is faced with numerous challenges which hinder effective implementation of its projects that will see the number of informal settlements reduced significantly. One of the main challenges facing the programme is coordination of various stakeholders with diverse interests, involved in the various activities of the project. Interests and positions of key stakeholders changed from time to time, while no mechanism was put in place to track and deal with some of the negative effects of such changes. For example, conflict among stakeholders led to delay in implementation of proposed project.

In project planning and implementation the support or opposition of parties involved in or affected by the project is an important factor in determining its success or failure (Montgomery, 1974 & Brinkerhoff, 1991). A project's stakeholder interests and positions can change throughout the project cycle as the stakeholders change roles within the project. Most project management methodologies define ways to identify project stakeholders' interests and positions prior to the commencement of the project, then base their entire communications and implementation strategies on this initial and only identification of interests and positions. This has resulted in many projects failing because stakeholders do not continue to support the vision or objectives of the projects. In many cases, this is because the project manager does not recognize changes in interest or positions of key stakeholders thereby failing to make appropriate adjustments in their stakeholder management activities.

Slum improvement is sensitive and explosive situations often occur from time to time in the light of diverse interests of stakeholders. Conflicts have arisen as to whether beneficiaries of upgrading should be the tenants or 'slum lords'. Ideally, the person residing in the slum area should be considered the beneficiary since that is the only kind of accommodation affordable to him. It can be argued that the absentee 'slum lords' do not live there because they can afford better shelter elsewhere. Also, even though they invested in the structures, they would have recouped their initial investment in a given period and after that period, they would be making profit from land that did not belong to them.

An upgrading project in Mathare 4A in Nairobi, Kenya, stalled after a heightened conflict among the various stakeholders within the project. The actors had supported the project during the conceptual stage but later some changed their positions and opposed the project when it became clear that their expectations would not be met. The landlords and politicians, who were at the risk

of losing their source of income and voter support respectively, moved in prior to implementation and incited the residents against supporting the very project that would have improved their living conditions. Hostility, threats to those that supported the project and violence characterized the implementation phase of this project to the extent that it stalled.

The Soweto East pilot project in Kibera has been characterized by numerous actors all who have different stakes in the project. Stakeholder involvement in the project has been remarkable since most of those affected and interested in the project were brought on board since the inception of the project. However, the same stakeholders who should have catalyzed the implementation of the pilot project in Kibera contributed to the delays experienced in implementation of the project. Their interests changed with the project's cycle. Some changes in interests consequently led to negative changes in position which greatly affected the project.

Proposed in the year 2002, the project is still in the early implementation stage and is currently delayed by a court injunction after structure owners opposed relocation without compensation (The standard, 20th August 2010). UN Habitat, the main partner that was expected to provide technical support and source funds for the project are yet to put any money in the fund. This has been due to differences in ideologies on how slum upgrading should be carried out and suspicion between the organization and the Ministry of Housing. A commitment by UN-Habitat to finance the construction of 6 blocks at the Decanting Estate did not also materialize. An access road under construction at the time of this study in Soweto East had to be done in phases with phase one being financed fully by the Government of Kenya, using conventional construction method while the phase two is being financed fully by UN Habitat and implemented by Maji na ufanisi, an NGO utilizing community contracting (UN-Habitat, 2008). The above scenario is happening because in this project, stakeholders' interests were assumed to be static, and consultations on

positions and interests of stakeholders took place during the conceptual stage, yet the interests and positions of stakeholders have not remained stable and present increasing challenges to the focal institution which is the Ministry of housing. The changing interests and positions of stakeholders towards a project is a vital area of research in the quest to further our understanding of stakeholder dynamics. No studies that am aware of have been carried out to establish whether positions and interests of stakeholders towards the project had changed since conception, their causes and effects on the project. This is despite the fact that project managers encounter changing conditions, needs and expectations. What might have been acceptable at one time may not be accepted at a later time.

Projects generally contain a continuous decision making process throughout the project phases as different issues and problems arise and the variety of stakeholders may have different influences and needs during the project stages (Wit, 2000). Stakeholder involvement may also become entangled when the view and opinion of a stakeholder changes over time when complexity increases and insight may decrease (Wit, 2000).

Disgruntled or dissatisfied stakeholders like the structure owners, in the case of Soweto East Project took action against the focal institution (Ministry of Housing) in response to some action or inaction by that organization in respect to the project.



Credit: Greg Scruggs (April 22nd, 2010)

The potential for conflict, an underlying feature of stakeholder relationships is enhanced if no attention is paid to these changing positions and interests. The conflict if left unattended may negatively affect the project by causing unnecessary delays, increased costs or death of projects.

1.2 General aim of the study

To determine whether the positions and interests of stakeholders of the Soweto East Pilot project had changed over time, the causes and effects of such changes on the project.

1.2.1 Specific aims of the study

The specific aims of the project were as follows:

- i. To establish whether the positions and interests of key stakeholders had changed from the time of conception to implementation phase, and the causes of such changes.

- ii. To establish whether there was a relationship between changing positions and interests
- iii. To investigate how the change in positions and interest had impacted on the project.
- iv. To test applicability of equity theory in analysis of changing positions

1.3 Justification of the study

Information on changing interests and positions of key stakeholders can be used in redesigning projects threatened by stakeholder conflict. Understanding the stakeholders and analyzing their positions and interests can help in better management of slum projects and can assist in minimizing the chances of having stakeholder conflict. This is because there are structural factors that often make it difficult to openly admit the existence of conflict in a project (Klingebiel, 1999). Analysis of positions and interests of stakeholders over time is therefore one of the indirect ways of establishing early the potential or existence of conflict.

In the case of Soweto East Kibera Pilot, stakeholder conflict is threatening the life of the project. Some of the key stakeholders have reduced or stopped supporting the project as the project has progressed through the different phases. No study that I am aware of has been done to collect information on stakeholder conflict in Soweto East Project. Information on changing positions and interests if availed and used by the Project Manager could assist in bringing the project back on track. It is critical that slum improvements projects in developing countries register some measure of success. This is because mismanagement and failed projects have a larger impact in the developing world than in rich countries, notwithstanding the smaller amounts of money involved in some of the projects. Financial resources are scarcer and poor populations are often not served by acceptable services and infrastructure and thus suffer more from the failure of slum improvement projects (Thomasson, 2005). Resources that have already been input into the pilot project are enormous and being a pilot it is important that some measure of success be realized to

give hope to many other slum dwellers. Additional knowledge on stakeholder dynamics will also be realized from this study.

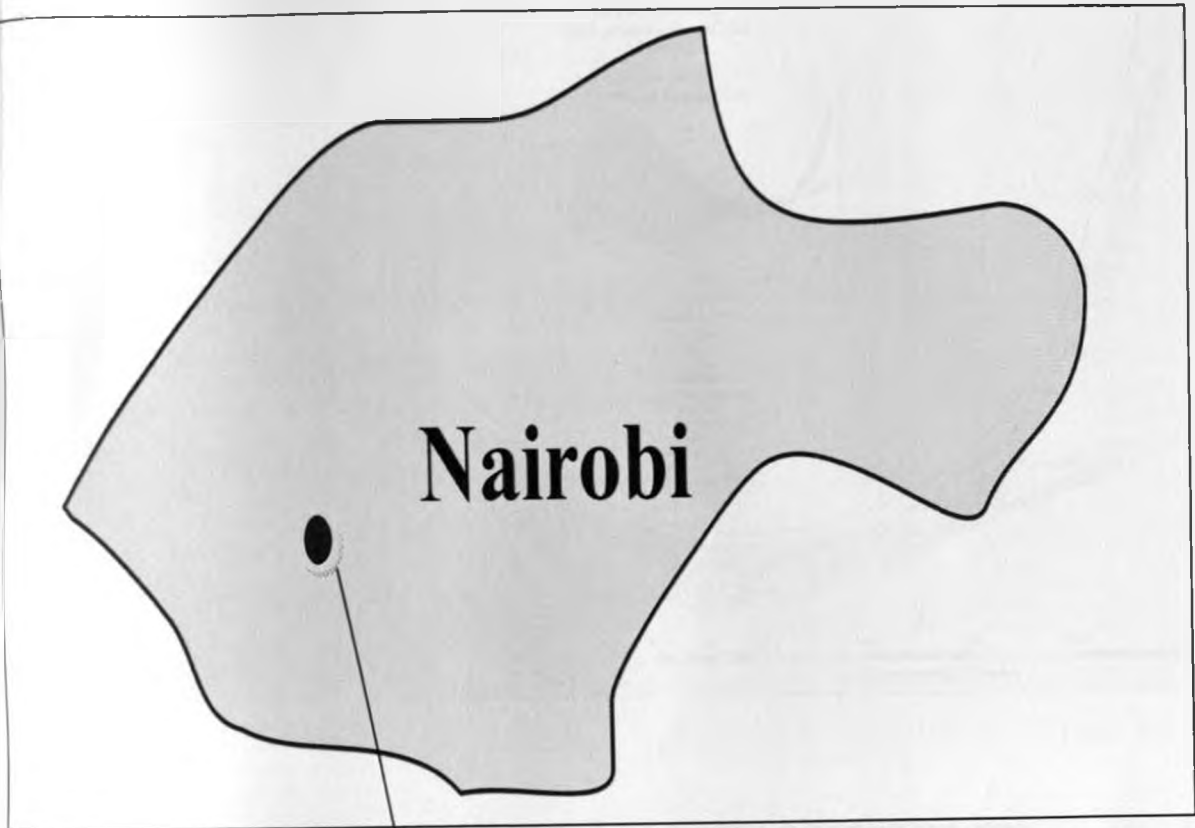
1.4 Significance of the study

The study has generated baseline data for slum upgrading projects and other projects with similar characteristics of numerous stakeholders with dynamic interests. The study has also provided recommendations to focal organizations in slum upgrading projects to manage the changing positions and interests among stakeholders. It has also provided a guideline for policy makers to develop policies to direct and coordinate the activities of stakeholders within the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme and other similar programmes.

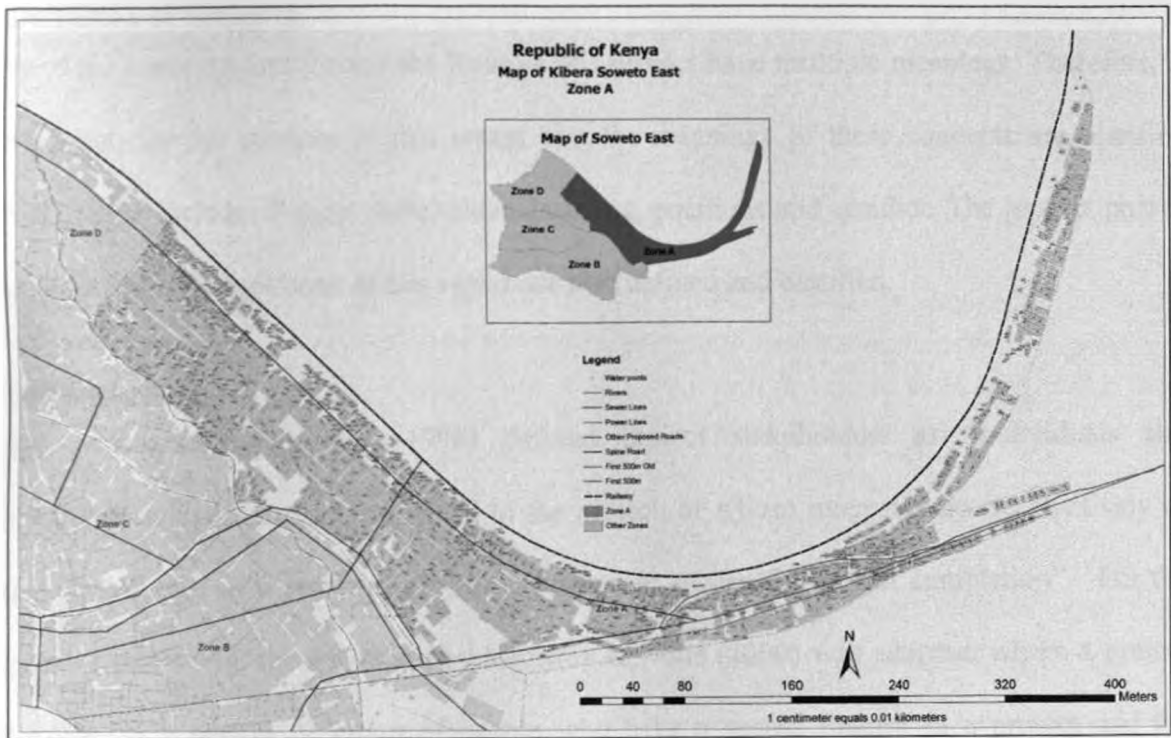
The findings of the study have helped to identify gaps in knowledge in the area of changing interests and positions among stakeholders in a project which can provide further areas of research. Lessons learnt and recommendations provided in the study can be applied to the design of other upcoming slum projects.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The study was limited to the stakeholders of Soweto East Pilot Project located in Soweto East village, Kibera division, Nairobi West district, Nairobi province of Kenya. It is a pilot project for the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme. Kibera is located southwest of Nairobi city centre and is sited approximately 5 km away from the city centre. It is the largest slum in Kenya and comprises of 12 villages; Kianda, Soweto East, Gatwekera, Kisumu Ndogo, Lindi, Laini Saba, Silanga/Undugu, Raila, Makina, Kambi Muruu, Soweto West and Mashimoni. It has an estimated population of 500,000 people covering approximately 225 hectares of land. This translates to a density of about 2000 people per hectare. It holds more than a quarter of Nairobi's population (GoK, 2006)



Map 1 The Aerial Map of Kibera (Source: Google maps)



Map 2 The map of Soweto East showing Zone A where relocation was done.

(Source: Ministry of Lands)

The study was limited to key stakeholders who had been involved with the project from conceptual to implementation phase. It sought to establish whether the positions and interests of these key stakeholders had changed from the time of conception to current phase of implementation measured, according to their actions or inaction during these phases. It also explained the causes of the change in positions and interests of stakeholders. In addition the study established the relationship between changing positions and interests and investigated how the change in positions and interest had impacted on the project.

1.6 Definition of concepts

Many of the concepts that formed the basis of this project have multiple meanings. Therefore, it is important, for the purpose of this report that the meanings of these concepts are clarified upfront. These include: Project stakeholder, interests, positions and conflict. The project phases which constitute the backbone of this report are also defined and clarified.

Project Stakeholder

Project Management Institute (1996) defined project stakeholders as “individuals and organizations who are actively involved in the project, or whose interests may be positively or negatively affected as a result of project execution or successful project completion”. For the purpose of this study, the definition by McElroy & Mills (2000) was adopted, where a project stakeholder is a person or group of people who have a vested interest in a project and the environment within which the project operates. Project Stakeholders can affect a project's functioning, goals, development and even survival. The implication of the above definitions is that a project stakeholder is any individual or group with the power to be a threat or a benefit (Gibson, 2000).

Interests

Interest refers to an underlying goal to be accomplished or need to be fulfilled (Marlene & John, 2000). For this study, interests of stakeholders included their expectations, needs and values. Interests are also seen as the desires, concerns, and fears that underlie people's positions (Ury *et al.*, 1998)

Positions

The project stakeholders possess unequal power, resources and they play different roles. This means that actions carried out by these stakeholders are reflections of these vested interests and

therefore result in winners and losers, who may support or obstruct the project initiatives in varying degrees (Vogwell, 2002). In this case, therefore positions refer to support or opposition of project decisions or objectives as expounded on by Montgomery and Brinkerhoff (Montgomery, 1974 & Brinkerhoff, 1991).

Conflict

A social situation in which a minimum of two actors or parties, strive to acquire at the same moment in time an available set of scarce resources (Wallenstein, 2002).

Phases in project cycle

There are many different definitions of how projects evolve, the five phases defined by the Project Management Institutes. (PMI, 2004) were adopted for this study.

1. Initiation/conceptual phase.
2. Planning/preparatory phase.
3. Implementation phase.
4. Control phase and
5. Closure phase.

The research was however limited to the 3rd phase of the implementation, because the Soweto East Pilot Project was at that stage when the study was conducted.

Soweto East Pilot Project cycle.

Project Phase	Year	Activity (Some of the Activities)
Conception	2002 to 2004	<p>Stakeholder consultation</p> <p>Mobilization and sensitization of the beneficiaries</p> <p>Information, education and communication strategies including media outreach activities.</p>
Preparatory	2004 to 2005	<p>Launch of the pilot project</p> <p>Social and economic mapping</p> <p>Physical mapping</p> <p>Securing and launching of decanting site</p> <p>Preparation of scheme designs, preliminary drawings and preliminary cost estimates for decanting site.</p> <p>Preparation of site layout plan detailed cost estimates for decanting sites.</p> <p>Preparation of site layout plans, detailed working drawings and cost estimates for the main project</p>
Implementation	2005- up to date	<p>Construction of infrastructural services including an access road in Kibera</p> <p>Construction of housing units at the decanting site</p> <p>Construction of water and sanitation blocks</p> <p>Formation of Housing co operatives</p> <p>Relocation of zone A residents</p> <p>Preparation of scheme designs for Zone A</p>

Table 1 Project cycle (Source: Author)

Organization of research report

The report has five main chapters. The first chapter introduces the subject and presents the problem statement, aim and objectives, justification and significance of the study, as well as a description of the study area and definition of key concepts.

Chapter two reviews the literature around stakeholder theory and dynamism, discussing why stakeholder positions and interests change. Furthermore this chapter reviews issues on key stakeholders of the Soweto Pilot Project.

Chapter three presents the methodology used in the study. The data collection methods and analysis are outlined here.

Chapter four analyses the findings of the study. This chapter is divided in four main sections.

These sections are

- i. Changing positions and interests of key stakeholders from the time of conception to implementation, and the causes of such changes.
- ii. Relationship between changing positions and interests
- iii. Effects of changing positions and interests on Soweto East project
- iv. Applicability of equity theory in analysis of changing positions

Chapter five presents conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to identify the importance of building broad inter institutional partnerships and strategic alliances across public and private sectors in order to sustain city wide upgrading program. Many authors agree that such arrangements are difficult and likely to result in tension and conflict due to distinct interests and priorities that keep on changing coupled with diverse backgrounds, differing institutional and funding capacity and various levels of power and influence (Sanyal & Mukhija, 2001).

According to Clarkson (1995) large scale development projects tend to generate heated conflict as they involve multiple stakeholders. Gregory & Keeney (1994) indicated that when such projects were in the public domain the stakeholders of the project had a right to be involved in the decision process because they would be affected in one way or another. These projects had an additional characteristic of occurring over relatively long-term horizons (Freeman, 1984). During this time period the views, attitudes and behaviors of the stakeholders could shift in direction, intensity and magnitude (Gregory & Keeney, 1994). Clarkson (1995) also noted that the interests of stakeholder groups were wide, diverse, and dynamic and therefore failure by focal organizations to address these interests could be detrimental to their performance (Clarkson, 1995; Harrison & St John, 1994; Freeman, 1984; Rhenman, 1968).

Focal organizations may fail to address the interests of stakeholders because of various reasons including scarcity of current resources (Amit & Schoemaker, 1993; Mahoney & Pandian, 1992; Barney, 1991 ;). However, failure to address such interests in most cases resulted in situations where dissatisfied stakeholders changed their position towards the project. A negative change in position could generate conflict which if left unattended negatively affects project

implementation (Barney, 1991). The reluctance to acknowledge conflict is not particular to slum projects but probably a common feature in projects, both in the context of development and in other circumstances. Thomasson in his paper titled '*Local conflict and water: addressing conflicts in water projects*', (Thomasson, 2005) highlighted the following reasons for the unwillingness to acknowledge conflicts in projects:

Conflict implies failure of a project

At the project level the mentioning of conflict seems to imply that the project failed (Klingebl, 1999). It is because of this reason that project documentation seldom contains references to conflicts. Knowledge on conflicts in projects is spread by word of mouth and is difficult to find documented (Clarkson, 1995). In a few cases where it is documented, it is made highly confidential. The lack of documentation impairs learning from experience. To get knowledge on conflicts in projects you will often have to speak to involved actors since no tracks are left in the documentation and information on conflict is usually downplayed or left out (Klingebl, 1999).

Political issues

Conflict is often used to gauge the level of political divisions among a group of people (Freeman, 1984). Many actors in projects want to avoid mentioning conflict because it can bring up political divisions which create tension and may even lead to violence. According to Freeman, most project managers sustain that all involved actors do have the same objectives and are left to deal with the conflicts informally (Freeman, 1984).

The goal of development

Conflict is also seen to compromise the assumption that all actors in development have the same goal and in this case the goal of "development". Being explicit about conflict risks putting this

goal into question. However difficult it may be, acknowledging conflict and its consequences is critical to project implementation.

In an attempt to confront these issues that cause reluctance to acknowledge conflict, it is important to carry out a stakeholder analysis to establish the stakeholders, their interests and level of importance and influence. This helps the focal organization to meet the particular needs of the different stakeholders according to their levels of importance and influence on the project. However, the stakeholders' position and interests keep changing throughout the project cycle. This is due to internal and external factors that affect the project in the various phases.

2.1 Stakeholder analysis

A stakeholder analysis identifies important groups of people or individuals that are affected or affect a project (Waugh, 1994). This could be the government, local authorities, vulnerable groups, resource users, civil society organisations and the community in the project area. These stakeholders can have their own objectives and views, which may differ and conflict with other stakeholders. The process starts with an organized group brainstorming. This is meant to identify all the people, groups, and institutions that will affect or be affected by an initiative. A Map or chart is then drawn up to indicate those identified (see *Figure 1*). Once a list of all potential stakeholders has been prepared, it is reviewed to identify the specific interests of those stakeholders in the project. Issues that are considered include, but are not limited to the project's benefit(s) to the stakeholder; the changes that the project might require the stakeholder to make; and the project activities that might cause damage or conflict for the stakeholder. The importance of each stakeholder's interest to the success of the project should also be considered. The final step is to consider the kinds of things that the project manager could do to get stakeholder support and reduce opposition.

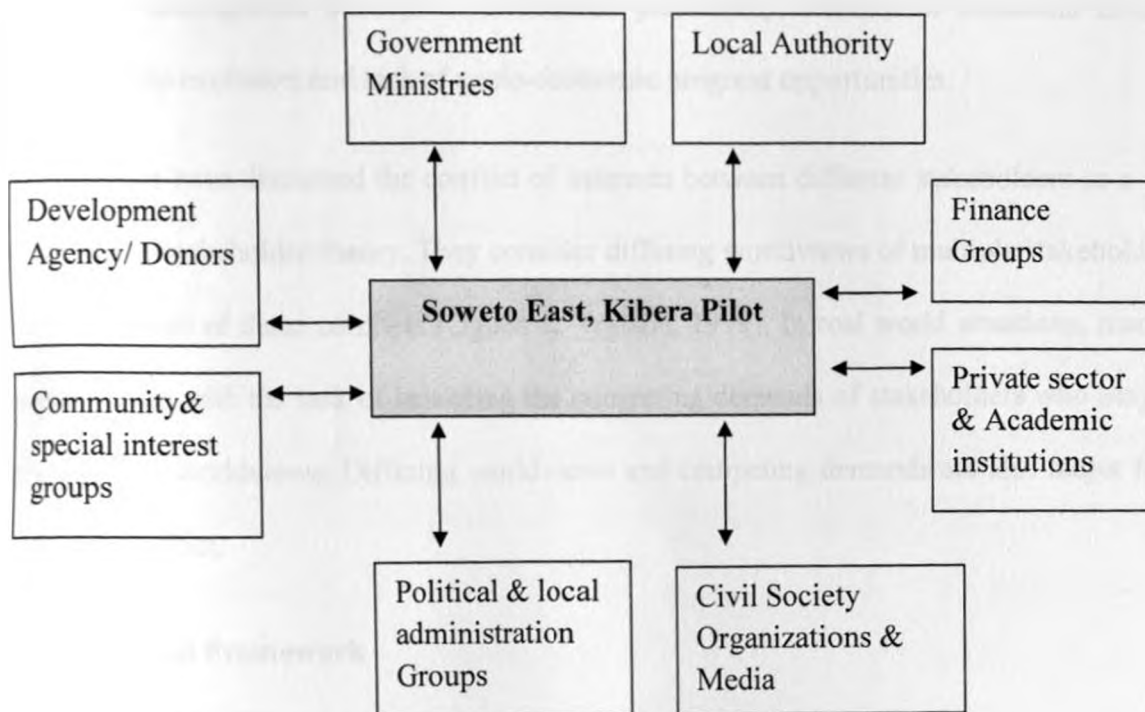


Figure 1 Stakeholder map for Soweto East Project (source: Authors' construct)

Newcombe (2003) notes that identifying formal groupings of stakeholders is relatively easy; identifying informal groupings is much more difficult. These informal groupings are likely to have a changing membership with ad hoc coalitions springing up in response to specific events in the course of the project cycle.

2.1.1 Stakeholder management

The concept of stakeholders was popularized by Freeman in 1984. Despite the fact that Freeman's focus was on the firm and its relationships with its stakeholders. The stakeholder management concept has been fundamental in promoting social welfare, environmental conservation, disease control, crime prevention among other issues (Freeman, 1984). The

stakeholder management concept is considered particularly relevant in situations involving poverty, social exclusion and lack of socio-economic progress opportunities.

Some authors have discussed the conflict of interests between different stakeholders as a major contention of stakeholder theory. They consider differing worldviews of multiple stakeholders as a primary cause of these conflicts (Ogden & Watson, 1999). In real world situations, managers are confronted with the task of balancing the competing demands of stakeholders who may hold very different worldviews. Differing worldviews and competing demands are also major factors in project conflict.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Stakeholder Theory

The theory was advanced by Freeman in 1983. According to Freeman, a firm is in relationships with a wide variety of constituents in its environment. He termed the constituents as, “stakeholders” and indicated that they have claims on the firm that compete with the interests of stockholders. He argued that the purpose of a firm is to consider, coordinate, and balance the interests of its stakeholders (Evan & Freeman, 1983; Gibson, 2000). From this point of view therefore, managers are seen as having duties not just to shareholders but also to a wide variety of individuals, groups, or organizations, such as employees, customers, suppliers, and the community (Evan & Freeman, 1983; Gibson, 2000). The success of the manager will therefore lie in his acknowledgement of the interests of this wide variety of constituents. Freeman (1984) defined a stakeholder as any group or individual who can affect, or is affected by the achievement of an organization's purpose.

Studies have shown that each stakeholder group has its own unique set of expectations, needs and values and that this diversity of interests creates a potential problem (King & Cleland, 1979).

It is the failure to address these range of interests that becomes detrimental to the achievement of an organization's purpose and performance (Clarkson, 1995; Freeman, 1984; Harrison & St John, 1994; Rhenman, 1968). King and Cleland (1979) noted that the proper management of stakeholders is the key to their cooperation. They further pointed out that failure to recognize the stakeholders' power and requirements and manage relationships with them is what leads to conflict during project implementation stage and even post-implementation stage. They added that the objective of project stakeholder management (PSM) is to encourage stakeholder support and curtail stakeholders' adverse effect since the stakeholders have different point of views of project success and not all of them will want to support the success of the project (Clarkson, 1995; Freeman, 1984; Rhenman, 1968).

2.2.2 The Nature of stakeholders interests/claims

According to the stakeholder theory, all persons or groups with legitimate interests participating in an enterprise do so to obtain benefits and there is no prima facie priority of one set of interests and benefits over another. Donaldson & Preston (1995) illustrated this idea in the figure below where the arrows between the firm and its stakeholders run in both directions to indicate a relational economic and non economic exchange among them.

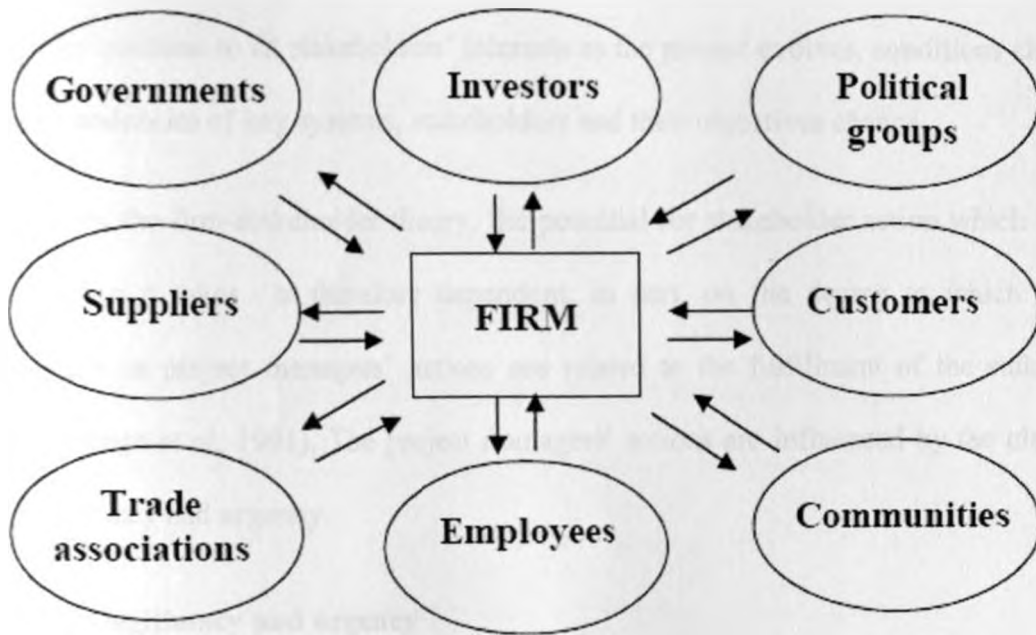


Figure 2 Relationship between the firm and its stakeholders

(Source: Donaldson and Preston, 1995)

2.2.3 Stakeholder positions and interests

According to Frooman (1999), stakeholder positions influence stakeholder actions and these actions are motivated by interests. Rowley & Moldoveanu (2003) and Frooman (1999) asserted that an underlying assumption in stakeholder research is that stakeholder action is interest driven, that is, stakeholders act in order to promote or protect their interests. According to Rowley & Moldoveanu (2003), stakeholders tend to be defined in terms of their interests or “stakes,” which are seen to be affected by the actions of the focal organization or proposed project. These interests are generally seen as providing the purpose behind stakeholders’ position towards the project or focal organization seen as the implementer. Thus, stakeholders may attempt to influence the focal organization or project manager in order to forward their interests (Gibson, 2000; Waxenberger & Spence, 2003). From the perspective of project stakeholders, Morris

(1994) points out that 'it is important that the project's objectives mesh with its stakeholders, and that they continue to fit stakeholders' interests as the project evolves, conditions change and the interdependencies of key systems, stakeholders and their objectives change.

Inferring from the firm-stakeholder theory, the potential for stakeholder action which translates to the position it takes is therefore dependent, in part, on the degree to which the focal organization's or project managers' actions are related to the fulfillment of the stakeholder's interests (Savage *et al.*, 1991). The project managers' actions are influenced by the elements of power, legitimacy and urgency.

2.2.4 Power, legitimacy and urgency

According to the article "Toward a theory of stakeholder identification and salience: Defining the principle of whom and what really counts" by Mitchell *et al.*, (1997), power legitimacy and urgency defines the elements to which stakeholders can be categorized.

The element of power can be based on material or financial or symbolic possessions. Rudolph and Peluchette (1993) confirmed that the power bases of the main actors and indeed the actors themselves shift over time and that organization, especially project organizations, operate with a system of multiple and often conflicting objectives (Newcombe, 2003). The element of legitimacy is looked at in terms of moral rights and claims or when something is found to be at jeopardy. While the element of urgency is the most difficult to define because it is time sensitive, however it can be defined as the amount of immediate attention claimed by a stakeholder. Based on these three elements, stakeholders can be classified according to the following sets: Demanding, dominant, dormant, dangerous, discretionary, non-stakeholder, definitive and dependent (Mitchelle *et al.*, 1997)

2.2.5 Threat and cooperation potential

Stakeholders can also be categorized by their potential to threaten or cooperate with the corporation. This categorization is meant to assist in developing strategies to manage these stakeholders effectively (Savage *et al.*, 1991). However it is important to note that threat is often stressed over cooperation, when examining stakeholder relations. This is because examining a threat will more often help prevent any surprises, mainly if a company has already prepared for the worst. On the contrary, the element of cooperation can be looked at as a best case scenario. In order for cooperation to take place, the stakeholder has to be independent from the organization. There are factors that affect the elements of threat and cooperation, these are: the relevance of the issue at hand, the power of the stakeholders, the prospect of the formation of a coalition and the likelihood of action being taken (Savage *et al.*, 1991).

Stakeholder's potential for cooperation with organization	high	Stakeholder type 1 Supportive Strategy: Involve	Stakeholder type 4 Mixed blessing Strategy: Collaborate
	low	Stakeholder type 2 Marginal Strategy: Monitor	Stakeholder type 3 Nonsupportive Strategy: Defend
		low	high
Stakeholder's potential for threat to organization			

Figure 3. The stakeholders' potential for cooperation and threat.

(Source: Savage *et al.*, 1991)

Figure 3 above divides stakeholders and strategies into four categories according to their potential of threat and cooperation. These categories help to outline the strategic possibilities.

Type 1: this is a stakeholder who is supportive with a low potential for threat and high potential for cooperation.

Type 2: is a marginal stakeholder with a low potential for threat and low potential for cooperation. These stakeholders are probably the most easily and inexpensively managed groups. They need to be monitored in case high profile issues move them to a group with a high threat potential.

Type 3: is a non-supportive stakeholder with a high potential for threat and low potential for cooperation, and can make life difficult. They need to be managed by defending the company against them with a strategy aimed at reducing company's dependence on them.

Type 4: is termed a stakeholder with a high potential for threat but also a high potential for cooperation. These stakeholders move easily from one group to another and should be collaborated with. In addition to generic strategies, more precise stakeholder plans can be utilized, which can then be modified to suit individual stakeholders.

Stakeholders with a high cooperative potential and low threatening potential were classified as Offensive by Freeman (1984) who suggested that the firm should adopt an offensive strategy to bring about the cooperative potential thereby exploiting the stakeholder's positive orientation. Savage *et al.*, (1991) focused on this stakeholder's supportive potential (i.e. Supportive stakeholders) and suggested that by involving these stakeholders in corporate activities their support could be leveraged. In contrast, Kimery and Rinehart (1998) classified these stakeholders as Supportive, but suggested that strategies should exploit rather than involve these stakeholders. Polonsky disagreed and asserted that the subtle difference could have implications in regards to how firms engage stakeholders, especially if stakeholders feel they are being exploited rather than being involved (Polonsky, 1996). Stakeholders with a low cooperative potential, but high threatening potential, were classified as Defensive stakeholders by Freeman (1984). He suggested that organizations should isolate themselves from these groups with defensive strategies. Savage *et al.*, (1991) recognized the non-supportive nature of this group, as well as the need to adopt defensive organisational strategies. Kimery and Rinehart (1998) took a similar view, in suggesting that non-supportive groups should be defended against. Polonsky (1996)

suggested that engaging these non-supportive stakeholders might be a better approach to better manage relationships and minimize negative outcomes (Heugens *et al.*, 2002).

Blair & Fottler(1998), concludes that the supportiveness - or lack of supportiveness - of the key stakeholders affects how and whether those stakeholders use their power and resources to support or thwart the organization's attempts to achieve its strategic objectives .

2.2.6 Lacuna in Knowledge

A gap exists in literature that adequately addresses the issues of dynamic stakeholder interests and positions towards long term multi outcomes projects. This research attempted to find out whether the stakeholders' interests and positions are always constant or they change and if they do change, provide a reason as to why they do so? Jawahar & Mclaughlin (2001) insist that in different stages of a focal organization's or project life cycle, certain stakeholders will be more important than others, and the strategy an organization employs to deal with each stakeholder depends on their importance to the organization relative to other stakeholders. Because the relationship between the project and institutions as stakeholders is a human relationship, issues of equity become important. Projects are managed by humans and decisions by stakeholders are also made by human beings. Therefore it was also of importance to the research study to find out whether equity and inequity caused positions of stakeholders to change.

2.2.7 Critique

Even if one accepts the validity of stakeholder theory as a general approach, there remains a dispute over the meaning of 'stakeholder'. For example, Windsor (1998) indeed states that: "who is logically a stakeholder is in fact an unresolved matter in the literature". Freeman's seminal conception on the other hand states that the stakeholder community should include everyone who is affected or was affected by an organization. Donaldson & Preston (1995) argued that

“stakeholdership” as a concept is more than just a union of influence and impact. Windsor (1998) describes this restricted class of stakeholders as contributing beneficiaries.

2.3. EQUITY THEORY

2.3.1 Background

Equity theory as is understood and applied today was developed and formalized by Adams in 1963. The goal of equity theory is to predict when people will perceive that they are being treated fairly or unfairly, and how they will react when faced with an unfair situation (Adams, 1965; Wilkens & Timm, 1978). It asserts that people are most satisfied when they perceive that they are being treated fairly in their relationships. Hayibor (2005) describes equity theory as both a process theory of motivation, and cognitive theory. As a process theory it provides a generalized explanation of the processes that lead to choices among alternative courses of action, varying degrees of effort expenditure, and persistence over time, while as a cognitive theory it focuses on people’s perceptions (Hayibor, 2005).

Inferring from equity theory therefore, motivation of stakeholders to change positions stems from attempts to redress unfairness, or inequity in relationships. In short, a person assesses a given relationship in which he is a participant by evaluating his inputs to the relationship and outcomes he derives from it, and comparing those inputs and outcomes to those of another person (Kumar & Steenkamp, 2003). The actor sees the inputs as some sort of investment for which he expects some reciprocal return. The actor may perceive his inputs as investment but this does not mean that the other actor or actors in the exchange relationship may also acknowledge his inputs as investments (Hayibor, 2005). As long as the actor sees an input he or she contributes to the relationship as relevant to it, that input becomes an important factor in his or her perception of the equity or inequity of the relationship (Kumar & Steenkamp, 2003).

Inputs

In as far as equity theory is concerned, inputs are varied (Adams, 1965). Adams sees inputs as all those factors that the perceiver sees as relevant reward worthy contributions to the relationship in which he or she is involved (Adams, 1965). It includes expenditures of money, time, or anything else. Weick (1966) simply defines an input as, anything that a person regards as relevant in the exchange and for which he expects a just return.

Outcomes

The receipts that the actor gets in exchange for his inputs are what Adams (1965), calls outcomes. These outcomes are resources, returns, rewards, or compensation that the actor derives from the relationship (Adams, 1965). In the most general terms, outcomes can be conceived of as any consequences to the person of his or her participation in a relationship (Hunt *et al.*, 1983). Outcomes, just like inputs, are perceived, and their relevance to the exchange relationship stems merely from their recognition by the receiver as outcomes, whether or not they are perceived as such by the giver (Hayibor, 2005). It is for this reason that Webster & Rice (1996) concluded that assessments of the degree of equity or inequity in relationships are completely subjective. This means that they are based entirely on the perceptions of the participants in the relationship.

However, the determination of what constitutes a relevant outcome varies across individuals, the context of the relationship, and culture (Scheer *et al.*, 2003). Thus, the concept of an outcome is extremely broad. Kabanoff (1991) summarized outcomes as goods and conditions that affect well-being. According to him outcomes includes psychological, physiological, economic, and social aspects.

This definition allows for an infinite number of potential outcomes in exchange relationships, and includes both “extrinsic” and “intrinsic” rewards and outcomes (Scheer *et al.*, 2003).

Extrinsic rewards are provided by others, while intrinsic rewards are provided by self. Intrinsic rewards include factors like satisfaction with goal achievement while extrinsic rewards include things like monetary rewards (Kilduff & Baker, 1984).

Comparison to other stakeholders

Equity theory also asserts that perceptions of equity or inequity in exchange relationship is affected by an actor's comparison of its inputs to and outcomes from the relationship with the inputs and outcomes of the other party in the relationship, others who are in similar exchange relationships, or of the actor's historical self (Bretz & Thomas, 1992). Such comparisons may be made consciously or unconsciously

Responses to Equity or Inequity

Because of the subjectivity in perceptions of equity in a relationship the parties in the relationship may disagree completely on its degree of equity. However, according to Adams (1965), a relationship participant who perceives inequity, whether or not it exists objectively, will be motivated to ameliorate it. Greenberg (1990) identifies two broad categories of equity restoration activities as follows: change of his or her inputs or outcomes from the relationship or to change the inputs or outcomes of the comparison other. Alternatively, the perceiver might employ cognitive or psychological equity restoration, wherein he cognitively adjusts his perceptions of inputs and outcomes or switches referents (Wilke *et al.*, 2000). Greenberg gives an example of an under rewarded person who might reduce inequity-induced dissonance by invoking a perception of additional rewards by acknowledging the social rewards associated with work in addition to the financial rewards, or might perceive his work environment more favorably than previously (Greenberg, 1990).

Wilkins and Timm (1978) identify five potential cognitive or behavioral responses to inequity which include: distress, demands for compensation or restitution, retaliation, justification of the inequity and withdrawal. In general, according to Adams (1965), when undertaking equity restoration activities people will seek to: maximize positive outcomes; minimize effortful or costly inputs; and resist behavioral and cognitive changes that are important to their self-esteem or central to their self-concept.

Under - reward.

As noted earlier, it is expected that the perception of under reward in a relationship leads to feelings such as frustration, resentment, and anger, because the person feels he is not getting what he deserves, and is expected to lead to equity restoration attempts such as reduction of inputs e.g., through reduction of effort and performance, changing of referent, severance of the relationship, or cognitive distortion of the situation (Adams, 1965; Scheer et al., 2003).

Over-reward.

According to Adams (1965), over reward should lead to perceptions of inequity, dissonance, and, finally, guilt. However, two distinct motivating forces; equity and self-interest may compete in conditions of over reward (Brounstein *et al.*, 1980). Over reward may therefore lead to a conflict between self-interest and guilt, and, if the over reward is not excessive, it may be justified because it is in the individual's self-interest to do so by reciprocating a high level of outcomes with a lower level of inputs, a person's self-interest is promoted (Brounstein *et al.*, 1980). Thus, individuals in an over reward situation may cognitively adjust for example by re evaluating the value of their inputs or outcomes because it is less costly for them to do so than to increase their actual inputs or lower their actual outcomes (Wilkins & Timm, 1978). As a result, over reward may not lead to behavioral attempts to restore equity (Chen *et al.*, 2002)

2.3.2 Equity Theory Applied to Project Stakeholders

Stakeholder management implies, in part, that the Project Manager or focal organization managing the project has to make decisions concerning the allocation of scarce resources among a variety of constituents. Concerns of fairness in the distribution of resources, and the implications of fairness for stakeholder support of the focal organization are implicitly acknowledged in much of the stakeholder literature (Husted, 1998). As noted by Adams (1965), the “person” and the “comparison other” in the exchange relationship need not refer to individuals because they may also represent groups or organizations.

Husted (1998) points out that though concepts of justice are commonly applied in the context of employee employer relationships, such concepts are easily applicable to relationships between the focal organization/project manager and its other stakeholders where stakeholders compare their inputs to the project to the outcomes they derive from it, and use this comparison to make assessments concerning the fairness of the focal organization’s/ project manager’s resource allocations. Therefore, equity theory can be applied without undue extension to understanding the role of fairness in relationships that exist between project managers and their stakeholders (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). In compensation for providing resources or other support necessary for project survival, various groups or organizations may require certain actions from it (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Thus, stakeholders provide the project with critical resources, in exchange for which they expect their interests to be met.

2.3.3 Equity Theory and Stakeholder Positions

Stakeholders and focal organizations exist in exchange relationships that are susceptible to perceptions of equity or inequity by either party (Wilkins & Timm, 1978). A stakeholder’s propensity to aid, cooperate with, or act against a focal organization, then, will be determined in

part by its perception of the degree of equity in its relationship with that organization (Wilkins & Timm, 1978). Therefore, equity theory seems to be a reasonable and useful way of understanding stakeholders' motivations to act against or for an organization. This explains why stakeholders change positions. These changes in position can be from being extremely opposed to supportive or vice versa.

The perception of under reward often leads to conflict when attempts to rectify the inequity are made (Kabanoff, 1991) Reducing the inequity might require the stakeholder to take action against the project in order to increase the outcomes it derives from the relationship, reduce the inputs it contributes to the relationship, or reduce the outcomes the focal organization derives from it. On the other hand, individuals are often much more willing to be over rewarded than to be under rewarded (Vogl-Bauer *et al.*, 1999).

Generalizing from the above idea, a stakeholder experiencing over reward inequity may not strive to reduce that inequity. one would not necessarily expect a stakeholder that perceived it was getting more out of its relationship with the focal organization relative to what it was contributing than was the focal organization or a comparison other stakeholder to do anything to alter the situation (Vogl-Bauer *et al.*, 1999). Such stakeholders are expected to be supportive to the project, at times moving from supportive to extremely supportive. Adams (1965) explains that over reward would cause the stakeholder to either increase its contributions to the stakeholder-focal organization relationship thereby increasing support or reduce the outcomes it derives from that relationship. Harder (1992) supported this view when he found out that over reward was positively related to team-oriented, cooperative behavior on the part of the over rewarded party.

Susannah Finzi *et al.*, (1998) in their article, '*Spelling out the Stakeholders' Bargain*' explains further the kind of social and economic exchange that exists between a project and its' stakeholders. According to them, the holding of a stake in a project should mean that the stakeholder has an agreed reason for being involved in the project along with a commitment to contribute. Some of the stakeholders' commitments include: communicate clearly and truthfully where their interests lie, communicate where helping the project conflicts with other responsibilities which the stakeholders may have, use their knowledge and influence to aid the project , take ownership of project risks they are best placed to manage and understand and maintain the agreed level of involvement .

When a stakeholder makes the above commitment to the project then the project manager makes a bargain with the stakeholder to keep them appropriately informed and involved (Susannah Finzi *et al.*, 1998). Some of the responsibilities that a project has to its stakeholders are: to understand and communicate the impact of the project on their interests, understand and communicate the risks posed by the project, negotiate a form of the project which is most favorable to all the interests involved, collaborate to reduce the overall cost to the focal organization taking into account cost to the stakeholder and cost to the project, to jointly investigate issues outside the scope of the project which are important to the success of the project and communicate project progress and emerging issues .

2.3.4 Critique of equity theory

As a theory equity is only partial in analysis and as a predictor. There are many societal and institutional variables that organizations navigate because life is neither perfect nor fair. The theory also ignores people's natural resilience, their competitiveness, selflessness and selfishness, their ethical dilemmas in decision-making and their passions (Leventhal, 1980).

2.4 CONFLICT THEORY

There are several theories of conflict that exists. These theories are important in clarifying stakeholders' interests.

Human Needs Theory

It was advanced by Burton in an attempt to link human needs and conflict. The theory is based on the assumption that a pre-condition for the resolution of conflict is that fundamental human needs must be met (Burton & Dennis, 1986). Burton adopted eight fundamental needs from the basis of the work by the American sociologist Paul Sites including control, security, justice, stimulation, response, meaning, rationality and esteem or recognition (Burton & Dennis, 1986). He then introduced his own need 'role-defense,' which is the need to defend one's role (Burton, 1990a). He described these needs as universal and indicated that they would be pursued regardless of the consequence (Burton, 1990a). He further noted that one of the primary causes of protracted or intractable conflict is people's unyielding drive to meet their unmet needs at the individual, group, and societal level (Terrell, 1989).

Behavior and needs

Burton argued that human behavior is conditioned by nine needs which he had adopted (Burton, 1979). He indicated that meeting these fundamental needs was prerequisite to a long lasting and authentic social stability. According to Burton (1979), when social conflicts are caused by the denial of one or more of these essential needs, the victims will fight indefinitely for their achievement and will not give up until that goal is attained. These needs will be pursued by individuals and social groups regardless of consequences. He further pointed out the presence of elite groups and structures supported by the elite which gain mostly through the maintenance of the status quo and therefore resist the demands of other groups in the society for needs

satisfaction (Burton, 1979). Such structures or institutions which do not fully allow the satisfaction of human needs of all groups in the society are the catalysts of conflict.

It is therefore worth noting that human needs as such do not lead to conflict. Conflict results from the frustration caused by unfulfilled needs (Burton, 1987a). According to Burton, needs are original and constructive in the sense that they include a potential for harmonious society but this harmony may not be realized if the institutional arrangements in that given society suppress the ability of people to meet their needs.

Conflict symptom

According to Burton, conflict is considered to be endemic which means it can be found regularly in human relationships. Since conflicts are endemic, we should therefore aim at retaining conflict which has functional value and control it so as to avoid perversions which are destructive of human enjoyment and widely held social interests (Burton, 1987a). Burton argues that conflict is a symptom of a certain disease which he terms as alienation (Burton, 1987a). Burton explicitly indicated that alienation occurs in any system if in practice participation and identity are denied (Burton, 1996a).

The social constructionist approach, on the other hand emphasizes a shared reality as a prerequisite for cooperation (Benhabib, 1992). It is argued that a common reality is defined through shared int. According to Maurice Natanson (1970), cooperation is borne out of shared interests, positive response, active participation and an assumption that others typify in the same way as we do. The failure, breakdown or denial of such a typification for whatever reason leads to fundamental differences or basic prejudices. When the breakdown is far-reaching we have some form of anomie in the society (Natanson, 1970).

Conflict and power

Conflict and power is what defines communication and interpretation structures and also limit the identity of the parties to the dialogue. Having acknowledged the genesis of a conflict, conflict resolution can be assessed in a more meaningful manner. Benhabib (1992) describes conflict resolution as an attempt to find a shared but not identical congruent reality between the parties in conflict for the purposes at hand. Avruch and Black (1989) argue that for conflict resolution to be successful, parties to the conflict should create a new reality in which they all share without disregarding agreement or disagreement as part of the solution.

Relevance of human needs theory to the study

In this study stakeholder interests were taken as stakes which included needs, values and expectations in addition to interests. Stakeholder theory presupposes the potential of conflict erupting in multi stakeholder project environments. Human needs theorists offer a new dimension to conflict providing an important conceptual tool that not only connects and addresses human needs on all levels but also recognizes the existence of negotiable and non negotiable issues (Rothman, 1997). Needs theory is therefore useful in understanding why some interests change and others remain constant. The negotiable issues are those that do not revolve around 'survival' requirements, which Burton refers to as human needs. This is also important in understanding why stakeholder positions change from supportive towards extremely opposed positions if their human needs are not met by a project. In data analysis, human needs theory was important in understanding why some stakeholders changed their positions negatively, while others did not change their positions negatively even when their interests in the project were not met.

Effects of changing positions and interests on slum projects

Interventions in the slums are most commonly framed in the “project” mould (World Bank, 2002). One of the main effects of stakeholders changing their interests and consequently positions towards a project is the potential of generating conflict (Kilduff & Baker, 1984). In any conflict there are incompatibilities over resources that create grievances. It is these issues of equity and inequities in resource allocations that cause incompatibilities as shown by the conflict triangle (see Figure 4) (Kilduff & Baker, 1984).

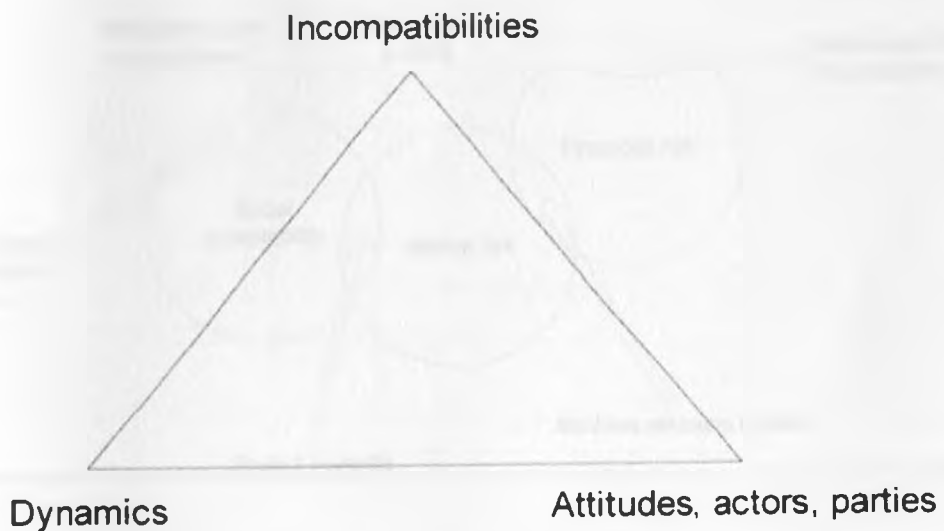


Figure 4: The conflict triangle (source: Kilduff & Baker, 1984)

The attitudes are the standpoints of the actors in the conflict. “Attitudes” are often replaced with “actors” or “interests” to make it more evident that these are the actual parties to a conflict. The dynamics are the way the conflict evolves, whether violent or not. Conflicts often change in intensity over time as the interests of the actors are met. Conflicts resulting from changes in

positions from positive to negative can affect a project in so many ways as illustrated in the diagram below:

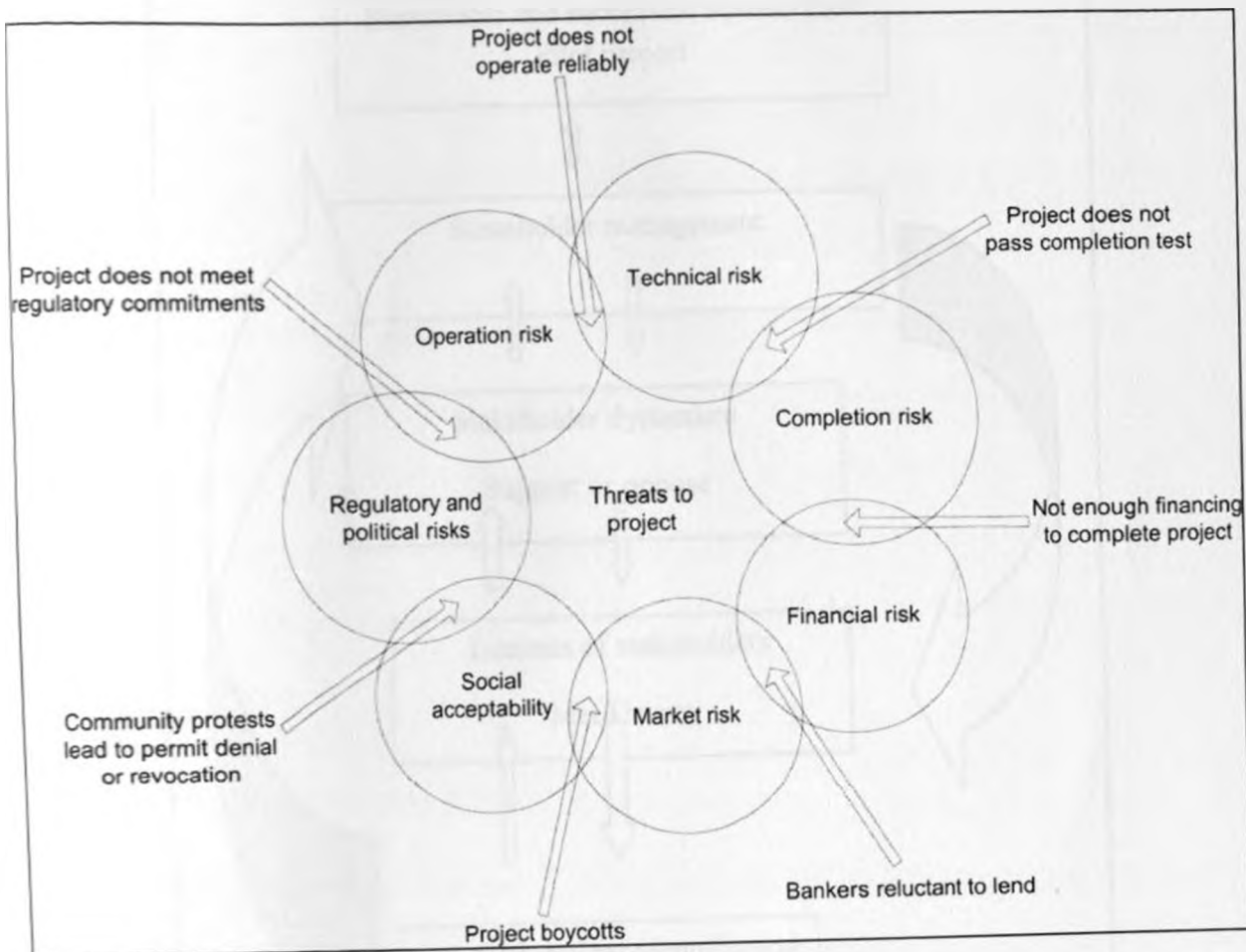


Figure 5: Threats to large slum projects (Source: Thomasson, 2005)

2.4 Conceptual Framework

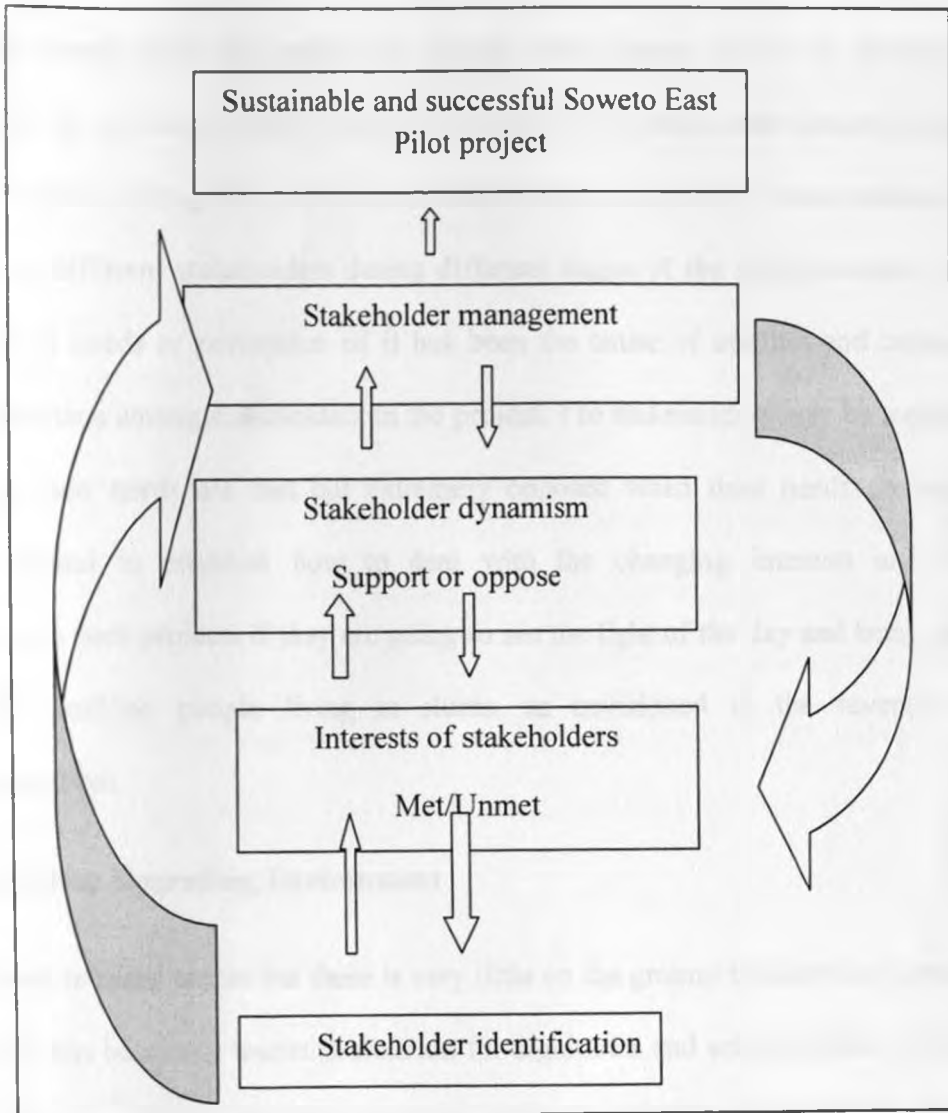


Figure 5 Conceptual framework

The Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) pilot project like any other project has attracted a great number of stakeholders who include the government agencies, donor partners, local authority, civil society and most importantly the community of Soweto East. These stakeholders like any other entities who are interested and affected by the project had their own

expectations and needs with regard to the pilot project. For example, the tenants in Soweto East expected to benefit from the project by owning better houses while the landlords expected compensation for the loss of their source of livelihood. The project met some of the expectations of the stakeholders during its cycle but some needs were not met for various reasons. The unmet needs among different stakeholders during different stages of the project caused conflict. The case of unmet needs or perception of it has been the cause of conflict and consequently the change in position among stakeholders in the project. The stakeholders may be supportive at one point when their needs are met but extremely opposed when their needs are not met. It is therefore critical to establish how to deal with the changing interests and positions of stakeholders in such projects if they are going to see the light of the day and bring change to the lives of 5.3 million people living in slums, as envisioned in the seventh Millennium Development Goal.

2.5 Kibera Slum Upgrading Environment

Kibera is host to many actors but there is very little on the ground to show for it, except the fact that the slum has become a tourist destination for dignitaries and scholars alike. This was caused by lack of a clear policy and intervention in an ad-hoc basis by the government, donors, private sector and civil society organizations, and the resultant lack of coordination, poor networking and inadequate participation of the actors and stakeholders. The Soweto East Pilot Project was hatched to solve the above problems.

2.5.1 Soweto East, Kibera Pilot Project

The stated objectives of the Kibera Soweto Pilot Project are to promote and facilitate the provision of (1) secure tenure, (2) improved housing, (3) income-generating activities, and (4) physical and social infrastructure. (Huchzermeyer, 2006)

2.5.2 Key Stakeholder Roles and Interests

The United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT)

Being the United Nations agency for human settlements, the UN-HABITAT is mandated to promote socially and environmentally sustainable towns and cities with the goal of providing adequate shelter for all. The organisation has been guided and mandated by the Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements, Habitat Agenda, Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements, the Declaration on Cities and Other Human Settlements in the New Millennium, and Resolution 56/206. Currently UN-HABITAT is guided by the Millennium Development Goals' Target 11, to improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. Aiming to establish global norm through normative actions, the strategic vision includes knowledge management, advocacy of norms for sustainable urbanization and strategic management among others.

The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed between the Government of Kenya and UN-HABITAT on 15 January 2003, formed the basis of the collaboration between the two organizations.

Within the pilot project UN- HABITAT is responsible for lobbying and provision of technical support to the project partners, through:

- i. Provision of experts. The organization has hired consultants where there have been capacity gaps within the project. Some are working full time on the project, based at the settlement level and are involved in the day to day running of the project, while others are hired when the need arises.
- ii. Seminars, training programmes and demonstration projects like the water and sanitation blocks in Soweto East have also been constructed to demonstrate how an empowered community can take charge of their own upgrading and maintain any investments done in the slum.
- iii. Assistance in the provision of core elements of infrastructure necessary for slum upgrading. Currently phase two of an access road through Soweto Village is under construction, fully funded by UN-HABITAT.
- iv. Offering international exposure, especially to community leaders in order to share best practices in slum improvement.
- v. Responsible for mobilizing international support to improve the living conditions of the urban poor. This is done through advocacy and also through the Slum Upgrading Fund (SUF) set up at the UN – HABITAT.

Government of Kenya

At the national level the slum environment is influenced and controlled by key related government ministries. Currently the key government ministries involved with the project include those of Housing, Finance, Co operative development, water and Lands among

others. With the exception of the Ministry of Housing and that of Lands in the recent years, the other key ministries' efforts in the project have been minimal. Ministry of Lands is responsible for physical planning and provision of security of tenure. On the other hand Ministry of Housing is responsible for

- i. Policy issues that affect the project.
- ii. Coordination of all actors within the project
- iii. Supply of resources. The Ministry has full time staff working on the project. Disbursement of funds for the project from the Treasury is done through the Ministry. For example, Ministry of Housing funds were used for construction of the Decanting estate and for relocation of the families.
- iv. Global communication. The Ministry is the Focal Organization within the Central Government that communicates project matters to the rest of the World.
- v. Monitoring and evaluation. This role is played through performance contracting system that has been embraced by the Ministry of Housing.

City Council of Nairobi

The City Council of Nairobi (CCN) is responsible for city governance and local level planning, provision, maintenance, monitoring and evaluation of public services and infrastructure. Under the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) strategy, the City Council of Nairobi is mandated to be responsible for:

- i. Project implementation. Project Implementation Unit for the project was set up in Housing Development Department of the City Council of Nairobi. It was envisaged that this unit will design and supervise all construction works within

the project. This however, did not happen as Ministry of Housing engaged consultants to supervise construction of Decanting Estate. The City Council of Nairobi is faced with lack of capacity especially technical staff.

- ii. Coordination of civil society organizations within the project area.
- iii. Local level monitoring and evaluation. Settlement Project Implementation Unit (SPIU) was set up in Soweto East by the City Council. City Council social workers attached to the project monitors the project on the ground.
- iv. Provision and maintenance of physical and social infrastructure. It was envisaged that City Council of Nairobi would provide other physical and social infrastructure like lighting, social halls, health centres e.t.c.
- v. Municipal planning.

Shelter Forum

Kibera slum has attracted numerous and varied civil society actors who have very varied interests. This segment of society comprises the most numerous types of actors, with competing interests acting in an ad-hoc uncoordinated manner and with duplication of effort. Moreover the civil society sector is very dynamic with new actors joining or leaving every day (Kedogo, 2009). The Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) include: Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), formal and informal Community Based Organisations (CBOs), religious bodies and Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), charities, business associations, community groups, welfare associations, youth groups, women groups, self-help groups, and advocacy groups. Shelter Forum represents Non Governmental Organisations involved in Shelter issues.

Within the Soweto project Shelter Forum is responsible for:

- i. Ensuring that Kibera community is involved throughout the project cycle in both decision making and implementation of project activities.
- ii. Mobilizing and sensitizing the community for shelter improvement. For example, Shelter Forum sensitized Soweto East residents on the importance of supporting the pilot project and saving in the housing cooperative.
- iii. Promoting consensus building for the project among its members.
- iv. Advocating for community rights, like the right to secure tenure.

Community (Settlement Executive Committee)

Slumlords and slum dwellers

In Soweto East Village slum resident population is comprised of 92% tenants and 8% resident structure owners; however the ownership of the structures is 5% by the resident structure owners and 95% by the non-resident structure owners also referred to as slumlords or absentee-landlords. The resident structure owners are not very different from the tenants in terms of incomes, employment and other socio-economic factors and have generally been supportive of the slum upgrading initiatives. On the contrary the slumlords have persistently, vehemently and even violently resisted the slum upgrading programmes. They have seen any regularisation or improvement of the slum environment as a threat resulting in loss of income, power and control over a society they are currently benefitting from (Syagga *et al.*, 2001; GoK, 2004 b.)

The slumlords

The slumlords are typically wealthy and well-connected individuals. Through politico-ethnic patronage and connections to the politicians, the local authorities or the local provincial administration, the slumlords have obtained a quasi-legal or illegal and informal right to build in the slums (Amis, 1984). According to Syagga *et al.* (2001) a major problem in dealing with the slumlords is due to the fact that majority of them are not known and operate secretly but forcefully behind the scenes, mainly through managers and proxies, to oppose slum upgrading which is a threat to their lucrative business.

The slum dwellers

As earlier noted majority of slum dwellers are tenants who pay monthly rent to the structure owners. Many of the slum dwellers are poor, with lower levels of education and lesser knowledge of the government regulation and their rights and therefore more susceptible and vulnerable to exploitation, discrimination, victimization, manipulation and exclusion (Kedogo, 2009). According to the Kibera Social and Economic Mapping Survey conducted in 2004 most of the slum dwellers have very low incomes or capital and assets and are typically engaged in informal activities, low skill and casual jobs (GoK, 2004). Moreover the residents experience high levels of exclusion, health hazards, pollution, crime, violence, ethnic tensions, and victimization compared to the rest of the urban population.

In the past many initiatives were designed, formulated and implemented without their views or inputs. They have just been recipients of the government or international organisations and NGOs prescriptions, which have had disastrous consequences on their lives and livelihoods. In response to that, the current KENSUP strategy attempts to include the slum dwellers in the

decision making and implementation of the programme through the Settlement Executive Committee (SEC) structure. The SEC comprises 17 members representing different stakeholders in the Soweto East Village, including faith- and community-based organizations, NGOs, tenants, local administration, the disabled, widows and orphans, youth, and structure owners. Apart from being the main link between the community and the Settlement Project Implementation Unit, their main responsibilities are ensuring community involvement and support in the project and helping in mobilizing local resources.

The study set out to establish whether positions and interests of key stakeholders of the Soweto east project had changed throughout the project phases, the causes and effects of such changes on the project. Literature reviewed in this chapter indicated that stakeholders have wide and diverse interests which they must safeguard. Stakeholders' interests and priorities change over time (Sanyal & Mukhija, 2001; Gregory & Keeney, 1994). This is because at different phases of the project the unique set of expectations, needs and values of stakeholders are different (King & Cleland, 1979). Human needs are however expected to remain stable throughout the cycle, according to human needs theory.

The level of satisfaction of stakeholder interests or perception of equity or inequity affects whether the stakeholder will be supportive or opposed to the project objectives. Other factors includes: the relevance of the issue at hand, power, legitimacy and urgency of the stakeholder claims, the prospect of the formation of a coalition and the likelihood of action being taken by the focal organization when stakeholders oppose project objectives.

Failure to recognize and manage stakeholders' change in position towards opposition has been seen to lead to conflict during project implementation stage and even post implementation stage

(Clelland, 1988), non achievement of an organization's purpose and performance (Clarkson, 1995; Blair & Fottler, 1998)

Literature reviewed on the Stakeholders of the Soweto East project, indicated the diverse roles and interests of the various key stakeholders in the project. The stakeholders ranged from international to local scale actors. Power differentials between structure owners especially absentee structure owners and tenants was also seen to influence the positions they take towards any slum improvement project (Syagga *et al.* 2001)

Political Institution

Politics play a big role in slum environment. According to Kibera Social and Economic Mapping report (GoK, 2004), the support of local politicians towards the pilot project was seen as necessary because the politicians could mobilize the villagers to reject or sabotage the pilot project. Political parties defined and redefined slum project objectives and activities according to their political interest. In Kibera, politicians used the pilot project to gain political benefits. The project was seen as one of the sources for expanding "political space". It provided room for political parties' leaders to interact and manifest their interest through project activities.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.0. Introduction

Research can be described as a systematic and organized effort to investigate a specific problem that needs a solution (Sekaran, 1992). It involves serious thought and carefully executed activities that enable one to know how certain problems can be solved or at least minimized. In essence, research provides relevant information required for decision-making. Researchers utilize various methodological paradigms in conducting research. Qualitative and quantitative methods are among the most important research methods. This chapter identifies the research design and methodology employed in collecting data for the study.

3.1. Research design

The study was a descriptive retrospective research that sought to establish what was going on in the slum upgrading pilot project with regard to stakeholders' interests and positions. The study gave a detailed analysis of how interests and positions among stakeholders in the pilot project had changed from time to time. The type of design adopted for this particular study was a case study. A case study is an in depth study of a particular situation rather than a sweeping statistical survey. It is a method used to narrow down a very broad field of research into one easily researchable topic. Whilst it does not answer a question completely, it gives some indications and allows further elaboration and hypothesis creation on a subject.

The case study research design is also useful for testing whether scientific theories and models actually work in the real world. It is argued that a case study provides more realistic responses than a purely statistical survey. The advantage of the case study research design is that you can focus on specific and interesting cases. This may be an attempt to test a theory with a typical case or it can be a specific topic that is of interest. For instance, it was interesting to find out how

the changing interests and positions of stakeholders had affected the slum upgrading pilot project in Kibera.

Case studies are also flexible and may lead to the introduction of new ideas. Whilst a pure scientist is trying to prove or disprove a hypothesis, a case study might introduce new and unexpected results during its course, and lead to research taking new directions which could be more meaningful in the research area.

However, some argue that because a case study is such a narrow field that its results cannot be extrapolated to fit an entire question and that they show only one narrow example. They are also limited to the extent to which one can generalize them to fit an entire population or ecosystem. In this case the pilot project might have specific qualities that another slum improvement project does not have, making it hard to generalize findings.

In view of both arguments for a case study, it was considered the most appropriate for this study for various reasons. One is because the field of study which is slum project stakeholder management is too broad and dynamic and therefore the need to narrow down the research through a case study. It was also an attempt to establish the extent to which the theories of stakeholder involvement in slum upgrading projects were actually working in reality. The research was also unique as it tried to establish how the interests and positions among stakeholders in the project had been changing and how these changes had affected the slum upgrading pilot project. Such changes in interests and positions could only be appropriately derived from a case study but not from a statistical survey. Additionally, generalization of research findings was possible because the study focused on stakeholders and not the activities or project outcomes.

3.2. Nature of Data

The data collected was descriptive and it aimed at addressing the objectives of the study. An in-depth evaluation of changing positions and interests among stakeholder was conducted.

3.2.1 Independent variable

This is the factor which is measured, manipulated, or selected by the researcher to determine its relationship to an observed phenomenon. They are antecedent conditions that are presumed to affect a dependent variable. They are either manipulated by the researcher or are observed by the researcher so that their values can be related to those of the dependent variable (Jaeger, 1990).

The project phases which include: conceptual, preparatory/planning and implementation will formed the independent variables.

3.2.2 Dependent Variables

This is the factor which is observed and measured to determine the effect of the independent variable, i.e., that factor that appears, disappears, or varies as the researcher introduces, removes, or varies the independent variable. The independent variable defines a principal focus of research interest. It is the consequent variable that is presumably affected by one or more independent variables that are either manipulated by the researcher or observed by the researcher and regarded as antecedent conditions that determine the value of the dependent variable (Jaeger, 1990). In this study, stakeholders' interests and positions were the dependent variables.

3.2.3. Primary sources of data

The primary information included information sourced from the views and opinions of various stakeholders of the project. This was facilitated by use of focus group discussion and interviews with resource persons including; government officers, local authority, local community representatives, UN HABITAT, civil society organization and political organization.

Participant observation was also used, as the researcher works for the Kenya slum Upgrading Programme Secretariat, the institution mandated to coordinate all stakeholder activities within the project. What was observed during interactions with the key stakeholders at the time of the study was documented and used in verification of some of the information given by the interviewees.

3.2.4. Secondary Sources of Data

Secondary data was collected from published and unpublished information sources. This included recorded and archived information mainly through literature review from libraries, internet sources, documents and reports from government agencies. This also necessitated the reviewing of the following documented information: Published information from government agencies such as the KENSUP implementation strategy; relevant reference publications; reports of previous studies done such as thesis, dissertation and project reports.

The researcher was also able to review minutes of meetings and correspondence between the stakeholders, however due to Government code of regulations concerning confidentiality such information could not be made public in its raw form. However, the researcher referred to these documents to support the primary data collected.

3.3. Data collection methods

3.3.1. Questionnaires

In order to fulfill the objectives of the study, data was collected through interviews using semi structured questionnaires (appendix 1) through oral interviews with key resource persons. Interviews can be defined as a conversation with a purpose of gathering information (Behr, 1983).

3.3.2. Focused Group Discussion (FGD)

FGD involved the researcher holding stakeholder meeting with the intention of gathering more information on issues about changing interests and positions among stakeholder in Soweto East pilot project. The FDG was also used to identify key stakeholders in the pilot project who were sampled for the interviews. The researcher prepared some questions in advance to guide the discussion (appendix 3). The discussion was however not limited to the questions in the guide.

3.3.3. Participant Observation

This included the researchers' experience in the project from the year 2005 to the time of the study. The researcher was involved in most of the activities at implementation phase. Appendix 4 highlights some of the project activities the researcher has been involved in.

3.4. Target Population

The target population for the study focused on relevant stakeholders in the Soweto East Pilot project. In this regard all the stakeholders in the project formed the sampling frame.

3.5. Sample Size

9 institutions were sampled from which 30 oral interviews were to be conducted. 3 persons were interviewed per institution, except community that had 6 persons interviewed. This was occasioned by the non homogeneity and the large size of the community.

3.6 Sampling Procedure

Stakeholder group	Sampled stakeholder	No of resource persons that was planned to be interviewed
Donor agency/Development partner	UN-Habitat	3
Government ministries	Ministry of Housing (KENSUP)	3
	Ministry of Lands and Settlement	3
Local authority	City Council of Nairobi	3
Community	Settlement Executive Committee	6
Civil society organizations	Shelter Forum	3
	Pamoja Trust	3
Political groups	Area MP	1
	Area Councilor	1
	ODM Local representative	1
Local administration	Chief and other administrative officials	3
Total		30

Table 2 sampling procedure

Purposive sampling technique was used to sample the resource persons from the sampled institutions. In purposive sampling, we sample with a purpose in mind. We usually would have one or more specific predefined groups we are seeking. Purposive sampling can be very useful for situations where you need to reach a targeted sample quickly and where sampling for proportionality is not the primary concern. With a purposive sample, you are likely to get the opinions of your target population, but you are also likely to overweigh subgroups in your population that are more readily accessible. Expert sampling as a sub category of purposive sampling was used. It involves the assembling of a sample of persons with known or demonstrable experience and expertise in some area. Expert sampling was considered because it is the best way to elicit the views of persons who have specific expertise. A criterion was set for the resource persons or respondents during data collection. A key respondent was identified based on the set criteria and other two respondents within the same institution to validate the information provided by the key respondent.

Criteria for the key respondent:

1. Knowledge of the project activities from conceptual phase.
2. Be in a position where she/ he can influence decision in that institution (management level/ decision making level).
3. The respondent was required to be a person directly involved with the project.

3.7 Unit of Analysis

Units of analysis are the smallest units that are independent of each other or the smallest units for which all possible sets are equally likely to be in the sample (Murray, 1998). This study used the results of interviews with individuals of institutions as proxies for the views of those

organizations. It must be realized that individuals within organizations may express different viewpoints, and thus no one individual is likely to be representative of all views within an organization. However given the time constraints in fieldwork and the likelihood of individuals being aware of their organizations' official positions on issues, the choice was justifiable.

3.8 Data analysis

Analyzing results for a case study tends to be more opinion based than statistical methods. The usual idea is to try and collate data into a manageable form and construct a narrative around it. In addition, unlike a scientific study which deals with facts, a case study is based on opinion and is very much designed to provoke reasoned debate. The data was categorized manually and common themes highlighted. Graphs were used to present some of the data.

3.9 Pilot Study

Pre testing of institutional questionnaire was done before the actual field research was carried out, to determine the validity and reliability of the instrument. The research instrument was pre tested to a selected sample similar to the actual sample that was to be used in the study. Coolian (1994) noted that pilot trials is trying out prototype of a study of questionnaires on a sample in order to discover snags or errors on a design, or develop workable measuring instruments. Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) cautions, that subject in the actual sample should not be used in the pre-test.

3.10 Reliability

The researcher hired one research assistant to conduct the interviews. This was done to remove bias from the study as the researcher is part of the focal organization in this study. Information obtained through analysis of questionnaires during the pre-test was compared with documented

reports and substantial deviations corrected so as to ensure reliability of this instrument. The questions were also set categorically to address the stated objectives.

Reliability table

Objective	Questions addressing the objective
To establish whether the positions and interests of key stakeholders had changed from the time of conception to implementation.	SECTION II Q2 SECTION III Q4 SECTION IV Q2, Q5, Q7,Q8
To explain the causes of the change in positions and interests of stakeholders.	SECTION II Q2 ii, SECTION III Q4ii SECTION IV Q2 i, ii, Q4,Q5, Q7,Q8
To establish whether there was a relationship between changing positions and interests	SECTION IV Q4
To investigate how the change in positions and interest had impacted on the project.	SECTION IV Q9
To test applicability of equity theory in explaining changing positions	SECTION I Q1,Q4, SECTION III Q1,Q3,Q5,Q6 SECTION IV Q1, Q3,Q6

Table 3 Questionnaire reliability

Some questions were also repeated. This was done to confirm some of the earlier statements made by the interviewee in order to establish consistency in the answers.

3.11 Validity

Validity refers to whether the questionnaire or survey measures what it intends to measure. The overriding principle of validity is that it focuses on how a questionnaire or assessment process is used. Reliability is a characteristic of the instrument itself, but validity comes from the way the instrument is employed. Sampled individuals were assured of confidentiality during the interviews and informed that the data was to be used for academic research only.

3.12 Logistical and Ethical Considerations

In order to facilitate easier collection of data in the field, an introduction letter from the Ministry of Housing was used for identification. A reconnaissance to the stakeholders' offices for notification and consent purposes was also done by the hired research assistant. Sampled individuals who did not wish to give information were not forced to do so.

Chapter Four: Data analysis and Presentation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter attempted to make sense of the data collected from the oral interviews and put down in the form of written text. The analysis was conducted manually because the data set was not so large and it was highly descriptive. Data collected was input in a tabular form showing the question asked and the responses given (see appendix 2). The data was then organized in relation to the objectives and themes derived from literature reviewed.

The key stakeholders were identified during a Focus Group Discussion. The composition of key stakeholders was also derived from the institutional framework for the pilot project and other government reports. They included Ministry of Housing, Ministry of lands, UN Habitat, City Council of Nairobi, Political institution, Local administration, Community, Shelter forum and Pamoja Trust. Local administration and Pamoja Trust were left out of the study. Pamoja Trust did not participate due to management changes which took place in their organization. At the time of the study, only one member of staff had been involved with the pilot project from conceptual stage. The local administration unit had also had different individuals at different times, such that at the time of the study, none had been present during conceptual and planning phases.

Mugenda (1999) states that a response rate of 50% is adequate for analysis and reporting. A response rate of 60% is good and response rate of 70% and above is very good. This implies that the response rate of 80% in this case was very good and fit for analysis and reporting.

	Stakeholders
Sample size	30
Responses	24
% Response	80%

Table 4. Response for interviews.

(Source: Author)

The high response rate was attributed to the fact that the researcher had worked closely with the interviewees, and had a good rapport with them. In addition, they were notified on phone and appointments made prior to the actual visit. The study objectives and input data dictated the analysis procedure employed.

4.1. Changing positions and interests of key stakeholders from conception to implementation of Soweto East, Kibera pilot project and the causes of the changes

The first research objective was to establish whether the positions and interests of key stakeholders had changed from the time of conception to implementation, and the causes of such changes. The findings have been divided into two parts. The first part looks at the interests, while the second part looks at the positions of the stakeholders.

4.1.1. Interests of the key stakeholders from conception to implementation of project

During the focus group discussion, the stakeholders interviewed were identified as the key stakeholders without whom the project cannot achieve its objectives. The participants also

confirmed that the key stakeholders had been engaged with the project from conceptual phase. UN HABITAT and Shelter Forum were however not represented in the meeting. The first question of the interview was meant to confirm whether all the key stakeholders were involved from the very beginning of the project. This was important because the study was meant to find out whether the interests had changed from conception. When asked when their organizations started participating in the project, all affirmed their participation started at conceptual stage.

According to literature reviewed, evident impacts and risks that stakeholders are exposed to due to activities of the project help define stakeholder interests which can either be survival needs or requirements for well being. Schiff Mara (2000) in his paper titled "Needs and Interests of Stakeholders in Restorative Justice" placed emphasis on the importance of organizing stakeholder interests in terms of their immediate, intermediate and long-term relevance, because she argued that such concerns change over time.

The study found out the following;

Conceptual phase

- i. The interests of the key stakeholders at conceptual stage were not in conflict with the objectives of the project. The mission/objectives of the stakeholders were also found to be in line with that of the project. The response given to question 2(see appendix 1) was coded as either harmonious with the objectives of the project, disharmonious or neutral. 88.9% of the key stakeholders' responses were found to be harmonious with the objectives of the project, while 11.1% was neutral, and none was disharmonious at the conceptual stage.

ii. The key stakeholders had multiple interests which indeed included both short term and long term goals. The short term goals were defined in such a way as to get maximum benefits from the activities taking place at a particular phase of the project. They were basically geared or seen as necessary if the long term goal was to be achieved. Because at the conceptual stage there were no physical outputs expected, all the key stakeholders when asked what their interests were at conceptual stage, talked of recognition of their roles and inclusion in the process. For example a look at what the community wanted indicated (appendix 2), landlords wanted an inclusive process where their views are incorporated, tenants wanted an inclusive process while Faith based organizations talked of transparency, shared decision making and an agreement with the Government to guarantee they would not be forcefully evicted. A closer look indicates that this interest of participation in the project or inclusion in decision making process at conceptual stage was seen to guarantee the community freedom from fear of eviction and anxiety over insecure tenure due to the project activities. The stakeholders felt that once they were part of the decision making organ they would be able to protect their interests.

This is supported by literature reviewed that indicated that stakeholders to a large scale development project in the public domain, have a right to be involved in the decision process because they would be affected in one way or another (Gregory & Keeney, 1994). Stakeholders are also expected to act in such a manner as to promote or protect their interests (Frooman, 1999; Gibson, 2000; Rowley & Moldoveanu, 2003; Waxenberger & Spence, 2003). Safety and Security is one of the survival interests that are basic according to human needs theorists. The need for recognition and role defense

by the key stakeholders at conceptual stage is also basic according to Burton (Burton, 1990). Therefore it is expected that stakeholders would want to be recognized from the very beginning of a project, and at the same time protect what threatens their basic human needs.

- iii. The interests mentioned by the stakeholders included both tangible and intangible interests, but at the conceptual stage many of the interests were intangible. When the responses to question number 1 Section II (appendix 1) were categorized into tangible and intangible interests, only one out of the nine organizations mentioned a tangible interest i.e. Project Document. The conceptual phase is an initiation stage where ideas are exchanged and there are no much physical outputs. This explains why the majority of the stakeholders' interests were intangible. Therefore, stakeholders aligned their interests towards expected project outputs.
- iv. The interests of the stakeholders did not change during the conceptual phase. Out of the 9 stakeholder groups analyzed only one group (Political Institution) said their interest had changed during conceptual phase. This they attributed to the new knowledge received on the process of redevelopment of the slum, they preferred in situ upgrading to complete redevelopment which required relocation. The reason given reflected more on changing position rather than a change in interests so it was ignored. Therefore, there were no changes of the interests of the key stakeholders interviewed within the first phase or conceptual phase.

Planning phase

- i. Just like the Conceptual phase the interests in this phase were in line with project activities and included both tangible and intangible interests.
- ii. In this phase the interests increased in number as the project activities also increased. Participation remained a very important interest. The common theme in the responses given concerning interests at this stage placed emphasis on participation and desire for visible outputs/ milestones. All key stakeholders mentioned participation as their major interest. Whereas at the conceptual phase the participation interest expressed was more of a desire to participate i.e. futuristic, in this phase the urgency of the participation claim increased.
- iii. The interests of the stakeholders did not change at any time during the planning phase. The key stakeholders were specifically required to respond yes or no, when asked whether their interests had changed within this phase. All stakeholders said their interests had not changed.

Implementation phase

At the time of the study, the project was at implementation phase which is a very crucial stage.

- i. The key stakeholders indicated the long term interests as their main interests at this stage. This included interests such as security of tenure, better shelter and environment and livelihood protection and enhancement (appendix 2 see response to question 1 Section

IV). A greater percentage of the key stakeholder groups interviewed indicated that their main interest was being involved in all the activities of this phase. Finzi *et al.*, (1998) states that when stakeholders make commitments to a project, then the project makes a bargain with the stakeholders to keep them appropriately informed and involved. It is expected that the implementation phase being the 3rd phase, the stakeholders would have already made several commitments (inputs) to the project, of which they expected certain returns. These expected returns formed the interests in this phase. Literature reviewed on equity theory identified the returns as outcomes which Adams (1965) defined as receipts that the actor gets in exchange for his inputs in the project. They include resources, rewards or compensation.

- ii. The key stakeholders indicated that their interests in the project during this phase did not change.

In conclusion, the study found out that the set of interests of the stakeholders were different at the various phases of the project, but remained quiet stable within the project phases. This is supported by literature reviewed that states that stakeholders' interests change as the project evolves, conditions change and the interdependencies of key systems, stakeholders and their objectives change.

4.1.2 Positions of the key stakeholders from conceptual to implementation phase of the Pilot Project

Literature reviewed on threat and cooperation potential of stakeholders (Savage *et al.*, 1991) indicated that there are factors that affect the elements of stakeholders' support or opposition towards the focal organization, these are:

1. The relevance of the issue at hand, or perceived impact of project activities
2. The degree of prominence (legitimacy, power, and urgency) of the stakeholder and its claims, based on Mitchell *et al.*, (1997)
3. The prospect of the formation of a coalition and
4. The likelihood of action being taken. The potential for stakeholder action which determines the position it takes is dependent, in part, on the degree to which the focal organizations' or project managers' actions are related to the fulfillment of the stakeholder's interests (Savage *et al.*, 1991).

During the study, the key stakeholders were first required to identify their present position (at the time of the study) towards the Soweto East Kibera project on a seven-point itemized rating scale. In this scale, a value of one was considered to be extremely opposed; while a value of seven, extremely supportive. This was followed by a discussion on whether and how their position towards the project had changed during their involvement with it from conceptual phase to current phase of implementation. The change in position, if any, was plotted using an itemized rating scale during the interview. The stakeholders were also requested to explain the reasons for their change in position. A retrospective study was also conducted by reviewing reports, minutes,

... e.t.c in order to corroborate the positions given by the interviewees. These have been
... as footnotes. The following section presents the results of the interviews;

I. Ministry of Housing (Focal Organization)

Changes in Position towards the Soweto East Kibera Project

According to the 3 representatives interviewed, Ministry of Housings' position by 23rd May
2010 towards the Kibera project was 7 on a 7-point itemized rating scale, i.e. extremely
supportive. The following points present the changing position of the Ministry of Housing
towards the Soweto East Kibera project:

Direct involvement and interest in the project started in 2002, while as a department of Housing
under the Ministry of Roads and Public works According to the officers interviewed, initially the
department was supportive¹. Their position has gradually changed positively until
implementation phase (time of study) where the Ministry was extremely supportive towards the
project.

Reasons for changes in position

During the interview, the Ministry of Housing officials pointed out some of the major reasons for
the changes in position towards the project. According to them, the main reasons that made the
Ministry to change positions from a supportive position in 2002 to a very supportive position and
then to extremely supportive² from the year 2005 to 2010 respectively were as follows:

¹ Hon. Minister for Roads, Public Works & Housing, indicated their support during Inter Agency Steering
Committee meeting hosted by Department of Housing in October 2002.

² Internal memos reviewed indicated an increase in financial and human resource committed to the project by the
Ministry.

New Learning/Project objectives were in line with mandate of Department of Housing: They said that one of the attributes that contributed to change in position was 'new learning'. According to them, the main reason for this new learning was the results of studies conducted by different organizations and individuals regarding the existing housing problems in slums. Best practices from India had also showed that it was possible to improve a massive slum like Kibera.

Government Policy: Change in policy from slum clearance to slum improvement³ in the new National Housing Policy motivated the organization to increase support for slum improvement option.

Professional role and position of Ministry: The elevation from Department to Ministry of Housing made it increase support. Professionally the Ministry was playing a coordinating role and project manager to the project. According to them, this role meant that the Ministry had to support the project. Additionally, the position of the Ministry as a focal organization in ensuring sustainable human settlements in the country⁴, dictated that they play a bigger role in the pilot project.

Ownership: Department of Housing under the Ministry played a key role in the formation of the Soweto East Kibera Pilot plan. There was a sense of ownership of the project.

Support and positive outcomes/ mile stones: As time went by, the successes realized along the way by the project were rewarding and motivated the Ministry to increase support. Treasury also increased funding for the project and other International donors like Swedish International Development co operation Agency (SIDA) came in to support the project. For example, the

³ National Housing Policy that was passed by parliament on 30th June 2004 encouraged slum upgrading.

⁴ The Presidential circular no. 1/2007 affirmed shelter and slum upgrading as some of the core functions of the Ministry of Housing.

successful relocation in September 2009, made the Ministry to change position to extremely supportive⁵.

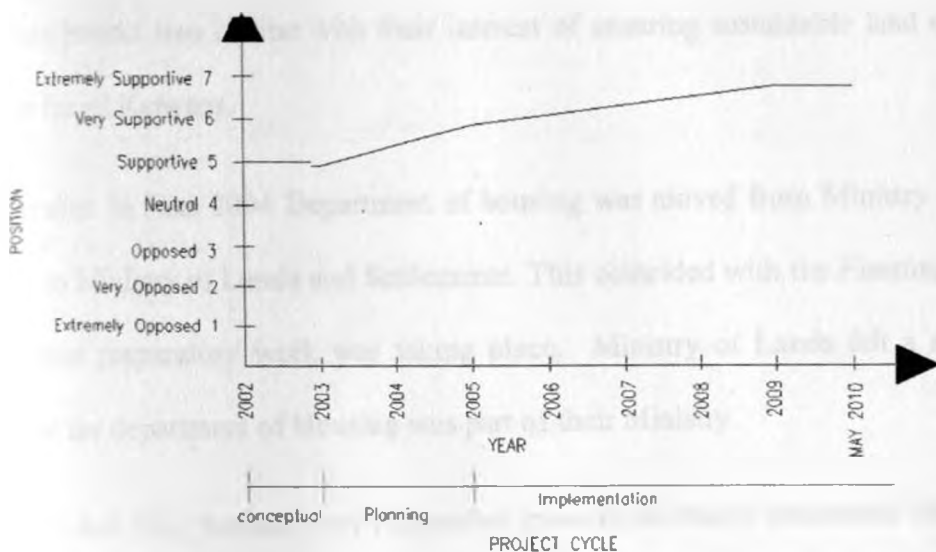


Figure 7. Changing position of Ministry of Housing

ii. Ministry of lands

Ministry of Lands was involved with the project from the conceptual phase. At the start of the project, the Ministry was supportive⁶ of the project. The Ministry even seconded two of its officers to work permanently at the Programme Secretariat based at the Department of Housing. From this supportive position at conceptual phase, the Ministry has changed positions several times as highlighted below.

⁵ Ministry of Housing - Permanent Secretaries' opening remark during a consultative meeting held with the World Bank representatives on 10th April, 2010 at Ardhi House.

⁶ The report of the working dinner between the Minister for Roads, Public Works and Housing and the Executive Director of UN-Habitat in 2002 showed the Minister for Lands and Settlement was also in attendance and he indicated support to the pilot project.

Reasons for changes in position

Project objectives were in line with mandate of the Ministry: The Ministry was supportive because project was in line with their interest of ensuring sustainable land use and security of tenure for all Kenyans.

Ownership: In June 2004 Department of housing was moved from Ministry of Roads & Public works to Ministry of Lands and Settlements. This coincided with the Planning Phase where a lot of project preparatory work was taking place. Ministry of Lands felt a sense of ownership because the department of Housing was part of their Ministry.

Recognition: They became very supportive towards the end of conceptual phase and throughout the planning phase because their role was recognized and they were engaged appropriately. Department of Physical Planning under the Ministry of Lands conducted enumeration and prepared the Settlement plan⁷.

Unmet and met Interests: In 2008 their position changed from very supportive to supportive because they had finished preparing the Part Development Plan, but Ministry of Housing did not transfer funds as had been agreed. This led to a minor dispute which was resolved in May, 2009. At that same time Ministry of Housing provided them with additional funds for verification of enumeration data. Several of their officials were also incorporated in the relocation and design committees. This made the Ministry very supportive. Additionally at the time of the study, the Ministry had prioritized provision of security of tenure in informal settlements country wide.

⁷ Ministry of Lands and Settlement set up Data base office where the enumeration data was stored. At the time of the study, the office was still in existence and handled enquiries from Kibera residents. The office is also the custodian of uncollected enumeration identity cards.

Therefore, the project objectives were seen to be in line with strategic objectives of the Ministry⁸. It is for this reason that they were very supportive at the time of the study.

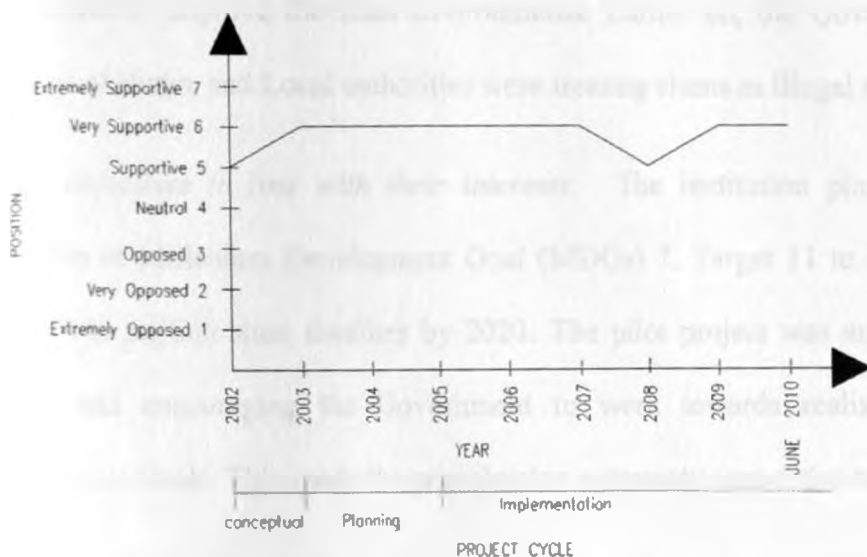


Figure 8. Changing position of Ministry of Lands

iii. United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT)

UN – Habitat was supportive at the beginning of the project, but with time the organization has changed its position towards the project to extremely supportive then later changed to just being supportive as indicated by figure 9.

Reasons for changes in position

Ownership: The idea of improving housing in Kibera was their 'baby' so at the conceptual stage they were supportive⁹.

⁸ A review of the Rapid Results Initiative document for Ministry of Lands supported the position.

⁹ There were many consultative meetings(seen from records of minutes) between Minister for Roads, Public Works and Housing and Executive Director for UN-Habitat in the period 2002 to 2003, where UN- Habitat expressly reiterated support for the project

Commitment from Government of Kenya: From 2002 they changed their position to extremely supportive because of the memorandum signed with the Kenya Government¹⁰ indicating commitment to improve the slum environments. Earlier on, the Government had ignored the challenge of slums, and Local authorities were treating slums as illegal settlements.

Project objectives in line with their interests: The institution plays a central role in the realization of Millenium Development Goal (MDGs) 7, Target 11 to significantly improve the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. The pilot project was an avenue for sharing best practice and encouraging the Government to work towards realization of the Millenium Development Goals. This made the organization extremely supportive towards the project.

Lack of consultation: In 2005 they changed their position from extremely supportive to being supportive by the time of the study. They said they were not happy with the way Ministry of Housing had handled the process of slum improvement. According to UN Habitat, in 2005 the Ministry hijacked the process and started making unilateral decisions¹¹, consultations were less, yet they were the main partner in the project. Hiring a consortium to refine the drawings and supervise the construction at the Decanting Site was one such decision they cited they were not happy with. The community and City council of Nairobi's role was reduced. This according to them went against the spirit of partnership.

Disagreement on the process: Additionally in 2005, they hired a slum upgrading expert to propose the best alternative for delivery of housing but the Ministry of Housing rejected the proposal to form a Special Purpose Vehicle (partly private, partly public) to deliver housing to Soweto residents. Other experts on relocation and water and sanitation were also not given

¹⁰ A copy of Memorandum of Understanding reviewed indicated it was signed on 15th January 2003.

¹¹ A letter was written by UN-Habitat to Ministry Of Housing indicating their concerns.

support by the Ministry of Housing. This made the organization to change position from extremely supportive to supportive. They explained that they had remained supportive because UN-Habitat is the main partner as highlighted in the Memorandum of Understanding.

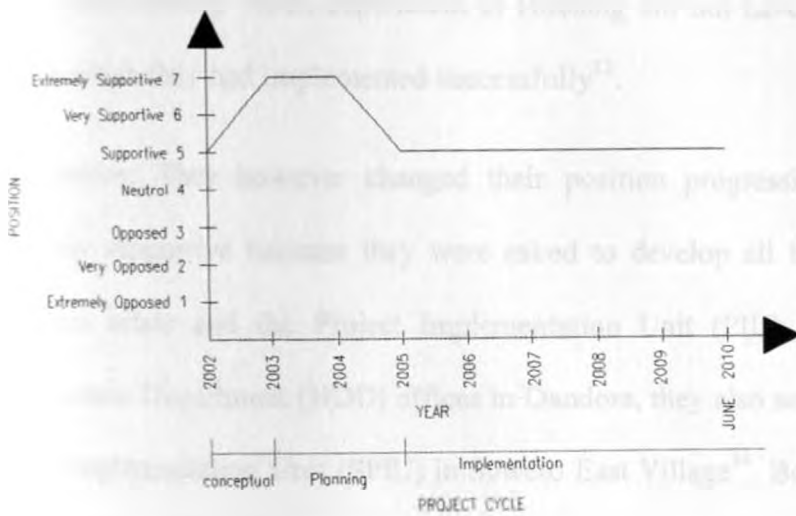


Figure 9. Changing position of UN Habitat

iv. City council of Nairobi

City Council of Nairobi's position was supportive at conceptual phase¹², but this changed to extremely supportive during planning and later gradually reduced to the point of just being supportive by the time the study was carried out.

Reasons for changes in position

Recognition of role and involvement: City council of Nairobi supported the project at the conceptual stage because their envisaged role in the project was acknowledged and they were

¹² This position was affirmed at a Joint Project Planning Team (JPPT) retreat held on 18-19 November 2003 at AFC Institute in Lang'ata. In addition, Town Clerk, Jack Mbuguas' opening remarks on 4th December 2003 during an Inter Agency Steering Committee meeting supported the above position.

consulted from the very beginning. They however were not so happy with the Department of Housing hosting the project. They felt funding should have been given direct to them because they were expected to implement. They also talked of the experience they had in provision of low income housing which department of Housing did not have. They cited Dandora housing scheme which they had implemented successfully¹³.

Participation: They however changed their position progressively and in 2004 they were extremely supportive because they were asked to develop all the bidding documents for the relocation estate and the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) was set up at their Housing Development Department (HDD) offices in Dandora, they also set up and staffed the Settlement Project Implementation Unit (SPIU) in Soweto East Village¹⁴. Both PIU and SPIU offices were equipped by UN-Habitat and Ministry of Housing. The PIU and SPIU staff were fully engaged in all preparatory work for the project.

Lack of consultation: In 2005, Ministry of Housing decided to engage a consortium to finalize the drawings and to supervise the construction of Decanting Estate without them being consulted. This made them change position from extremely supportive to supportive position at the time of the study. They cite the millions of shillings paid to the consortium to digitize the drawings yet they received no money for doing the donkey work. The consortium threatened their role. They continued to be supportive¹⁵ because they believed they had a role and the

¹³ This position is evidenced by the minutes of a consultative meeting held on 6th April 2002.

¹⁴ A review of the Housing Development Department design team minutes indicated a strong technical team chaired by the then Director, N.K. Mulinge, met frequently in the period October 2004 to June 2005 to discuss bidding documents for the Decanting project.

¹⁵ They continued to participate in the activities of the pilot project as seen from documentation for the project. For example they, provided an Engineer, as Clerk of Works for the Decanting Estate, nominated a representative to the Design and Redevelopment Committee, and its top leadership graced all the key activities when called upon.

Ministry of Housing continued to recognize their officials who are paid allowances in recognition of the role they play in the project.

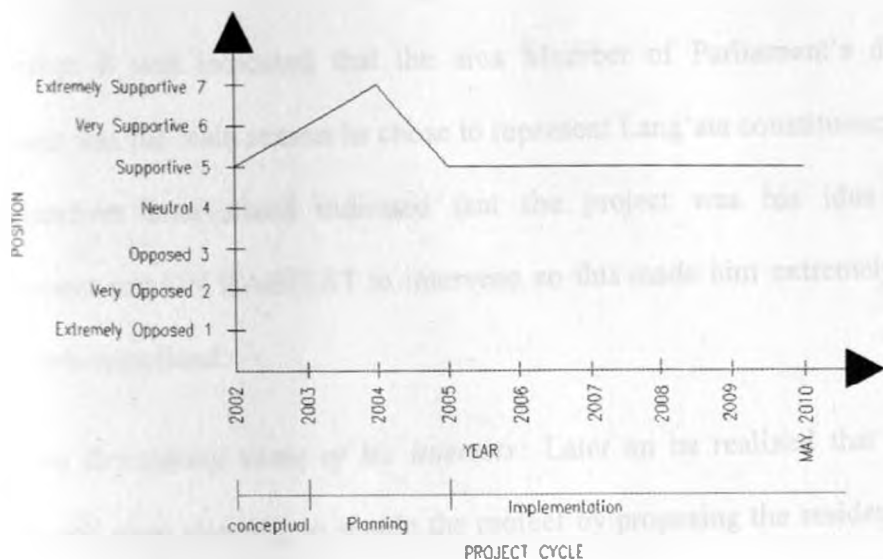


Figure 10. Changing position of City Council of Nairobi

v. Political institution

The politics of Kibera are influenced greatly by the area member of parliament who is also the Prime Minister of Kenya and his party politics. The study found out that the project realized some measure of success because of the strong local political support that was given to the project at conceptual stage. But just like the aforementioned key stakeholders the position of the political institution towards the project had not remained constant. The political organization was

extremely supportive at the conceptual phase¹⁶, but thereafter changed position to supportive then back to extremely supportive by the time the study was conducted.

Reasons for changes in position

Ownership: It was indicated that the area Member of Parliament's desire to improve the settlement was the main reason he chose to represent Lang'ata constituency. In fact, the political representatives interviewed indicated that the project was his idea and he lobbied the Government and UN HABITAT to intervene so this made him extremely supportive when the project was conceived.

Decisions threatening some of his interests: Later on he realized that some people had bad motives and were planning to scuttle the project by proposing the residents be relocated to Athi River. This made him to change position from being extremely supportive to just supportive. The relocation to Athi River would have meant loss of voters.

Involvement: He used his position in Government to source for a relocation site within his constituency and when the project was back on track and the implementation started he became extremely supportive. He has been involved in all major mile stones like launch of the project, ground breaking and relocation launch amongst many other mile stones.

Project objectives in line with his vision: He remains extremely supportive because he wants to see the whole of Kibera transformed and he believes it is possible. The success of the project also translates to increased voter support and 'survival' in politics.

¹⁶ This position is evidenced by the reports of the "barazas" held in Kibera early 2003.

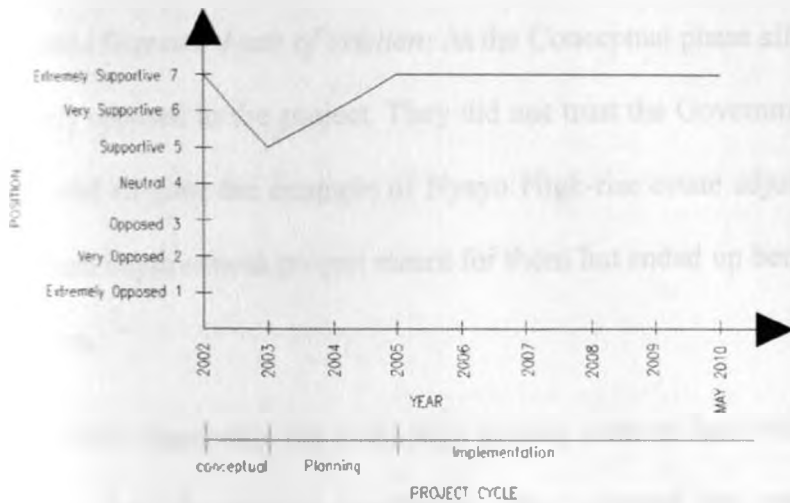


Figure 11. Changing position of political institution

vi. Community (Settlement Executive Committee)

Settlement Executive Committee was set up in order to represent the interests of the Soweto East community. The study found out that the community's support or opposition of the project has not always been uniform. It is for this reason that the study at some point isolated the tenants, Faith Based Organizations, resident and nonresident structure owners. At the beginning of the project the community as a whole was extremely opposed to the project¹⁷. Since, then their positions have been changing.

¹⁷ This position was expressed through letters written in 2003 by Kibera Landlords and Housing Association, Christ the King Church and Muungano wa Wanavijiji organizations to the Director of Housing. Reports for Soweto East "Barazas" held during this time also indicated this position.

Reasons for changes in position

Threatened Interests/ Fear of eviction: At the Conceptual phase all Soweto East community were extremely opposed to the project. They did not trust the Government. The community members interviewed all gave the example of Nyayo High-rise estate adjoining the slum which they say was a slum improvement project meant for them but ended up benefiting the middle class due to corruption.

They had also heard that due to the high density some of them will be relocated to Athi River to pave way for infrastructure installation. They opposed this because many of them work in Industrial area or in the neighborhood.

New Information: Thereafter, there were many *barazas* and sensitization workshops by the government and their member of parliament where information was relayed and because there had never been such community consultations, they started developing some trust. In 2003 they became supportive towards the project because they were told that they will be temporarily relocated to Lang'ata. They were happy with idea of relocation within their current neighborhood. Relocation also meant that they would not be forcefully evicted from their settlement.

Representation/ Involvement: They elected some members of their community to represent their interests in the project i.e. Settlement Executive Committee. Their area Member of Parliaments' party had formed the Government and he had assured them that their interests would be respected and urged them to support the project.

Project objectives in line with their interests: Also due to population increase the slum environment was becoming unbearable. The area was becoming overpopulated creating a strain

on the available facilities like water and sanitation. The environment was heavily polluted by human waste. They decided to support the project because they wanted their living environment improved so that they could regain their dignity as human beings.

Loss of livelihood: The community was generally very supportive at the beginning of the implementation phase but in 2008 the structure owners started changing their position due to the demolition of structures to pave way for the construction of an access road¹⁸. No compensation was given, only alternative sites were given but many felt that the sites were not ideal. Whereas many of the structures encroaching on the road reserve were commercial and relied on the human traffic to sustain their businesses, many of the alternative sites identified were away from areas of human traffic thereby denying the structure owners their source of livelihood. In 2009 the position of structure owners changed towards extremely opposed (non-resident structure owners), and opposed (resident structure owners relocated to Decanting Estate) due to the relocation that took place in September.

Non Involvement: From September 2009 to the date of the interview, the nonresident structure owners sued the Government and also hired a dreaded youth gang (Mungiki) to prevent any activity from taking place in Soweto East. They said they had been forced to do this because the tenants who had moved to Decanting estate had been disobeying the court order barring demolition of their structures. They were demolishing their structures and threatening their new tenants. The absentee structure owners indicated that they had not been consulted because many meetings and sensitizations took place within the Settlement, even the door to door campaigns

¹⁸ As indicated in minutes of a SEC meeting that took place on 26th June 2008.

were not effective to them because they did not reside within the settlement, and no attempts were made to reach them through the national media as many of them reside out of Nairobi.

They also said that it was risky for them to accept relocation without compensation. This is because in case the project fails or stalls, the rest of the residents would remain at the Decanting Estate, but in their case they would have nothing.

Loss of power: They were also extremely opposed to the project, because they said they were being treated equally with tenants when it came to involvement and distribution of benefits accrued from the project. They strongly objected this treatment.

Fulfilled Interests: Tenants position changed to extremely supportive in 2009 because of the relocation process¹⁹. They were happy with the way the Government facilitated the relocation, by hiring Lorries to carry their goods and buses to transport their families. They were also moved and allocated housing units as they had lived; this ensured their social networks were intact. The rents payable in the Decanting estate are affordable and the living environment is much better, than the slum. They equated their new environment to 'Canaan' in the bible. The relationship between the landlord and tenants is generally conflictive and characterized by power imbalances. The tenants realized that the project would change this power imbalance towards their favour. This is why they had changed their position to extremely supportive by the time of the study.

Unmet interests: In August, 2009 the Faith Based Organizations began to oppose the project because they had not been given alternative sites for construction of their churches. They had

¹⁹ This is captured in the relocation review report prepared in April, 2010 by KENSUP Secretariat.

also lost some of their followers after the relocation exercise²⁰. Also having been consulted in the preparation of the scheme designs it were clear that they would not all be accommodated in the redeveloped area, because of the size of the land in comparison to their number. It became clear that they would be losers if the project succeeded.

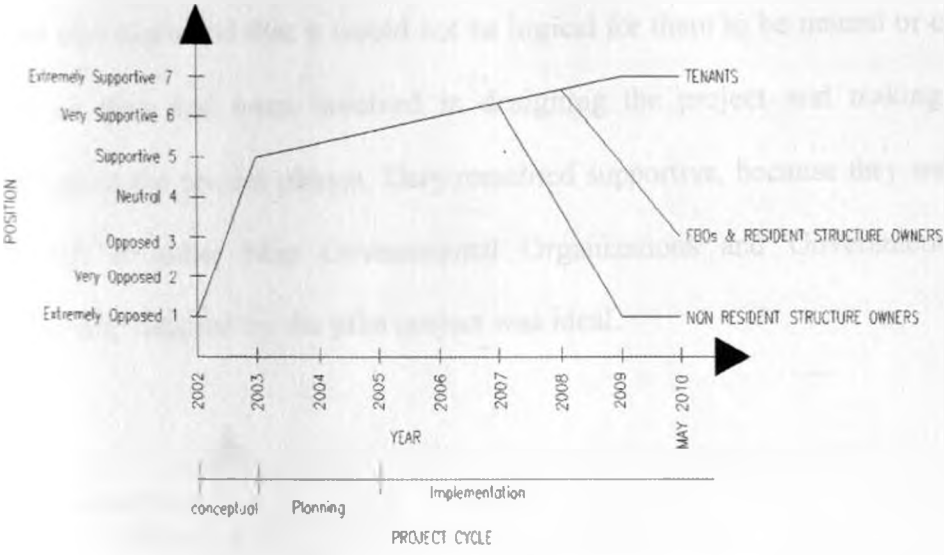


Figure 12. Changing position of community

vii. Shelter Forum

This institution has remained supportive towards the project from conceptual to current phase of implementation phase²¹.

²⁰ A letter was written to the Director Slum Upgrading Department, requesting the replacement of their two representatives in SEC, because they felt the two had not safeguarded their interests. They mentioned their change in support for the project.

²¹ Reviewed minutes and reports indicated they have been consistent in participation in project activities. Their CEO attended all Multi Stakeholder Support Meetings held since conception of the project.

Reason for constant position

The Reasons given for supportive position is that the objectives of the project were in line with their vision for the slum. They appreciated the Governments' efforts to involve other stakeholder like civil societies in the project. Their interests of involvement and recognition had been met by the project throughout the cycle.

They also explained that it would not be logical for them to be neutral or opposed to the project and yet they had been involved in designing the project and making all major decisions throughout the project phases. They remained supportive, because they wanted to send a strong message to other Non Governmental Organizations and Government that the model of partnership adopted by the pilot project was ideal.

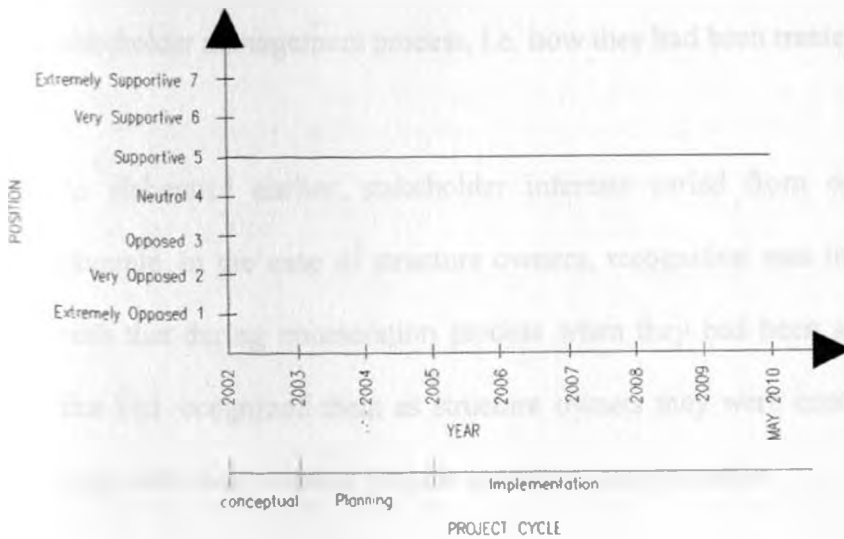


Figure 13. Changing position of Shelter Forum

4.2. Summary of Observations

- i. Out of the 9 key stakeholder organizations analyzed, only one organization – Shelter Forum- had maintained one position. The organization was supportive from conception to implementation phase. The rest changed positions both positively (towards being extremely supportive) and negatively (towards being extremely opposed).
A greater majority of the stakeholder organizations maintained a level 5 and above on the 7 point itemized rating scale i.e. they supported the project throughout the different phases.
- ii. The position taken by any stakeholder at any one time was mainly due to concerns from stakeholders able or unable to promote or protect their interests. The level of support depended on two basic considerations: the needs and concerns of stakeholders and the stakeholder management process, i.e. how they had been treated.
- iii. As elaborated earlier, stakeholder interests varied from one phase to another. For example, in the case of structure owners, recognition was important at planning stage, such that during enumeration process when they had been given unique identity cards that had recognized them as structure owners they were content, but at implementation stage their main interest became monetary compensation.
- iv. How the stakeholders were treated by focal organization depended on their attributes like power, urgency and legitimacy. This supports Ramírez Ricardos' (1999) proposition no 2 that states that a stakeholder's likelihood of being noticed and involved is a function of several attributes including power, urgency, and legitimacy. Mitchell *et al.* (1997) states

that stakeholders with two or more attribute are likely to be noticed and participate; those without them will tend to be ignored. It then follows that stakeholders who are noticed and participate will be supportive while the ones ignored tended to be unsupportive or opposed.

- v. The level and type of participation by the key stakeholders required by the focal organization was different for each phase. This was misunderstood by the stakeholders who were engaged less at certain phases. For example, UN-Habitats participation was required more at the beginning when the institutional arrangement for the project was not in place and the need to mobilize resources from donors was high. At implementation phase UN-Habitats' participation was required less, as they were not expected to implement.
- vi. There were driver issues which were issues of importance to stakeholders which impelled them to support or oppose. The key stakeholders supported or opposed certain things. It could be the way the project was handled, involvement, decision making process e.t.c. None of the key stakeholders opposed the project in its entirety.
- vii. The Nature and characteristic of focal organization influenced the change in position of the stakeholders. Ministry of Housing being part of the central Government was not seen as being neutral. The lack of trust towards the Ministry also affected the positions taken by some of the key stakeholders especially the community organization.

viii. The different perceptions some of the key stakeholders had towards project activities and milestones were also seen to cause changes in position of stakeholders. In some cases the actual impacts of project activities affected stakeholders' positions. A good example is the Faith Based Organization that realized that relocation meant no worship spaces and members for them temporarily. This made them change position from being very supportive to being opposed to the project.

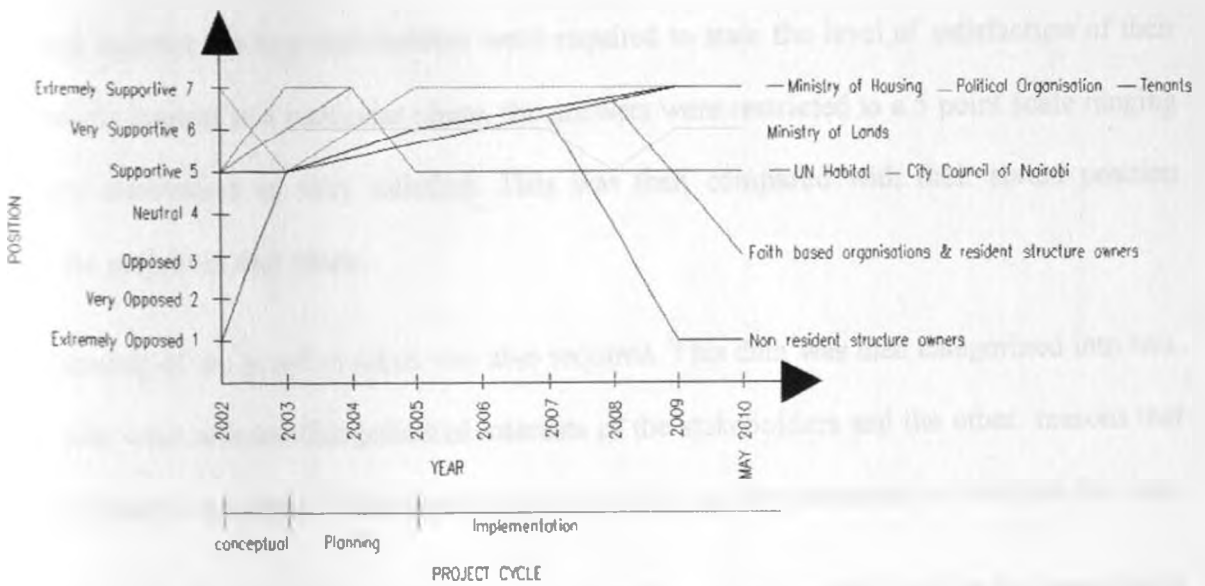


Figure 14. Combined graph depicting changing positions of all the key stakeholders.

Summary

The graph above indicates that, at the conceptual stage all the key stake stakeholders were supportive except the community. At the planning phase all the stakeholders were supportive but UN Habitat and City Council of Nairobi decreased their support from being extremely

supportive to supportive. Structure owners and Faith based organizations were opposed to the project by May 2010, because of unmet interests.

4.3. Relationship between changing positions and interests of key stakeholders

The second research objective was to establish whether there was a relationship between changing positions and interests of the key stakeholders.

During the interview, repetition of questions was done deliberately to confirm some responses given by interviewees.

In the first instance the key stakeholders were required to state the level of satisfaction of their organizations interest at a particular phase, the answers were restricted to a 5 point scale ranging from very dissatisfied to very satisfied. This was then compared with their stated position towards the project in that phase.

An explanation of the position taken was also required. This data was then categorized into two. On one side were reasons that indicated interests of the stakeholders and the other, reasons that were not related to interests. The researcher heavily relied on her perception to interpret this data.

Savage *et al.*, (1991) found that the position a stakeholder takes towards a project is dependant in part to the degree to which the project managers' actions are related to the fulfillment of the stakeholders' interests.

The study on the other hand demonstrated that all stakeholders affirmed that their positions towards the project were influenced by the level of satisfaction of their interests. Stakeholders whose interests had been met by the project outcome were found to be more supportive than the ones whose interests had not been met. The level of satisfaction of the stakeholders' interests was found to be in a linear relationship with the changing position for all except one stakeholder.

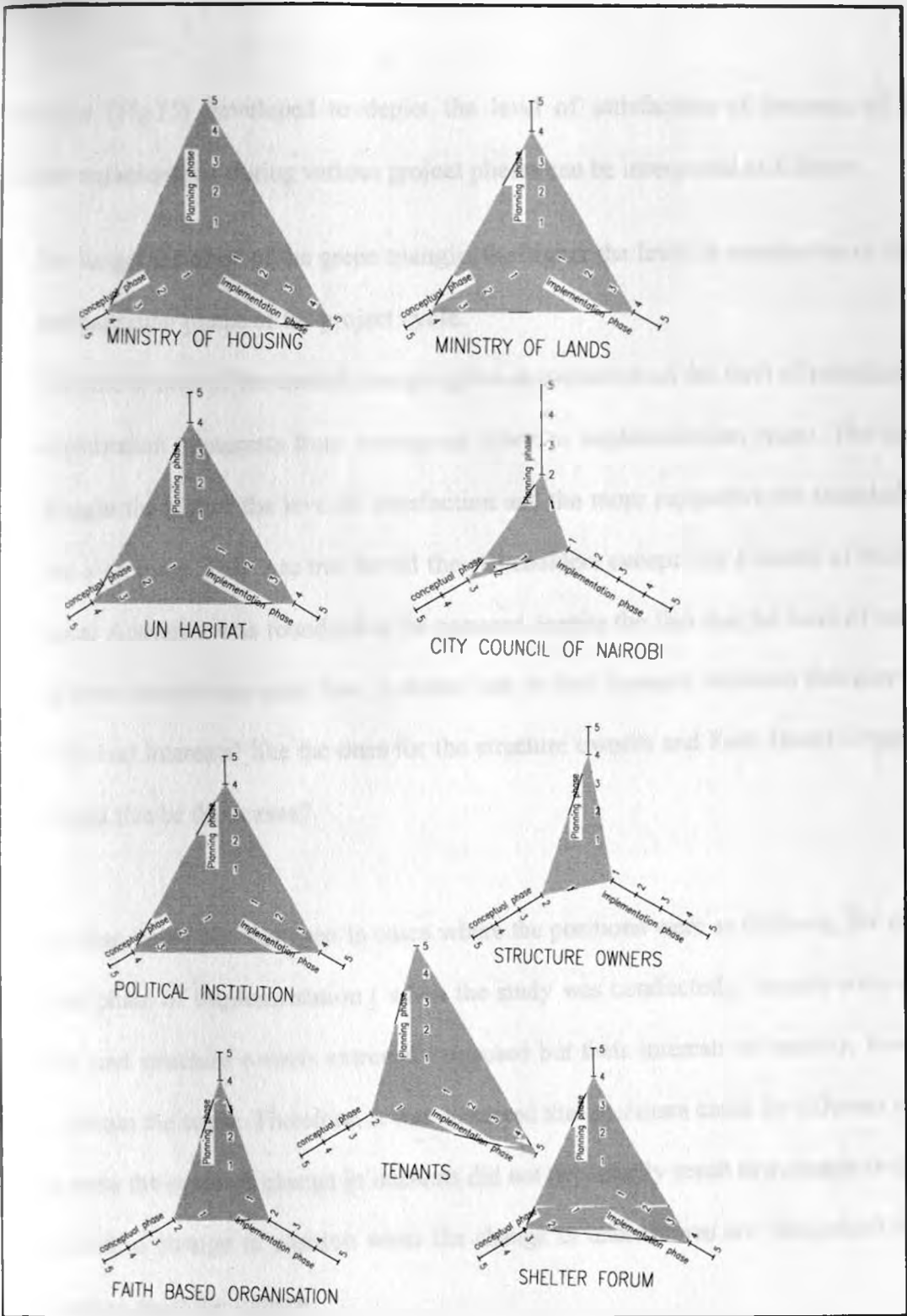


Figure 15. Satisfaction levels of Stakeholders (Source: Authors' construct)

Legend

1 –Very Dissatisfied, 2 –Dissatisfied, 3- Neutral, 4 – Satisfied, 5- Very Satisfied

The triangles (Fig.15) developed to depict the level of satisfaction of interests of the key stakeholder organizations during various project phases can be interpreted as follows:

- i. The longer the apex of the green triangle, the higher the level of satisfaction of interest at that particular phase of the project cycle.
- ii. The size or area of the shaded triangle gives an indication of the level of satisfaction of an organization's interests from conceptual phase to implementation phase. The bigger the triangle the higher the level of satisfaction and the more supportive the stakeholder was, and vice versa. This was true for all the stakeholders except City Council of Nairobi. The Local Authority was found not to be opposed despite the fact that the level of satisfaction of their interest was quite low. A closer look at their interests indicated that they were not 'survival interests' like the ones for the structure owners and Faith Based Organizations. Could this be the reason?

The study also found out that even in cases where the positions were so different, for example at the current phase of implementation (when the study was conducted), tenants were extremely supportive and structure owners extremely opposed but their interests of security, involvement, identity remain the same. Therefore, it was observed that positions could be different even when interests were the same. A change in interests did not necessarily result in a change in position. It only resulted in change in position when the change in interest was not recognized and efforts put in place to meet the interest.

Literature reviewed on conflict supports the fact that positions of stakeholders can be so different even opposed yet the interests of those same stakeholders can be the same or compatible (Fisher *et al.*, 1991)

4.4. How change in positions and interests had impacted on the pilot project

The third research objective was to investigate how the change in positions and interest had impacted on the project.

Literature reviewed indicated that the definition of a stakeholder is any individual or group with the power to be a threat or a benefit, Gibson (2000). This is to say that the position that each stakeholder takes towards the project determines the direction of the impact this stakeholder has on the project decision-making process and activities. Blair & Fottler (1998), concluded that the supportiveness - or lack of supportiveness - of the key stakeholders affects how and whether those stakeholders use their power and resources to support or thwart the organization's attempts to achieve its strategic objectives.

Changes in position

The study found both positive and negative changes in position i.e. from an opposed or neutral position towards a supportive or extremely supportive position on one hand, while on the other hand some changes in position were negative i.e. from a supportive or neutral position to being extremely opposed to the project. Only one organization maintained the same position throughout. Positive changes and negative changes were found to have impacted the project differently.

4.4.1. Effects of Positive Change on the Project

Reviewed literature (Clarkson, 1995) talks of the following benefits that can accrue due to stakeholders being supportive:

- i. Supportive stakeholders can give input that can improve the quality of the project. Gaining support from powerful stakeholders can help the project to win more resources – this makes it more likely that projects will be successful.

- ii. Reduction of the potential for crises
- iii. Minimization of the threat of increased regulation or litigation

In the study the common theme seen in all the responses during the interviews was success of project which was directly mentioned by 8 out of the 9 key stakeholder organizations studied. Supportive stakeholders put in more resources towards the project, for example the Government of Kenya through Ministry of Housing increased funding for project and the number of staff working on the project. At the time UN-Habitat was extremely supportive, the organization had more of its staff working full time on the project, funded most of the preliminary studies and physical planning activities.

4.4.2. Effects of Negative changes to the Project

A negative position to a construction project by stakeholders can severely obstruct its implementation. Such obstruction will cause cost overruns and exceed time schedules due to conflicts and controversies concerning project design and implementation (Brinkerhoff, 1991)

The key stakeholder organizations highlighted the following as the main impacts of opposition towards the Soweto East, Kibera pilot project:

- i. Increased cost of the project. A lot of resources were spent in consensus building. This entailed communication through workshops, 'barazas', retreats, door to door campaigns e.t.c which cost a lot of money. Delay in implementation especially of the infrastructure led to increased cost. This was occasioned by increased cost of building materials.
- ii. Delay in project completion. For example, when some of the structure owners opposed the project they refused to relocate from the road reserve, this made the contractor delay

commencement of the works leading to delay in completion of the phase 1 of the access road through Soweto East Village.

- iii. **Reduced financial and human resources.** Stakeholders reduced the inputs or commitments made to the project thereby paralyzing project operations. For example, City council of Nairobi reduced the number of technical staff working in the Project Implementation Unit. This led to delay in correcting any anomalies detected in the bidding documents for the decanting estate. This is the main reason consultants were brought in to assist.
- iv. **Conflict.** The study established that conflict exists in the pilot project. Some type of conflict like that between nonresident structure owners and the Government has in effect caused the project to stall.

4.5. Effects due to changes in interest

The interests of the key stakeholders in the project varied with the phase, but in general remained quiet stable towards the project when looked at in totality. The effects of the changes in interest on the project phases is that it affected the perception of the success levels the stakeholders attributed to the mile stones achieved by the project, this then influenced the position the stakeholder took in relation to the project. This position whether negative or positive affected the project as has been highlighted above.

4.6 Applicability of equity theory in analysis of changing positions

The importance of equity in stakeholder management has been stressed in a lot of literature. 'Corporations should monitor the concerns of stakeholders', 'communicate openly', 'distribute benefits equitably', etc. (Clarkson Centre for Business Ethics 1999). Husted (1998) elaborated how stakeholders compare their inputs to the Focal Organization to the outcomes they derive

from it, and use this comparison to make assessments concerning the fairness of the Focal Organization's resource allocations. Sefa Hayibor (2000) notes that stakeholders provide the firm with critical resources in exchange for which they expect their interests to be met. When they are not met it leads to under reward perception. Chenet *et al.*, (2000) concluded that under reward inequity in relationships is seen as a force which undermines relationship cohesion, trust, commitment, and continuity, while equity or over reward is often proposed to increase commitment (Martin & Peterson, 1987; Rhodes & Steers, 1981). Lack of commitment translates to non supportive position, while an increase in commitment means increased support for the project.

In order to test the applicability of Equity Theory in the analysis of changing positions, the stakeholders were asked to indicate their inputs at a particular phase, and compare it to the outcomes that they had benefitted from. Based on the above they were expected to say how their organizations felt on a 5 point scale that ranged from extremely under rewarded to extremely over rewarded. This was input as a bar graph. The data was then compared to the changes in position in those particular phases. The graphs below show the relationship.

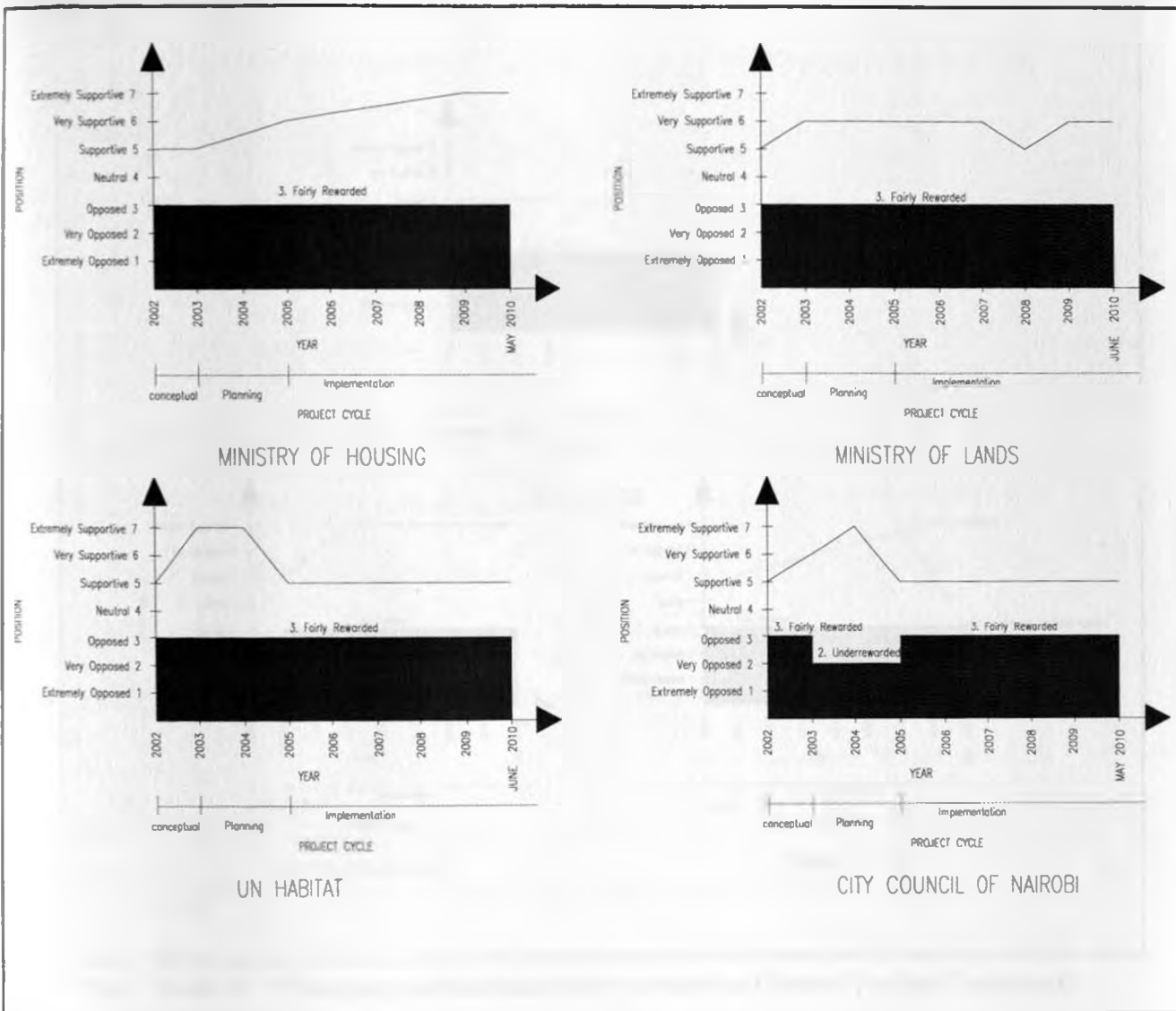


Figure 16 a. Changing positions and equity perception

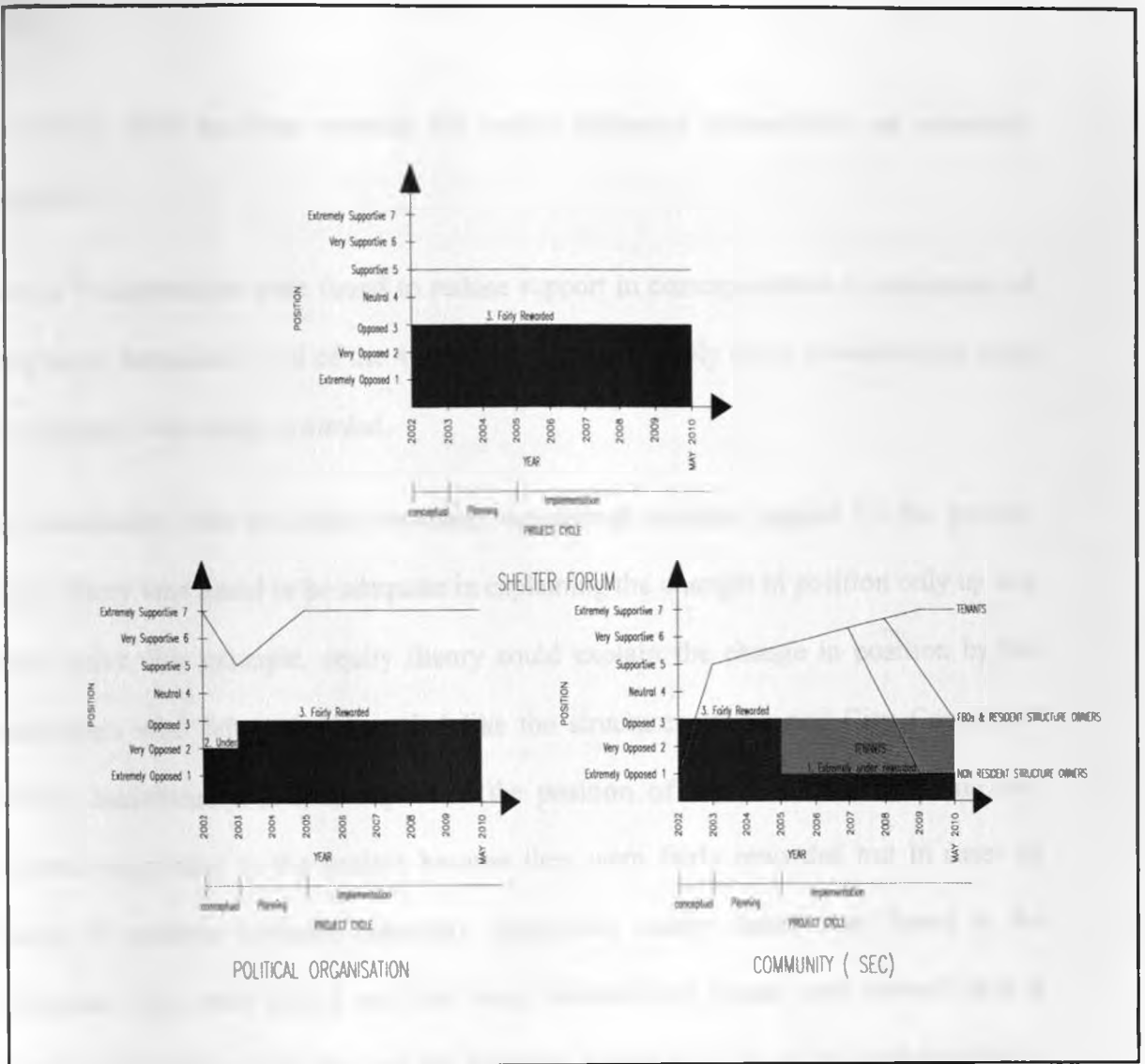


Figure 16.a& b : Changing positions and equity perception (Source; Authors' construct)

A closer look at the graphs above shows the following:

- i. Majority of the key stakeholders indicated they were fairly rewarded throughout the project cycle. Their positions changed between supportive and extremely supportive but never went below supportive.
- ii. However, increased support was not found to correspond to perception of over reward. For example Ministry of housing and tenants maintained a score of 3 (fairly rewarded)

even though their positions towards the project increased tremendously to extremely supportive.

- iii. 4 out of 9 stakeholders were found to reduce support in correspondence to perception of being under rewarded. 2 out of the 4 said they were extremely under rewarded and other two said they were under rewarded.
- iv. One stakeholder who was fairly rewarded maintained constant support for the project. Equity theory was found to be adequate in explaining the changes in position only up to a certain point. For example, equity theory could explain the change in position by the stakeholders who felt under rewarded like the structure owners and City Council of Nairobi. Additionally, it also explained the position of the 5 stakeholders who had remained supportive to the project because they were fairly rewarded but in cases of change of position towards extremely supportive, equity theory was found to be inadequate. The study found out that many stakeholders equate over reward with a situation that one does not deserve the outcome. It was difficult for the stakeholders to measure their inputs into the project. Some like the structure owners were only considering the value of the land and their structure concluding that the units they had been given at the Decanting estate were too tiny yet they had lost ownership and power. This then made them conclude they had been extremely under rewarded. Non economic inputs like time and effort were not appreciated as much as economic/tangible outputs.

4.7. Limitations of the study

Owing to the extensive nature of the topic of study, the research period was too short to gather information from all the stakeholders within the pilot project. It was also challenging to derive the key issues on stakeholder interests and positions from the interviews since the interviewee could not out rightly state their interests in some cases. The lack of technical expertise to interpret such information from a stakeholder was a great challenge. Language barrier occurred when interviewing some community members who could only speak Swahili. The meanings derived from the conversations were interpreted as perceived by the researcher.

Institutional memory was not documented but relied on individuals. This presented a problem, first and foremost some of these individuals no longer worked for the organizations, or the project, secondly one could not be so sure the individual adequately represented the views of the institution. Some institutions like community are not homogenous and are large; one could not be so sure the few proxies represented the views of their members

The study was retrospective in nature i.e. it looked backwards in time. The biggest problem was that some of the information that was needed was very hard to get. The study relied heavily on interviewees to recall things that happened many years ago. Memory being a selective thing, and it could introduce all sorts of biases into the study.

Review of secondary data like minutes of meetings, reports and letters was difficult because negative changes in position are not discussed in meetings and these could only be found in the form of correspondences, but because conflict is normally hidden, the correspondences were marked as confidential documents. Even though the researcher had access to these documents by the virtue of being an employee of the project management unit, the oath of secrecy administered

to all civil servants prevented the researcher from using these documents as proof of change in positions stated. The other problem was that even in cases where stakeholder support was documented, for example in minutes of meetings there was the danger of misinterpretation because of using existing data that had been recorded for reasons other than research on positions and interests.

The study was also constrained by financial resources due to the expenses that were involved in terms of traveling, facilitating Focus Group Discussion and research assistant.

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.0 Conclusions

From the study and literature reviewed the following conclusions can be made:

- i. Interests of the key stakeholders included both survival interests and well being interests. 'Survival interests' (related to human needs) remained constant while 'well being' interests changed throughout the project cycle. The project manager/ focal organization was expected to be aware of survival needs of the key stakeholders, as these were not tradable and they had to be fulfilled if conflict was to be avoided.
- ii. At each phase of the project, the fulfillment of certain interests was more important than others, and this varied from one stakeholder to another. For example, if a stakeholder organization had 5 different interests it wanted fulfilled at a certain time, and it valued interest number 3, and all the other interests were fulfilled except this one, the stakeholder would still change its position negatively.
- iii. The main cause of change in position was whether interests were met or not, and how the management treated the stakeholders.
- iv. Power imbalance affected how the Focal Organization prioritized which interests of stakeholders to fulfill. For example, Ministry of Housing had prioritized the interests of tenants because they made up 82% of the slum population, associating their huge number with power. The structure owners were ignored yet despite the fact that they are few, had more power because of who they are and the networks they belonged to. They were thus able to stall the project.
- v. Tangible outcomes were more important than non tangible outcomes. The stakeholders were much more aware of the milestones of the project than they were of the phases. The

delivery of project milestones was very important in building trust among the stakeholders, since project stakeholders lacked time for familiarity to develop from shared experiences or demonstrations of non-exploitation of vulnerability. In this case, the government and City Council of Nairobi were viewed with suspicion by the residents who lacked trust in these two institutions. Anticipation of a successful project outcome that is long term was therefore linked to the achievement of significant pre-established milestones. This case study research highlighted building trust as an important factor in determining positive positions towards the project.

- v. Stakeholders were found to have preferences of outcomes. What was good for one stakeholder was not necessarily good for the other. This explained why tenants became extremely supportive after relocation, while the same activity made non resident structure owners and Faith Based Organizations change position negatively.
- vi. What was perceived as inputs and outcomes varied greatly among stakeholders. The key stakeholders of the Kibera project were found to be more interested in what the project offered them more than what they were required to give. Stakeholders were therefore found to change positions negatively based on outcomes.
- vii. Perception of inequity was found not to be static. It changed with time. It increased, or decreased as the project unfolded and this influenced positions taken by the stakeholders.
- viii. Under rewarded stakeholder were most likely to reduce inputs than did rewarded stakeholder.

Ministry of Housing as the Focal Organization offering project management to the Soweto pilot project has the responsibility of assuring that the changes in positions of the key stakeholders are positive i.e. supportive, very supportive or extremely supportive. This can only be done through an effective stakeholder management process that is characterized by the following features:

- i. Building and maintaining a base of trust.
- ii. Communicating all positive and negative consequences of the project activities.
- iii. Implementing the project in such a way that the potential negative impacts to the stakeholders are minimized.

In summary therefore, the interests of stakeholders and the choice of alternative solutions affected the level of acceptance that each stakeholder had about the project. Depending on how the interests were fulfilled, and on how the focal organization had addressed and acknowledged the interests, each stakeholder organization chose to accept or not accept project decisions. The acceptance level determined to a large extent the position that each key stakeholder (of being an opponent or a proponent) took towards the project, and thus the impact each key stakeholder imposed upon the project. Additionally, perceptions of equity and iniquity by the stakeholders also determined to a large degree the position a stakeholder took towards the project.

5.1. Recommendations

In view of the above mentioned conclusions, the following are recommended for management of slum upgrading projects that are long term, involve multi-stakeholders and are envisioned to have multi outcomes.

1. The initiator of the project should identify all the stakeholders who will be affected or affect the project, then together with the initial stakeholders, a participatory stakeholder analysis process should be conducted. This is supported by Marie Huchzermeyer who found out that 'people living in slums, and whose economic stakes are linked to the housing and service delivery situation in the slums, are able to predict the impact that a public intervention may have on their economic standing. NGO staff working close to the ground, thus in conversation with the residents, may also make accurate predictions. It is the residents and their supporting NGOs who are best positioned to suggest meaningful intervention, be it by government or international donors, and to predict its impact' (Huchzermeyer, 2006). Additionally, because identified stakeholders do not exist in isolation, they are influenced by their own set of stakeholders. The focal organization should analyze the multiple and interdependent interactions that simultaneously exist in stakeholder environments. This should be done regularly.
2. It is recommended that in designing the project framework the key stakeholders should be involved in agreeing on objectives, outputs and activities. The key stakeholders should be encouraged to openly discuss their respective interests and to collectively explore how the project can be designed to simultaneously achieve its objective and the aims of individual stakeholders or stakeholder institutions. The project manager should be aware that no stakeholders' interest is more important than the other.

3. A strategy/action plan to promote inclusion should be developed in consultation with the key stakeholders at the conceptual phase. This strategy document should also address power sharing, to reduce power imbalances which at times causes some key stakeholders to make unilateral decisions or go against what had been earlier agreed upon by all key stakeholders.
4. The project manager in consultation with the key stakeholders should analyze the interests in order to isolate needs from wants. This should be done to cover all the phases of the project; at this stage also preference of outcomes should be discussed.
5. Project mile stones planning should be designed strategically as they have the potential of building trust and commitment, while at the same time their impacts can destroy trust and commitment to the objectives of the project. They help to focus and motivate Project stakeholders. It is recommended that their impacts should be monitored at all times and necessary changes accommodated if necessary.
6. A greater focus should be placed in the process of slum improvement. This is because if the activities that create value to the stakeholders are not in focus, it will be harder to satisfy stakeholder interests.
7. Many stakeholders in slum projects fail to honor their commitments to the projects due to lack of enforcement. It is from this perspective that it is recommended that all key stakeholders should make specific commitments of their individual contributions to the projects and a contract that is enforceable should define their rights and responsibilities, just like is common practice in construction projects. A legal framework for partnership should be drawn up and members held accountable. The focal organization should lock in commitments from upper levels e.g. accounting officers and CEOs, to ensure the project

is supported. If a project is not supported by top leaders, it is much easier for stakeholder organization to change positions negatively.

5.2. Future research areas

This study was exploratory in nature and only a single study at that. Any one study can only go so far in terms of demonstrating validity; a series of research studies is always preferred over a single study (Calder *et al.*, 1982). Replication of such a study to other slum improvement projects is required for comparative analyses and generalization.

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APPENDIX 1

INSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Date.....

Name of organization/stakeholder

group.....

SECTION I

1. When did your organization start participating in the Soweto East Project?(

The interviewee can describe an event or activity that was taking place at the time)

At conceptual stage

Planning stage

Implementation stage

Am not sure

2. What are the mission/objectives of your organization?

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.....

3. General description: (please provide a general description of your activities and/or your interest on Soweto East Pilot Project):

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4. What is the current project status?

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SECTION II- CONCEPTUAL PHASE

1.

i. **What were your inputs/contributions during the conceptual stage?**
(When the idea was first floated)

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.....

ii. **What were your interests/expected outcomes during conceptual stage?**

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.....
.....
.....
.....

iii. **Were your expected outcomes/ interests met at conceptual stage?**

Yes No I don't Know

2. **Did your interests change at any time during the conceptual stage?**

Yes No I don't Know

ii. **Explain your answer**

.....
.....
.....
.....

3. **What was the level of satisfaction of your organisation's interests at conceptual stage?**

- 5. Very Satisfied
- 4. Satisfied
- 3. Neutral
- 2. Dissatisfied
- 1. Very Dissatisfied

4. i. **Considering the inputs/ contributions your organization made to the project and the outcomes your organization received at the conceptual stage. Your organization was;**

- 5. Extremely rewarded
-

- 4. Over rewarded
- 3. Fairly Rewarded
- 2. Under rewarded
- 1. Extremely under rewarded

ii. Explain your above answer?

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SECTION III – PLANNING PHASE

(Planning activities included formation of Settlement executive committee organ, socio-economic and physical mapping, enumeration of residents, preparation of a physical land use plan, e.t.c)

**1. Main interests (or main focus/expectation of outcomes) on the project:
What were your inputs/contributions during the planning stage?**

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2. What were your interests/expected outcomes during planning stage?

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3. Were your expected outcomes/ interests met at planning stage?

Yes No I don't Know

4. i. Did your interests change at any time during the planning stage?

Yes No I don't Know

ii. Explain your answer

.....

.....

.....

.....
.....
5. What was the level of satisfaction of your organisation's interests at planning stage?

- 5. Very Satisfied
- 4. Satisfied
- 3. Neutral
- 2. Dissatisfied
- 1. Very Dissatisfied

6. i. Considering the inputs/ contributions your organization made to the project and the outcomes your organization received at the planning stage. Your organization was;

- 5. Extremely rewarded
- 4. Over rewarded
- 3. Fairly Rewarded
- 2. Under rewarded
- 1. Extremely under rewarded

ii. Explain your above answer?

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SECTION IV – IMPLEMENTATION PHASE

1. What are your interests/expected outcomes at implementation stage?
(Relocation, the construction of an access road, design and development of houses, provision of other physical and social amenities such as toilets, stand pipes and lighting)

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2. Have your interests/expected outcomes of the project ever changed?

(Remind interviewee of the main activities from conception to current)

- Yes No I don't know

If yes, explain some of the reasons

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If No, Why not?

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3. What is the level of satisfaction of your organisation's interests currently?

5. Very satisfied
 4. Satisfied
 3. Neutral
 2. Dissatisfied
 1. Very Dissatisfied

4. Has the above factor (level of satisfaction of your interests) affected your position towards the project?

- Yes No I don't know

5. What is your current position towards the Soweto East pilot project?

1. Extremely opposed
 2. Very opposed
 3. Opposed
 4. Neutral
 5. Supportive

6. Very supportive

7. Extremely Supportive

Reason/s for above position

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6. Considering the inputs/contributions your organization made to the project and the outcomes your organization has received so far. Your organization;

5. Extremely rewarded

4. Over rewarded

3. Fairly Rewarded

2. Under rewarded

1. Extremely under rewarded

7. What was your position towards the Soweto East pilot project at conception stage?

1. Extremely opposed

2. Very opposed

3. Opposed

4. Neutral

5. Supportive

6. Very supportive

7. Extremely Supportive

Reason/s for above position

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8. What was your position towards the Soweto East pilot project during planning stage?

- 1. Extremely opposed
- 2. Very opposed
- 3. Opposed
- 4. Neutral
- 5. Supportive
- 6. Very supportive
- 7. Extremely Supportive

Reason/s for above position

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9. What were the effects on the project of your interests

i. Not being met.....

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ii. Being met

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10. Suggest some of the solutions you propose for handling stakeholders who have changed positions from being supportive to the project to being opposed or extremely opposed vice versa

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APPENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

QUESTIONS	RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS								
	MINISTRY OF HOUSING-FOCAL ORGANIZATION	MINISTRY OF LANDS	UN-HABITAT	CITY COUNCIL OF NAIROBI	POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS	COMMUNITY			SHELTER FORUM
						STRUCTURE OWNERS	TENANTS	FAITH BASED ORGANIZATIONS	
1. When did your organization start participating in the Soweto East Project?	conceptual stage	conceptual stage	conceptual stage	conceptual stage	conceptual stage	conceptual stage	conceptual stage	conceptual stage	conceptual stage
What are the mission/objectives of your organization ?	<p>1. To facilitate the provision of decent and affordable housing for Kenyans</p> <p>2. Improving the lives of people living and working in the slums and informal</p>	to facilitate improvement of livelihood of Kenyans through efficient administration, equitable access, secure tenure and sustainable management of the land	promote socially and environmentally sustainable human settlements development and the achievement of adequate shelter for all	To facilitate coordinated development and improved service delivery to stimulate economic activity, high quality of life and become one of the most attractive	Representation of residents needs	To represent interests of all landlords	To represent interests of all tenants	To evangelise the world for Christ	Advocacy channel for poor and disadvantaged members of our society to secure, affordable and decent shelter

APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>General description: (please provide a general description of your activities and/or your interest on Soweto East Pilot Project):</p>	<p>Provide project management , mobilise resources for the project</p>	<p>Facilitate provision of security of tenure and preparation of part development plan for the area</p>	<p>Capacity building, Offer technical advise, mobilising resources and support for the project</p>	<p>Preparation of Tender documents, supervision of construction of the Decanting Estate, linking settlement/ community members with KENSUP Secretariat through the SPIU, and management of assets realised through the project like the maintenance of the road constructed so far.</p>	<p>Lobbying for the Government to provide adequate funds for the project, lobbying the community to support project</p>	<p>Ensure that the project is taking care of the interests of landlords</p>	<p>Representing the views of tenants in consultative for a, organising community to provide labour during construction of the road, mobilising of financial resources through the cooperative, give feedback to tenants</p>	<p>Representing Faith groups in project meetings and providing them with feedback on critical decisions made, sensitisation of communities (members of their churches) on project objectives</p>	<p>community mobilisation and sensitisation</p>
<p>What is the current project status?</p>	<p>Implementation</p>	<p>Implementation</p>	<p>Implementation</p>	<p>Implementation</p>	<p>Implementation</p>	<p>Clearing of slum to construct high rise building</p>	<p>Relocation has been completed</p>	<p>Relocation stage</p>	<p>Implementation</p>

APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

What were your inputs/contributions during the conceptual stage? (at the idea stage)	Coordination of all activities using resources like financial, human and time	Time and human resource	Financial resources,time and human resource	Time and human resource	Time	Time	Time	Time	Financial resources,time and human resource
What were your interests/expected outcomes during conceptual stage?	Support for the project, project document	The role of ministry of Lands in the process to be recognised	Support for the idea by all stakeholders especially community, recognition of the role UNHABITAT can play	Recognition of the role of City Council, to play the central role	The idea of slum improvement to be given due importance by all actors, community to be involved in all decisions	landlords views on slum improvement approach to be considered , a more inclusive process	A plan for upgrading that is all inclusive and friendly to tenants needs of affordable shelter	Transparency and shared decision making , some form of agreement with the Government	Support for the project and commitment from the Government to support slum improvement
Were your expected outcomes/interests met at conceptual stage?	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No	I don't Know

APPENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Did your interests change at any time during the conceptual stage?	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	No
Explain your answer	Nothing had happened to warrant change	They had a clear vision of the project from the first engagement	There was no need for them to change their interests	They were clear on what they wanted at that time	new information which he did not previously have on process	Had expressed all interests at the beginning	There was no need to, because his condition had remained the same	Had expressed all interests at the beginning	Their role remained the same
What was the level of satisfaction of your organisation's interests at conceptual stage?	4. Satisfied	4. Satisfied	4. Satisfied	3. Neutral	4. Satisfied	2. Dissatisfied	2. Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	3. Neutral

APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>I. Considering the inputs/ contributions your organization made to the project and the outcomes your organization received at</p>	<p>3. Fairly Rewarde</p>	<p>3. Fairly Rewarde</p>	<p>3. Fairly Rewarde</p>	<p>2. Under rewarded</p>	<p>3. Fairly Rewarde</p>	<p>Neutral</p>	<p>Neutral</p>	<p>Neutral</p>	<p>3. Fairly Rewarded</p>
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APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>II. Explain your above answer?</p>	<p>Everything went as had been planned, and all objectives were met, role as coordinator accepted and affirmed by all stakeholders</p>	<p>Was made part of the main decision making body that was to plan the project</p>	<p>Recognition as a main partner by all stakeholders</p>	<p>Though recognised as the implementer, funds and coordination powers were given to department of Housing which was given too much powers. UN HABITAT and Housing were making all decisions.</p>	<p>By the Government agreeing to go on with the project, the efforts put in lobbying had bourne fruit and residents support increased</p>	<p>It was too early to realise any rewards. To them rewards is when the Government acknowledges the role they played in housing its poor citizens and to empower them to do it in a better way like giving them title deeds and loans to</p>	<p>They did not receive any cash payment as sitting allowance and nothing much had happened a part from a few consultations. The reward is when they finally get a better house to live in</p>	<p>They were not expecting any, they gave their time voluntarily</p>	<p>The organisation was just playing its role. The fact that they had been given a chance to voice their concerns was more than enough</p>
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APPENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>What were your interests/expected outcomes during planning stage?</p>	<p>Soweto East residents organised into groups and sensitised, social economic,actors study,strategy document completed,Data base of potential beneficiaries created , relocation site identified and secured and tender documentation for decanting houses prepared.</p>	<p>Process of land regularisation started, data base of enumerated persons created and title deed for Decanting site secured</p>	<p>Soweto East residents organised into groups and sensitised, social economic,actors study,strategy document completed,Data base of potential beneficiaries created , relocation site identified and secured and tender documentation for decanting houses prepared.CBOs and Civil societies playing a big role</p>	<p>Housing Development Department offices renovated and furnished, equipments for survey, plotting drawings, digital cameras e.t.c procured. Monetary reward given to all officers contributing towards the project, survey and tender documents for Decanting site prepared, project implementation team set up</p>	<p>Ground breaking for Decanting estate done and Settlement Executive Committee established, trained and taking an active role</p>	<p>land subdivision , data base of all structure owners, an agreement signed between structure owners and Governme nt</p>	<p>Record of all tenants and family size, relocation site identified near Soweto East village and houses fro relocation constructed, a Memorandum of understanding signed between residents and the Governme nt,</p>	<p>Role of churches recognised and worship areas provided for</p>	<p>Project document that incorporates views of all stakeholders/ netotiated document clearly defining roles of NGOs</p>
<p>Were your expected outcomes/ interests met at planning stage?</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>Yes</p>	<p>No</p>		<p>Yes</p>

APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

Did your interests change at any time during the planning stage?	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Explain your answer	There was no need. Workplan was developed in advance, and it captured everything that was to be achieved.	The goal remained the same and nothing warranted a change in interest	The project objectives were very clear and UN HABITAT had been involved extensively, infact they were part of the team offering direction	There was no need to	The interests of the political dispensation were clear from inception. Changing interest is dishonest if one has been involved in the process	There was no need to	Their interest in the project is one, i.e adequate shelter all the other interests like participatory approach is secondary. Because the commitment for delivering adequate shelter was still evident at this stage,	Government projects are slow and even though there was delay in implementation and some of the outcomes at this stage were not the best there was no major reason to change their interests	They chose to focus on the long term, and because the long term objectives of the project remained the same, they saw no need to change their interests

APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>What was the level of satisfaction of your organisation's interests at planning stage?</p>	5. Very Satisfied	4. Satisfied	4. Satisfied	2. Dissatisfied	4. Satisfied	4. Satisfied	5. Very Satisfied	4. Satisfied	4. Satisfied
<p>Considering the inputs/ contributions your organization made to the project and the outcomes your organization received at the planning stage. Your organization was;</p>	3. Fairly Rewarded	3. Fairly Rewarded	3. Fairly Rewarded	1. Extremely under rewarded	3. Fairly Rewarded	3. Fairly Rewarded	3. Fairly Rewarded	3. Fairly Rewarded	3. Fairly Rewarded

APPENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>Explain your above answer?</p>	<p>Due to successful coordination, the slum dwellers were co operative and supportive to the project. The trust between Government and Slum dwellers was re established and due to this the Ministry gained a lot of recognition and budgetary support from Ministry of finance. Working conditions in the Secretariat office was also improved and this included</p>	<p>Support from SIDA given to facilitate documentation centre where data from the enumeration is stored, financial resources were given by both Ministry of Housing and UNHABITAT to facilitate officers from the Ministry working on the data and PDP, Ministry of Housing requested two officers permanently seconded to the KENSUP</p>	<p>They achieved one of their main objective of making the Government of Kenya adress the challenge of slums, and the Government appreciated the role they were playing</p>	<p>They put in so much man hours in preparation of the tender documents, but were not paid, consultants brought in digitized their drawings and were paid a lot, Ministry of Housing ended up taking both the role of coordinator and implementer at the same time.</p>	<p>The project results were very much what he expected</p>	<p>Their role was recognised and they were engaged as structure owners and during verification they got Identity cards that went ahead and recognised them as structure owners</p>	<p>They only put in time which they have anyway because many of them are jobless but their views were taken and incorporated and they actually participated in the process of enumeration and made money</p>	<p>The fact that churches were enumerated as such and special identification cards given, meant that they had been recognised as FBOs and not just structures like houses</p>	<p>They got what they expected so it was fair</p>
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APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>What are your interests/expected outcomes at implementation stage?</p>	<p>Accomplishment of project objectives of smooth relocation of residents in order to provide better shelter and infrastructure constructed for Soweto East residents, and empowered community, increased support by all stakeholders</p>	<p>Secure tenure realised by the residents, well planned neighborhood with access to social and physical infrastructure</p>	<p>Empowered community especially women and youth. Women owning and managing the Decanting Estate or part of it, Youth trained in construction skills and participating in the construction of infrastructure like the access road and the sanitation blocks, influencing the decisions at implementation stage like the type and standards of</p>	<p>Implementing and maintenance of infrastructure e.g design and supervision of the access road, sanitation facilities etc, design of the houses and infrastructure to be developed in the area vacated, providing other municipal services like garbage collection and street lighting.</p>	<p>Officiating major functions related to project implementation like relocation, updating residents on major decisions taken by Government that affect the project, monitoring progress to make sure the project meets its objectives and mobilising support for the project both locally and internationally</p>	<p>Monetary compensation to enable them seek alternative livelihoods / compensation for loss of income, recognition of their role therefore provision of security of tenure or priority in ownership of both relocation and redevelopment</p>	<p>Good affordable house, opportunity to work in the construction site both for the access road and sanitation block, Government supporting the housing cooperatives and generally being active in all activities</p>	<p>Relocation of worship area and giving input in design of worship areas in the redevelopment scheme, widows and orphans are catered for fairly.</p>	<p>Involvement in preparation of relocation action plan & manual, negotiation with targeted population, involvement in design and construction activities and capacity building Soweto residents</p>
<p>Have your interests/expected outcomes from the project ever changed?</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>

APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

If No, Why not?	The outcomes of the project at each stage is very clear and the role of the Ministry of supervising project implementation has not changed	There was no need to	There was no need to	There was no need to	There was no need to	There was no need to	There was no need to	There was no need to	There was no need to
What is the level of satisfaction of your organisation's interests currently?	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very Dissatisfied	Very satisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied
Has the above factor (level of satisfaction of your interests) affected your position towards the project?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

What is your current position towards the Soweto East pilot project?	7.Extremely Supportive	5.Supportive	5.Supportive	4. Neutral	5.Supportive	1.Extremel y opposed	7.Extremel y Supportive	3.Opposed	5.Supportive
Reason/s for above position	<p>The positive feedback received after relocation and the recognition of the important work KENSUP is doing by both local and international community has made Ministry of Housing very supportive. The highlights of the relocation by both local and international media, and the request for partnership by other organisations like AFD, Rockefeller</p>	<p>Their continuous support in management of the data base has been motivated by the recognition of their role. Discussions are still on going on tenure security for the land. Two of their officers work full time at the programme secretariat and the Ministry is well briefed and involved in the project.</p>	<p>They are not very supportive like at the beginning because they don't feel their ideas and concerns are taken seriously by the Government. They were driving the process at the beginning, but now their involvement is limited because there are more Government staff working on the project since the Secretariat was converted to a department.</p>	<p>Their involvement has been reduced only to the Settlement Project Implementation Unit (SPIU), the Project Implementation Unit (PIU) was killed by Ministry of Housing when they decided to use Consultants to Design and Supervise all costruction works, while UN HABITAT also uses Civil Societies and</p>	<p>ODM feels its part and parcel of the process. They attribute the success of most of the recent activites to their continued support. Majority of the residents are happy with the political leadership because of the progress made by the project, they believe it will be translated into votes come 2012.</p>	<p>Many were not allocated housing units at the decanting site because relocation manual prepared only catered for the landlords residing in Soweto. That is they concetrate d on physical boundaries and not social</p>	<p>Their need of better shelter and environme nt has been more than met, its beyond their expectatio ns. They have been involved and Ministry of Housing has a strong presence on the Ground. They feel the</p>	<p>They have realised that the redevelopment will not provide enough worship spaces. Provision of alternative worship areas was not considered during relocation. The churches also run education centres to supplement their budgets, relocation</p>	<p>They value the interaction with government. They feel the comitment from government to improve living conditions of the poor needs to be suported. The ideals of the project are in line with what they advocate i.e partnerships, this is suitable for upscaling slum</p>

APENDIX 2 -

What was your position towards the Soweto East pilot project at conception stage?	5.Supportive	5.Supportive	5.Supportive
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RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

5.Supportive	7.Extremely Supportive	1.Extremel y opposed	1.Extremel y opposed	1.Extremely opposed	5.Supportive

APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>Reason/s for above position</p>	<p>Department of Housing was recognised to play central role</p>	<p>They were involved and their role recognised</p>	<p>UN-HABITAT was driving the whole process, for a long time they engaged the Government to consider slum improvement</p>	<p>It was in line with their mandate of service delivery to all nairobi residents, they were involved in the initial discussions</p>	<p>It was inline with the vision they had for Kibera, It was a reward after lobbying so much for more funds to be allocated to projects in Kibera</p>	<p>Fear of Eviction, loss of livelihood, not consulted</p>	<p>Fear of Eviction, loss of livelihood, They were not consulted at this stage, They did not feel like equal partners it was a GOK and UNHABITAT agreement, they were powerless and they were used to their way of</p>	<p>Fear of Eviction, loss of members, not consulted</p>	<p>They saw it as a reward for the many years they had lobbied for housing improvement , and it was in line with their work</p>
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APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>What was your position towards the Soweto East pilot project during planning stage?</p>	<p>7.Extremely Supportive</p>	<p>5.Supportive</p>	<p>7.Extremely Supportive at the beginning of the phase, then 5. Supportive at the end of planning</p>	<p>7.Extremely Supportive at the beginning of the phase, then 5. Supportive at the end of planning</p>	<p>5. Supportive at the beginning , then 7. Extremely Supportive</p>	<p>5.Supportive</p>	<p>5.Supportive</p>	<p>5.Supportive</p>	<p>5.Supportive</p>
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APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>Reason/s for above position</p>	<p>All their interests were met</p>	<p>Most of their interests had been met</p>	<p>At the beginning Department of Housing, the main partner was very co operative and they worked as a team, but they later on realised that they were not involved in making some of the key decisions, and they also differed on the extent community should be involved. therefore the project was not meeting some of their expectations.</p>	<p>Their interest of playing main role was met at the beginning when they were asked to prepare all tender documents, but later when consultants were brought on board they lost their role and this made them change position.</p>	<p>The choice of relocation area as Athi River created some distrust, as this was interpreted politically as taking away some votes. Again it was going to cost most of the residents their jobs as it is far from Industrial area where many of them work</p>	<p>Their was indication that their main needs will be met due to separate enumerati on card being given to them</p>	<p>They had been involved, they elected SEC democrati cally, and enumerati on and identificati on of a relocation site indicated they will not be evicted, even temporaril y as redevelop ment takes place,</p>	<p>The recognition of churches as they were given enumeration cards as churches and the way they were involved in the process gave them a sense of belonging and they were able to negotiate the location of community facilities in the Plan prepared by Physical Planning</p>	<p>They were happy with the level of involvement</p>
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APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>What in your opinion are the effects on the project of your interests not being met?</p>	<p>The project will cease</p>	<p>Increased cost and delay if at all they pull out and Ministry of Housing engages consultant planners</p>	<p>Decreased funding to the project</p>	<p>Increased costs for design and supervision, delay in approvals of drawings and unsustainability due to lack of maintenance of the infrastructure</p>	<p>Interruptions to implementation and possibly death of project</p>	<p>Death of project</p>	<p>Death of project</p>	<p>Lack of avenues for communicating to the community, mobilise opposition to the project by Members, the project would not be considered successful by residents</p>	<p>It would mean the interests of the residents is not being met, mobilise community to fight for their rights, thus generating conflict</p>
<p>What in your opinion are the effects on the project of your interests being met?</p>	<p>success of the project</p>	<p>Project will deliver security of tenure in a cost effective and timely manner</p>	<p>Success</p>	<p>Success</p>	<p>Success</p>	<p>Success</p>	<p>Success</p>	<p>Success</p>	<p>Success</p>

APENDIX 2 - RESPONSE BY THE KEY STAKEHOLDERS

<p>Suggest some of the solutions you propose for handling stakeholders who have changed positions from being supportive to the project to being opposed or extremely opposed or vice versa</p>	<p>Workshop for them to clarify their expectations. Put in place effective mechanism for resolving problem at the appropriate level. Use the supportive ones to convince the ones opposing</p>	<p>Create opportunities for them to describe how they feel. Take advantage of the resources of the supportive ones</p>	<p>Take account of their perception of their current interests or needs KENSUP should clearly communicate. Involve supportive ones more, take advantage of their resources</p>	<p>They should be listened to and ways sought of accomodating their interests, no one stakeholder should impose a solution. A third party should mediate not Ministry of Housing. Take advantage of the support</p>	<p>Government to change their internal arrangements to encourage and support such stakeholders for example legal staff at Ministry of Housing should negotiate with the structure owners not for Government to use its machinery. Don't concentrate on the supportive ones</p>	<p>An agreement should be signed with KENSUP that ensures that they will not act against other stakeholders' interests. Procedures should be put in place to support discussion, understanding. Involve supportive ones more</p>	<p>They should be helped to change their attitudes and adopt a co operative attitude They should be encouraged. Engage supportive ones more</p>	<p>encouraged to offer solutions which do not compromise the objectives of the project, if they don't, they should be ignored, and their selfish intersts. Share power with supportive ones, Involve them more.</p>	<p>to support discussion, understanding and addressing of partners' needs, expectation and problems. Use the strength and resources of the supportive ones more.</p>
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APPENDIX 3

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

1. What are your views on the Soweto East Pilot Project?
2. Who do you think are the key stakeholders of the project? (without whom the project cannot succeed)
3. What can you say about the interests of these stakeholders in the project from the time the project started to date? (explain interests and the phases)
4. Do you think these interests changed from time to time? If they did, why? If they did not why not?
5. Have all the stakeholders been always supportive towards the project?

APPENDIX 4 - ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER IN THE PROJECT

YEAR	ROLE PLAYED BY RESEACHER IN THE PROJECT(Extracted from departmental work plan and Performance Appraisal reports)
2005	<p>Joined KENSUP Programme Secretariat- under Ministry of Housing as Housing Planning Officer.</p> <p>Appointed liaison officer between Project Implementation Unit at the City Council of Nairobi and KENSUP Secretariat.</p> <p>Part of the team that reviewed bidding documents prepared by City Council of Nairobi</p> <p>Assisted in procurement of a consortium to finalize bidding documents for the Decanting Estate.</p> <p>Participated in community awareness workshops sponsored by the Government and UN-Habitat.</p> <p>Secretary to the team that looked at housing delivery model (Special Purpose Vehicle)</p>
2006	<p>Participated in preparation and handing over ceremony for the Decanting Estate</p> <p>Represented Project Manager (Director – Slum Upgrading Department) in monthly site meetings, inspections and any other project management duties.</p> <p>Participated in consultative meetings with key stakeholders to discuss the proposed physical plan for Soweto East.</p> <p>Participated in preparation of the annual Multi Stakeholder Support Group meeting held at Tel Posta Towers in Nairobi.</p> <p>Prepared all information materials capturing pilot project updates for presentation to donors, and other members of public. For example Public service week, World Habitat Day celebrations.</p>
2007	<p>Represented Project Manager (Director – Slum Upgrading Department) in monthly site meetings, inspections and any other project management duties.</p> <p>Part of the launch committee for the access road in Soweto East</p>

	<p>Participated in sensitization of residents to pave way for construction of the access road.</p> <p>Was part of the counterpart team for Water and Sanitation project in Soweto East Village. Reviewed design and implementation model with WATSAN team from UN-Habitat.</p>
2008	<p>Represented Project Manager (Director – Slum Upgrading Department) in monthly site meetings, inspections and any other project management duties pertaining to Decanting site, access road in Kibera and construction of a sewer line.</p> <p>Part of planning committee for Stakeholder Support Group meeting held at Kenyatta International conference Centre</p> <p>Coordinated the activities of Kibera-Soweto East (zone A) design and redevelopment committee composed of members from City Council Nairobi, UN-Habitat, Ministry of Lands, Architectural Association of Kenya, Soweto East Settlement Executive Committee (SEC). The work involved developing scheme designs and engaging with all stakeholders.</p>
2009	<p>Represented Project Manager (Director – Slum Upgrading Department) in monthly site meetings, inspections and any other project management duties for Decanting estate.</p> <p>Was part of the coordination team for verification exercise in Soweto East Zone A done jointly with Ministry of Lands.</p> <p>Part of the relocation technical committee that prepared relocation manual.</p> <p>Coordinated allocation of housing units at the Decanting site, establishment of estate management committee and sensitization of all residents on estate rules. This was done in conjunction with PIU and SPIU.</p> <p>Prepared request for proposals for the provision of consultancy services for design documentation and supervision of construction of zone A redevelopment housing scheme.</p> <p>Formed part of the evaluation committee.</p> <p>Together with other members of the Secretariat, the researcher organized and participated in the Multi Stakeholder Support Group</p>

	<p>meeting at Kenya Institute of Administration</p> <p>Public barazas</p>
2010 ¹	<p>Supervision of pending external works and preparation of snag lists for any repairs required required at the Decanting Estate.</p> <p>Organised relocation of the last group from zone A</p>

¹ The project has stalled due to court case, therefore most of the activities expected to take place in Zone A have not taken place due to insecurity