

MANAGING THE PROCESS OF RELOCATION AND
RESETTLEMENT OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN
URBAN AREAS OF AFRICA:
THE CASE OF KABURINI VILLAGE, NAIROBI.

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A Thesis Submitted In Partial Fulfillment For The Degree Of
Master of Arts (Planning)



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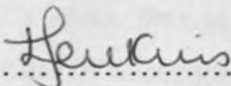
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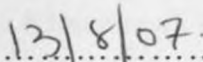
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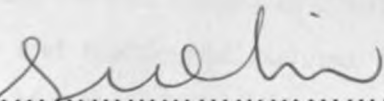
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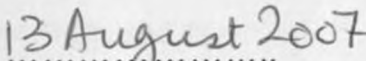
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ABSTRACT

Nearly every industrializing country has faced the overwhelming demands for housing, employment, urban services and the problems of proliferating informal settlements.

Different interventions have been employed including relocation and resettlement, to deal with the problem of informal settlements, with little success as everywhere informal settlements are growing. The Millennium Development Goal 7, Target 11 seeks to have the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers improved by the year 2020. This may take the form of relocation and resettlement, especially when the settlement is in a hazardous location. This study seeks, through the use of a case study, to develop a framework for managing the process of relocation and resettlement to ensure that those affected by the relocation and resettlement benefit from the exercise.

The research begins by reviewing literature on urbanization, informal settlements, relocation and resettlement of informal settlements obtained from library research, resource centers, government offices and the internet. As an example of existing guidelines the World Bank relocation guidelines are reviewed and provide a basis for comparison. Historical information on the case study has been obtained from library research and informed discussions with past and present Nairobi City Council Officers and Officers from the National Council of Churches of Kenya., who were in the forefront of the relocation and resettlement exercise. Primary data on the case study and the resettlement site at Huruma is gathered through physical and social surveys, with the use of questionnaires, informal and informed discussions with the study subjects. The main purpose of this is to obtain an overview of how the relocation and resettlement process was carried out, and to find out what is the current status of the relocatees.

Following an in depth analysis of the data obtained the main findings of the study reveal that there was no plan in place before relocation and resettlement of Kaburini Informal settlement started, nor were community involved in the decision making process resulting in unnecessary hardships for the community. Little attention was paid to the social patterns and inter linkages within the community so as to minimize disruption in the new location, while issues of financing and costing of the project were not satisfactorily

considered by the lead actor. The study thus found that there was no laid down procedure for the relocation and resettlement of informal settlements and the institutional arrangements in place were not adequate resulting in the management of the process of relocation and resettlement not being carried out optimally.

Guidelines at both national and local level are proposed, with the main aim of ensuring relocatees benefit from the relocation and resettlement exercise. At the national level policy guidelines propose that programmes be kept as small as possible, and the institutional arrangements in place take account of all possible actors, their roles and responsibilities being carefully spelt out. A Resettlement Plan, where the components of the programme are noted should be drawn up, clearly requiring the participation of the community. The Financial aspects of the relocation and resettlement programme should be thoroughly investigated and agreed upon before commencement of the programme.

Local level guidelines propose that the institutional arrangements by the City Council of Nairobi's Housing Development Department be strengthened with capacity building, increase of staff and equipment to enable better management of the relocation and resettlement process. The resources set aside for relocation and resettlement are not adequate and there needs to be more interaction and partnerships with the private sector and civil society to bridge this gap. The relocatees should be provided with sufficient opportunities to create and build up new livelihoods at the resettlement site even as communities are encouraged to have a strong community organization that will serve the interests of the community and encourage community empowerment, self-help assistance which can be tapped and utilized for the betterment of the community.

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DEDICATION.

To my children Valerie, Jeremy, Elis and Owen.
Thank you for being there.
For Phil, always special.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

Urban planning was traditionally seen as a means to control and regulate the development of towns and cities. In the cities of the developing world, however, traditional planning approaches have failed to address the challenges of rapid urbanization, poverty, exclusion, informality and vulnerability. With limited resources and capacities at their disposal, developing countries need to seek new planning paradigms to address the problems associated with human settlements.

Syagga (2001) notes that in 1996, the Habitat Agenda identified “adequate shelter for all” and “sustainable human settlements” as international priorities. This was reaffirmed by the UN General Assembly Special Session five years later. These agendas are especially applicable to third world countries, where the majority of people living in informal settlements are to be found, despite attempts at eradicating them. In the seventies and eighties different policies ranging from upgrading schemes to evictions were applied to the informal settlements, with little attention being paid to the resettlement of the informal settlement dwellers. As Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 7, Target 11 specifically addresses the plight of those living in slum settlements, setting to “achieve, by 2020, a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers” (Hamdi et al, 2005), the challenges posed by relocation and resettlement of informal settlement dwellers, especially those in hazardous locations or to facilitate upgrading, calls for the setting up of policies and processes to ensure success and sustainability.

1.2 Statement of the Problem.

The world is urbanizing at a rapid rate, but in the developing world the process is intensifying at an alarming rate. Three quarters of the global population increase is

currently occurring in cities in developing countries, where rural-urban transformation is taking place in a context of far higher absolute population growth, far lower income levels, and significantly less institutional capacity, as compared to the case during urbanization of the now-developed world. Thus although Africa remains the least developed continent of the world, it is one region where urbanization is posing perhaps its most difficult challenges (Hamdi et al, 2005). Today the more developed nations are about 76 percent urban while 40 percent of residents of the less developed countries live in urban areas. Johansson (1990) observes that by the year 2010 for the first time in history, there will be more people living in urban areas than in rural.

Urban areas are defined by the concentration of population, which occurs through migration and internal growth. The resulting increase in demand for land causes considerable competition, reflected in the high land values. The urban poor are unable to compete for this land and are often forced to locate on the outskirts of the urban area, in the deteriorating inner city locations or on the least desirable land. The dense concentration of populations that characterize urban areas also fosters a corresponding need for complex delivery systems to meet their resource and service needs (food, water and sanitation, shelter, waste management and transport). Housing, especially for the poor, becomes a prime asset and land on which to build a premium (Hamdi et al, 2005). Thus in the cities of the developing nations, urbanization has become virtually synonymous with formation of informal settlements, which provide refuge for new immigrants, who are poor and lack marketable skills.

The location, size, condition and resilience of informal settlements will be determined not just by the characteristics of their residents, but, more importantly, by the political context of official tolerance or intolerance toward them. Thus the interventions employed to improve the lives of those living in the informal settlements or to remove them altogether, becomes a political issue, requiring the need to discuss policy. Research carried out by UNCHS (Habitat) in its settlement upgrading program has noted two major trends in settlement policies:

- a) Increased awareness by national and local governments of the need to integrate informal settlements into the whole social and physical fabric of the city
- b) A growing demand by the Actors involved in settlement programmes for capacity approaches and tools that address the huge challenge posed by this awareness. (UNCHS (Habitat), 2003)

In Kenya various interventions have been applied to informal settlements and in each case there has arisen a need to relocate and resettle residents adversely affected by the intervention. Rasna Warrah in "Global Report on Human Settlements (UNCHS (Habitat), 2003)" notes that Nairobi hosts some of the most densely populated, unsanitary and insecure informal settlements of the world. Population densities as high as 1200 people per hectare are not uncommon, as are scant basic services- there are areas where 400 people share a single toilet. An astonishing 60% of Nairobi's entire population lives in such informal settlements. The Kenya government is aware of this situation, as at independence it introduced the policy of containment and clearance. However, as experience in other countries like India and Brazil have shown, informal settlements cannot be 'contained' or 'cleared' successfully without provision of alternative accommodation for the residents.

During the last 2-3 years evictions have increased sharply, especially in Nairobi. In February 2004, ministries in the Kenyan government announced an unprecedented series of mass evictions that threatened over 330,000 residents of informal settlements located on road and rail reserves, within power line way leaves and on other public lands eg. Agricultural farms and Research Stations, Airport land etc. The residents of the informal settlements found themselves under grave danger of being homeless. No indication of where those to be evicted were to go was entertained and in fact where evictions were actually carried out, those in the informal settlements e.g. Kibera, where demolitions were carried out to make way for the Southern bypass, were forced to make their own arrangements as to relocation and resettlement. This is reminiscent of the evictions that were carried out in Nairobi in the late 1960's and 1970's by the Nairobi City Council where, for instance in 1977 several informal settlements close to the city

center and at Highridge near the Agha Khan Hospital were demolished and residents moved away, some being relocated to Korogocho area on individual plots. In 1978 the informal settlement along Kirinyaga road was also demolished and residents fled to Korogocho area. In 1979 Grogan slum, then located near the country bus stand was demolished and the residents resettled in Grogan Village (Wangaruro, 1988).

What is evident from these demolitions and evictions is that the city authorities sought to remove the informal settlements from their current sites. However, when dealing with the informal settlements there was/is no laid down procedure for relocation and resettlement and where resettlement has occurred each case has been carried out on an ad-hoc basis. Within the Government of Kenya there is a Ministry dedicated to the settlement of the landless, with numerous settlement schemes under its belt. This is aimed at trying to alleviate the difficulties associated with landlessness, poverty, overcrowding, and the results of human and man made disasters. It has been noted that while several of these schemes have improved the well-being of those affected by the resettlement, in general terms these efforts have not met their desired outcomes. Cernea (1999) observes that this could be because expectations have been unrealistically high, especially in view of the available resources, the high cost of projects, reliance on prolonged public sector intervention and the constraints placed on the private initiatives of the resettlers themselves. For those in the informal settlements relocation has been both voluntary and involuntary through forced evictions or negotiated relocation and resettlement projects and where specific projects requiring relocation have been carried out the target groups were not the final beneficiaries of the projects. This has been the case for instance with the relocation from Kibera to Nyayo Highrise Estate, and from Pumwani to Punwani High-rise Estate, where the middle and high income earners were the final owners of the houses.

The United Nations Center for Human Settlements (UNCHS) notes that it is preferable to try and avoid the relocation and resettlement of the informal settlements. But when it is unavoidable the issue becomes one of managing the process to ensure minimal disruption to the lives of those affected. The management aspects of the relocation and

resettlement process are concerned with the institutional framework for the planning and design of relocation projects and their implementation, and with the actors involved, their roles and responsibilities (UNCHS Evaluation of Relocation Experience, 1991).

The process of relocation and resettlement should involve a sequence of stages that need to be planned and implemented. In the recent past different agencies have attempted to come up with resettlement policy guidelines, the Asian Development bank's (ADB) policy on involuntary resettlement, adopted in 1995, endeavors to ensure that development is beneficial to all. The policy sets out steps for planning, compensation and other assistance to replace assets, resources, incomes and livelihoods of all those affected, so that no one is disadvantaged. The World Bank, which has sponsored many development projects worldwide, has also come up with an Involuntary Resettlement Policy, which is applied to all World Bank funded projects. Their main concern has been the problems that have developed because relocation and resettlement has not been accorded the attention it deserves and in many instances relocation programmes have been a failure. Although they conclude that there is no magic formula that can completely avoid the need for relocation, or that will guarantee happy relocatees, a basis to develop guidelines of good practice and management of the relocation process should be promoted at the policy level, seeking to provide better results than before. Other international bodies that have generated policy guidelines on relocation and resettlement include the United Nations Center for Human Settlements (UN-Habitat) who have developed guidelines for the planning and design of resettlement plans, with emphasis being placed on the need for participatory planning, with the target group seen as the main benefactors, and United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR). All these guidelines are skewed to the purpose and aims of those who generated them. For instance the World Bank are expected to apply to development projects, and not necessarily informal settlements. The need for a policy guideline that provides a basis for action and guides the actions and activities of actors in resettlement and relocation in Africa, where some of the worst informal settlements exist, is imperative.

Good resettlement planning and management provides a safeguard against the risk of failure. It can also open up a range of new opportunities to improve the incomes and living conditions of those affected, turning involuntary or voluntary displacement into a development opportunity. From the review of previous relocation efforts (Ndakaine Kenya, Pavement Dwellers, Bombay, Port Sudan, Sudan) it is very clear that relocation is difficult to handle, with relocatees suffering in the process. *How* it is done is probably as important as the financial resources allocated. Efforts made by governments to manage the process have been relatively unsuccessful, with World Bank studies suggesting the need for a far broader response beyond compensation.

This paper shall evaluate the arrangements in place in Kenya for the management of the process of relocation and resettlement of informal settlements, especially in light of the eviction notices given by government for those illegally occupying government lands in 2003 and the Millennium Development Goals. The Study will use as a case study the relocation and resettlement of the residents of Kaburini Village located at Ziwani, Nairobi to Huruma Settlement in Nairobi.

1.3 Research Questions

This research seeks to investigate the procedures in place for relocation and resettlement of informal settlements in Africa. The main study questions are therefore as follows:

1. How has the process and method of relocation and resettlement of informal settlements been carried out in Kenya?
2. What have been the outcomes and impacts of the resettlement processes?
3. What modules or approaches for the optimal management of relocation and resettlement of informal settlements can be proposed?

1.4 Objectives of the Study.

Successful relocation and resettlement requires that good planning be put in place. It involves a process that begins when an informal settlement is targeted for relocation,

long before any actual movement is made. This study shall therefore seek to:

1. To examine the reasons for and the process of relocation and resettlement of informal settlements in Nairobi.
2. To identify and examine the existing management framework for the relocation and resettlement of informal settlements in Nairobi.
3. To evaluate the outcomes and impacts of the resettlement processes.
4. To propose modules or approaches for the optimal management of relocation and resettlement of informal settlements.

1.5 Study Hypothesis

It is the contention of this study that the success of relocation and resettlement programme is dependant on the management of the process. Thus it is hypothesized that:

Non- optimal management of the process of relocation and resettlement of informal settlements has resulted in continued hardship for the relocated households.

1.6 Study Assumptions

The study assumes that urbanization shall continue and that informal settlements shall continue to grow and expand.

1.7 Scope and Justification of the study.

The study is limited to the study of the process involved in the management of relocation and resettlement of residents of informal settlements in Nairobi. Although the relocation of residents of informal settlements can be traced to pre-independence period, this study will look at more recent cases of relocation and resettlement. As relocation has been carried out from public and private land, the study will aim to look at the process carried out during the relocation and resettlement in Huruma, Nairobi, which

provides a case of public and private resettlement efforts. The fact that Huruma is located in Nairobi is significant as it is in Nairobi that lack of decent and affordable housing for the poor and disadvantaged is most felt and therefore critical. Nairobi is home to over 168 informal settlements, which continue to grow in number and size. The relocation and resettlement of the informal settlement dwellers to Huruma was carried out at a time when informal settlements were mushrooming in major urban areas of the country and the policies for dealing with informal settlements were in transition – from outright demolition and clearance to the more sympathetic and humane resettlement (RoK, 2003). Further the study of Huruma provides a case study that has undergone all stages of relocation and resettlement and it is possible to look at the impact of the relocation and resettlement process.

Following the Millennium Development Goal of attaining cities without slums (informal settlements) and improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020, this study is significant in that in nearly all situations where informal settlements are to be improved, whether the solution proposed is upgrading; clearance or relocation and resettlement, it is difficult to completely avoid having to relocate and resettle some of the slum dwellers. Experience has shown that slum dwellers are rarely willing to relocate voluntarily and efforts made to relocate them most often then not involve violent evictions. The evictions carried out at Muoroto in Nairobi are an example. As Nairobi continues to grow, so are the informal settlements expected to grow both in spatial size and in population density. The settlements present a challenge to the planner. This study will provide a feasible approach to informal settlement relocation and resettlement.

1.8. Research Design.

The first phase of study involved library research where literature on relocation and resettlement was reviewed, with a view to understanding the nature and context of relocation and resettlement. Initial readings showed that relocation and resettlement was a wide subject, and helped direct the study towards the chosen area of study, namely

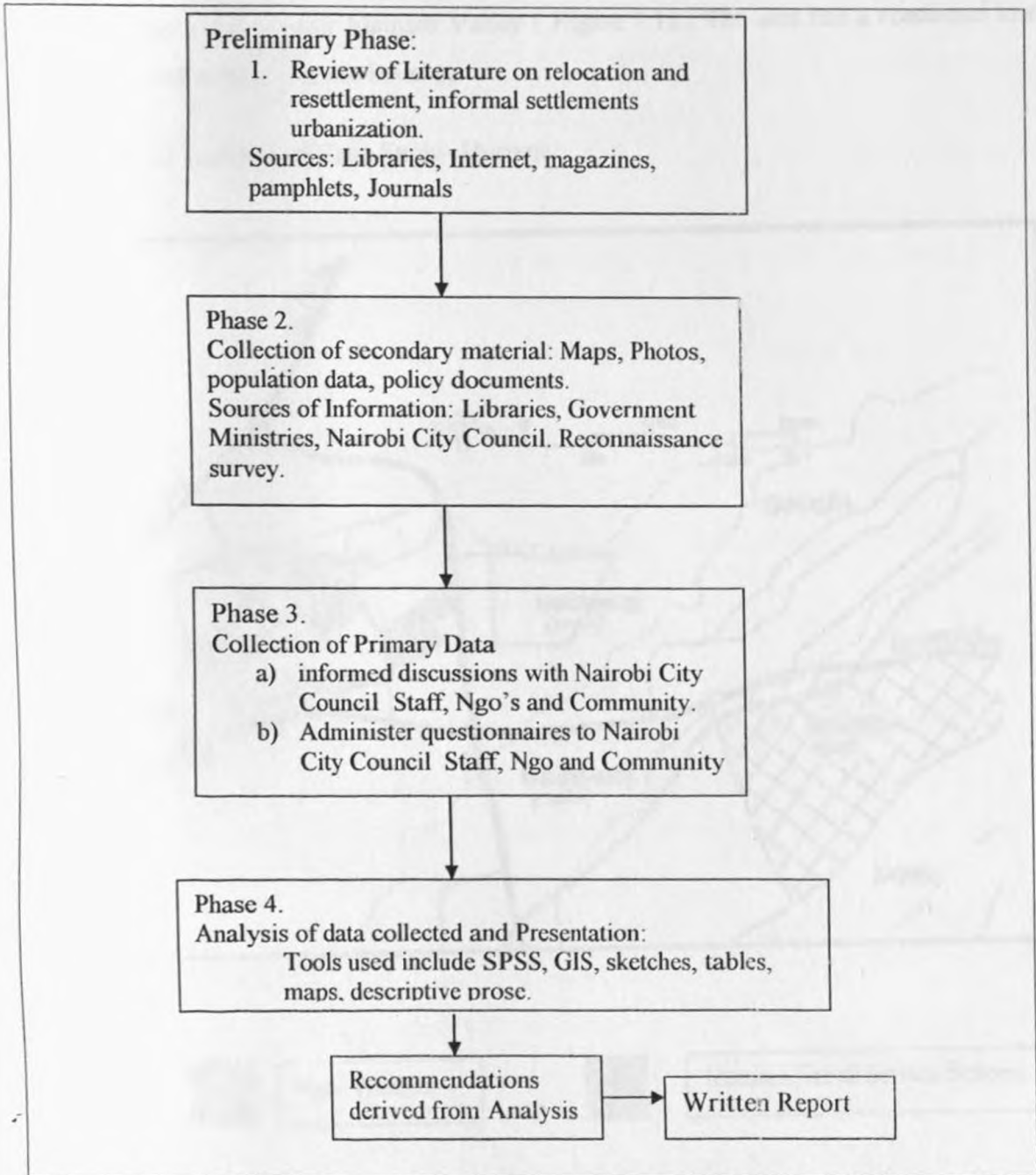
relocation and resettlement of informal settlements in urban areas. The review highlighted the fact that the management of the relocation and resettlement process greatly affected the success of the relocation and resettlement exercise. This helped to focus the study on the management of the relocation and resettlement process with the aim of coming up with guidelines for the same. Existing guidelines for instance, from the World Bank were reviewed, with a view to help provide a conceptual framework for the management of the relocation and resettlement process highlighting such issues as the problems of urbanization, land tenure, institutional framework and policy. Literature on Informal settlements formation and characteristics was also reviewed with special attention being paid to formation of informal settlements in Nairobi. Sources of this information included libraries, the Internet, magazines, pamphlets, journals, both published and unpublished studies by other scholars in related fields on Nairobi and Kenya.

The second phase of the study entailed the further collection of secondary material necessary for the study in the form of maps of the study area, photographs, both historical and current, population data and other policy documents. The sources of information included the City Council of Nairobi, The National Council of Churches of Kenya resource centre and various libraries within the City- The Macmillan Memorial Library, The Nairobi City Council Law Library, City Hall, Ministry Of National Planning Documentation Centre, University Libraries, Shelter Afrique Documentation Centre. An initial reconnaissance visit to the site was made in this phase and a tentative recording of the situation on the ground using photographs taken. Preliminary discussions with residents to provide a feel of the area were also conducted.

The third phase entailed the collection of primary data, with the help of questionnaires, through informed discussions with the officials of the City Council of Nairobi, both past and present, dealing with resettlement and Pamoja Trust a local NGO's. Questionnaires were also prepared and administered to the residents of the study area. Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected. This data was analyzed using the SPSS program for quantitative data and use of descriptive prose for the qualitative data

including pictures and maps etc. obtained. The results from the analysis have been presented in a report. Figure 1.0 carries a schematic representation of the research design.

Figure 1.0 SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF RESEARCH DESIGN.



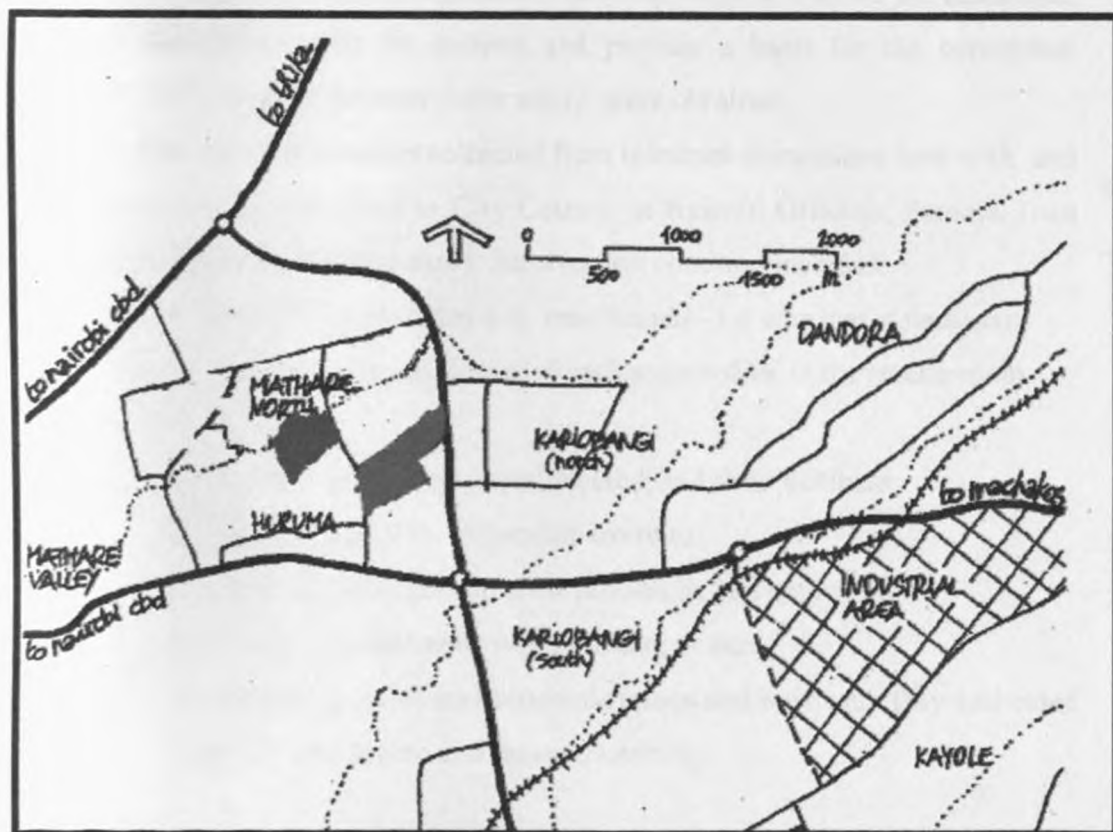
Source: Author, 2007

1.9 Study Methodology.

1.9.1 Area of Study

The study area lies in the eastern part of Nairobi, 8 Km from the city center and along Juja road and at the junction of Juja Road and Outer ring road. To the North is the Gitathuru River, across which lies Mathare 4A Estate. This area could be said to form the further most edge of Mathare Valley (Figure 1.1) . The area has a combined low income and middle income housing.

Figure 1.1 Location of Case Study- Huruma



Key:



Ngei Villages



Huruma Site & Service Scheme

1.9.2.Data Needs and Sources

The study subject variables shall include the socio-economic characteristics of the population, which will provide information on demographic trends, the households income, expenditure patterns, levels of education, household size and number of dependants and house ownership and the state of the environment.

This research utilized both primary and secondary data, in the form of :

- a) Historical information from existing literature and records on informal settlements resettlement and the management process. This information enabled the researcher familiarize themselves with the subject and provide a basis for the conceptual framework. Also maps of the area under study were obtained.
- b) Descriptive data from information collected from informal discussions held with and the questionnaires administered to City Council of Nairobi Officials, Pamoja Trust and the community on the case study. Information obtained included:
 - the reasons for relocation and resettlement- i.e why was it necessary
 - the roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder in the resettlement process.
 - how the beneficiaries were selected, and their numbers
 - the components of the relocation exercise
 - the level of participation in the process by the community
 - whether the resettlement was voluntary or not
 - the prevailing social and economic issues and how were they addressed
 - issues of land tenure and house ownership

c) Field Observations

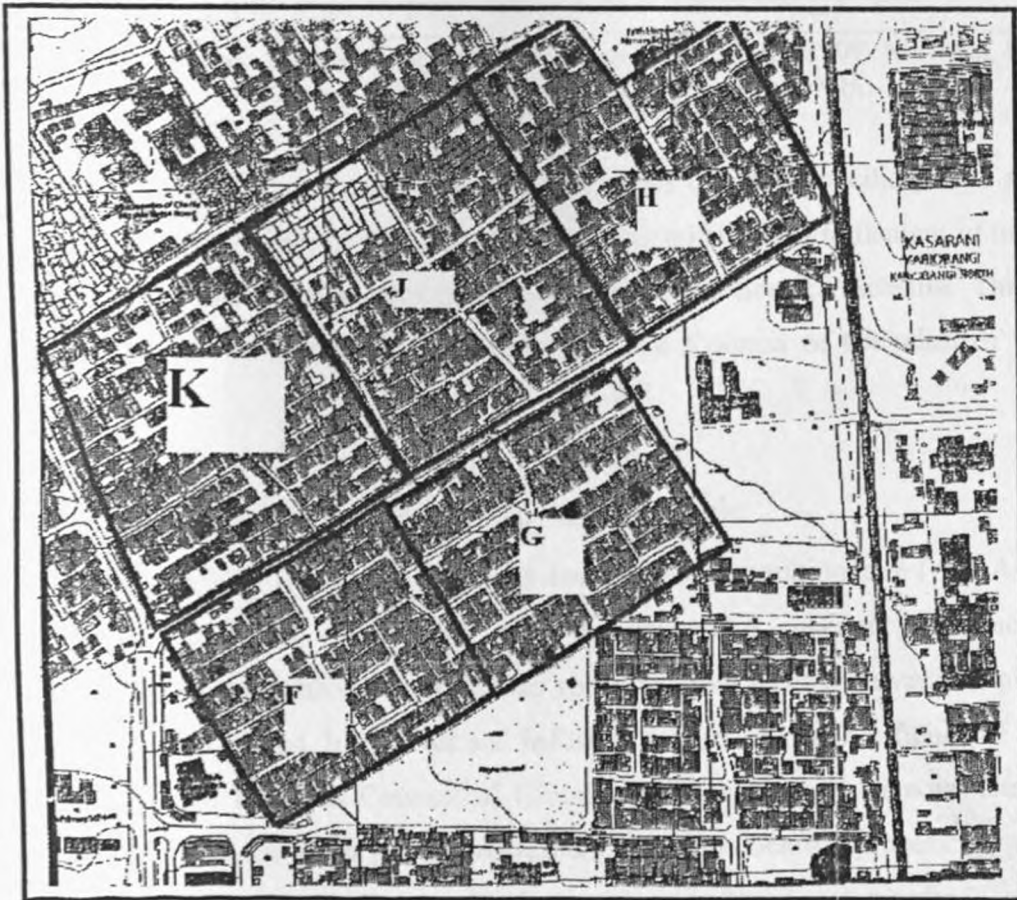
This provided physical evidence of the current state of the relocation site, and helped provide background information necessary for planning of the study area. This information included recording the physical features of the site and its surrounding area, state of the environment and the community.

1.9.3. Sampling Procedures

1.9.3.1 Sample Selection

The target population for this study are the residents of Huruma Site and Service Scheme and Ngei Villages of Huruma. Random sampling methods were employed to reach a representative group. Due to limitations of time and finances, sample sizes were kept relatively small with a sample size of 10% of the population being considered as representative. In Huruma Site and Service area the study area was divided into five Zones in line with the way the area was developed, that is Zones F to K, for ease of administering the questionnaires. Map 1.0 below shows the zones for sampling at Huruma Site and Service Scheme.

Map. 1.0 Sample Selection: Huruma Site And Service Scheme.



Source: Author from Survey of Kenya Map, 2007.

The researcher administered questionnaires to the two Ngei Villages as a block. Due to the unpredictability of the availability of the respondents, available adult household members were interviewed. The questionnaire administered is at Appendix 1.

The researcher was unable to obtain exact population figures for the area. Instead figures provided by the Population Census of 1999 were adapted to provide population estimates for the area. The researcher considered 10% of the population as representative and samples were drawn up as follows:

Table 1.1 Research Population

Area	Population	Sample Size
Huruma Site and Service	3425	35
Ngei Village	6564	65
Total		90

Source: Adopted and revised from the Kenya 1999 National Population Census, Ministry of National Planning, Nairobi.

For the focused group discussions the researcher targeted specific public and private officers who were involved in the process of relocation and resettlement of the Kaburini residents to their present site at Huruma Site and Service Scheme. This included officers from the Nairobi City Council, National Council of Churches of Kenya and local NGO.

1.9.4 Methods of Data collection and Analysis

The main tool for data collection were the household questionnaire (see Appendix 1), administered to the community, with the help of 5 research assistants. Physical conditions of the settlements were also recorded from field observations, photographs, drawings and maps. Interviews and informal discussions with officials of the Nairobi City Council, National Council of Churches of Kenya and Pamoja Trust provided information on the history of the settlement and the relocation process. A questionnaire to help direct the discussion was administered and is found at Appendix 2

The data collected through the questionnaires was coded, cleaned and analyzed using the statistical package for scientists (SPSS). Inferences were made from the data so analyzed and the results presented in simple frequency tables, charts and descriptive prose. Qualitative data was presented in the form of maps, plans, sketches, illustrations and photographs. Additional information was obtained through observations by the interviewer of the general environmental conditions and household state.

The data analysis is then presented in four main sections as follows:

1. Socio-demographic trends
2. Household Characteristics
3. Economic aspects.
4. Lessons learnt/ emerging issues.

Problems Encountered.

In the process of the study, a number of problems were encountered. First, information on population in the area was not accessible from the Kenya Bureau of Statistics because they were reorganizing their resource centre. This then meant that the researcher had to estimate the population in the area based on the 1999 Population census and other available literature. Secondly, the researcher had originally employed the help of research assistants who were not from the area. At the first attempt to administer the questionnaires, the researcher and her team were met with a lot of suspicion and the exercise aborted. The researcher then with the help of the local chief and village elders pinpointed five young men, with whose help the questionnaires were administered. The researcher thought the high level of suspicion could have been as a result of the growing insecurity in the area at the time and the ever present threat of "Mungiki" a vigilante group, whose violent attacks on the public had been featured at great length in the local press, and were known to operate in the nearby Dandora Estate and Mathare Valley informal settlement. The activities of this vigilante group caused this area to be declared a security zone, with a massive security operation carried out to rout out the group members. This made it difficult for the researcher to visit the study area and even as the field survey was being completed, residents were moving out of the settlement, and the researcher lost contact with her research assistants. Thus although 50

questionnaires had been administered in Huruma Site and Service Scheme the author was only able to retrieve 35.

1.10. Structure of the Thesis.

The study is organized into five chapters.

Chapter one covers the general introductory sections of study. These are the introduction, statement of the problem, the study hypothesis, the study objectives, the scope of the study, the significance of the study, the study methodology and last but not least the definition of important terms.

Chapter two contains a review of literature on the urbanization process in less developed countries, the development of informal settlements and intervention measures, with special emphasis being placed on Nairobi. This chapter also reviews the various management processes in use in the relocation and resettlement of informal settlements and briefly reviews the World Bank Policy on Voluntary Resettlement from where a conceptual framework of the study is developed.

Chapter three provides the background information generally and specifically on the study area, including historical perspectives, spatial setting, population characteristics, physical characteristics, economic and social activities, infrastructural services, transportation and human settlements, institutional arrangements and policy approaches. Chapter four carries the study findings from an in depth analysis of the primary data collected. The main research questions are answered in this chapter and the study hypothesis tested.

Chapter five provides the study conclusions and recommendations based on the analysis and synthesis carried out in the previous chapter. Guidelines for relocation and resettlement are presented on two levels, policy and local levels. Areas for further research are also outlined.

1.11 Study Limitations.

This study is limited by the available time and finances. The author was also informed that a lot of the information on the study area was lost during the fire that gutted City Hall, Nairobi in 2005 and the author had to rely on the memories of and discussions with present and former council officers.

1.12 Definition of Terms.

1. Relocation and Resettlement.

Whereas relocation and resettlement are often used interchangeably (UNCHS (Habitat), (1991), in this study relocation shall refer to the physical movement from

one place to another, while resettlement shall mean the occupation of the new site.

2. Eviction.

This is forced removal without provision of alternative accommodation.

3. Urbanization is the process of growth in the proportion of people living in urban areas i.e. the increase in percentage of a region's population living in urban areas (Johnson, 1972).

4. An Urban Area

An Urban area may be defined by the number of residents, the population density, the percentage of people not dependant upon agriculture, or the provision of such public utilities and services as electricity and education (Johnson, 1972)

5. Informal settlement

An Informal settlements or slum is a group of individuals living under the same roof, whose housing units have been constructed on land that the occupants have no legal claim to, or occupy illegally; and the settlement is unplanned with the housing not in compliance with current planning and building regulations

(unauthorized housing) and lacks one or more of the following five conditions: Access to water: access to sanitation: secure tenure: durability of housing: sufficient living area. (Karirah- Gitau,1999)

6. Relocation Action Plan

This is the Planning document drawn up by the relocation and resettlement project proponents that specifies the procedures that will be followed during relocation and the actions taken to mitigate adverse effects, compensate losses and provide development benefits to communities. It describes what is to be done to address the direct social and economic impacts arising from the relocation and resettlement.

7.Stakeholders

These are any individuals, groups, organizations and institutions that are interested and/ or potentially affected by or having the ability to influence the relocation and resettlement project. Primary stakeholders are those directly affected i.e the population that loses property or income due to the resettlement also referred to as Project Affected Persons (World Bank, 2004).

8. Host Population/ Community

These are people living in or around the areas where the relocates are resettled and are, in turn, affected by the relocation and resettlement.

9. Socio- Economic Survey

This is a complete and accurate survey of the project affected population, focusing on their social aspects and income earning activities.

10. Eligibility

This refers to the criteria for qualification to receive benefits under a resettlement program.

Chapter 2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

2.1 Introduction: Urbanization in less Developed Countries.

Syagga (2001) notes that urbanization is one of the most significant occurrences of our time. It represents a massive shift of population from rural to urban areas, a change from a predominantly agricultural society to industrial service based economies and is the process through which cities grow. When defined "urbanization" refers to the process of growth in the proportion of the total population that lives in urban areas (Johnson, 1972). There are no universal standards defining an urban area and generally each country develops its own criteria for distinguishing urban areas. These include the number of residents in an area, the population density, or the percentage of people not engaged in rural activities. In Kenya a settlement with 2000 or more people is defined as urban (ROK, 1978). The rate of urbanization over time is distinct from the rate of urban growth, which is the rate at which the urban area increases spatially in a given period relative to its own size at the start of that period (Johnson, 1972).

Weitz in Syagga, (2001) notes that there is a basic difference between the process of urbanization in the developing countries and the developed countries, where urbanization was mainly the result of economic development and new employment opportunities in town. In the developed nations urbanization was a process that occurred over a long period of time, permitting the gradual emergence of economic, social and political institutions to deal with the problems of transformation. Today the developed nations seem to be in transition, cities are no longer expanding at an increasing rate, and in fact cities like London and New York are slowly dissipating. Allen (1992) notes that the nature of the urbanization process is also changing. For a long time large-scale urbanization was associated with the industrialization of the presently richer nations. Today these large cities have ceased to grow, are growing slowly or are actually losing population. With the world's population projected to increase to 8 billion in the next 30 years, it is anticipated that the bulk of this increase will be in the developing countries. The Global Report on Human Settlements 1996 (UNCHS, 1996), noted that most of the nations with the fastest growing populations were in Africa, where in 1950 only 18

percent of the population lived in urban areas. By the year 2000 this had risen to 40 percent and by 2030 it is expected to rise to about 56 percent. In contrast the world's rural population is also projected to grow but at much slower rates than the urban population. The UNDP Human Development Report (1997) observes that for the first time in history, a poor person in the 1990's is more likely to be an urban rather than a rural dweller. Poverty is thus a major feature of the present urbanization process in Africa.

The rapid growth of urban centers both in terms of size and population and urbanization in Africa has been attributed to:

- Declining agricultural productivity, encouraging out migration from the rural areas
- Rising population densities, against declining agricultural productivity, resulting in rural-urban migration,
- Availability of jobs and higher incomes in the urban areas, although those from the rural areas are often disadvantaged as their levels of education, training or skills are low. By flooding the city, they constitute an economic drain on the nation.
- The link between education and the propensity to migrate, as the better educated leave the rural areas to seek their fortunes in the urban areas,
- The natural increase in population in urban areas, probably due to better health facilities, vaccinations, nutrition, improved water supply in urban areas. (Syagga, 2001) .

As a consequence of the rapid pace of urbanization the projected overall increase of built-up urban areas in developing countries is expected to double by 2000, with increased poor infrastructure, insufficient housing, environmental degradation and diminishing livelihoods.

Syagga (2001) asserts that it is the government's response to urbanization that largely

determines the availability of different housing forms and exacerbates the social inequalities. Settlement planning is central to ensuring that urban development and management meets sustainable development goals. Policies put in place to encourage development of low income housing go a long way in relieving the problem of housing shortage, especially in the urban areas where available data shows the housing shortage is more acute than the rural areas. In Kenya for instance, in 1999 out of a total of 10.4 million dwelling units only 19.5% catered for urban areas (ROK /UNDP, 2005). Syagga (2001) further notes that the process of African urbanization shows no fundamental connection between rural-urban migration and urban or housing problems, although it is an accepted fact that most urban migrants are poor and lack marketable skills. Being unable to afford the available formal housing or find accommodation with friends and relatives, new immigrants to the urban areas end up in the informal settlements, leading to their growth.

The Human Settlements chapter of Agenda 21 (Chapter 7) urges, among other things:

- The promotion of understanding among policy-makers of the adverse consequences of unplanned settlements in environmentally vulnerable areas and the appropriate national and local land use and settlements policies required for this purpose.
- The promotion of sustainable land use planning and management, with the objective of providing for the land requirements of human settlements development through environmentally sound physical planning and land use.
- The creating as appropriate, of national legislation to guide the implementation of public policies for environmentally sound urban development, land utilization, housing and for the improved management of urban expansion.
- The development of fiscal incentives and land use control measures, including land use planning solutions for a more rational and environmentally sound use of limited land resources.

2.2. The Development of Informal Settlements.

Nabutola (2004) defines an informal settlement as a group of dwellings put up without authority of the owner of the land, usually without a formal design and without conforming to any specification as to laid down rules and regulations, planning standards, generally accepted methods of workmanship, construction and are more often than not temporary. They do not have access to public utilities like electric power, piped water and sewer and have minimal or no public social infrastructure like schools, hospitals, markets and roads. Where piped water is found, it is usually provided by a few standpipes or from water kiosks at a cost much higher than that paid by residents in the nearby formal settlements. The physical layout of these settlements is characterized by a non-functional pattern, with the distribution of plots following no planned structure or conventional planning principles. There is either no or almost no guided planning and especially streets and technical infrastructure are not catered for. The dysfunctional settlement pattern and a high density of houses leads to a lack in the provision of space e.g. access to houses are blocked (http://www.ranplanning.uni.dortmun.de/geo/springpublications/SWP_21_internet.pdf). English terms to describe these settlements include self-help, or self-built settlements, spontaneous settlements, marginal settlements, slums, squatter settlements, shantytowns and informal settlements. UNCHS (Habitat) in the Global Report on Human settlements 2003 "Challenge of Slums", basing its definition of slums on the household as the basic unit of analysis; defines a slum household as a group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area "who lack one or more of the following five conditions: access to water: access to sanitation: secure tenure: durability of housing: sufficient living area".

Karirah- Gitau (1999) notes that informal settlements are characterized by:

- Owners of structures having either a quasi right of occupation or no right at all.
- Structures constructed largely of temporary materials and do not conform to minimum standards
- Majority of structures are let on a room to room basis.
- Majority of households occupy a single room or part of a room.

- Densities are high, in Nairobi typically 250 units per hectare compared to 25 per hectare in middle income areas and 15 per hectare in high income areas.
- Physical layouts are relatively haphazard
- Majority of inhabitants have low incomes, normally less than Ksh. 2,000 per month.
- Majority of households are headed by females.
- Urban services such as water, sanitation are non-existent or minimal.
- Morbidity and mortality rates caused by disease stemming from environmental conditions significantly higher than other areas of the city (due to poor sanitation, lack of potable water, poor drainage, uncollected refuse and overcrowding.)
- Majority of residents earn their living in the informal economic sector, in small businesses ranging from hawking to service and production enterprises.

The Global Report on Human Settlements 2003, "Challenge of Slums" notes that "the term "informal" suggests a different way from the norm, one, which breaches formal conventions and is not acceptable in formal circles – one which is inferior, irregular and, at least somewhat, undesirable." However, research and practice over the years have demonstrated that differences may not imply inferiority. Although an informal settlement may be built on land zoned for industry and is, therefore, illegal, it provides accommodation, location and identity for its inhabitants at a cost that they can afford. The majority of poor households have been housed informally for many years in cities in many countries. Experience of the public housing programmes designed to cater for the urban poor or the low-income population have shown that most do not adequately meet their objectives. The proliferation and development of informal settlements is a direct consequence of the demand supply imbalance in the provision of housing, both in terms of quality and quantity. This imbalance is the result of various factors acting in concert including historical influences, continuing population growth leading to increased demand for housing and the failure to anticipate this demand, rapid urbanization accompanied by a stagnating rural sector, rural-urban migration, poverty and the absence of adequate levels of economic growth, lack of adequate infrastructure

and services, combined with great deficiencies in maintenance. This is not helped by the adoption of inappropriate low income shelter policies in place (Obudho, 1990).

Historical influences in most of the developing countries, arising from colonialism, did not encourage rural urban migration. The colonialists put in place policies that discouraged migration and housing was used as a primary tool of influx control (Karirah- Gitau, 1999) This was the case in Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe for example, where available housing for Africans (mainly males) in the urban areas was in the form of single rooms restricted to single occupation. Family occupation of the units was discouraged, with family members expected to remain in the rural areas. However, independence saw an influx of people into the urban areas, in search of jobs and a better life. The available housing stock could not accommodate the influx and cultures were such that people from the rural areas could decant in a relatives house while searching for a job or a place to live, leading to overcrowding and misuse of available infrastructural services. For the majority of immigrants seeking for their own accommodation the informal settlement became the first stop and an immediate solution to the housing problem. Colonial policies that created native reserves encouraged informal settlements, while those forced to live in the reserves were usually not accepted by the locals nor was the land granted adequate for all.

Rapid population growth, and its distribution, especially in developing countries has been given as a reason for informal settlement development and is perceived to be a significant cause for the demand-supply imbalance. It has far reaching implications. Population growth demands the creation of a sizeable quantity of new jobs every year, increased demand for social and physical infrastructure like schools, hospitals, roads, all requiring capital investment and urban expansion. It also implies an increased demand for residential plots for all incomes, for land for the location of industry and commerce and land for public buildings.

The UNCHS (Habitat) Global Report on Human Settlements 2003 "Challenge of Informal settlements" notes that in 2001, 924 million people, or 32% of the world's

urban population, lived in informal settlements, 43 per cent of them were in developing countries, while 6 % in more developed countries. *All things being equal* this is projected to rise to 2 billion in 30 years. The Global Report on Human Settlements 1996, "An Urbanizing World" (UNCHS,1996), highlighted that while there is no evidence that a threshold population size exists beyond which urban areas generate more negative than positive effects, in many countries the rapid pace of population growth and the enormous size of the population have overwhelmed the capacity of municipal authorities to respond to the needs of the population. Thus it is not just the process of urbanization that presents a problem but the authorities responsible for the development of the urban centers have not been able to cater for the increasing population resulting in many negative developments accompanying the urbanization process. These negative developments are seen in the high level of unemployment, inadequate infrastructure, widespread poverty, deficient housing and homelessness and everywhere efforts have been made by countries to try and distribute the population through relocation and settlement schemes. Africa is a continent as rich in natural resources as it is in people and history. Unfortunately, the spatial distribution of its people and resources do not always coincide. Urban growth further manifests the negative impacts of mistakes, delays and omissions so that it is in large cities that failures are particularly visible, while failures in small settlements tend to be less in focus and more easily ignored.

The UNCHS Habitat (1986) notes that many of the problems of human settlements can be solved by the creation of strong, efficient and stable national institutions that are both politically influenced and financially solvent, with clear powers to allocate resources and manage urban areas. Most often than not the existing institutions lack the financial resources and the legal and human capacities to meet their responsibilities. Faced with continuously expanding boundaries and declining per capita expenditures, arising from a weak revenue base and both national and international economic situations, service delivery by these institutions and standards have suffered. Attempts by other agencies and the urban residents to provide access to selected urban services to the low income groups is further hampered by public policies including planning regulations, antiquated

building by-laws, monetary and fiscal measures. Consequently those unable to afford the more formal housing or share accommodation, find themselves in unplanned settlements within and around urban areas. In Kenya this type of housing accounts for 60-80 per cent of all urban housing constructed in urban areas.

Syagga (2001) observes that the emergence of unregulated settlements is not only the consequence of so called excess numbers but of a given wage structure that creates inequalities in income levels and promotes poverty. Poverty, defined in terms of minimum income levels is visible in beggars in major cities, the pavement dwellers of Mumbai, the street children in Nairobi and the overcrowded informal settlements. Low incomes, raising urban unemployment and increasing poverty encourage the poor to live in informal settlements, as a survival strategy, where the majority of them are renters. It is clear that slum formation is closely linked to economic cycles, trends in national income distribution and, in more recent years, to national economic development policies. Policy failure at all levels—international, national and local—has had the nett effect of weakening the capacity of national governments to improve housing and living conditions of low-income groups. The informal settlements are then a result of inability of the country's economy to cater for the housing needs of the poor who form the majority, and failure to give the housing sector priority so that it competes with all other sectors for limited finances and resources. The UNCHS (Habitat) Global Report 2003 "The challenge of slums" further noted urban development policies have in the recent past addressed the issue of livelihoods of slum dwellers and urban poverty more vigorously, going beyond more traditional approaches that concentrated on improvement of housing, infrastructure and physical environmental conditions. The up-scaling and replication of informal settlements upgrading is among the most important of the strategies that have received greater emphasis, though it should be recognized that slum upgrading is only one solution among several others. For slum policies to be successful, the apathy and lack of political will in both national and local levels of government in many developing countries in recent decades needs to be reversed.

It is now recognized that the informal settlements support an “informal economic sector” The term ‘informal economic sector’ has been used to describe a phenomenon of generally small-scale industries and commercial activities that are not registered enterprises but provide large amounts of products and services that people use each day.

Five theories, explain why informal-sector activities persist in developing countries.

- a. The *‘lack of growth’ theory*, in which the persistence of informal activities is attributed to the lack of, or a decline in, the growth of GDP, particularly in the lack of urban growth. The increase in formal sector employment is assumed to be due to the increase in GDP per worker.
- b. The *‘jobless growth’ theory*, which assumes that capital – intensive technology and recent economic processes, such as privatization, deregulation and globalization, have led to two effects: the decline of formal – sector jobs or the informalization of certain formal-sector jobs.
- c. The *‘growth from below’ theory*, which attributes some of the growth in GDP to the small – scale enterprise sector. This is based on the recognition that small – scale enterprises in the informal sector are growing faster in many countries than larger-scale firms in the modern sector.
- d. The *‘period of adjustment’ theory*, which reflects how the informal sector grows when economies undergo structural adjustment, causing marked shifts from formal to informal employment.
- e. *‘Institutional cost’ theory*, in which the main justification for regulating enterprises is the extraction of business taxes and income tax. When people do not make enough to pay tax, it is deemed pointless to register their enterprises. Conversely, regulation is an expensive business and it requires taxes on enterprises for it to succeed. (UNCHS 2003 The Challenge of Slums, Nabutola, 2004)

It has been stated that the availability of land is a fundamental prerequisite for the implementation of shelter programmes (UNCHS, 1987 Institutional Arrangements). For

the poor in urban areas, acquiring land is beyond their means as the demand for land is considerably higher than the supply, pushing urban prices upwards. The importance of land tenure in the urbanization process is that it influences the pattern of physical development and can determine the manner in which an area adapts to change. Among other things land tenure has an effect on densities, access to land, the manner in which it is used and its amenability to public acquisition. Land tenure has profound bearing on the development potential of land, its potential for taxation and credit and the smoothness of land transactions. For the poor, security of tenure is closely linked with their long-term development prospects and well-being. Most common land tenure systems include freehold and leasehold. With leaseholds the type of restrictions imposed on lessees determine how the tenure operates in practice (United Nations Land Policies in Human Settlements, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1985). The lack of effective land policies that allow for land tenure and alienation has meant that Public agencies frequently have to purchase poorly serviced land at the city periphery for the settlement projects for the low-income workers, far from sources of employment. Whereas most governments have legislative authority for compulsory acquisition of land for public purpose, problems concerning the purpose of acquisition, the timing and the compensation to be paid arise. Further the definition of "public purpose" sometimes does not include housing, making it difficult to procure land for housing.

Other causes identified include inappropriate housing standards that make formal housing unaffordable yet favor the production of formal housing, and construction technologies adopted that are also inappropriate, politicization of shelter issues so that informal settlements exist as a creation of powerful politicians who benefit from them and are vehemently opposed to eradicating them. In general, informal settlements are the products of failed policies, bad governance, corruption, inappropriate regulation, dysfunctional land markets, unresponsive financial systems and a fundamental lack of political will." (Karirah- Gitau, 1999).

2. 3. Development of Informal Settlements in Nairobi: A Historical Perspective.

The roots of Nairobi's informal settlements can be traced to the pre-independence period when Nairobi's urban layout was based on government-sanctioned population segregation into separate enclaves for Africans, Asians and Europeans. During this period, informal settlements essentially developed because of the highly unbalanced allocation of public resources towards the housing and infrastructural needs of the separate sections. The post-colonial period saw a relaxation of the colonial residential segregation policies, and major population shifts occurred, notably rural-to-urban migration, with little obstruction to the proliferation of urban shacks 'as long as they were not located near the central business district' (UoN, 1987). Informal settlements sprang up all over the town in the proximity of employment. Spatial segregation during this period continued to be reinforced, but this time more as socio-economic and cultural stratification. The post-independence period also saw rapid urban population growth without corresponding housing provision, poor population resettlement due to new developments and extension of city boundaries that included rural areas within urban boundaries, often changing the characteristics of the settlements.

Data on informal settlements in Nairobi has been conflicting, this being attributed to the authors definition of an informal settlement. The earliest recorded survey of temporary structures was undertaken by the Nairobi City Council in 1971, with subsequent surveys by National Cooperative Housing Union (NACHU) (1990), Matrix (1993) and Ngau (1995). The results of these surveys, carried in Table 2.0 below, are conflicting in that populations seem to decrease between 1990 and 1993 with a huge jump in 1995.

Table 2.0 The Growth of Informal Settlements in Nairobi. 1971-1995

Year	No. of Villages	Population	Units	% of Population
1971	50	167,000	-	33.3 %
1990	78	200,000	74,165	40-50%
1993	36	734,031	-	55%
1995	133	1,886,166	77,600	60%

Source: Adopted from Syagga (2001).

The table also shows that between 1971 and 1995, the number of informal settlement villages within the Nairobi divisional boundaries rose from 50 to 133, while the estimated total population of these settlements increased from 167,000 to some 1,886,000 individuals. In terms of percentage of the total Nairobi population, the share of informal-settlement village inhabitants rose from one third to an estimated 60 per cent. Today, both natural growth and rural-to-urban migration continue to contribute to the growth of Nairobi's informal settlements villages. Occupying only 5.81 % of all residential land these informal settlements have average densities of 250 dwelling units per hectare (750 persons) as compared to the lower density areas whose densities are between 10-30 dwellings per hectare with 50-180 persons. Informal settlements are widely located across the city, typically in proximity to areas with employment opportunities (Please see Map 2.0.) and have become one of the most common forms of land delivery in most developing countries. Where the settlement cannot be allowed to remain, those occupying these settlements must be relocated to a more suitable site. Table 2.1 provides a breakdown of informal settlements in Nairobi as per administrative divisions and is based on the 1993 Matrix Consultants Survey. It must be noted that new settlements are coming up on a daily basis.

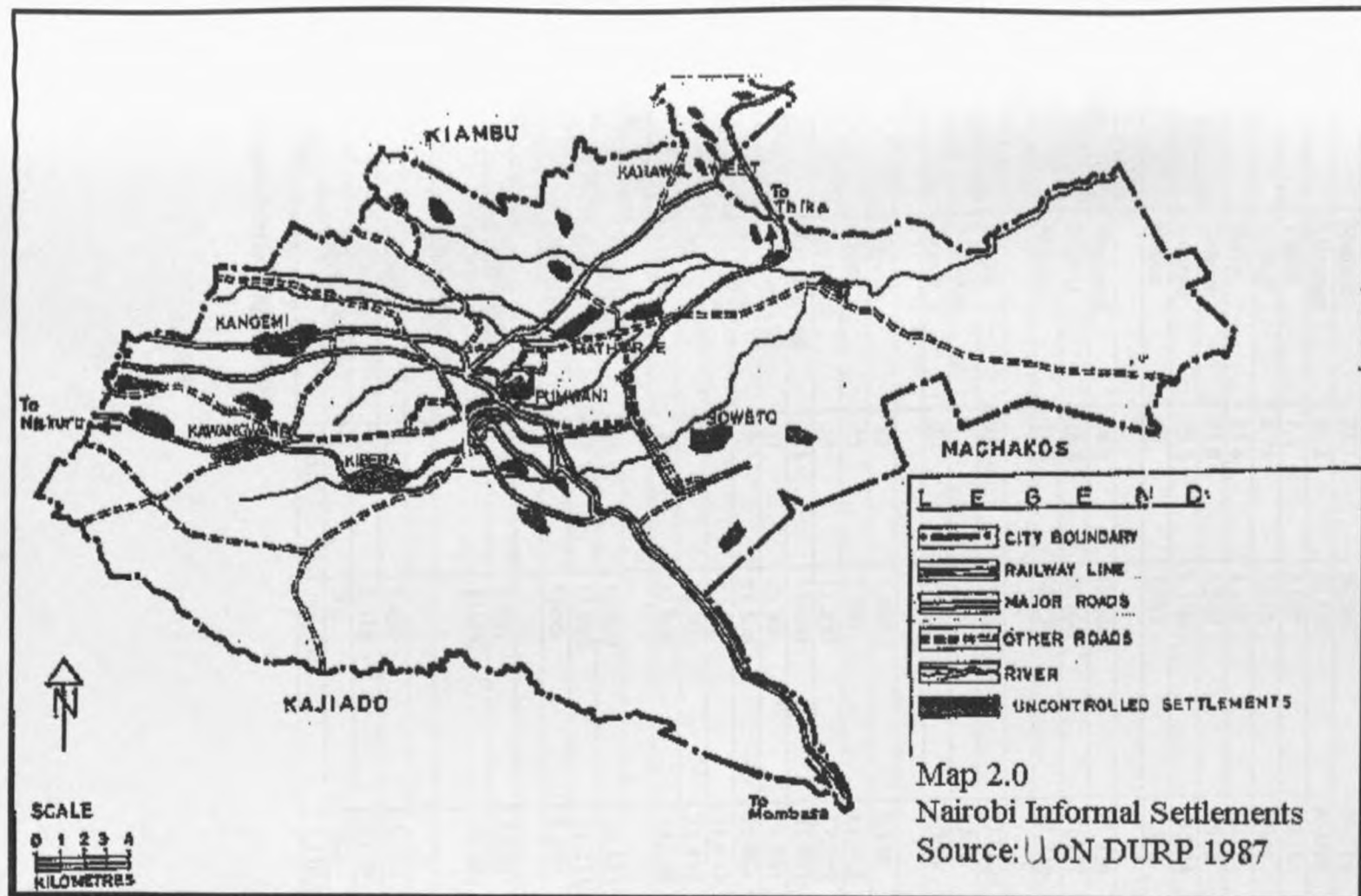


Table 2.1 Informal Settlements in Nairobi

Administrative Division.	Individual Settlement	Area Covered (hectares)	Estimated Population 1993	Estimated Population 1999
Kasarani	Mathare	73.7	58,580	89,719
	Kinyango	49.2	56,580	86,098
	Thome	7.3	2,190	3,333
	Njathini	8.75	2,625	3,994
	Garba	13.8	4,125	6,277
	Githurai	21.8	6,540	9,952
	Kahawa	30.5	9,150	13,924
	Kamac	10	2,985	4,542
Makadara	Mariguini	14.2	17,040	25,930
	Express	16.8	20,160	30,677
	Mukuru	54.4	65,250	99,336
Langata	Kibera	225.6	248,160	377,624
	Mitumba	1.5	1,200	1,826
	Bomas	2.1	1,680	2,556
Dagoretti	Ngando	12	6,000	9,130
	Riruta	15	7,500	11,412
	Karandini	23	11,500	17,499
	Kawangware	111	55,000	83,693
	Muslim Village	37	18,500	28,151
	Kangemi	75	37,500	57,064
	Dagoretti	14.5	7,250	11,032
	Waithaka	41	20,500	31,195
	Mutuini	45	22,500	34,238
Embakasi	Maili Saba	39.7	11,910	18,123
	Kayole	23.3	13,980	21,273
	Soweto	10	6,000	9,130
Pumwani	Buru Buru	4.5	1,890	2,876
	Carton Kitui/Pumwani	10	10,000	15,217
Parklands	Runda	11.5	3,450	5,250
	Kitisuru	11.3	3,375	5,136
	Spring Valley	1.7	501	762
All Divisions		1,015	734,031	1,116,971

Source: Adopted from Syagga (2001)

2.4 Interventions in Informal Settlements.

The evolution of national policies and interventions to informal settlements in Kenya, have generally shifted from negative policies such as:

- migration control using The Vagrancy Act, the *Kipande* (identity card) to forcibly reduce or eliminate in-migration into the city. In the long run this failed to work and proved expensive
- forced eviction and demolition. Although informal settlements cannot be allowed to develop anywhere this solution has rarely worked, unless coupled with provision of adequate alternatives.
- benign neglect and involuntary resettlement,

to more positive policies such as decentralization and encouraging rural development to reduce in-migration, self-help and *in-situ* upgrading and voluntary resettlement. In Kenya these fit into five policy stages namely: clearance and forced migration, clearance and public housing, provision of minimum services, extension of tenure security and physical upgrading and recognition of the legitimate role of low income settlers and other stakeholders in urban development. These periods and interventions have introduced shifts in the housing policy that have, in turn immensely contributed to the nature and extent of informal settlements today. Table 2.2 illustrates the Housing and Relocation policies pursued during the 1950-1960 and later how they changed in the 1970-1980's.

It is generally accepted that Informal settlements do not provide for adequate housing and are thus not an acceptable nor replicable solution to housing the urban poor. After independence, it was clearly evident that informal settlements were a quick solution to the shelter of the poor urban residents.

Table 2.2 Changing Housing Policies.

	1950-1960's	1970-1980
Housing Policy	Government as the provider -Conventional Public Housing -Removal of informal settlements -Little urban Planning	Government as an enabler -Site and Service approach -Slum upgrading -more urban planning
Relocation Policy	Large scale eviction Relocation projects /programmes in conventional public housing	Smaller scale Relocation as by-product of informal settlement upgrading or redevelopment / infrastructure development In sites and service or core units

Source: Adopted from Evaluation of Relocation Experience, UNCHS (Habitat)

When Government realized that it was not possible to control the increase of the poor in the urban areas, the inevitable growth of housing problems and the proliferation of informal settlements, it started providing subsidized public housing for rental while demolishing informal settlements. This was a policy of slum clearance and provision of public housing. Slum clearance and forced migration also occurred during the colonial era, when the official view of informal settlements was as threats, outrage or as 'a blot on the urban landscape' (UoN, 1987) and seen as harboring dissidents. Safety was the Governments major concern and these settlements were often demolished and sometimes their inhabitants obliged to live in demarcated "Native Reserves" or to return to the rural areas. There was no question of improvement of these settlements as that would amount to legitimizing an illegal act and encouraging rural- urban migration. Syagga (2001) observes that the gravity of the housing situation in Kenya was such that at the time of the first comprehensive housing policy in 1966/67 the annual housing requirement was 7,600 units for urban areas. By the 1979-83 Development Plan period

this had risen from 160,000 to 290,000 units, with an accumulated shortfall of 50,000 units in 1974 to 140,000 in 1978.

In 1964 an investigation into the short and long terms housing needs in Kenya by a United Nations Mission on behalf of the Government made recommendations as to the policies to be pursued in the formation of a framework for the nation's social and economic development. From this report Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1966/67 on *Housing Policy For Kenya* was born. The main principles that were to guide the development and control of housing in Kenya were to fall under five main headings Urban and Rural Housing Policy; Finance for Housing; Administrative Organization; Housing Programme; Research and Education. The Government was convinced that housing was a vital factor in the nation's economic and social development and its effects had a bearing on the morale and stability of Kenya; as the productive capacity of Kenya's labor force was related to the state of its health; and decent living environments were conducive to good health. The governments stated objective in Urban areas was thus "to move away from the policy of bed-space for families, which was practiced during the colonial era, and to provide dwellings which have all essential amenities for a decent family life" either developed or financed privately or by the state, but providing the basic standards of health, privacy and security (RoK, National Development Plan, 1966). The Housing Policy also noted that Kenya had reached a state in its development where housing had to be closely integrated with urban development and the country's planning policy to ensure more control and acceleration of urban and peri-urban development. Thus subsequent National Development Plans carried on this spirit with the 1966/70 Plan defining the official acceptable minimum standard for an urban housing unit as one constructed of suitable materials and having at least two rooms, plus a Kitchen and a toilet, to be occupied by a maximum of five persons. The standards were based on the interpretation of Kenya's building byelaws and Public Health Act. Anything constructed below these standards was considered illegal and liable for demolition. In implementing the policy, government and local authorities concentrated on provision of conventional housing, which favored the middle and upper income groups. Thus the lower income continued to construct housing using any form of materials and lacking

essential services. The Housing Policy advocated for slum clearance noting that if *towns were not to develop into informal settlements, and centers of ill-health and evil social conditions, low income urban housing and slum clearance must continue to form the major part of the nation's housing programme* (RoK, Housing Policy for Kenya 1966/70) . It also noted that it would be the responsibility of local authorities under their by-laws, as well as the National Housing Authority (which was to be created) to ensure close supervision of such projects so that buildings are erected according to approved plans and specifications, and to avoid the creation of informal settlements.

The 1970's saw a change in policy in that government recognized that demolition and public housing could not solve the problem of proliferation of informal settlements. The 1970/74 National Development Plan stated that demolitions would be postponed until such a time as the housing shortage was met. With this in mind the Government shifted from a conventional housing policy to a realistic pragmatic approach to housing provision. This new strategy was associated with the involvement of the World Bank and USAID in the provision of serviced plots in site and service schemes like Dandora and Kayole. It was at this stage when the Government also focused on mobilizing financial investment by the low income residents of informal settlements to improve their own settlements, leaving government to concentrate on what the people could not provide. This included institutional mechanisms, legal framework, tenure security, infrastructure and income generating facilities. These World Bank sponsored site and service projects turned out not to be replicable, nor were they popular with the residents or policy makers. Cost recovery was poor and required subsidies of 70% (UNCHS, Global Report 2003).

The 80's brought a new policy change in which the government recognized the legitimate role of low income earners in urban development. In this enabling approach government moves away from provision and concentrates on creating incentives and facilitating measures to enable other stakeholders provide housing and basic services. This era has seen the revision of building bye-laws and planning regulations, research in and dissemination of low-cost building technologies and materials, and the restructuring

of the financial institutions to provide for private sector participation in the housing development process. An example of changes in Housing policy in Zambia is portrayed in Box 2.0, providing an example of a successful project.

Box 2.0 Housing Policy Changes in Zambia

In Zambia independence saw the rush of people into urban centers and the increase in informal settlement growth. When evictions did not solve the problem, the Government in conjunction with the world Bank, initiated the George Compound Upgrading Scheme, which has been noted as a success because at the end of the exercise 60% of the population after upgrading were from the lowest 20% of the population and no significant change in the composition of the participant families was detected. The success of the project was credited to four main innovations:

- Plans were not prepared in advance for "sale" to the residents of the settlements.
- Upgrading standards were kept low in line with prevailing community practices.
- The land tenure system adopted, maintained the existing land use systems in additions to giving 30 years security.
- The residents were involved in the upgrading by contributing their own labour which went a long way in extending the funds allocated for the scheme.

This project can however be criticized in terms of sustainability of infrastructure as no provisions were made for the maintenance of infrastructure. It however provides a good example of an integrated approach where residents were seen by the public sector as a resource, to be utilized in the provision of housing for themselves.

Source: Adopted from Syagga & Malombe : 1995.

These interventions have had mixed results. Several policy-sensitive initiatives have been undertaken and institutions and facilities have been established to address the issue of informal settlements, including the enabling strategy, the Nairobi Informal Settlements Coordination Committee, Nairobi Situation Analysis, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and the Local Authority Transfer Fund. They address a series of themes, including settlement upgrading, community participation and improved access to services. The outcomes of these interventions have been increased housing stock and expanded community opportunities and participation, as well as a host of less fortunate aspects. These include:

- Proliferation of new informal settlements.
- Exclusion of particular population groups.

- Subsidy and affordability mismatches.
- Top-down approaches.
- Gentrification.
- Erroneous focus and failing partnerships.
- Non-replicability of efforts

Syagga et al (1995) observe that in Kenya the main strategies adopted to cope with the housing crisis were inadequate because the housing units developed were not affordable to the target groups, leading to problems of cost-recovery and contributed to the non-replicability of the schemes. To combat this housing projects begun incorporating income generating options like subletting. This is closely related to the issue of building standards that increased the costs of housing. Further the low income are not perceived as good borrowers by lending institutions and as such finance for housing was not forthcoming. The issues of land tenure have also played a role with the adoption of the Community Land Trust in Voi providing a breakthrough.

The Global Report on Human Settlements, 2003 notes that solutions to informal settlements now attempt to make use of the labour and resources of the residents, seeking to involve and preserve communities. Informal settlements contain urban residents who earn low incomes and have limited assets. Employment is largely low skill (domestic help, waiter, bar maid, guard), often on a casual basis (construction labour), small business owners (kiosk owner, newspaper seller) and other income-generating activities. Discrimination, especially along ethnic lines, exists, with most ethnic groups living in (sub) communities of their own ethnic background. Clashes between ethnic groups have been experienced. Informal settlements are not a major source of urban unrest, although they constitute areas with a higher concentration of crime, violence and victimization.

2.4.1 Rationale for Relocation and Resettlement.

The concept of relocation and resettlement is not new. Resettlement programs have been going on all over the world. Some early examples of resettlement programs include:

- a) in the U.S.A the Resettlement Administration (RA) in the 1930's, was formed to relocate struggling urban and rural families to communities planned by the federal government. Although the Resettlement Administration worked with nearly 200 communities, the most lasting achievements included three green towns that were completely planned and constructed outside Washington D.C (Greenbelt, Maryland) : Cincinnati, Ohio (Greenhills Ohio) and Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Greendale , Wisconsin).
- b) The Sierra Leone resettlement scheme which was designed to provide a new life for over 400 destitute, mainly black people living in London and was also seen by some as a good way of disposing of a troublesome minority.
- c) Freed black American slaves were resettled in Liberia in 1822 by the American Colonization society. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Resettlement_Administration

Cernea (1999) notes that in Africa there has been planned land settlement in Tanzania, Sudan, Ghana, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia , Egypt and Kenya. For instance :

- As drought and famine have been frequent occurrences in Ethiopia, the government embarked on forced resettlement and villagization in the mid-1980s as part of a national program to combat drought, avert famine, and increase agricultural productivity. Resettlement, the Government's long-term solution to the drought problem, involved the permanent relocation of about 1.5 million people from the drought-prone areas of the north to the south and southwest, where population was relatively sparse and so-called virgin, arable land was plentiful
- The resettlement of residents from the site for the Ndakaini Dam in Kenya, in which residents were offered mainly monetary compensation

for their land and expected to find land elsewhere. Many bought land in the neighboring district, with some moving to Njoro , over 100 Kms away. There was no provision for reconstitution of the residents lives once relocated and many found themselves unwelcome in their new home areas and unable to cope with their new environments e.g agriculture was the main activity at Ndakaini but climate changes meant the relocattees could not farm the crops they were used to.

- The resettlement of people displaced from Mathare Valley in Nairobi to Kayole Resettlement Scheme, where 2,500 plots serviced with sewer and murrum roads (Nairobi City Council, Annual Report 1981, unpublished April,1982)
- In Kenya the pre-independence resettlement of ethnic communities from what became known as the “White Highlands” (in Central and Rift Valley Provinces), was the main drive behind the call for war of independence in the early 1950’s.

Many developing countries policies have been geared towards eviction and relocation of informal settlements. Different approaches have been used in the planning and implementation of this policy. The shift in the justification for undertaking relocation and resettlement has been strongly influenced by changing approaches to housing problems. These changes in housing policies were usually prompted by changes in development thought and strategies. These include:

- The way the urban poor were seen by decision-makers, politicians and planners, usually negatively, with informal settlements being seen as health hazards, eyesores and insecurity hotspots.
- the view that informal settlements residents did not have the right to reside in those areas.
- The settlements sometimes occupied prime land and relocation would free the land for development (usually offers or housing for high income groups)

- Site occupied site required for more “urgent” uses, e.g. improvement and construction of infrastructural facilities.
- Relocation may be linked to legitimization of the government in power, its benefits often linked to the visibility of providing alternative housing. (Evaluation of Relocation Experience, UNCHS (Habitat), 1993)

A major shift in the justification for relocation emerged due to :

1. The unprecedented growth of third world cities made land in central locations increasingly scarce and pushed up land prices. This is the reason why relocations have taken place since 1970's.
2. New insights in urban planning saw housing as part of a more wider urban problem that could not be easily solved by traditional solutions. The socio-economic dimensions discovered and informal settlements recognized as a rational response to housing the poor. Many countries no longer saw them as purely eyesore.
3. Impacts and implications of the large-scale relocations of the 1950's and 1960's could now be seen and the negative impacts noted. Many people had returned to the overcrowded remaining informal settlements.
4. The consideration of the danger to the established order posed by the growing number of resistances to eviction by residents egged on by NGO's and or the press.

Thus since 1970's international organizations offering development assistance begun focusing on informal settlements and their problems. From their own research United Nations and World Bank adopted urban upgrading projects as a priority. This encouraged authorities to seek alternative solutions to evictions. In some cases relocations was abandoned in favour of upgrading or improvement. Relocation was only carried out when it meant a lowering of densities had to be attained. In Ankara Turkey relocation took place only if a settlement was eligible for rehabilitation. In Jakarta, Indonesia, prior to the launch of the Kampung Improvement programme in 1969, the solution of the informal settlement menace had been perceived as eviction or removal to

a bare plot on the periphery of the towns. The new approach was further strengthened by the failure of the site and service schemes which had been earlier seen as the solution to the low-income housing problem. Relocation was thus considered a social responsibility which required state intervention aiming at assistance to the underprivileged groups. Worldwide relocations reached their peak in the 1960's and 1970's.

Parallel to the changing rationale for relocation, a change can be identified in the alternatives to be provided to relocate evictees. Here strong parallels between dominant using policies and government attitudes can be drawn. The first relocation projects were implemented on a massive scale and inline with the 1950's and 1960's urban planning, housing agencies opted for the provision of conventional housing- usually in the form of social housing projects. This resulted in the construction of high-rise, high density rental estates, on "western planning" housing standards , constructed with the wish to obtain visible success. Pumwani and Nyayo Highrise flats in Nairobi fit here. Relocation was also used in some countries to reinforce the development of new towns or satellite towns, usually as instruments of decentralization. Housing programmes in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and the Greater Karachi Resettlement programme are examples. In practice these projects failed, especially as they were neither socially appropriate or affordable. Distances to the inner city's raised transport costs and had few employment opportunities. The involvement of relocatees in the planning and implementation was very limited or non-existent. Cernea (1999) observes that relocation and resettlement has been employed to direct population towards desired areas for instance by investment movements targeted at infrastructure along agricultural frontiers.

As governments slowly moved away from evictions most relocations continued to follow a certain trend- eviction with a forceful presence to forestall resistance. However, it was obvious new solutions had to be found and gradually governments moved away from providing housing, providing core units in site and service schemes and taking up a limited role as a supporter and facilitator of self-help initiatives by

providing basic infrastructure, access to land and credit. Relocatees were expected to act in accordance with their own needs, synchronizing investment in buildings and community facilities with the rhythm of social and economic change. It was recognized that social and economic repercussions of relocation required attention. Now employment opportunities were required especially if the site was far from the former location. Thus relocation was to be carried out in the view point that relocation should only take place within the site or close by. This is the new principle that guided the solutions of land-sharing between squatters and landowners, due to successful resistance of affected communities.

2.4.2. The World Bank Relocation and Resettlement Policy.

Involuntary Resettlement Operational Policy (OP) 4.12

In recognition of the negative impacts of relocation seen in the 1980's, the World Bank (referred to as the Bank) set up a policy that went beyond mere cash compensation for dislocated people. It aimed at raising international consciousness concerning the negative effects of relocation and insisted on more rigorous planning, monitoring and follow-up of resettlement for bank funded projects. The first principle of the Bank's resettlement policy is to avoid resettlement, if feasible, or to minimize it. An explicit social policy has been formulated requiring all Bank financed projects to aim at restoring the income and livelihood of affected people and, if feasible, improving them. This policy requires minimizing displacement whenever possible and establishes safeguards and entitlements for people who are displaced. The policy notes that the major risk involved in population displacement is the impoverishment of the people, and depending on how the relocation and resettlement is handled, it can result in the worsening of the people's situation. Most people in the informal settlements are already affected by poverty and working to overcome it and improve their incomes, health and sanitation. Through carelessness, heavy-handedness and faulty resource allocation, resettlement and relocation can turn out to be a weapon that aggravates rather than alleviates poverty.

A model – the “The Improvishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRR)” (Cernea, 1999, World Bank 4004) has been developed highlighting the main interlinked risks through which improvishment may occur. They include:

- Landlessness- Loss of land by affected population, especially in agricultural areas can lead to lasting improvishment.
 - Joblessness- This affects many of the affected people and creating new employment opportunities is one of the greater challenges.
 - Homelessness- The loss of house is one aspect, but also disrupts families, neighborhoods, relationships that are important in restoration of living standards.
 - Marginalization- (social, economic and political) .The loss of economic power and social status pushes families closer to the poverty line and beneath it, and results in social marginalization.
 - Food insecurity- Diminished self sufficiency and disrupted food production and supply can cause or exacerbate food insecurity.
 - Loss of access to commons- The community rely on common property- forests, pasture, water bodies, fuel wood sources, which are often lost or displaced.
 - Increased morbidity and mortality- Communities are exposed to new or more intensive sources of illness or debilitation or may deprive them of access to health facilities.
 - Social disarticulation- Social capital can be lost through dismantling of community level networks and associations, kinships or mutual arrangements.
- (Cernea, 1999)

Not all these processes occur in a single displacement, nor affect an individual family at once. However, together they characterize the failed relocation and resettlement efforts, and this model can therefore be used as a tool for improving planning in the future and a synthesis of past adverse experiences, warning of the risks and pitfalls that must be avoided or mitigated by every means available. Cernea (1999) notes that the responsibility for affecting adequate resettlement lies

with the agency that initiates it. The Bank's policy, OP 4.12 Paragraph 1 and 18, notes the importance of the institutional arrangements and organizational framework in place for relocation and resettlement, stating the need for resettlement plans to include an analysis of the same. The Institutional arrangements should outline the responsibilities for each actor and any other actor that may have a role to play, their institutional capacities and what is needed to increase these capacities. The organizational framework is expected to identify agencies responsible for delivery of resettlement measures and provision of services, arrangements for coordination between agencies and their jurisdictions, in implementation and the provisions for the transfer to the local authorities or resettlers the management of the resettlement site upon completion of the project (World Bank, 2004).

Some of the causes for project failures have been identified as :

1. Planning objectives that centre on removing people from the site and only marginally addresses the issues related to relocation and resettlement.
2. Poor estimation of the population to be relocated and resettled, sometimes deliberately, and other times due to poor ground measurements leading to inadequate provision. Feasibility studies carried out on the Kiambere Reservoir on the Tana River in Kenya, showed that fewer than 1,000 people would be affected by the dam project. When the project started three years later, more accurate studies showed that more than 6,000 people would be displaced (Mburugu,1998)
3. Government agencies tend to prepare resettlement components hurriedly and superficially.
4. Re-establishment components are underfinanced.
5. Little effort is made to understand the productive capacities and incomes of those being displaced resulting in continued impoverishment.
6. State resettlement agencies often lack explicit policies, norms and guidelines for resettling people productively, and focus primarily on extradition. Without clearly stated goals and procedures, planning fails.

7. Those resettled and hosts are not informed and consulted in time. Their organizations are not invited to join in planning, negotiating and reconstruction.
8. Development (or local) agencies charged with managing resettlement lack the staff and skills and adequate organization capacity.
9. "Second generation" effects from the resettlement are not anticipated by the preparation and feasibility studies, and those affecting the host populations.

The Bank's policy underscores the importance of explicit resettlement planning in which relocation and resettlement can be approached as an opportunity to develop and improve living standards, as well as triggering economic development and mobilizing resources for the good of the relocates and the host communities, or as a mechanism to get people out of the way. These different approaches affect the conceptualization, design and plans, financing and implementation of resettlement and relocation programs. Resettlement and relocation failures stem as much from technical ignorance as from political indifference or lack of political will. Despite lessons learnt, involuntary resettlement planning and practice remains unsatisfactory. Cernea (1999) observes that most African countries lack explicit policies and legal frameworks that compel relevant state agencies to effectively address issues of livelihood restoration and productive re-establishment of those displaced. Compensation is usually limited to payment for land taken with little obligation to restore peoples economic well-being and capacities. Plans focus on narrow mitigation measures, overlooking opportunities to improve local incomes and living standards, and without meaningful consultation with the affected communities who are expected to undergo behavioral change necessary for the success of the project. Project planners do not recognize all adverse impacts, or recognize them late, when mitigation is difficult and resettlement plans become inappropriate, ineffective or obsolete because of changing conditions and unanticipated problems requiring innovation in resettlement methods and strategies, in the project area..

Thus before the World Bank will agree to appraise and approve a project loan, a well prepared resettlement plan based on timetables for carrying out activities, clear specification of who is expected to implement them and a comprehensive budget that

finances each activity and indicates the source of the money are required. The Bank also recommends that developing countries adopt policies and legal frameworks, commensurate with their circumstances, which will regulate satisfactorily haphazard resettlement practices. The Resettlement plan must include activities that prepare affected persons for transfer (including informing them of their rights), while preparing the receiving sites for the resettlers arrival and occupation. Provision must be made as to how the resettlers are transported to the new site and help them integrate into the new communities. Payment of compensation should be prompt and in full , with special attention being paid to vulnerable groups e.g. ethnic minorities, women, children, the landless. Consideration should also be paid to cultural preferences and practices, patterns of communication and social organization (World Bank, 2004) . Cernea (1999) observes that the resettlement process should be an enabling process that eventually leaves the resettlers in control of their situation in a new environment.

Recurring lessons from World Bank projects show that:

1. Systematic resettlement planning is important and should involve more than identification of potentially adverse impacts. It requires the management and coordination of activities by different agencies and the establishment of clear lines of responsibility and laying of contingency arrangements.
2. The key to effective planning is an early start, with information required for planning obtained early to enable estimation of impacts and tentative mitigation measure being put in place. However projects must be designed to allow for flexibility and use of alternative measures.
3. Resettlement planning should be tailored to fit the situation. Large scale plans are not suitable for small scale projects.
4. Effective planning recognizes the need to inform the affected communities about the project, its impact and the resettlement opportunities, to encourage them participate in formulation and choice of resettlement options actively. This elicits positive responses from the community increasing the likelihood of their

- adapting to their changed circumstances and reduces the likelihood of resistance and delays in implementation.
5. Plans should be conceived as development opportunities rather than for compensation for lost assets. For instance the restoration of obsolete or inadequate infrastructure is pointless, when resettlement creates an opportunity to improve or modernize, to meet current and future needs.
 6. Resettlement plans should be flexible and not seen as blueprints, unable to accommodate and adjust to changing circumstances. This is especially important as these plans are usually implemented over several years. Supervision of the projects should identify the need to make changes.
 7. Monitoring and supervision of the project should continue even after completion to take care of impacts as resettlement outcomes generally take longer to achieve, than completion. Outstanding resettlement issues should be documented at project completion and worked out.
 8. Plans should include mechanisms for grievance/dispute resolution and an adequately phased program to devolve responsibility, including budgetary concerns, at handover. (World Bank, 2004).

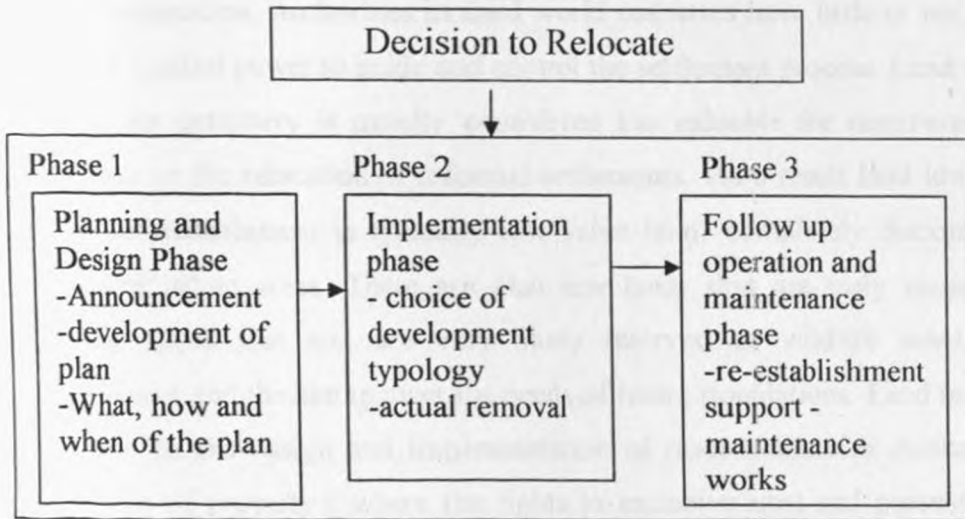
Despite these recommendations in many countries physical considerations have continued to dominate the planning and execution of relocation, with residents having little participation. More recent approaches have seen the involvement of Community Based Organizations, N.G.O's in providing assistance to the relocation communities, either on the communities request or the responsible authority.

2.5. The Management of Relocation and Resettlement Process.

Management is mainly concerned with decision-making and the implementation of those decisions. Like the physical planning process it involves the selection of goals and the planning, procurement, organization, co-ordination and control of the necessary resources for their achievement (Stapleton,1994).It is motivated by the need to economize on resources and time in achieving predetermined objectives and can be seen

as converting policy into action. Leading questions that may be asked of management include “ what Policy?” “What action and by whom?” and “ is it the right action?”. The Management aspects of the relocation process are mainly concerned with the institutional arrangements for the planning and design of relocation programmes and their implementation. It begins with the decision to relocate, followed by the planning and design phase, the implementation phase and the follow up operation and maintenance phase. The process is depicted in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Schematic Diagram of the Management of Relocation and Resettlement Process.



Source: Adopted from Evaluation of Relocation Experience, UNCHS (1991).

It should be borne in mind that the basic needs of the populations to be relocated and resettled are work or the means of eking a livelihood, somewhere to live and the provision of infrastructure and services. The extent or scale on which these needs are met will depend on the available resources and time.

2.5.1 The Decision to Relocate

This forms the first step in the relocation exercise and the context in which the decision is made impacts greatly on the process itself. For example if the decision is taken by government or the private sector. In most instances the relocation of informal settlements is left to Governments and where the private sector initiates the relocation, there is still a strong government involvement. The reasons given for relocation may vary from life threatening circumstances that may arise from floods, fires, and other natural and manmade disasters, to the need for development, especially where land is privately owned.

Once the decision to relocate has been made the next major problem is locating a suitable site for relocation. Authorities in third world countries have little or no public land to offer and limited power to guide and control the settlement process. Land within the immediate city periphery is usually considered too valuable for resettlement of displaced persons or for relocation of informal settlements. As a result land identified by authorities for resettlement is typically low value land, completely disconnected from the existing urban areas. There are also few lands that are truly vacant and unoccupied and those that are, are very likely reserved as wildlife sanctuaries, biodiversity reserves and the like to meet the needs of future populations. Land tenure is a major problem in the design and implementation of resettlements in Africa, with private ownership of property (where the rights to exclusive use) and possession of property (occupation with right to use), as private land needs to be acquired and this increases costs and may cause delays as sales are negotiated. In Africa most of the land is legally owned by government, making it simpler to allocate public land for projects, without having to address the needs of current occupants or people with traditional rights.

For instance in Somalia in the wake of civil war, peripheral lands were grabbed, reserved and sometimes even registered for miles outside the urban fabric. Sites initially identified for resettlement in Garowe and Basasso for instance, were located 4km and 11km away from town. Further complicating the situation in Basasso was the frequent

changing of earmarked resettlement sites, as the political power balance shifted among different local clans and sub-clans. The use of isolated sites for the relocation of displaced persons, as generally offered by the authorities, is unsuitable for both the affected communities and the urban areas as a whole. In the case of Burao (Garowe), for example, less than 25% of the community that was resettled 4 km out of town still resides on the land that was given to them in 2002 (4 years ago). All the others have returned to town. In Basasso, the authorities original intention to resettle all displaced communities (some 20,000 people) in a remote location 11 km out of town, was actually setting the stage for the creation of a slum. Such physical and social isolation deprives families of access to livelihoods and basic assistance from the better off urban neighbors. Travel is expensive and an unproductive use of time, risking further disintegration of the family (UNCHS (Habitat), 2006).

In Asia the resettlement of people living along the Railway line in Bombay has been hailed as a success, as this was a voluntary relocation, made by the squatters themselves. The local Municipal Council provided land for resettlement and the squatters, through the use of cooperative saving schemes, were able to raise the funding required to facilitate relocation including construction of housing.

Cernea (1999) observes that the amount of land available and suitable for housing development is limited and may be decreasing as a result of environmental degradation. The growing concern for environmental sustainability dictates that the consequences of population displacement be adequately considered in projects design and that projects include plans to mitigate the negative environmental effects associated with resettlement. The consequences include increased stress on wood fuel supplies, increased health problems when there is not adequate supplies of water and sanitation, agricultural production patterns must be harmonized with those of the host population and the carrying capacity of the physical environment. Thus even as sites are considered for relocation feasibility studies need to be carried out to assess the suitability of the sites before any detailed plans are drawn (Falloux, 1993). When planning for the

economic needs and social and physical infrastructural the needs of the resettled population, to avoid conflict, provision must be made for the host population.

2.5.2 Phase 1- The Planning and Design Stage

Once the decision to relocate has been taken it becomes necessary to plan the modalities for the physical relocation and resettlement. This entails having the project introduced to the community and developing a detailed plan, where the different components of the project are determined and the responsibilities of each actor in the process is assigned. This is referred to as the Relocation Action Plan (RAP). In majority of projects when informal settlements are being relocated, the public sector, usually the government, is the lead actors. In instances when decisions to relocate are politically instigated and there is insistence on everything being done quickly, it may not be possible to involve all actors and is a recipe for disaster.

The planning process goes through various stages starting with the introduction of the project to the affected community, then the participatory development of the Relocation Action Plan, detailing all aspects of the relocation and resettlement, while providing a timeframe for the entire project.

2.5.3 Announcement and Introduction of the project.

Prior to the formal announcement by the lead actor of the project to the community, they would have already heard of it through informal channels. In very rare cases are the community involved in the decision to undertake the relocation and resettlement. In some cases the community are not involved until the relocation plan has been formally finalized and they are presented with a *fait accompli*. The disclosure of the basic information increases the likelihood of success and decreases the problems associated with misinformation, which generates uncertainty, distrust (mistrust) and hostility. Thus the initial disclosure campaign

should describe and justify the project, while explaining why resettlement is necessary and giving preliminary assessment of its implied impacts and the principals under which the program is designed, the anticipated procedures for assessing compensation and a tentative timetable for relocation (World Bank 2004). The announcement of the relocation decision has been carried out in various ways. In Kenya the first inkling that there was plans to relocate the community was first communicated through the press to the people of Kibera, through a ministerial announcement of the KENSUP programme. Information has also been passed through giving of notices of the intention to relocate the community. These notices usually do not provide adequate information and cause unnecessary worry and stress to the relocatees. Other more positive ways of informing the community include one-to-one discussions with the community members, where questions can be raised and answered. In some cases community leaders have been used to communicate the decision. In some cases this has proven ineffective especially when the community leaders themselves do not understand the process or the reasons behind the decision. NGO's, CBO's and RBO's have played an important role in communicating decisions to the communities. It is however important that for the community to be resettled to accept the proposals and have a feeling of being in control, they should be fully informed of the resettlement procedures and participate fully in all decisions, with their views being sought, especially as concerns compensation, and requested to provide any other areas that may be addressed. This may necessitate in-house consultations among the relocates, especially as regards choice of or acceptance of the resettlement site.

Once the decision has been properly communicated to the community and accepted, they can then participate in the development of the plan.

2.5.4. Development of the Relocation and Resettlement Plan.

The relocation and resettlement plan is the outcome of the decision-making process, and depends on the different actors, their bargaining power and the model adopted.

3 models have been identified which may be participatory or non-participatory:

- A non-participatory model with the government as leading actor:
The affected community does not participate in development of the plan. The community may, with the help of NGO's be able to negotiate but the level of influence will depend on their bargaining power. Relocation projects that used this model include the Lagos Slum Clearance Scheme, Nigeria of 1955. Although this model is not encouraged, it is still in use as in the relocation programme in Bangalore, India. The effect of non-participation as noted in the Lagos Slum Clearance Scheme was resistance towards the relocation by the community.
- A participatory model with the government as leading actor:
Here the affected community is involved in the development of the relocation plan, with their contributions being taken into consideration. In most cases the community's participation is through the help of an NGO and their influence depending on their bargaining power. However, the level of participation has in many instances, been limited to consultative/informative meetings, with little involvement in the planning and design issues of the plan.
- A participatory model with an NGO/CBO as the leading actor.
In this model the NGO/CBO takes the lead role in the planning and design of the relocation plan and in conjunction with the community develop a plan. A review of documented cases shows that this model provides a better guarantee for the development of relocation projects in accordance with the needs and priorities of the people affected.

Table 2.3 provides an outline of a participatory project cycle, detailing the different decision making levels, participators and the activities to be carried out.

Table 2.3 The Participatory Project Cycle

Project Activity	Steps
1. Identification	1. Identification of stakeholders and stakeholder analysis
2. Preparation of Concept Paper	2. Preliminary dissemination of information and consultation 3. Gathering of information by census and socio-economic survey 4. Dissemination of information- socio economic survey, options, entitlements and consultations with the community, their representatives, NGO's, and the participation in decision making regarding resettlement sites and income restoration options.
3. Pre-appraisal	5. Preparation of the resettlement Plan (exploration of the site and income restoration options
4. Appraisal	6. Finalization of Resettlement Plan, dissemination of information
5. Implementation	7. Participation in Committees, delivery of assistance, monetary issues.
6. Completion	8. Participation in evaluation.

Source: Adapted from Involuntary Resettlement Source Book, World Bank, 2004.

2.5.5. The Elements of the Plan.

The development of a Relocation Action Plan (RAP) consists of a series of decisions on planning and design options, on a time schedule for the different activities to be undertaken and on the final distribution of the tasks. An enumeration survey, to ascertain the relocatees living in the informal settlement, and to enable the planners understand the quantum of people to be involved in the relocation for planning purposes, is carried out first. Issues that may be included in the planning and design phase include:

- Eligibility criteria of the relocatees, detailed census and socio economic survey.
- Arrangements for the transfer of the project affected persons (PAPs).

- Arrangements for temporary housing (a decanting site), if any.
- The choice of and location of the resettlement site
- The plot sizes and site layout e.g. nucleated, linear or a combination
- The type of housing options provided in the resettlement and assistance to managing construction of replacement housing
- The prevailing building regulation
- The type and level of infrastructure service (both social and physical)
- Compensation arrangements or other forms of assistance e.g. transport subsidies, support in construction of a dwelling unit
- The socio-economic support components e.g. Small scale income generating projects, ensuring neighbours relocate to one place, keeping family members together, provide information and inputs on livelihood activities and transitional support e.g. Food support, transport .
- Cost recovery – who will fund the project and what if any costs are to be recovered from the relocatees
- Operation and maintenance of the new site once resettlement has occurred

The relocation process requires that the different activities to be undertaken are phased with a proper estimation of the time involved in the performance of the various activities. A relocation activity chart similar to that in Table 2.4 may be used to assist in monitoring the implementation of the project.

Relocation projects vary in scale and comprehensiveness depending on the relocation and resettlement decision. They may affect the entire informal settlement or aim at the relocation and resettlement of a section only. The comprehensiveness of the project is dependant on the approach taken by the leading actors and the influence of the community. A comprehensive plan will consider the socio-economic aspects of the relocation and mitigate the negative impacts of the relocation for instance the removal of people from their original habitat and the difficulties faced by relocatees as they re-establish themselves.

Table 2.4 Sample of Relocation Activities Chart

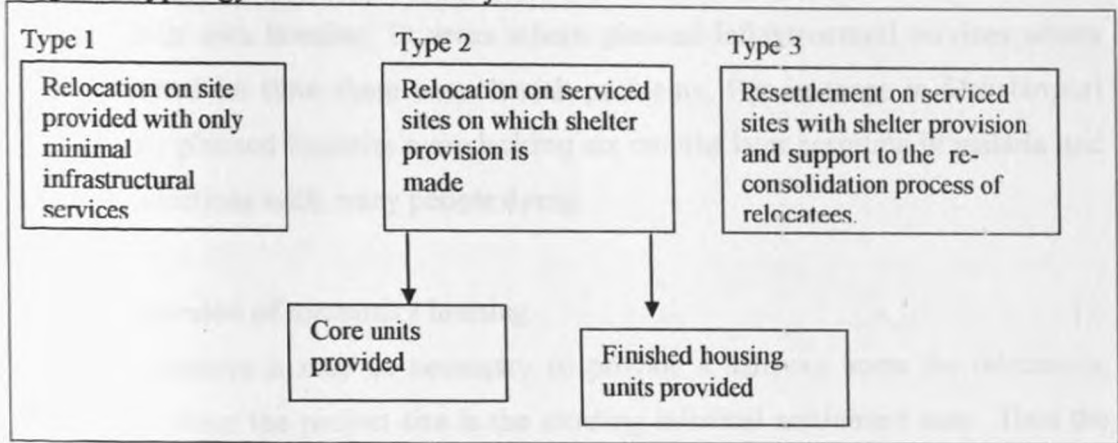
No.	Time	Goal	Activity	Resources	Actors
1	3-4 weeks	Introduction of Relocation and Resettlement idea to the community	Consultative meetings with community- 2 meetings per week 4 main and 4 with community leaders	Ksh.20,000	Lead Actor, Ngo
2	3 weeks	Enumeration of affected community and verification of the lists produced	Deciding on the Eligibility criteria, date of enumeration, Physical enumeration of residents and notation of housing conditions, posting list of enumerated relocates for verification, inviting the residents to scrutinize the lists and verify them, providing complaint forms, compile register of those enumerated and summarize complaints	Ksh. 500000	Lead Actor, Community leaders, Consultant
3	4 weeks	Physical Mapping of the Informal Settlement	Digitizing and updating of Maps of the area	Ksh. 200000	Lead Actor, Community, Ministry of Lands personnel
4	4 weeks	Social Mapping	Survey of social and economic structure of the community	Ksh. 100000	Lead Actor, Consultant, Community leaders

Source: Adapted from the Relocation Action Plan for improving safety along the Railway Line, 2005

Many relocation and resettlement projects are merely concerned with the removal of the informal settlement with little attention being paid to the inclusion within the plan of components aimed at assisting the relocates in their re-establishment. A variety of possible relocation and resettlement projects plans exist and most documented case studies provide 3 typologies as shown in Fig 2.2; where relocation benefits include a site only, or a serviced site with shelter or a serviced site with shelter and support for re-establishment. Although provision of housing is an attractive proposition, unless the houses are of suitable design and have sufficient number of rooms, they will not achieve the main purpose of accommodating the resettled people. Butcher (1966) notes that the prime purpose of a house is to provide shelter, adequate protection from the elements, intruders and wild animals, keep residents warm or cool and dry, while keeping safe

immovable possessions. It must also provide privacy and protection from public view for bathing and defecating. The design of the house must also take account of cultural practices and beliefs.

Fig. 2.2 Typology of Relocation Projects



Source: Adapted from Evaluation of Relocation Experience, UNCHS (Habitat) 1991.

2.6. Phase 2 – The Implementation Phase.

Once the RAP has been accepted by all parties the implementation of the relocation exercise can commence. Projects requiring resettlement are often implemented without compliance to clear procedure. This leads to forced eviction by local authorities without compensation or appropriate support to the evicted people. The affected people became poorer and poorer due to the fact that their compensation was not equivalent to the land and housing they lost. In addition they had to spend a lot of money for resettlement and other basic expenses such as transportation, traveling and other conciliatory expenses for public services.

The main issue in the implementation phase is the coordination of all the activities involved with the removal of the community and their resettlement. The activities include:

- Development of the resettlement area

This involves the preparation of the resettlement site depending on the project-whether housing and serviced plots are provided, and the physical conditions of the proposed site. It is imperative that the developments are completed ahead of any physical movement to the new site by the relocates otherwise it causes unnecessary hardships. This is especially true for those schemes where the relocates are expected to build their own housing. In areas where planned infrastructural services were not completed on time there were health problems. For instance in Dakshinpuri where basic planned facilities were lacking six months later resulting in malaria and stomach infections with many people dying.

- The provision of temporary housing

In some instances it may be necessary to provide a halfway home for relocatees, especially where the project site is the existing informal settlement site. Thus the community is shifted elsewhere before moving to the designated site. This can cause feelings of insecurity and affect the livelihoods of the community. People are not willing to invest for example in agricultural production, when they expect to move before long. Cases exist where the temporary housing has become the place of permanent settlement, either due to poor planning of the project, lack of funding to complete the project or the plan being too ambitious.

- Compensation arrangements, assessment of those entitled to compensation and the payment of compensation.

To assist the community to relocate and make up for the disadvantages and problems caused by the move, compensation has been paid in some instances. The arrangements made for compensation, whether in kind or monetary, largely depends on the concern for the people affected and their legal standing. Different arrangements exist including financial arrangements to cover the investment made in the house/land which has to be left behind, compensation for problems caused by resettling in a new place .e.g. transport subsidies to cover increased cost of transportation., arrangements to compensate for the loss of income due to the relocation. Compensation and other resettlement costs should be linked to an

acceptable local price index, with costs revised bi-annually to reflect changes in the economy. Realistic assessments of costs and prompt payment of compensation and other entitlements help prevent conflicts and consequential delays in the resettlement project. Many projects do not take account of non-monetary or difficult to quantify costs, like environmental or social costs –e.g the psychological costs of dislocation, cultural assets, and the value of community social capital (World Bank, 2004). The main challenge of compensation is determining who is eligible.

- Identification of those eligible for resettlement

In all relocation and resettlement projects it is imperative to determine *who* the project affected persons are. These are the beneficiaries of the project. Eligibility criteria may be related to the status of tenure arrangements within the legal and regulatory framework, the perception of the informal settlement. This process entails an enumeration exercise, where each correspondent is assessed as to eligibility according to the purpose and spirit of the relocation. Information from detailed census and socio-economic surveys provides the basis for planning of the resettlement.

- The shifting of the affected community

The actual removal of the community requires careful planning especially as in most cases the community is unwilling to move and may need to be forcefully evicted. Cases show that conditions under which communities move differ in terms of the time allotted for the people to prepare for the move and the arrangements for transporting them and their belongings to the new site. Where the relocation process has been participatory and attention paid to the interests of the affected persons, the removal has proved to be less stressful.

- Support in the early stages of resettlement

As noted earlier relocation and resettlement has a negative effect on the lives of the communities being resettled and relocated. It is now accepted practice that it is simply not sufficient to transfer people to a new site and withdraw. The project

requires to have an inbuilt follow-up activity stage where relocatees can benefit from support services as they try and settle in their new environment. The extent of follow-up activities depends on the comprehensiveness of the project plan and the resources allocated. 3 basic models have been noted:

- Projects with no follow-up activities
- Projects where these activities are not an integral part of the project but are undertaken by NGO's or other organizations.
- Projects where the follow-up activities are planned and implemented, either by the project agency or delegated to NGO's or other organizations. These activities may include offers for training, seed capital, credit or other agreed entitlements (World Bank, 2004)

2.6.1. Post Resettlement Assistance.

Once residents have been relocated, it is the practice to have a follow-up, to ensure the success of the project or note any challenges that may need to be corrected. Follow-up activities may be part of the main project plan and implemented by a designated stakeholder like the agency managing the relocation or an NGO. Follow up activities usually aim at providing support and assistance to the beneficiaries to facilitate re-establishment in the new environment, without which there would be a negative impact on the relocatees. Thus the post transfer phase of the project provides a major source of concern and dissatisfaction. Studies carried out in Rio de Janeiro indicate on arrival on the new site officials seemed to lose interest in the residents and there was a general feeling of discontent. Thus it is important that mechanisms for redress of grievances be an integral part of the RAP. The absence of grievances may be a strong indication of the inadequacy of the grievance solving mechanism (World Bank, 2004). The quality of the follow up will depend on the comprehensiveness of the project and the resources available.

The type of support afforded may include financial – offering soft loan facilities to facilitate construction of new housing or start a new business, technical for instance

provision of building materials, construction of infrastructure on site like roads, public schools, health centers or social support for instance child care facilities.

2.7. Institutional and Legal Arrangements for Relocation.

The institutional arrangements for the planning and implementation of any project are an essential element to the successful administration of the project. Indeed the effectiveness of an institution is directly proportional to the effectiveness of its institutional arrangements. These are the ways in which institutions organize themselves to carry out their duties and refer to the organizational units involved such as government ministries, agencies and committees, to the responsibilities and authorities of the different units and the relationship between them, especially the flow of authorities and responsibilities (Falloux, 1993). The appropriate political backing that ensures the cooperation of other national and local agencies in the provision of utilities and other components of the project and assists in overcoming prejudices, is also a prerequisite of success (Davidson, 1986).

The management of the relocation process is dependant on the institutional arrangements for the planning and design and implementation of programmes and with the actors involved, their roles and responsibilities. These roles and responsibilities are related to:

- scope of the relocation programme
- the structure of the project agency and its decision-making mechanism
- the implementation model adopted and
- the arrangements for mobilizing resources needed.

The main actors in most relocation are usually the public sector and the concerned communities. Others include NGO's, international development agencies and the private sector. The roles of each agency may vary, even within the different phases of the project.

The Public sector usually have the leading role, as it is their responsibility to plan and design relocation projects and manage their execution, even if the impetus to relocate may have originated from the private sector. These agencies may be Ad-hoc project teams appointed by Government, special boards or housing agencies like Ministry of Housing or National Housing Corporation. Due to the increasing awareness that relocation is likely to be a continuing activity housing agencies normally would take the lead. In Kenya regulatory bodies involved in relocation and resettlement include the Ministry of Lands and Settlement, where the Department of settlement is mandated to resettle land less Kenyans. The Department of Physical Planning in charge of settlement planning, while the Chief Valuer provides the values for the lands earmarked for resettlement especially when the government has to acquire the same. The Deputy Director Land Adjudication and Settlement (Squatter issues) deals with resettlement and squatter issues. The Provincial administration has been, in many instances, involved in the resettlement and eviction issues. They provide practical experience of relocation and resettlement. The Ministry of Local Government through the local authorities like Nairobi City Council, who were in the forefront of the resettlement of the people in Huruma. Falloux (1993) observes that governments are usually organized along vertical sectoral lines, while many issues they deal with, for instance resettlement and environmental issues are horizontally cross-cutting in all sectors of government. Thus the existing vertical sectoral institutional framework is unable to provide the necessary intersectoral policy-making, integration and coordination required calling for a new more integrated institutional order, at the start of the relocation and resettlement planning stage.

Davidson (1986) notes that experience with upgrading and site and service schemes has shown that the type of organization put in place is expected to be innovative in nature, and this calls for the creation of a new administrative unit, with specific responsibility for the programmes. This is because existing agencies, like Housing Ministries or Departments, usually do not have the legal powers to act as an effective development agency, apart from which they often hold fixed views based

on long term involvement in conventional housing schemes and find it difficult to embrace change and innovation or develop more innovative approaches to problem solving. It was on this basis that the Housing Development Department of the Nairobi City Council was set up, to deal specifically with housing projects- which were the site and service schemes at the time. Today they are charged with resettlement of the informal settlements.

The recognition of the role the affected community can play, in the organizational setup, can help reduce the involvement of the public bodies and also reduce costs as the communities organize themselves to provide housing best suited to their particular needs and resources. The communities affected by relocation are usually not uniform, differences arise from socio-economic characteristics, tenure, degree and level of social organization and their location and history. The roles of the community in relocation vary ranging from marginal to deep involvement. This is affected by the way the relocation decision was made and the attitude of the public agency overseeing the relocation's towards participatory management. Also the character of the community and its access to support form NGO's, who usually encourage the community to make demands. However, communities are not leading actors in the design and preparation stages, although there has been cases as in India's pavement dwellers, when the community started the relocation process and executed it. In Kenya informal settlements have committees of elders and committees appointed by the provincial administration, to oversee the issues of governance in the community. This is an effort to involve the community in leadership and decision-making. The committees mandate is usually limited to security, welfare or settling of disputes in their respective communities. Although these committees have no mandate to coordinate implementation of projects, they have a strong influence on what the community does (ROK, MoLG/GTZ, 2004) .

Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's) are usually involved in relocation as intermediaries, geared towards the interests of the communities affected. They may be involved on their own initiative or by invitation from either the community or the

public agency. What the NGO does depends on the stage of the relocation process and include:

- Activities aimed at community development
- Assistance to communities in communicating with the public agency at different times during the process.
- Help to obtain political support.
- Providing support to facilitate communities reestablish themselves in the resettlement area.
- Coordination of the relocation process.

The different levels of involvement may be carried out at the same time. It has been noted that NGO assistance is crucial to the re-establishment of the community, especially when there is insufficient government support in the reconsolidation process.

The private sector's main role in relocation involves providing consultation services for the designs or more recently providing community support or to construct the construction activities. In the role of the landowner, the private sector has a more direct role e.g. in land sharing arrangements.

International development agencies usually provide a combination of financial and professional support in planning and implementation. The impact of the participation is seen in the conditions imposed on the relocation. For example the World bank policy stipulate that all relocation programmes must be development programmes as well and measures taken to improve the conditions of those relocated and prevent them from becoming impoverished or destitute.

Finally the institutional arrangements in place should be flexible enough to allow for adaptability to change, as during the process of implementation, the need for changes in the institutional setup may be required maybe in response to the resettlers themselves or from obvious growing administrative or competency problems in the existing organizational setup. The organization and staffing levels

should be determined in relation with the scope of activities and the size of the project, while endeavoring to keep administrative costs at a minimum, as these costs are often passed on the households indirectly. Thus whatever institutional framework is employed it must have an executive function, with adequate independence from other authorities and powers that include the right to buy, sale or lease land; borrow funds; lend on mortgage; design, build, supervise all building works; enter into contracts and have the capacity to sue and be sued; engage all necessary, technical, managerial or operation staff and be responsible for its own operations.

The process of relocation and resettlement requires constant reference to several laws. The legal and regulatory framework refers not only to the existing laws that deal with the control of land, land use and development but also on the implementation of these laws and regulations. In Kenya these are outlined in Table 2.5 below.

Financial Institutional Framework.

The main purpose of the relocation and resettlement programme is to better the lives of the residents. The success of this depends on the financing and costing of the project and while the lead actor bears most of the cost, the other actors also bear some of the costs. Basically there are four main items of cost that have to be catered for: land, infrastructure including economic development programmes, the house and the cost of finance. Land is usually the most expensive item and where land needs to be acquired for the project, efforts must be made to ensure values are kept low. Resettlement in urban areas is often expensive because the public infrastructure must be built, rehabilitated or upgraded, in an area where people are living and working. Thus even projects requiring little land generate fairly large displacements (World Bank, 2004). Other costs, which are sometimes overlooked, will include legal and survey fees and any associated administrative costs. UNCHS (Habitat)(1991) notes that costs include those related to the actual relocation, consisting of the demolition of structures, evacuation costs e.g. hire of moving

Table 2.5 Summary of Relevant Legislation and Regulations

Name of Act	Application	Remarks
Government Lands Act Cap 280	Applies to allocation of and dealings with Government land	Applicable when a project requires government to allocate public land for relocation
The Land Acquisition Act cap 295	Allows for the compulsory acquisition of land for public purposes. Provision for an inquiry, objections and quantum of compensation payable are also provided.	Relocation may require acquisition of private land
The Physical Planning act cap 286 (Act no. 6 of 1996)	Requires that development plans be prepared for every intended development and publication of this intention with the public being invited to comment The Nairobi City Council may need to apply Code 95, providing for lower building standards, that came into effect in 1995	The Council has declared this area a special planning area under the act
The Limitations of Actions Act cap 22	A person who has been in occupation of land in excess of twelve years, whose initial occupation was open and without valid title, and who has remained in uninterrupted possession for twelve years, can acquire title to the land by reason of adverse possession. He must seek a declaration to this effect from the high court.	This however, does not apply to government land.
The Local Government Act, cap 265	Empowers the Councils to buy, lease or sell land, to ask government to compulsorily acquire land for it; to appropriate any land not in use for its intended purpose to be used, with the approval of the minister, for another purpose.	The city council is able to allocate land for relocation purposes
Environmental Management and Coordination Act	Requires that environmental issues be taken into account when a development is being considered. An Environmental impact Assessment is carried out to enable environmental planners ascertain this.	NEMA the body enforced with environmental matters has not been very visible, although it is becoming more so. it requires that projects meet a specified criteria before approval of projects.

Source: Compiled by the Author , 2007.

vehicles, and any compensation. The projects also attracts costs related to operation and maintenance and of preparing the new site including acquisition, improvement, construction of new units and infrastructure and administration costs. Sources of Finance may include loans from central government, bilateral and multilateral agency funds normally lent through central government, locally generated resources, and receipts from resettlers. The financial framework chosen for a project should take account of the residents ability to afford the new houses and the replicability of the project, and the question of providing subsidies in the project or having the residents provide part of the labor to keep costs down. Where loans or mortgages are given to the affected families efforts must be made to recover the same, with flexible arrangements being put in place to accommodate the irregularity of income earned and quantum by the borrowers.

A well planned relocation and resettlement programme can provide benefits to the affected families. These include improved quality housing, better infrastructure and services, security of tenure and a better more hygienic living environment. Where relocation and resettlement are inevitable, a more equitable sharing of costs and benefits between the different parties can be achieved by increasing the resources available for relocation. This can be done by improved planning and implementation through more efficient use of the human resources available, including that provided by the affected families. Other alternative options for relocation like land sharing should be encouraged, where the benefits are reaped by both the affected families and the land owner.

2.7.1 Land Tenure Arrangements.

Land tenure refers to the kind of rights and title in which land is held (Davidson, 1986). They are many forms of land tenure ranging from individual to communal and public, with variations existing with regard to the nature of rights and title. Falloux (1993) observes that land tenure problems have been complex and delicate wherever they have occurred. In Africa today, where demographic explosion,

environmental degradation and monetization of agricultural production has revolutionized traditional systems of land tenure, land holding is at a crossroads making planning a difficult and often hazardous profession. Many countries have no specialized institution that has overall mandate to plan and manage land. In many areas where there is rapid development, land registries are not able to keep up with changes in land tenure and this can cause considerable confusion.

Falloux (1993) further notes that most land tenure systems were created when land was an abundant resource and managed at village level, as a function of the family needs in relation to the workforce, with the first occupants of the vacant land having priority rights on condition they belonged to the community. Land was viewed as sacred, which explains its inalienable character. Table 2.6 presents some of the common land tenure options available today, with some brief notes on their characteristics.

With freehold tenure on agricultural land, restrictions accrue only when it is to be transferred as the approval of the land control boards, under the Land Control Act cap 302, must be sought. The Physical Planning Act of 1996 and Local Authorities byelaws place restrictions to the development of the land. Customary land tenure refers to land held by a tribe or a clan communally. In urban areas it is usually referred to as trust land because the local councils hold such land in trust for the respective tribes. Other subordinate interests in land include Group or communal interests in land under the Indian Transfer of Property Act and the Registered Land Act cap 300 where two or more persons are entitled to an interest in the same piece of land as co-owners. Land Co-operatives, registered under the Co-operatives Societies Act cap 490 of the Laws of Kenya, where the society is registered as the owner of the land and individual members own shares in the society. Land Group Representatives under the Land Adjudication Act cap 284 where a group of people hold an interest in land as tenants in common. Within these categories of land there is government or state land, private or public freehold and trust land. Most land in Nairobi is government land.

Table 2.6 Land Tenure Characteristics

Tenure Category	Characteristics
Private Freehold	The Individual ownership of land in perpetuity. This is the most secure form of tenure and the most likely to encourage households to invest. Market forces therefore encourage displacement of informal settlements from this type of land. It provides limited control to the planning agencies
Leasehold	The individual or collective occupation of land for a specified time. This provides security of tenure, for a limited period and may discourage investment especially if the lease term is short. Where it is not familiar it may be difficult to administer. Long term control of development is retained by the owner, providing more opportunities for control. The land is excluded from the operations of the "free" market forces or at least mitigates its effects. Increase in land values accrue to the owner. Public leasehold provides greater security and thus spurs investment
Co-operative	This is a form of collective ownership in which both title and rights are vested in the co-operative. Individuals possess rights to a share of the land subject to specified terms and conditions. No rights to transfer exist except through the cooperative. This is a secure yet inexpensive way for groups of people to obtain access to land and to encourage investment on it. It allows groups to increase their control over development of the land, and reduce government responsibility and costs. It requires a stable income from the members to prevent default and requires a disciplinary code mutually agreed upon to support management, which takes time to develop
Customary (Traditional)	This may take several forms depending on culture but is particularly common in areas where land is considered to be a group rather than an individual asset. It enables all members of the community to obtain secure access to land irrespective of their income, though on condition that they fulfill specified obligations. It restricts speculative pressure on land. It depends upon a strong social bond between all members of group which is not commonly found in rapidly developing urban areas.
Religious (e.g Islamic)	Characteristics to include waqf (land held by God) Mulk land (similar to freehold) Miri lad (held by state) Tassruf (usufruct).

Source . Adapted from Davidson (1986)

Currently in Kenya tenure can only be granted through individual, joint title or holding by community or society. The Registered Land Act cap 300 allows a maximum of 12 persons to hold land as registered owners, in effect as individuals. For informal settlements these forms of tenure may not be the best options. Through the Small Towns Project the Ministry of Local Government has initiated an alternative form of tenure- the Community Land Trust which has been applied to the Tanzania- Bondeni Informal Settlement in Voi. The Community trust is an American model and on application to Tanzania -Bondeni informal settlement it entailed the formation of a

society registered under the Societies Act (Cap 108) by the residents with members making byelaws regulating the conduct of members and dealings with the societies property ; and the formation of a trust and incorporation of the trust under the Trustees (Perpetual Succession) Act cap 164. The trustee would hold the property on behalf of the members.

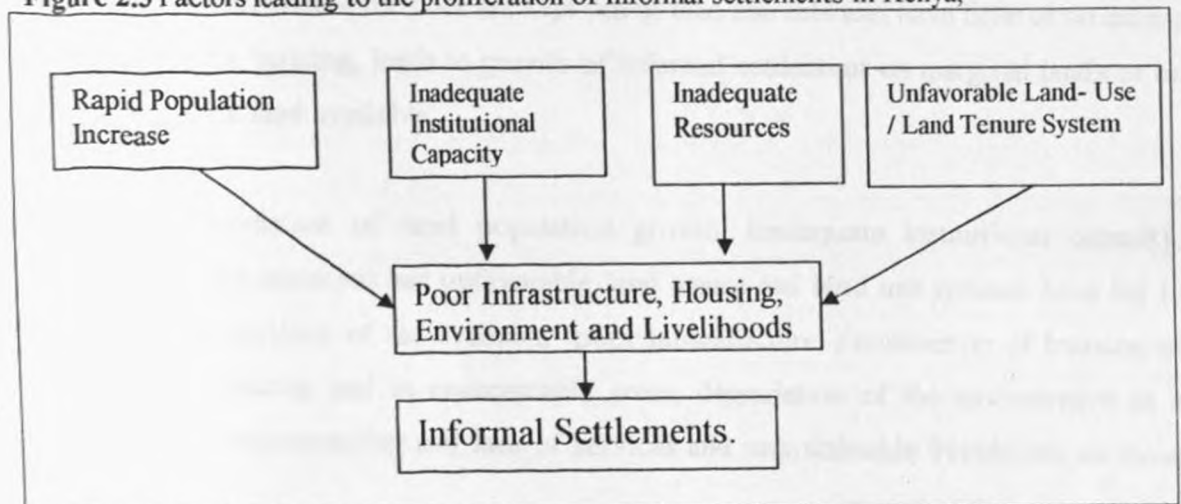
This allows for a legally recognized communal ownership system, registered under existing land laws, but also allows linkage to the Societies act thus maintaining the fundamental basis of the community trust- the collective ownership of land by an identified community is fully recognized by law. The MOU entered in by the Community and the Nairobi City Council has taken this form of land tenure: the Community Land Trust.

2.8. Conceptual Framework.

In view of the literature reviewed to obtain the conceptual framework for this study a problem analysis is made below which has the following components: the factors leading to the proliferation of informal settlements in Kenya, interventions with relocation and resettlement as one, and the process of relocation and resettlement.

1. Factors leading to the proliferation of informal settlements in Kenya,

Figure 2.3 Factors leading to the proliferation of informal settlements in Kenya,



Source: Adapted and revised by Author from various authors – Johansson, UNCHS, etc 2007.

It is important to understand why informal settlements grow as this provides the first indication of how it can be eliminated. Some of the main reasons for the infiltration of informal settlements include rapid population growth in urban areas as a result of rural-urban migration and natural population growth. This leads to a rising need for urban infrastructure and affordable housing. Thus informal settlements are a response to a demand-supply imbalance in the provision of housing both in terms of quality and quantity. Also urbanization trends that result in a stagnating rural area and the urbanization of poverty encourage the movement of people into the urban area thus leading to the proliferation of informal settlements in urban areas.

The administration of urban areas by local government has serious implications on the development and management of human settlements. When the government institutions are unable to cope with the burdens of increased demands for infrastructure and services, and are seriously affected by inadequate funding from central government, poor direction and capacity, the urban area suffers as the grow. Inadequate resources both material and human makes it difficult to cater for the increasing low income earners in the towns leading to growth of informal settlements.

Land is a basic prerequisite for human settlements. The land tenure and land use systems that ensure the poor are kept out of land markets and have little or no access to land for housing, leads to growth of informal settlement on marginal lands or on any vacant land available.

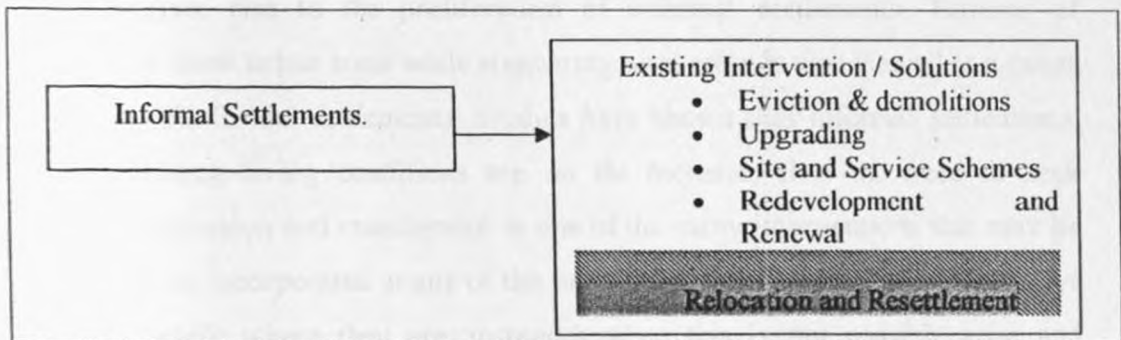
The combination of rapid population growth, inadequate institutional capacity, inadequate resources and unfavorable land tenure and land use systems have led to the disintegration of the available poor infrastructure, construction of housing of lower standards and in unacceptable areas, degradation of the environment as a result of overcrowding and lack of services and unsustainable livelihoods as those

coming into the urban areas find that there are few suitable employment opportunities in the formal sector. This leads to the growth of informal settlements.

2. Interventions to the Problem of Informal Settlements.

Several solutions and interventions exist for informal settlements. These include evictions and demolition, slum upgrading, site and service schemes, redevelopment and renewal. Relocation and Resettlement is one of these interventions. Most of the interventions include an element of relocation with the necessity of having those relocated resettled. The process of relocating the informal residents is the determinant of how successful the relocation and resettlement exercise will be.

Figure 2. 4 Interventions to the Problem of Informal Settlements.

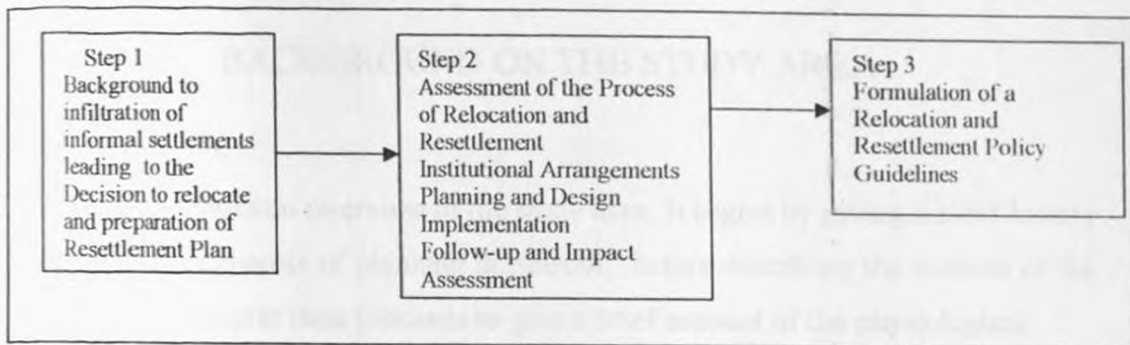


Source: Adapted and revised by Author from various authors –World Bank, UNCHS, 2007.

3. Process of Relocation and Resettlement

The process of relocation and resettlement involves a series of well thought out actions whose aim is to ensure that the residents being relocated will be better off at the end of the process. These actions are captured in Figure 2.5, which upon assessment of the process provide the framework under which a relocation and resettlement policy can be drawn up. Thus this study's conceptual framework is as below:

Fig.2.5 Conceptual Framework For Relocation and Resettlement



Source: Compiled by Author from various sources, 2007.

2.9 Summary.

Rapid population growth and its pattern of distribution, especially in many developing countries, are perceived to be significant causes for the demand and supply imbalance in housing, that gives rise to the proliferation of informal settlements. Patterns of urbanization that favor urban areas while stagnating rural areas is also viewed as a cause for the growth of informal settlements. Studies have shown that informal settlements, with their degrading living conditions are on the increase, thus the need to seek interventions. Relocation and resettlement is one of the many interventions that may be employed singly or incorporated in any of the other interventions. Although it is always best to leave people where they are, instances when this is not possible arise and relocation and resettlement is necessary. The manner in which the relocation and resettlement exercises carried out greatly affects the success or failure of the programme.

The next chapter reviews the case study site providing information on the physiographic features of the site and a situation analysis regarding the developments.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND ON THE STUDY AREA.

3.1. Introduction.

This chapter provides an overview of the study area. It begins by giving a short history of Nairobi and a synopsis of planning in Nairobi, before describing the location of the study area. The chapter then proceeds to give a brief account of the physiological characteristics of the study area, infrastructure and services available and characteristics of the population. In most cases, due to the extent of the study area, the statistics obtained refer to Nairobi.

3.2 The Development of Nairobi.

The pattern of settlement formation in Africa was greatly influenced by the colonial masters, who decided where the towns were to be located. Nairobi, for instance, begun as a resting place for European explorers and travelers, with a number of camping sites established at different locations around it. By 1895 a depot had been established at present day Ngara, and the main caravan routes passed through the present sites of Ngara, Pumwani, Quarry road, Kabete and Dagoretti. With the establishment of the railway headquarters, the acquisition of land a 3.2 km radius around the station by the railway authority, and the establishment of the government camp at a site close to the present Nairobi University, the nuclei of growth and development for Nairobi was formed (U.O.N, DURP 1987).

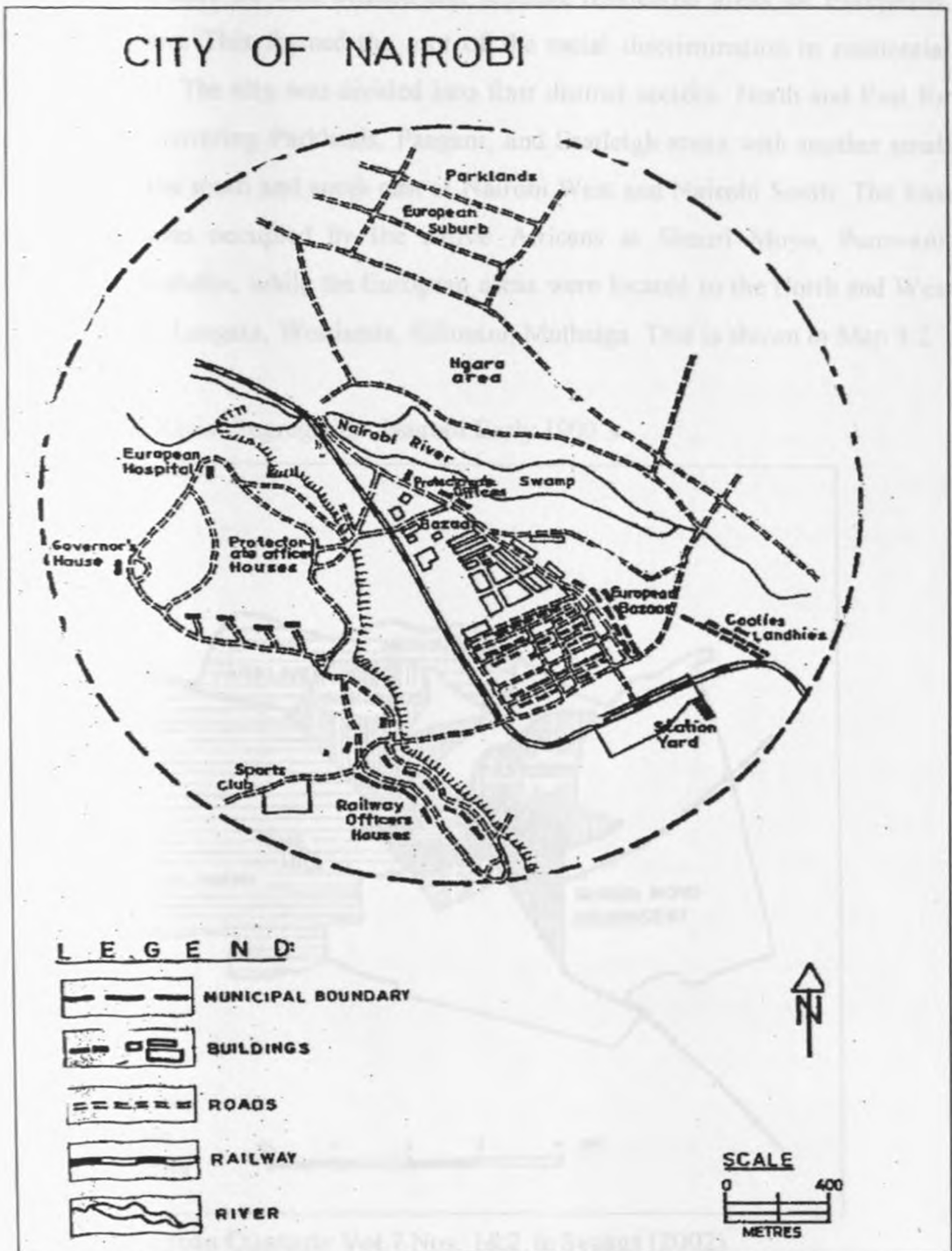
When Nairobi was made a capital in 1905 it had a population of 10,000, and was divided into seven distinct functional zones. These included:

- a) the railway centre
- b) The Indian bazaar (most developed and covering about 2.4 ha)
- c) A European business and administrative centre
- d) The railway quarters
- e) Washer man's quarters
- f) European business and administrative centre

g) Military barracks outside the town limits.

These zones are shown in Map 3.1.

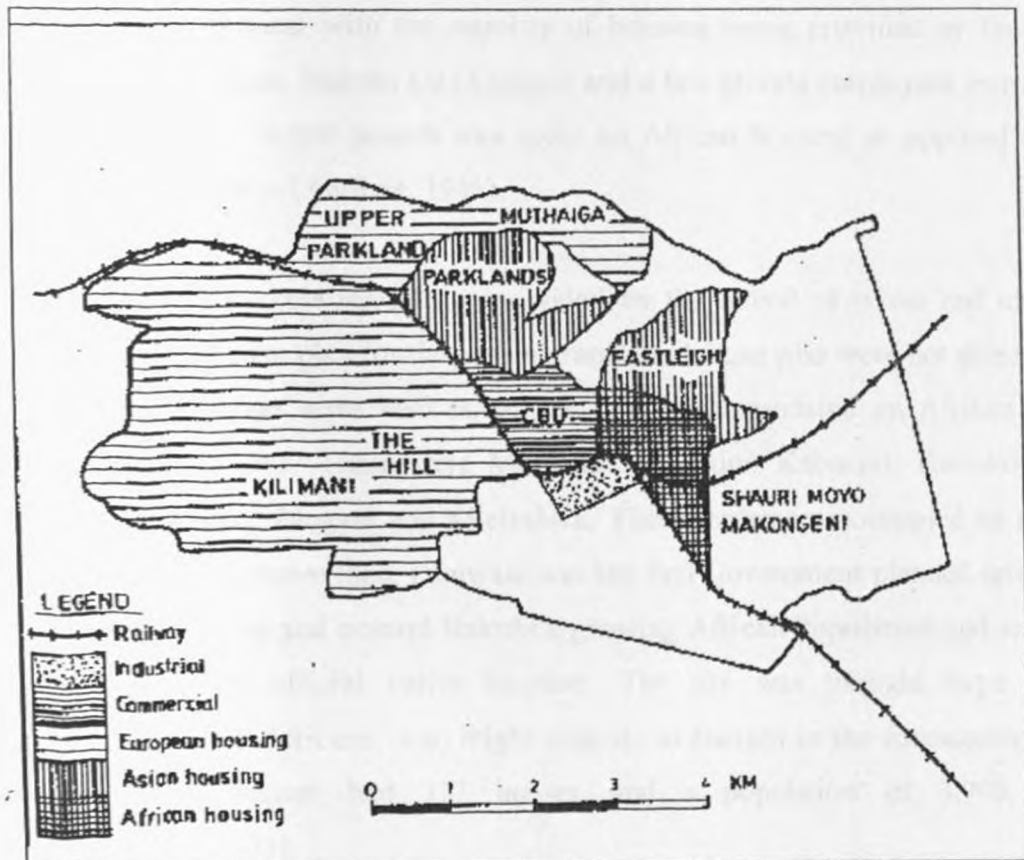
Map 3.1 ZONING OF NAIROBI 1905



Source: Adopted from Maina (1991)

The rapid growth of the town carried its own problems, which included poor sanitation, as the site for Nairobi was a swamp, resulting in poor health conditions and the breakout of plagues in 1902, 1904 and again in 1912. Consequently the Simpson Commission was appointed to look into the problem of poor health conditions and recommended that there be well defined and separate residential areas for Europeans, Asians and Africans. This formed the root of the racial discrimination in residential location in Nairobi. The city was divided into four distinct sectors: North and East for the Asian quarter, covering Parklands, Pangani, and Eastleigh areas with another small Asian enclave to the south and south east at Nairobi West and Nairobi South. The East and South East was occupied by the native Africans at Shauri Moyo, Pumwani, Kariokor, and Doonholm, while the European areas were located to the North and West Nairobi, i.e. Karen, Langata, Westlands, Kilimani, Muthaiga. This is shown in Map 3.2 .

Map 3.2 Colonial Racial Segregation. Nairobi Early 1900's.



Source: African Urban Quarterly Vol.7 Nos. 1&2 in Syagga (2002)

Syagga (2001) notes that the result of this segregated planning was the unequal distribution of land among the different races. For the African population this meant that under the colonial rule and after independence the availability of land was and is still severely restricted. By 1920's land speculation had begun in Nairobi, with large tracts of land being acquired by speculators outside the city boundaries and at the city fringes. As the city continued to sprawl, more of this land, with a distinct rural flavor became incorporated in the city boundaries (Syagga, 2002). Today the pattern of land use in Nairobi echoes the colonial past. However, the segregation is now on socio-economic factors, as independence saw the abolition of racial segregation laws and policies.

With the arrival of the European settlers in 1902, the first lot of displacement of the African native occurred. Here large tracts of land in Kikuyu, Kiambu, Limuru, Ruiru and Mbagathi and other areas were expropriated, with the African population being confined to native reservations. Further, government spending on provision of African Housing was minimal with the majority of housing being provided by the Railways, Central Government, Nairobi City Council and a few private employers. For instance in 1930 only about 40,000 pounds was spent on African housing as opposed to 586,430 pounds on European (Ogilvie, 1946).

As the population continued to grow, aided by the arrival of wives and children, the government failed to plan for the new migrants, and those who were not able to obtain By 1921 8 villages were well established and accommodated an African population estimated at 12,088. These were Mombasa, Masikini, Kaburini, Kariokor Kunguni, Kibera, Pumwani, Pangani and Kileleshwa. These settlements occupied an area of 728 acres, mainly on crown land. Pumwani was the first Government planned settlement that was planned to try and control Nairobi's growing African Population and was declared in 1921 as the official native location. The site was thought large enough to accommodate all Africans who might migrate to Nairobi in the foreseeable future. By 1931 the settlement had 317 houses and a population of 3,996 (NCCK, File2077/GS/70/71).

The independent government, turned a blind eye to the proliferation of the informal settlements, so long as they were away from the central business district. This saw the rise of settlements along Grogan road and on the banks of the Nairobi river. With time the government felt the presence of the informal settlements were an indication of their failure and the first demolitions begun. These were at Pumwani and Grogan road and other units near the City Centre. The affected residents were allowed to settle in Korogocho, where the old quarry workers were already residing. Due to political patronage some settlements were not demolished. These included Mathare (the largest settlement at the time) (UON, DURP 1987).

3.3. Synopsis of Planning in Nairobi.

Established as a railway depot in 1899 to service the construction of the railway and open the East African hinterland, Nairobi's growth was haphazard, without an overall plan, proper co-ordination or effective development control until 1948 when the first Master Plan for the city was drawn up. In 1926 a town planning scheme had been prepared, including a zoning plan governing land use and development, which was not followed and development proceeded uncontrolled aggravated by rampant land speculation (UON DURP, 1987). By this time the primacy of Nairobi was evident with the concentration of population and employment opportunities from industrial development. The Colonial government realized the need to plan Nairobi prior to it becoming a City. Following a study carried out a planning team from South Africa, the 1948 Master Plan was prepared.

The 1948 Master Plan produced the first comprehensive plan, including broad land use zoning guidelines, based on neighborhood planning principles and extensions to existing land uses as well as the creation of a road network (White, 1948). Although deemed to have serious defects such as its inherent rigidity and total exclusion of socio-economic factors, the plan has continued to influence the roads pattern and residential development. This plan also saw the first relocation of informal settlements carried out in Nairobi, with residents of Pumwani settlement scheme being relocated and resettled in Karai Village in Karai Location of Kikuyu Division, Kiambu District.

With the massive influx of indigenous Kenyans into the city after independence, the resulting problems arising there from resulted in the formation of the 1973 Urban Study Group which came up with the Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy, that provided a strategy for the development of the city in the long and short terms. Its contents covered such areas as the physical development, transportation, housing as well as policy and institutional framework within which the city would grow to the year 2003 (Rihal,2004). The implementation of the Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy was hampered by political developments that allowed individual interests to take precedence over public good, with some planning decisions being made with no or little regard to the study's recommendations. While Nairobi has continued to grow and prosper, with the development of new housing estates for the middle and high income groups, little has been done for the poor. In October 2003, the estimated urban housing need was 150,000 units per year, yet it is estimated that only 20,000-30,000 units are built yearly, giving a shortfall of over 120,000 units per year (RoK, 2004).

It is against this background that the Metropolitan Plan for Nairobi is currently being prepared. Problems of rural urban migration, insufficient employment opportunities, insufficient housing stock has helped contribute to the unabated growth of informal settlements. Syagga (2002) comments that in this respect informal settlements can be seen as a consequence of the outgrowth of capitalism.

With the enactment of the Physical Planning Act of 1996, the Director of Physical Planning (Ministry of Lands) delegated planning responsibilities to the local authorities. In Nairobi the Directorate of City Planning is mandated to carry out various development activities, like slum upgrading and Development control. But the City lacks a common vision to guide development as the 1973 metropolitan Growth Strategy was never implanted (UNCHS, 2006).

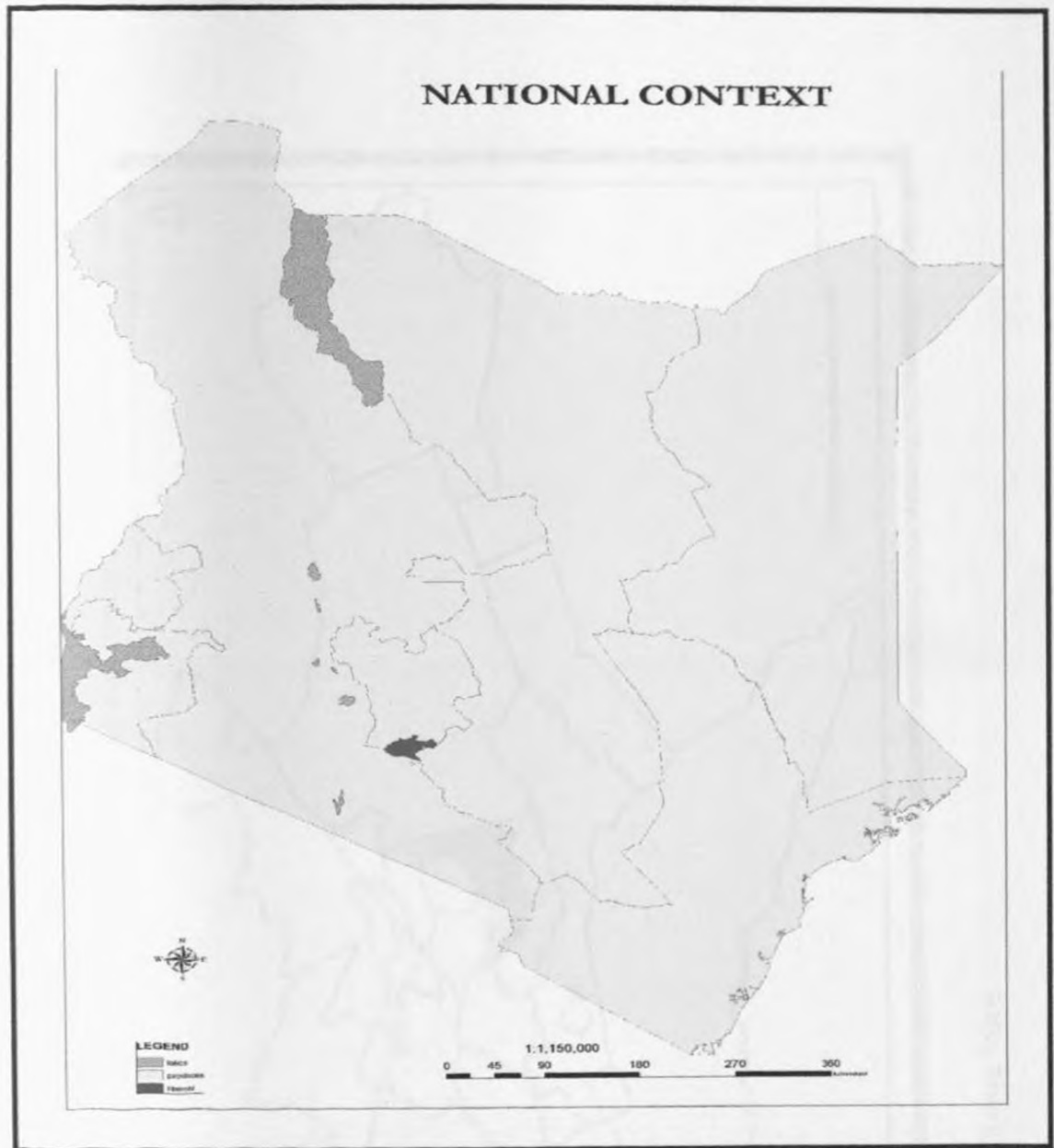
3.4. Geographical Setting of the Study Area

3.4.1 Geographical Location.

Huruma Settlement is found in the eastern part of Nairobi, the capital and one of the eight provinces of Kenya. Nairobi grew in a triangular shaped tongue of the Athi plains, abutting the edge of the Kenya Highlands. The plain is wedged between Nairobi Hill on the west and the banks of the Nairobi river. The edge of the Rift Valley, marked by the distinctive silhouette of the Ngong Hills, lies 25 km due west. Nairobi lies a height of 1674 m above sea level on the longitude 36.5 degrees east and latitude 1.17 degrees south, just 140 km south of the equator (Rihal, 2004). From these heights, drainage is eastwards in an abundance of the small streams which confluence to the Nairobi River and finally the Athi River. It is an international, regional, national and local hub for commerce, transport, regional cooperation and economic development (UNCHS, 2004). Map 3.3 shows the National context of the study area.

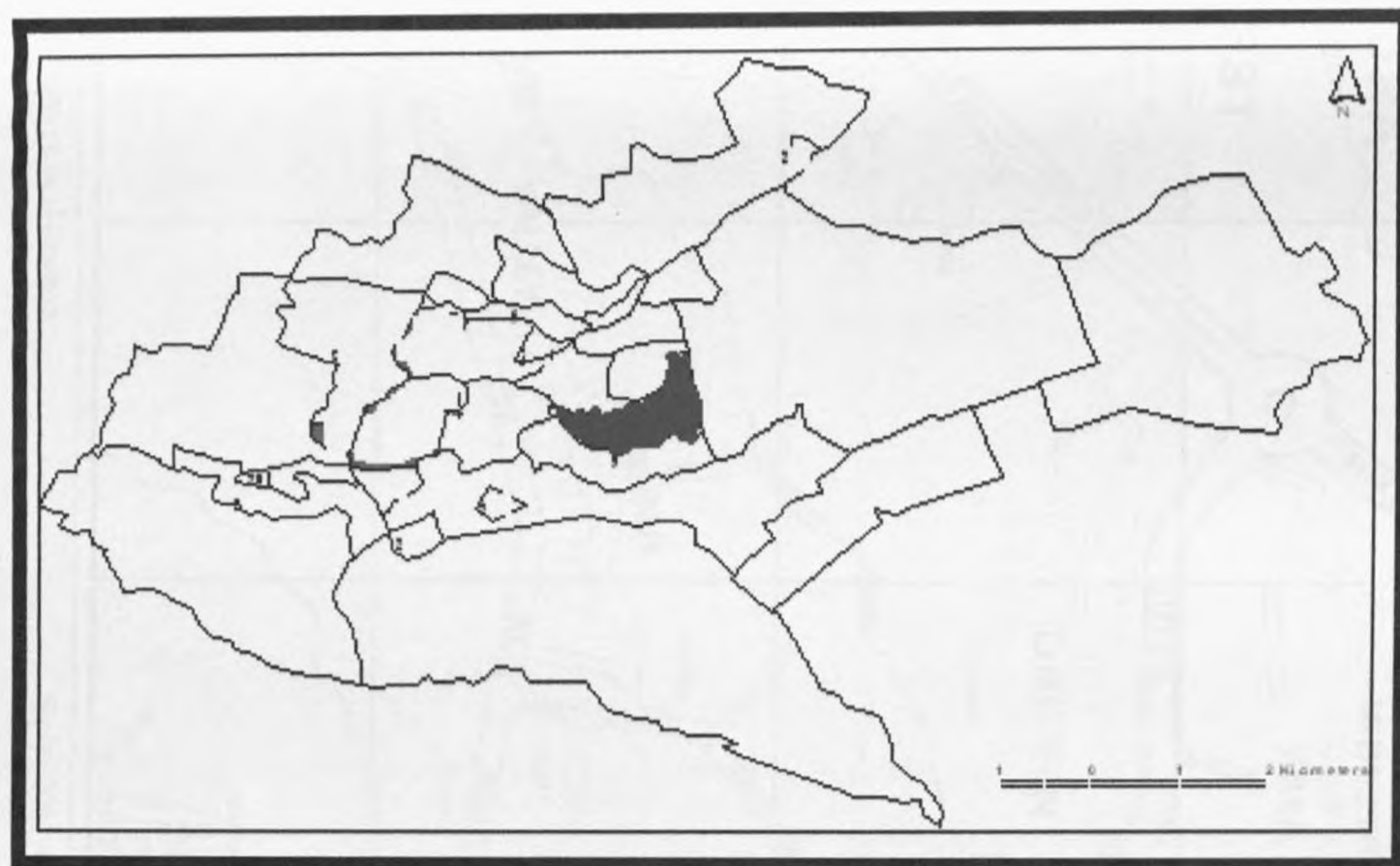
For administrative purposes, the city of Nairobi is divided into eight divisions with Huruma Settlement being located in Mathare Division of Starehe Constituency, approximately 10 km east of Nairobi's central business district (Map 3.4). It is bound to the north by the Gitathuru river, to the east by Outering road and to the south by Juja Road. The settlement lies close to the extensive Mathare informal settlement and in the neighborhood of Eastleigh Air Force base. It is located close to the Dandora and Baba Dogo industrial areas, which are employment centers. Map 3.5 shows the location of Huruma Settlement, while Map 3.6 provides an aerial view of the study area.

Map 3.3 NAIROBI- National Context

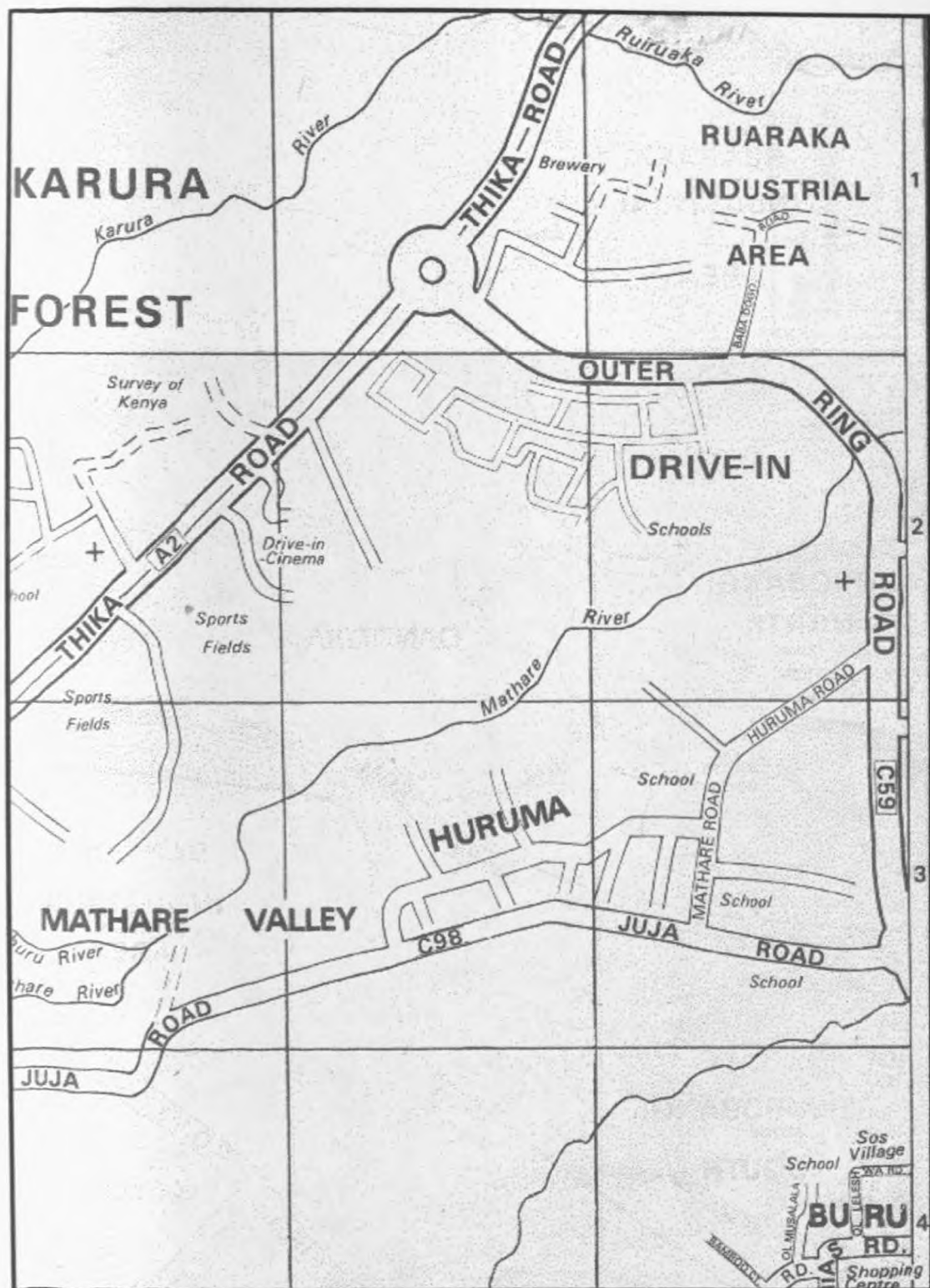


Source: Survey of Kenya.

Map 3.4 Regional Context : Mathare Division



Source: Based on Survey of Kenya Maps.



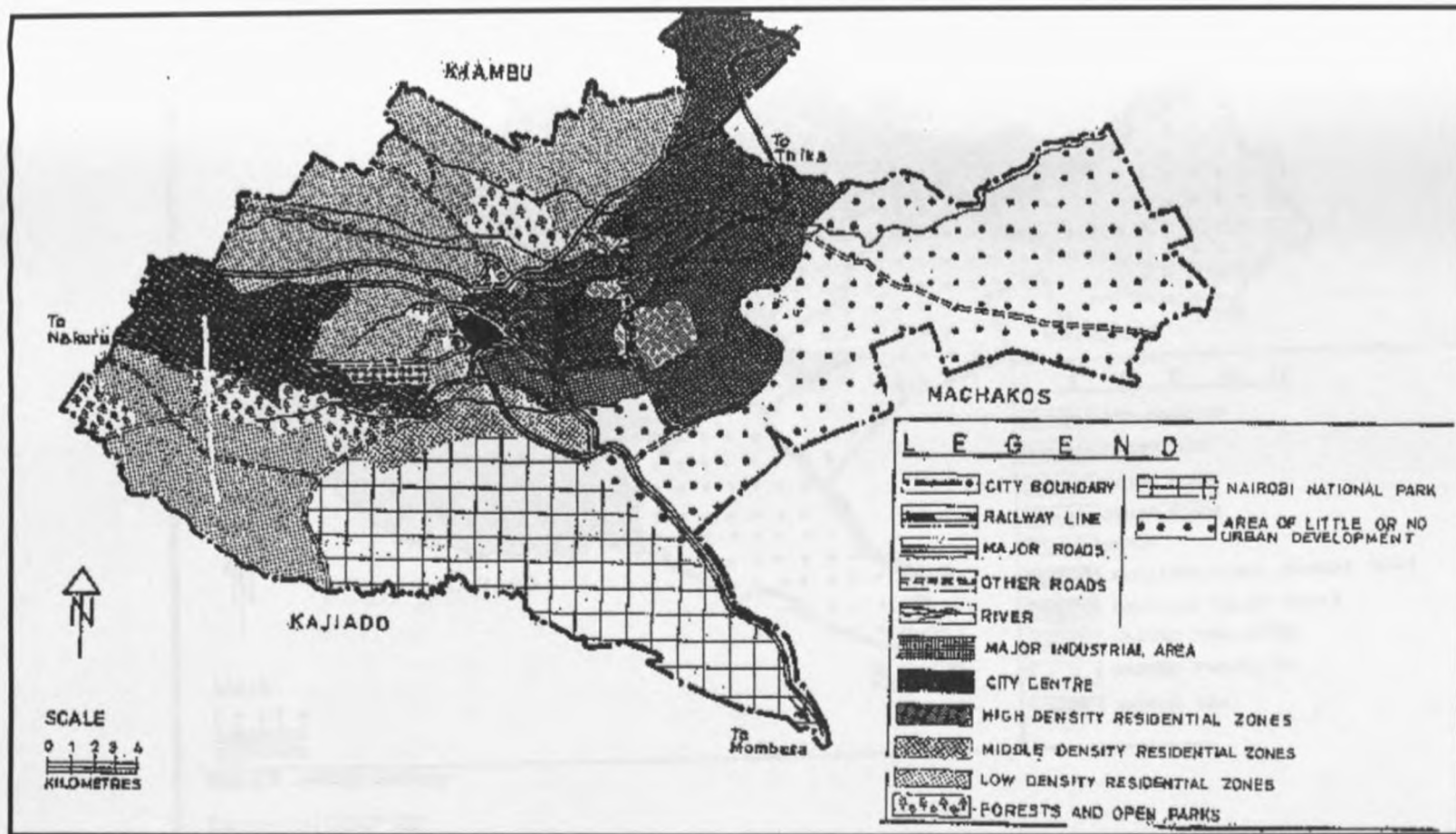
Map 3.5 Huruma : Local Context.
Source: Nairobi A-Z

Scale 1:200



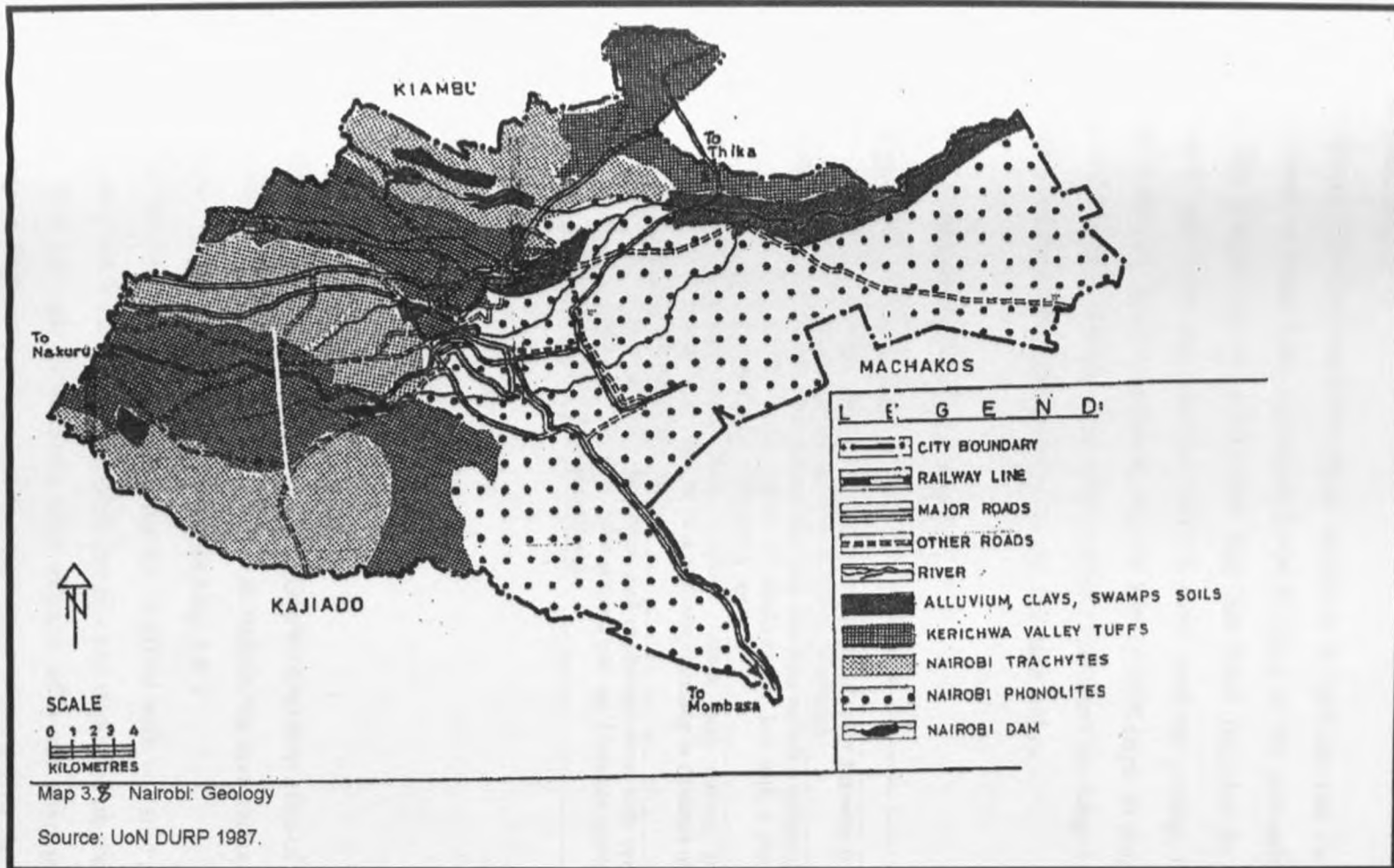
Map 3.6
Huruma: Aerial View

Source: ML&S, Dept of
Planning.



Map 3.7 Nairobi: Residential Zones

Source: UoN DURP 1987.



3.5 Land Use Patterns.

Nairobi city is expansive and encompasses major variations in land use that range from highly urbanized areas to large scale and subsistence farming in the peri-urban areas such as Ngong. The preparation of a land use map has been impeded by lack of appropriate and up to date base maps and by lack of strict land use zoning, though a recent digital map of the city has been prepared by the Survey of Kenya in conjunction with JICA. Most of the land in Nairobi is devoted to residential use (see Map 3.7). The existing residential types have been characterized as per the table below:-

Table 3.0 Residential Zoning Analysis.

Residential Type	Comments
Low density	Single houses on large lots with net density between 0 to 100 persons per hectares eg. in Karen, Muthaiga
Medium Density	Mostly terraced maisonnettes and flats with few scattered single family houses (about 35 dwelling per ha) with a density of between 100 – 250 person per ha.
High Density	Inexpensive flats, attached houses and service schemes occupancy often in form of rooms resulting in densities of above 250 persons per ha.
Informal Settlements	Spontaneously developed and unplanned areas with very high densities of 750 – 1000 persons per ha. Densities above 1000 persons per ha. are common.

Source: Author, 2007.

3.6. Physiographical Characteristics.

3.6.1. Geology.

As the study area forms part of Nairobi City, the physiographic characteristics of Nairobi are relevant. Physiological units found in the Nairobi area include the lava plains, the Rift flank, the Kikuyu highlands and the Ngong Hills (Map 3.8).

Located on the verge of the rift valley means, Nairobi is gifted with volcanic material released from the cracks and fissures on the valleys margins and deposited on the land to the east and west. The periodic movements over millions of years have produced successive lava flows of different composition flooding across Nairobi from the vicinity of the Ngong Hills. The oldest lava flow dating form the Pliocene period about 5 millions years ago, forms the eastern plains where is found the Nairobi Industrial Area

and the Airport and is also called Nairobi Phonolite. The next flow was the Nairobi Trachyte which ends just west and north of the city centre and Nairobi hill, and swinging westwards to form modest heights on which Karen and Langata are located.

During a pause in the volcanic activity, deep valleys were eroded into the trachyte block and then subsequently filled with material from the next eruptions. These are known as the Kirichwa valley tuffs and are used extensively for building purposes under the name Nairobi Stone. Its proximity to the Rift Valley puts Nairobi in the zone of seismic instability, although there have been nothing more dramatic than the odd tremor so far.

The soils of Nairobi are based on the geological units with large areas above the Athi plain being covered with pale brown or reddish ferrucrete (murrum) in sufficient quantities to allow for quarrying. Other soils include vertisoils and lithosols (shallow soils) which are moderately well drained, yellow red to dark yellow brownish friable. To the north and north-eastern (Karen, Dagoretti) are found Nitisols (red soils) that are well drained, extremely deep and dusky red to darkish brown.

In Nairobi Eastlands area, soils are mainly black to dark grey clays (Grumisols) – commonly called “black cotton soils”, and other calcareous and non-calcareous variations. These soils are poorly drained and require that if foundations are to be laid on them, they are dug to a depth of 1.5 m at least. This increases the costs of construction.

. Huruma area is characterized by predominantly black cotton soils, to a depth of 600-900cm (2-3 feet). Plate 3.0 shows the typical soil types in Huruma Settlement.

Plate 3.0 Black Cotton Soils on Site



Source: Field Survey, 2007

On average Huruma Settlement area is at an elevation of about 1600m above sea level and slopes gently towards the Gitathuru river, in a north-easterly direction from Juja road towards the Gitathuru river. Site drainage also follows this pattern but is very poor.

3.6.2. Climate.

Lying so close to the equator, but being 1600 m above sea level, temperatures within Huruma area are akin to those of Nairobi, which are altitude-modified tropical, warm but never torrid. They fall into the category of “low latitude highlands”. The months of July and August are distinctly cool. The mean temperatures is 19 degrees celsius and the mean daily maximum and minimum temperatures are 25 degrees and 14 degrees Celsius respectively. Temperatures never exceed 30 degrees Celsius. Mean annual rainfall is 1080 mm, falling in two distinct seasons: the long rains, March to May, and the short rains, mid- October to December. A drought year will produce only half the amount of rainfall. Winds can be light or/ and fresh, but are rarely strong and almost always blow from an easterly direction. Clearly climatic conditions in Huruma / Nairobi necessitate proper shelter. From being too hot to very cold, those living in makeshift houses in the informal settlements suffer greatly. Heavy rainfall result in those informal homes located close to the river banks being washed away by the flood waters.

Plate 3.1 Housing on the River Bank



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Plate 3.2 Construction next to the river



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

3.6.3. Environment.

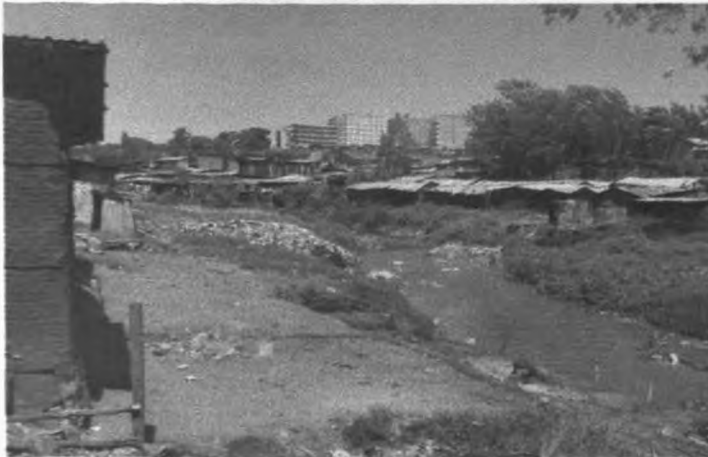
The recently enacted Environmental and Management Act (1999) provides the policy guidelines for environmental matters in Kenya. It is only recently that it has been effectively applied, there is still a lot that remains to be done. UNCHS (2006) observes that Nairobi has been overwhelmed by rapid population growth, uncontrolled land-use, coupled with weak frameworks for environmental regulation and implementation. Over the years this has manifested itself in traffic congestion, pollution- water, soil, air and noise, poor waste management and water shortages. Within the city the habit of littering is widespread and it is common to see people throw away plastic bags, sweet wrapping, cigarette ends, tissue paper and other rubbish. Even where dustbins are provided people will still toss their rubbish on footpaths, and road reserves. Inadequacies in the operation and maintenance of existing facilities for supply of water, sewerage, sanitation and drainage and a weak institutional capacity by NCC to collect garbage, maintain blocked sewers and storm water drains exacerbate these problems. Consequently, a substantial part of the sewer generated does not reach the sewerage treatment works. Instead, the sewer finds its way or is intentionally diverted directly to the rivers, to open or piped storm water drains ending up in rivers, marshlands etc, causing severe environmental degradation. It is also estimated that 2,000 people make a living from scavenging at the

Dandora dumpsite (located close to Huruma) supplying companies like Kenpoly and Premium Drums with waste plastic (ELCI, 2002).

Karirah (2004) notes that environmental issues in urban informal settlements are partly due to the fact that those in the informal settlements cannot afford to be concerned about the environment. They are however, directly affected by the degradation of the environment in terms of health, productivity and general quality of life.

Informal settlements can pose serious threats to the environment and have profound impacts on natural resources. In Huruma environmental pollution in terms of air, water, and ground pollution are evident and is further aggravated by various factors such as inadequate water supply, insufficient number of pit latrines, discharge of pit latrines and septic tanks to drains, rivers etc., inadequate facilities for showers and washing resulting in indiscriminate discharge of sullage. Facilities are also lacking for collection and disposal of solid waste thus exacerbating environmental degradation. Plate 3.3 shows pollution of the Gitathuru river.

Plate 3.3 Pollution Of Gitathuru River



Source: Field Survey, 2007

The Gitathuru River serves as a waste dump, while the surrounding residential areas are polluted by sewerage waste, solid household wastes, noxious gas emissions from the

nearby industrial area and from small industrial activity within the settlement and noise from Eastleigh Air base.

Environmental health is compromised as a result of poor housing, overcrowding, lack of clean water, unsanitary surroundings including disposal of excreta. These factors assist the transmission of preventable communicable diseases like respiratory infections, diarrhea, and waterborne diseases. The most common dwelling comprises one room, which accommodates an average household of 4-5 persons.

3.7. Population Characteristics.

The 1999 Kenya Social Population census saw the population of Nairobi estimated at 3 million people, 23.2% of the country's population, with expected annual intercensal growth of 2.8% and an average density of 31 persons per hectare. Gulyani et al note that the population in the informal settlements is growing faster than the population in the rest of the city, primarily because it is home to new immigrants from rural areas. In the informal settlements in Nairobi the average household is comprised of three members and is male headed, which is below the mean household size for Nairobi of 3.2 (Gulyani, 2006). However, this has been attributed to families frequently having split households, where members of one family live in different units in the same settlement or elsewhere, and a high proportion of single person households. Household size plays a major role in expenditure, income levels and poverty. With increasing household sizes, households per capita income and expenditure fall, raising the likelihood of an increase in poverty. In contrast Hanjari (1988) notes that in Huruma site and service scheme the household size was 7 persons in 1988. This was attributed to relatives staying with the households.

Huruma has a total population of 60,347 people and 18,977 households, with an average density of 86,211 persons per square kilometer (862 persons per hectare) (CBS, Population Census 1999). According to the Central Bureau of statistics (Socio-Economic Survey, 2007) a crowded household contains 4 or more persons per room.

These densities show that there is overcrowding in Huruma, which has an impact on living conditions and the environment. The effects of very high densities include:

- Infrastructure and services strained because of increased demand.
- Overcrowding
- Increased insecurity and crime
- Potential risk of disease outbreaks
- Erosion of individual privacy
- Environmental degradation

The higher the density of a settlement, the more services are required. Further depending on the age structure of the population in an area e.g if there are more young children, it will be necessary to have more schools.

Shihembetsa (1995) notes that the relationship of the household size to the dwelling unit is important in determining how well people live. While household size is relatively small in low income areas, the number of persons per room is high. This has been attributed to the high number of relatives and friends residing with families. The population by sex, no of households, area of land and density in Starehe Constituency is noted below in Table 3.1 (Huruma settlement falls here administratively). As a comparison the same information for the less densely populated areas of Nairobi are noted in Table 3.2

Table 3.1
Population by Sex, No. of Household, Area, Density
Starehe Constituency

Area	Male	Female	Household	Area Km sq.	Density Km sq.
Kia Maiko	15,540	14,188	8,864	0.7	42,269
Huruma Estate	32,610	27,738	18,977	0.7	86,211
Mathare	14,854	10,598	9,276	0.7	36,360
Mlango Kubwa	14,793	11,373	9,135	0.6	43,610

Source : Adopted from 1999 Population and Housing Census, C.B.S, Ministry of Finance and Planning, G.O.K.

**Table 3.2 Population by Sex, No. of Household, Area, Density
Other Areas, Nairobi.**

Area	Male	Female	Household	Area	Density
Karen	3,974	4,113	2,380	19.4	352
Lenana	1,677	1,255	1,001	7.9	371
Kilimani	17,077	14,753	7,793	9.1	3,498
Kileleshwa	5,992	5,977	3,361	5.2	2,302

Source : Adopted from the 1999 Population and Housing Census, C.B.S, Ministry of Finance and Planning, G.O.K.

3.8. Social and Commercial Facilities

Education:

Nairobi offers good education facilities from Nursery to University level. In the informal settlements most schools are informal and not registered by the education authorities. This means then that pupils in these schools cannot advance beyond primary level, as their primary schools are not recognized by the education authorities. Huruma Settlement is adequately served with formal education institutions within easy reach. Nursery schools include the Nairobi City Council's (N.C.C) Mathare Day Nursery School and other informal schools within the settlement. There are 5 public primary schools run by the Nairobi City Council, namely N.C.C. Nduro Runo Primary School, Thayu Primary School, Salama Primary School, Daima Primary School, Huruma Primary School. Private schools include Kenya Muslim Academy and PAG School. Recently a secondary school was begun at Nduro Runo Primary School using the Constituency Development Funds (CDF). Other secondary schools found in the nearby Kariobangi North Estate include Global Vision Secondary School and Lili Vision High School.

Table 3.3 provides an overview of education attainment in informal settlements in Nairobi, against that of other areas of Nairobi and nationally. The table shows that in the informal settlements more than half the pupils in primary school do not proceed to

secondary school. The level of secondary school attainment in informal settlements is below national average for both males and females. This has an impact on employment opportunities, income levels, preferences (e.g. the desire to improve ones life).

Table 3.3 Education Attainment.

Sex	Informal Settlement		Nairobi		National	
	Pri	Sec	Pri	Sec	Pri	Sec
Male	76.7	30.6	89.1	72.7	52.4	31.1
Female	72.2	32.8	75.7	50.3	56.8	28.3

Source: Adopted from UNCHS: Nairobi Urban Profile, 2006

Health:

Nairobi has great disparities between healthcare in informal settlements and the more affluent middle and high income areas, who access health care through private clinics or government hospitals. The Nairobi City Council has provided a dispensary at Kariobangi, while some Faith based Organizations also provide health facilities like Council of Churches Clinic and Lions Health Clinic.

Diseases such as diarrhea, malaria and tuberculosis affect a large number of slum dwellers, especially children because of the lack of clean water, the poor living conditions and the high densities. These diseases increase the mortality rates in informal settlements compared to high income areas. Huruma, as noted above is overcrowded and this has an effect on the health of the residents and may result in epidemics. The inadequacy of essential services and utilities like water, sewerage and drainage aggravates this problem.

Religious Facilities:

Religious facilities are adequate with both Christian and Moslem religions catered for. They include the Huruma Mosque, Redeemed Gospel Church, Seventh Day Adventist

Church, Kenya Assemblies of God (KAG) Church, Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG) Church and African Holy Ghost Church.

Shopping Facilities

Shopping facilities include neighborhood kiosks, and designated shopping areas with well constructed shops for instance Josaga Shopping Centre. There is a city council market located across the Outering Road at Kariobangi North.

Recreation

The area has a football field within the site and service scheme area, apart from which it is devoid of recreational facilities. Open spaces have been occupied by the informal settlement and people socialize in the many drinking dens, church halls, or local restaurants/ eateries.

Security and Administration

A Police post is provided located close to the Nairobi City Council Huruma Flats Estate which caters for the area. The area is highly insecure with petty crime and thievery, coupled with dangerous crimes of robbery, rape and murder and located close to Dandora, home of the infamous Mungiki sect. Residents fear to be out after dark. There is a Chiefs camp. The Nairobi City Council has housing site offices within New Mathare Estate.

3.9 Infrastructure services.

The Local Government Act Cap 265 of the laws of Kenya, mandates the Nairobi City Council to provide and manage services within its area of jurisdiction. However due to poor economic conditions, rapid population growth, political interference and poor management, service delivery continues to deteriorate. The supply of potable water is inadequate and its distribution not equitable. Just over 22% of informal settlement dwellers have water connections and most are reduced to purchasing water from water vendors at a higher cost than that provided by the council (Gulyani, 2006). Huruma settlement is served by the Council main water supply, however in some cases water is

provided by a communal water tap as in section “K” of Huruma Site and Service Scheme.

In Kenya electricity is provided by Kenya power and Lighting Company with Nairobi consuming 50% of the total power generated annually, mainly for lighting, and 20% of households use it for cooking. Kerosene is used by 68% for cooking and 7% use charcoal (ECLI, 2006). The Huruma Settlement area is provided with electricity, but incidences of illegal connection exist for instance in Ngei Village.

The Nairobi drainage system consists of the natural river system with connecting networks of man-made channels and sewers, mainly that serves the residential area and the CBD. The drainage system is affected by blockages caused by dumping of wastes, encroachment and developments and insufficient maintenance resulting in stagnant mosquito breeding and infested pools of liquid and solid waste. Other effect include clogged pipelines and culverts which cause damaging floods at storms. It also leads to increased surface run offs thus increasing further the load on the drainage system.

In Nairobi informal settlements sanitary conditions are poor and the facilities for excreta disposal inadequate. The majority of residents use pit-latrines which serve a large population and are not properly maintained. The main sewer passes along the river bank and some houses are connected. Plate 3.4 shows sewerage run-off on the road. Refuse collection by the Nairobi City Council is mainly in the high and middle income estates.

Plate 3.4 Sewerage Run-off on road.



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

In the informal settlements private arrangements are usually made to collect and dispose of refuse.

3.10. Economic Activities.

Nairobi is an important centre for global, regional, national and the local economy. Due to its strategic location and facilities it is a centre for commerce, international diplomacy, finance and banking. Nairobi accounts for 43% of all urban workers in Kenya generating 45% of national GDP. The informal sector in Nairobi continues to employ a greater share of Nairobi labor force. Many people employed in the formal sector engage in informal sector activities to be able to make ends meet. In the informal settlements the lack of services and infrastructure severely constrains economic development. Economic activities range from kiosks licensed by the council, to door to door hawking, Jua Kali enterprises, grocery shops, hairdressing etc. As the economic conditions deteriorate the proportion of people living below the poverty line is increasing from 26% in 1992 to 50% in 1997. Economic activities on site include light industrial, hawking, kiosks, shops and vegetable vendors. There are also hardware shops.

3.11. Transport and Communication Networks.

Nairobi is served by a good road network, which has been allowed to disintegrate due to poor maintenance. In Huruma roads within the settlement were initially constructed by the N.C.C and were either tarmac or murrum roads and have similarly disintegrated due to neglect. Major roads within the area include Outering and Juja roads, which are main spine roads in Nairobi and are prone to traffic jams. The road system follows a dendritic pattern. Within Ngei Village the paths are narrow as shown in Plate 3.5. Roadsides have been converted into informal market places and business areas. Communication networks include the railway line passing through Dandora (Nanyuki Line), which provides cheap transport to the city centre and Industrial areas (Plate 3.6). In Nairobi the main form of public transport are minibuses or 'matatu' and private bus companies like City Hoppa. Huruma is bound by two main roads, Outer Ring road and Juja Road, which form very important link roads in Nairobi's transport system. Generally roads in Nairobi

have a poorly maintenance, with potholes being the order of the day. The area is served by both land line and mobile telephone networks.

Plate 3.5 Narrow Earth Pathways



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Plate 3.6 The Nairobi –Nanyuki Railway Line passing nearby Dandora



Source: Researcher Photo 2007

3.12. Land Ownership and Tenure.

Land in Nairobi is held under three types of title namely freehold, leasehold and customary land. The ownership of land is either government, private freehold, public freehold or trust land. The 1983 Urban Household Survey indicated that 24.5% of the residential land in urban areas is under government leasehold, 55 % is freehold, while 20.4% is held under different land ownership. The governments main tool for control of development, especially in urban areas, in view of the different land ownership, is through planning regulations (Maina, 1991). In Huruma settlement land is owned by the council as trust land, there is government leasehold land and freehold land. From observing the type of construction on the ground, one notices that the areas where people have leasehold title to land the developments tend to be high-rise with a lot of investment, while in the areas where the tenants hold tenancy agreements from the council, and where council regulations have been stringently imposed it is only recently that the council relaxed its development regulations that multi-storey buildings are coming up. Plate 3.7 shows the effects of landownership on development with the development of flats.

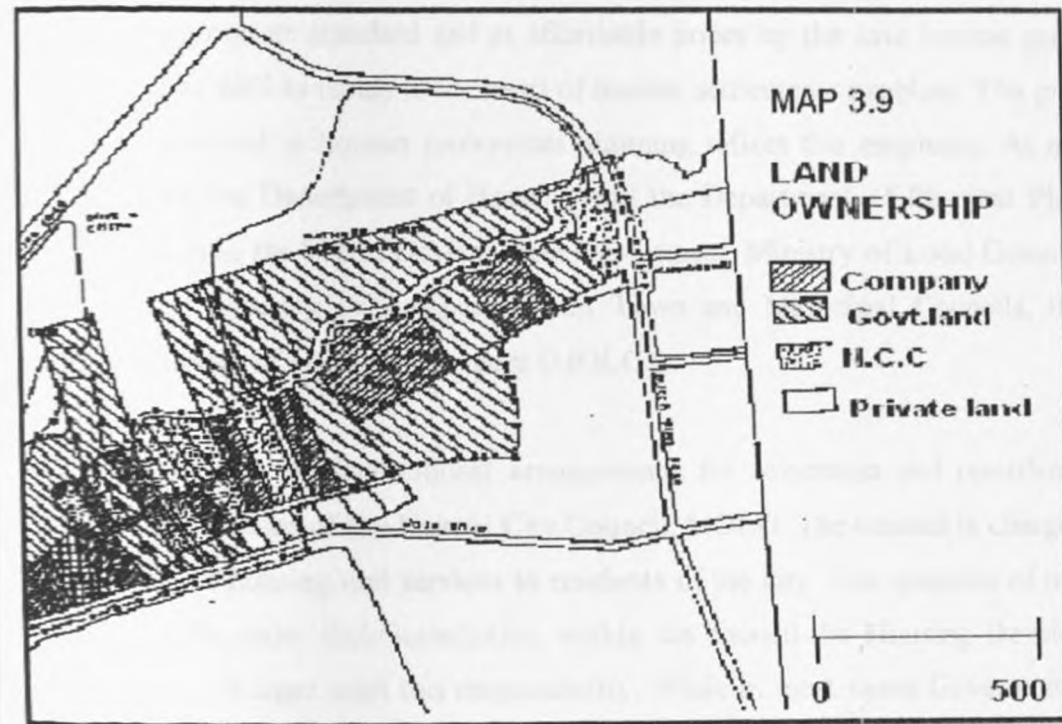
Plate 3.7 Formal and Informal Housing: Effects of Land Ownership



Source: Author, 2007

Map 3.9 shows the nature of land ownership in Huruma. Many of the residents of Huruma are tenants, with some of the landlords living out of Huruma (absentee landlords).

MAP 3.9



Source: Adapted from Waweru and Associates (1977)

3.13. Human Settlements

The patterns of Human settlements have been dictated by history, physiography, transportation and economic activity. They have functioned as service centers for human population providing schools, health facilities, public utilities, commercial banks, administration, recreational facilities and other social services. They have also provided areas for employment and economic gain like industry, commercial zones and service industry. They provide markets for produce from the surrounding area and with the settlement. The major function of the human settlement is residential, providing homes for those working within the urban area and the surrounding area.

3.14. Institutional Framework

Different institutional arrangements can be adopted to devise and implement human settlement policies at National and local levels. The framework adopted may depend on the nature of development problems being faced, with the arrangements being more effective when there is clear allocation of financial resources. In Kenya the shortage of housing of appropriate standard and at affordable prices by the low income groups in urban areas (as well as rural) is the heart of human settlements problem. The principle institutions involved in human settlements planning reflect this emphasis. At national level these are the Department of Housing and the Department of Physical Planning, Ministry of Lands, the Urban Development Department, Ministry of Local Government, Department of Housing or Engineering in Town and Municipal Councils, the line Ministry- Ministry of Local Government (MOLG).

At the lower level, the institutional arrangements for relocation and resettlement in Nairobi is the mandate of the Nairobi City Council, MOLG. The council is charged with the provision of housing and services to residents of the city. The question of informal settlements falls under their jurisdiction, within the council the Housing Development Department is charged with this responsibility. While in most cases Government have the central role of planning and coordinating the execution of relocation and resettlement programmes, and in providing legislative, financial and institutional support, there is need to involve other stakeholders. In Huruma, NGO's like National Council of Churches of Kenya and Pamoja Trust provide support to government initiative. Other important institutional groups include local community leaders, the elected leader (M.P's , Councilors), key informants, leader of civil society, leaders of community institutions like schools, churches, mosques etc. who constitute an entry point to the study area and community. These leaders provide information on the history of the settlement, the main problems in the settlement and tentative solutions. Their support is crucial to having a successful programmes. The communities relationship with elected officials (councilors and local administration chiefs) is one of fear, and awe where the residents feel the officials are all powerful, yet cannot respect them for the illegal allocations of public land.

Like in most part of Nairobi's Eastlands, Huruma has ethnic based social groupings set up to assist members of the ethnic community during times of funerals, weddings and need e.g harrambees for school fees. These benevolent and funeral associations are a great support to residents. Other associations include welfare organizations like Muungano ya wanavijiji, security vigilante groups, merry-go-round and community based solid waste management youth groups and small scale informal economic enterprises .

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RELOCATION AND RESETTLEMENT SITES.

4.1 Introduction:

The process of relocation and resettlement begins when a decision to relocate an informal settlement is made. Based on a detailed analysis of information obtained from the case study area, this chapter reviews the historical background to the relocation and eventual resettlement of the Kaburini Informal settlement residents to their present residence at Huruma and their present status. It seeks to answer the questions of why was the informal settlement relocated?, who was eligible for relocation and if there was a plan put in place or procedures followed in the relocation exercise. The Chapter looks at the implementation of the resettlement scheme, aiming to answer questions on the elements of the relocation plan for instance, the characteristics of the new location, what arrangements were made on site for the resettlement and the new housing. The chapter also looked at the cost of the relocation and resettlement. Most of the information carried here was obtained from questionnaires administered to Nairobi City Council Officers and retired council officers. From the discussions arising there from, it soon became obvious to the researcher that the majority of present council employees had little or no knowledge of the historical events that led to the relocation and resettlement to Huruma. The accounts given by the past employees was treated as baseline information and incorporated in the report. The researcher also interviewed other stakeholders including officers of the National Council of Churches of Kenya, which organization played a major philanthropic role during the relocation and resettlement process and Pamoja Trust. A household questionnaire was also administered to residents with the aim of obtaining information on their social and economic status. A physical survey of the settlements and photographs taken document the physical environment and state of the housing in the settlements.

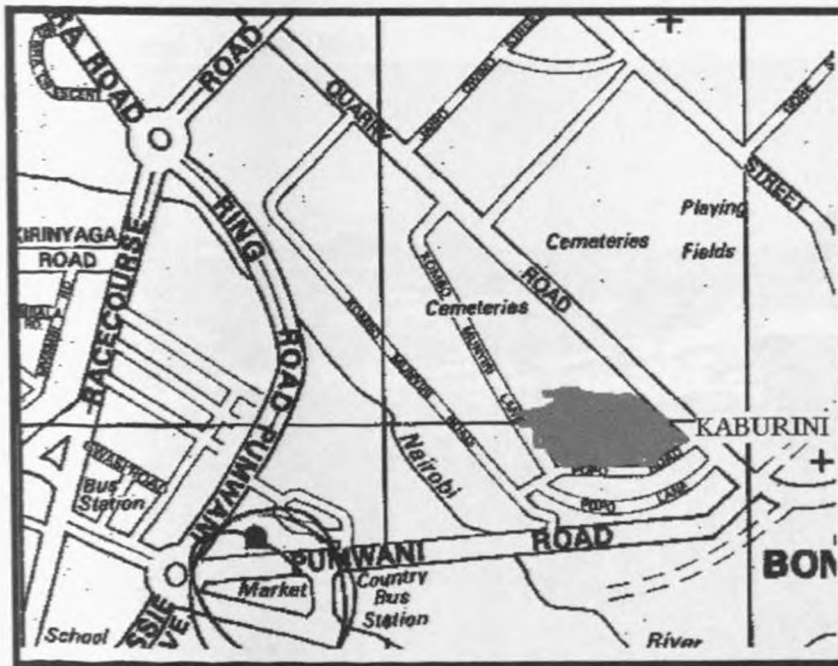
This chapter responds to the first three objectives of the study, namely to examine the reasons for and the process of relocation and resettlement of Kaburini Village, to identify and examine the existing management framework for the relocation and

resettlement of Informal settlements with special reference to the Nairobi City Council and to evaluate the outcomes and impacts of the resettlement process on the relocatees.

4.2 The Beginning: Kaburini Village Nairobi.

Kaburini Village was located about 2 km from the city centre near the Muslim cemetery (from which it got its name meaning "in the graveyard") and a string of machine shops and garages that run along the north bank road of the Nairobi River, as seen on Map 4.0.

MAP 4.0 Kaburini Informal Settlement 1969.



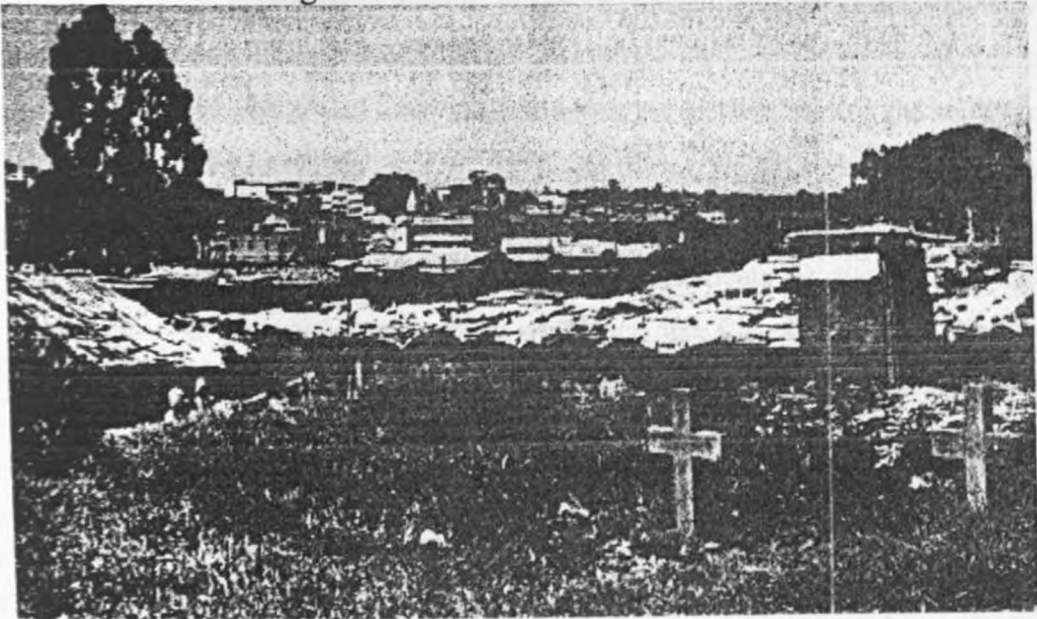
Source: Adapted from Survey of Kenya Map.

Hanjari (1988) notes that by the late sixties the village had grown to be a typical squatter settlement, whose residents were rural migrants mostly from central province (Kikuyu) although some Kamba and Nandi were found to live here as well.

McVicar (1968) states that the houses in the settlement were built close to each other and constructed of assorted materials ranging from mud and wattle to packing cases

and many having cardboard roofs, often fastened by nails driven through bottle caps. These houses were built by the structure owners of readily available materials, often obtained for free. Floors were rammed earth and the houses were divided into rooms measuring about 100 square feet (10x10 ft), suitable for renting. Rooms could be built for as little as Ksh.100 for five rooms and fetch a rental of Ksh.20 per room then. This meant that one could recoup their initial investment in one month. Plate 4.1 shows Kaburini Village in 1969, before it was demolished.

Plate 4.1 Kaburini Village 1969



Source: Hanjari (1988)

Notice the crosses denoting the grave yard area and the pit laterine hut.

It was further observed (McVicar, 1968) that many of the landlords were skilled workers employed in Nairobi, who did not live in the settlement. However, some of these absentee landlords would occupy one room during the week and return to their rural home (in Kiambu or Thika) and families at the weekend. Tenants were mainly landless poor illiterate and semi-illiterate (not more than four years of primary

education) unskilled workers, living with their families. Those unemployed would sell local beer (e.g. Busaa or Chang'aa) illegally, although even those employed maybe involved in beer selling. Business was good due to the proximity of the village to the city centre. The settlement was not planned and issues of plot coverage, development densities, open spaces, road reserves were not considered. The Village was thus over developed, and had no essential infrastructural facilities nor social services.

There was no clean water available and no public sewerage system, no roads that would enable the City Council lorries deliver services like garbage collection or allow the passage of Fire engines and ambulances in case of fire. Overcrowding and inadequate services resulted in low environmental standards exposing residents to great health hazards. Socially, probably as a result of the circumstances they found themselves i.e. constant threat of eviction, poverty levels, the people had a strong sense of community identity. Hanjari (1988) notes that their strength lay in their ability and willingness to pull together their resources.

In line with the official policy on informal settlements at the time, which was demolition, and with the City's moto of "Keep the City Clean", the Nairobi City council sought to rid the City of an eyesore that was seen as an affront to civic order and a black spot in the otherwise well planned city. The settlement had experienced several fire outbreaks; in December 1968, June 1969 and January 1970. Hanjari (1988) asserts that the first two fires were accidental, but served to highlight the need for finding an alternative site for residents and the need for more permanent, secure housing, that would not burn as easily and as fast. The last fire of January 1970 is attributed to the Nairobi City Council, who were seeking ways of removing the village from its present location. Following this fire the City Council moved in to remove the remaining structures and relocate the residents to a site at Karura Forest, which was far from the city centre, thus eliminating the "eyesore". Map 4.1 below shows how the residents were moved from Kaburini to Mji wa Huruma and finally to Huruma.

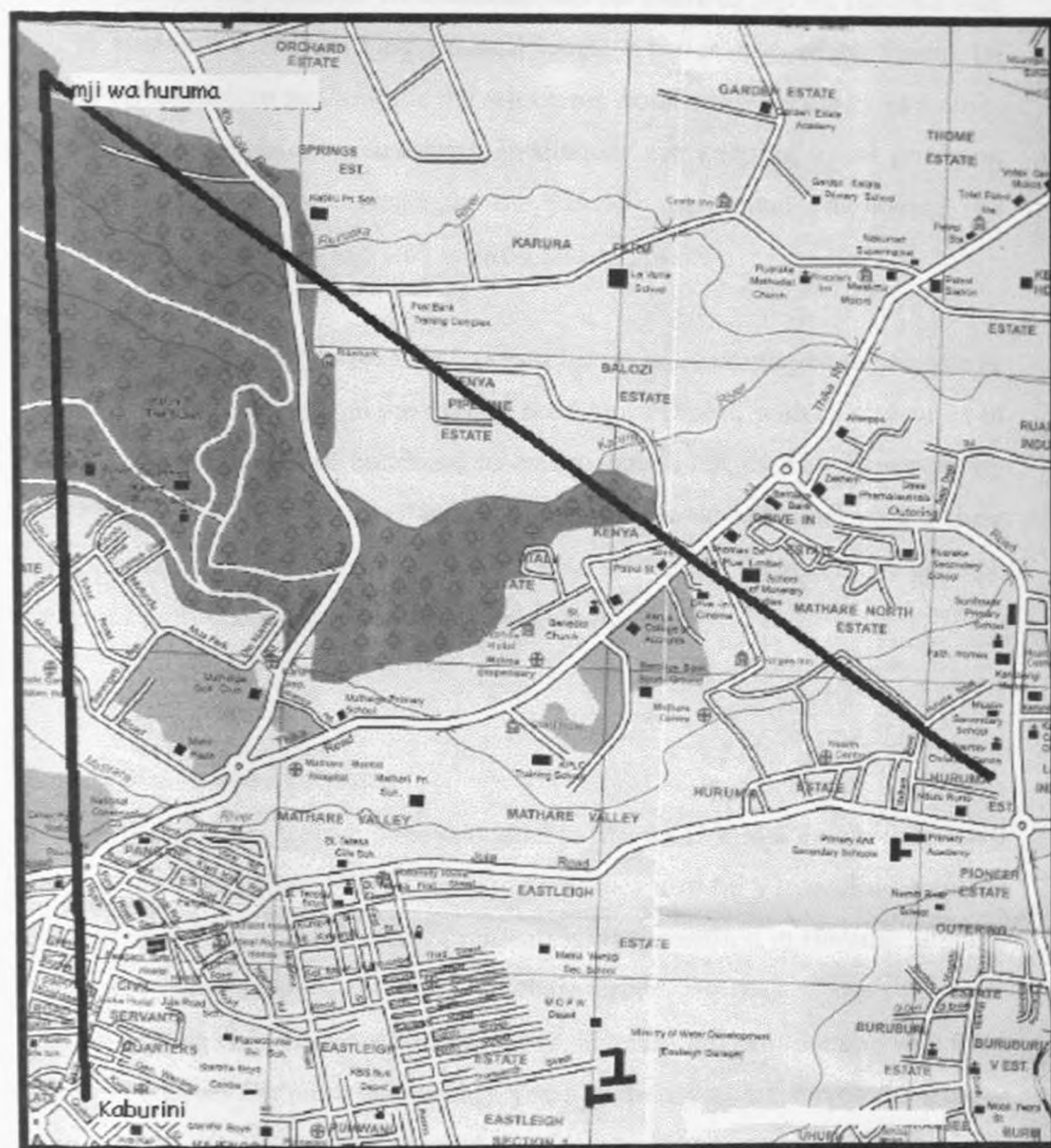
4.2.1 The Relocation and Resettlement process.

The procedure of relocating and resettling the residents of Kaburini followed 3 steps: finding a suitable site for relocation and resettlement, determining the number of residents to be resettled, the relocation of residents to the new temporary site where minimal services were provided.

When the decision to relocate the residents of Kaburini village was made the Social Services and Housing Department of the Nairobi City Council, was charged with the responsibility of overseeing the relocation. A site at Karura forest, which by then was undeveloped and rural in nature was selected as a intermediate site for the residents, even as the Council looked for a more permanent solution. One of the reasons this land was chosen was because it belonged to the Council and negated the need to enter into lengthy and expensive negotiations with landowners. Also the land, designated as a forest reserve could also be safely utilized as a short term residence for the relocatees with little or no likelihood of the council having to relinquish the land to the squatters. The area was also occupied by the Salvation Army who had a shelter for the poor there, known as "Mji wa Huruma".

As the move came immediately after a fire outbreak, the Council had not had time to acquaint the residents of the intended move. Indeed it had not been the Councils intention to become involved in a relocation and resettlement exercise. After two weeks, in which the council refused to allow the residents to rebuild their shanties despite the onset of the El Nino rains and a public outcry evidenced by news paper articles, the Nairobi City Council moved to relocate the residents to Mji wa Huruma, promising to relocate them to a final site after a fortnight. This was impossible, if only because of the time required to prepare a site by providing infrastructural services. At this time (early 70s) the concept of community participation in decision making was still new and had not been wholly embraced as part of the activities involved in relocation, thus the Council did not involve the community in the decision to relocate them.

MAP 4.1 Relocation from Kaburini to settlement at Huruma



Source: Adapted from Tourist Maps (K) Ltd. A map of Greater Nairobi. Scale : 1:25000

However, after the fire the residents were notified that the move to Mji wa Huruma was temporary, to enable the Nairobi City Council locate a better site, which would be provided with infrastructure services and the relocatees would obtain security of tenure. Socio-Economic issues related to sustaining livelihoods and keeping social grouping intact were also not a priority. Generally the Council was intent on moving the residents, as quickly as possible and with as little fuss as possible.

Hanjari (1988) observes that Nairobi City Council lorries were employed to help move the residents to Mji wa Huruma, on the edge of the Karura Forest, with all structures in the village being demolished and bulldozed to ensure that all left the site. However, by September 1970 structure owners and some tenants had come back and rebuilt their structures, complaining of the distance of their new settlement from Nairobi and the lack of facilities on site. The settlement still exists today.

4.3 Sojourn at Mji wa Huruma.

The residents of Kaburini Village were relocated to Mji wa Huruma in February 1970 and remained there until June 1975. This move was meant to be a temporary solution but it was five years before the first lot of relocatees were resettled in Huruma Site and Service Scheme, Ngei Villages and New Mathare Estate, Huruma. Those relocatees that arrived in Mji wa Huruma were landless, poor, illiterate and semiliterate, with 80% having lived in Nairobi for more than twenty years. A demographic survey carried out by the Nairobi City Council in 1972 showed that the village had more than 1700 people in total, with an average household size of 4.76 persons. There were also a lot of relatives housed in this estate. The location of the new village far away from the city made it difficult for the majority of residents to look for casual employment in the city centre or industrial area. This greatly affecting their income levels. Table 4.0 below provides a summary of the income structures of the two settlements between the early 1960's and 1970's .

Table 4.0 Income Structure : Early 1960's to 1975

Residence	Income in Ksh s.	% of Respondents.
Kaburini (upto 1970)	No Income	12%
	< 100 p.m	18%
	101-200 p.m	15%
	201-300 p.m	27%
	301-400 p.m	12%
	401-500 p.m	4%
	5001-600 p.m	8%
	Over 600/= p.m	4%
	Average Monthly Income = Ksh.221/- per month	
Mji wa Huruma (1970-1975)	No Income	30%
	<100 p.m	27%
	1001-200 p.m	20%
	201-300 p.m	15%
	over 300/= p.m	8%
		Average Monthly Income = Ksh.149/- per month

Source: Adopted from Hanjari (1988).

From here it is clear that the relocatees incomes in Mji wa Huruma were drastically reduced. Where before 28% earned more than Ksh.300 p.m, with 4% earning more than 600/- per month at Mji wa Huruma only 85 earned over 300/-. Average monthly incomes dropped from ksh.221/- per month to Ksh. 149 per month. Income generating activities were few and included mainly selling of foodstuffs. The 1983 survey carried out by Housing Research and Development Unit (HRDU) found most residents to be involved in the picking of the coffee berries in the nearby farms as an income earning activity, while a few of the structure owners were able to sublet some rooms.

As Mji wa huruma was not planned, nor serviced, the relocates found themselves worse off than they had been in Kaburini Village. The village (which still exists today) has self built housing units built of mud and wattle with some rough arrangement in rows of up to ten-twelve rooms per row, making accessibility in the settlement problematic. The Council did not provide any assistance to the relocatees to build the

new homes, probably because they deemed the settlement to be temporary, instead they provided 15 tents which accommodated about 175 people and spent Ksh. 1000 per day feeding the displaced community. This left 1525 people homeless and they resorted to constructing small temporary houses for themselves at their own cost. The Council also provided milk for the children and water for cooking. With time the Council run out of money and had to stop the feeding program.

The settlement had no essential infrastructural facilities and social amenities like piped clean water, public sewer, schools and roads. The National Council of Churches (NCCK, 1972) in a report on Mathare Valley, observed that 200 children were unable to attend school as the nearest schools were far away and there was no public transport to take them to where the schools were. Also the costs of transportation were prohibitive, whereas before at Kaburini the children walked to local council schools in the neighborhood. The Council had not made any arrangements for public transport to and from the site and the NCCK on realizing this provided a bus which made 3 round trips a day to and from the City Centre. Later some enterprising people introduced small private cars as taxis (similar to the *Kondele taxi* of Kisumu) to ease the transport problem.

The Minutes of the Nairobi City Council's Social Services and Housing Committee of 9th February 1970, note that the Director of Social Services and Housing was concerned about the situation at Mji wa Huruma which required immediate action. Thus as a matter of extreme urgency, a sub-committee of 2 councilors, K. Njuguna and Muthuki together with the District commissioner Nairobi was setup to deliberate on the situation and make recommendations on what to do. Co-opted to the committee were Councilors Waithaka, Kariuki and Midamba and the Commissioner of Squatters. By march 1970 the Director of Social Services and Housing reported on the deplorable living conditions at Mji wa Huruma where 624 adults and 527 children from Kaburini Informal settlement lived.

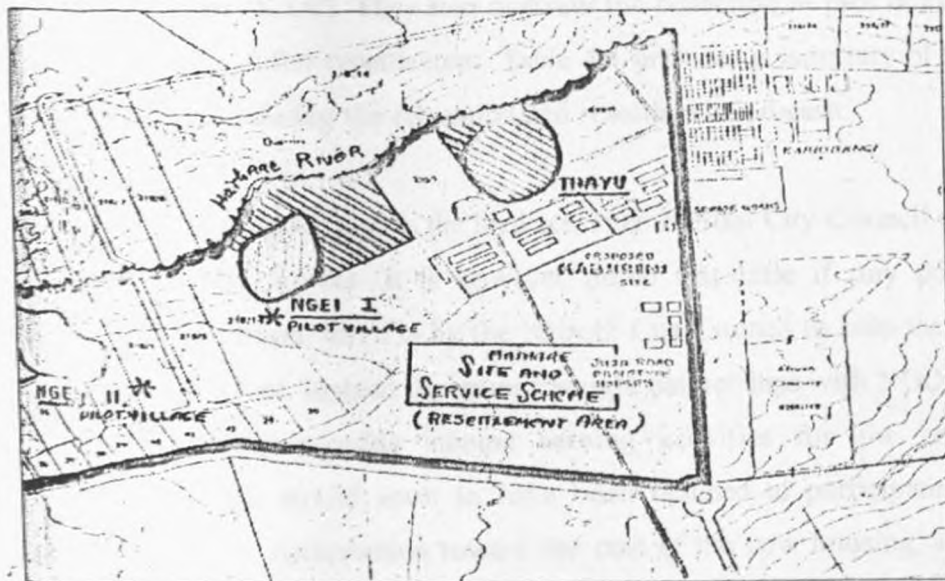
In the five years that preceded the relocation to the new sites at Huruma, the settlement at Mji wa Huruma was run by the village elders and committees, who supervised the day to day affairs of the community. These leaders were later to prove invaluable in uniting the community and organizing it into self help groups that would enable them construct their homes in the new sites at Huruma. A recent survey (1999) carried out in the settlement by Karirah-Gitau noted the community was very cohesive, with members having a strong sense of togetherness and belonging. The community leaders sought to have any assistance given to the community benefit all members. This could be because of the limited number of NGO's operating in this settlement- a reason given for this being that the Nairobi City Council considers this to be a temporary settlement and therefore NGO's that go through the council are discouraged. The NGO's found operating in the settlement include National Council of Churches of Kenya, the Children's Advisory Committee providing free education, Kenafric Charitable Foundation building houses and feeding the residents and the Child Welfare Society of Kenya who run a Nursery School. CBOs include All Nations Gospel Church, Nyakinyua Urumwe Women Group and Huruma Mabati Women Group (Karirah-Gitau ,1999)

4.3.1 Relocation and Resettlement to Huruma Settlement.

The resettlement of the ex-Kaburini residents had become the task of the Kenya Government and the Nairobi City Council. The National Christian Council of Kenya (now the National Council of Churches of Kenya), a voluntary Christian organization took up the plight of the community working towards having their matters settled once and for all. The Nairobi city council in its minutes of the Social Services and Housing Committee, Min.2 P2068 of 8.6.70 note that a delegation from the council was sent to the Minister of Local Government to seek assistance on the "Squatter problem". In response they were informed that the Government was not in a position to assist the council in resettling the Ex-Kaburini people. At the time apart from those displaced from Kaburini, the Nairobi City Council was also upgrading Mathare Valley informal settlement and there had been several other evictions of informal settlements whose residents also sought to be resettled. Thus the search for a suitable site by the Nairobi

City Council to relocate the community took account of other displaced people and was not geared only to the ex-Kaburini community. The Director of Social Services and the Town Clerk (in the same meeting) noted that the land being set aside for the mathare people at Huruma was not sufficient to cater for both Mathare and ex-Kaburini people. They considered the possibility of relocating the ex-Kaburini community to plots in Kariobangi, which were being serviced and would be ready for occupation by August 1970, and resolved that the ex-Kaburini people be given first priority. Minute 2 of the Finance Committee of 18.3.70 noted that a Pilot scheme was being developed in the area (present day Ngei Village 1) estimated to cost 15,000 pounds plus earth moving costs of 10,000 pounds. To further extend this project to allow for inclusion of the ex-Kaburini residents would require a additional land and Plot No L.R 218/3 was earmarked for purchase at Ksh. 75,000, on the recommendation of the Chief Valuer. This meant that the resettlement of the ex-Kaburini community was finally effected to three different settlements sites within Huruma. These are Huruma Site and Service Scheme, New Mathare Estate and Ngei Village I and 2. Map 4.2. shows the relocation site and the site for the pilot projects.

Map 4.2 Pilot Projects Site and Relocation Site Huruma



Source: N.C.C.K File Ref. 2126/RAM/72.

Scale 1:10,000

4.3.2 The Roles and Responsibilities of Actors

As noted earlier, in the majority of cases the relocation and resettlement of informal settlements is carried out by a public body. The success of the relocation and resettlement scheme is greatly dependent on the actors involved their roles and responsibilities and how they carry out these roles. In this case the Kenya Government and the Nairobi City council were the lead actors. Other actors included National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) and later in varying degrees the Red Cross, Kenya Industrial estates and the Seventh Day Adventist Church.

The Nairobi City Councils role and responsibility in the programme begun at the conceptual stage with the planning and design of the project and overseeing the successful implementation. This involved the selection of a site, which was, as noted above, not an easy task. The Council also was involved in the preparation of the plot lease documents, letters of allocation, site plans, building plans and cost estimates, including those to be borne by the community. The council also supervised the construction of the buildings to ensure minimum standards of safety, health and workmanship were maintained. The Council was also expected to fund the project and sought partnerships with interested private enterprises for example NCCCK and Kenya Industrial Estates (K.I.E). They also oversaw the collection of plot rents, Council rates and water charges after resettlement. Table 4.1 provides a summary of the distribution of responsibilities during the relocation and resettlement process.

The table clearly shows that as the lead actor the Nairobi City Council was involved in all stages of the project. It is however noted that little if any post resettlement assistance was offered directly by the Nairobi City Council to help the community re-establish themselves. Instead the council sought partnerships with NGO's like N.C.C.K and KIE to help provide income earning activities for the community. The community's role would seem to have been reduced to participating in the socio-economic survey, contribution toward the cost of the new housing, and demolishing their old structures prior to moving to the new site.

TABLE 4.1 ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF ACTORS

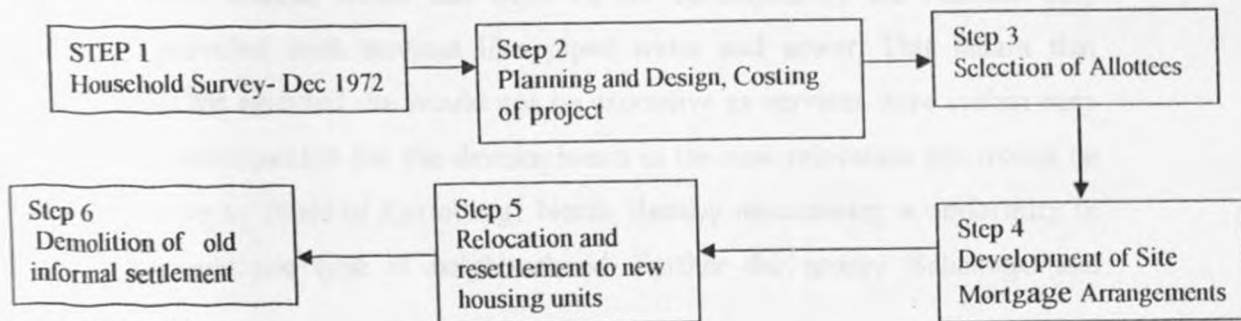
Responsibilities/ Duties/ Role	Before Relocation	During Relocation	After Resettlement
1. Start of the scheme	MLG/ NCC	-	-
2. Socio Economic survey (community needs assessment)	MLG, NCC, Community, NGO (NCCCK)	-	-
3.Planning and Design	MLG, NCC	-	-
4.Financing Residents	Community/ NGO/ NCC	Community/ NGO	Community/NGO
5. Temporary shelter of residents during redevelopment	Community individually, NCC (Tents)	Community individually, NCC (Tents)	-
6. Demolition, construction of new structures and installation of services	-	NCC/ Contractors Community	-
7. Allocation of housing units, maintenance,	-	NCC	NCC
8. Environmental sanitation	-	-	MLG/NCC

Source : Adapted from Evaluation of Relocation Experience, 1991, and Authors research 2007.

4.3.3 Relocation Procedures.

Unlike in the case of the original relocation of Kaburini Village to Mji wa Huruma, the decision to move the relocatees from Mji wa Huruma was a well known and accepted fact. Hanjari (1988) notes that the resettlement programme was slow and painful, involving many phases. Slow in that it took over 5 years to complete and painful because in that period the community at Mji wa Huruma was basically left to their own devices with regard to the provision of services and sustaining of livelihoods. The procedure followed has been diagrammatized below as Figure 4.1

Figure 4.1 The Relocation Procedure 1970-1975



Source : Author 2007.

(i). The Household Survey

As a first step a demographic survey was carried out by the Nairobi City Council. The survey carried out in 1972 provided the Nairobi City Council with a data base of those living in the new settlement, information used in planning and organizing for the final resettlement sites. The enumerated population was 1700 people, of which 85% were below 45, with the majority 60% being between the ages of 0-20 years (NCC Survey 1972). 56% of the population was male while 44% were females. Having a large young population would prove invaluable when it came to construction of their new houses. With low incomes (Table 4.0) and large household sizes and the large number of relatives who were dependents, it was clear that the community were indeed very poor. Hanjari (1988) further observes from the survey carried out in 1983 by HRDU that the relocatees basic needs at the time of relocation and resettlement were access to a serviced plot, where they would be able to construct a house to live in. This house was expected to be affordable, functional, secure and promote good health. The relocatees also sought to have access to urban services like clean potable water, garbage disposal, sewerage, health facilities, social halls, open spaces, recreational and playing fields, churches, and infrastructure like roads and street lighting.

(ii). The Planning and Design.

This stage entailed the planning of the site, designing and costing a new scheme, allocation of plots in the new site. In the preliminary Phase the Nairobi City Council, with the help of the Government, sought to find a suitable site for the resettlement and provide it with services. The choice of Huruma as a relocation and resettlement site was because although the area was far from the City centre, it was located close to the Kariobangi North Estate, which had been earlier developed by the Nairobi City Council and provided with services like piped water and sewer. This meant that development of the selected site would not be expensive as services were within easy reach. Also it was expected that the developments in the new relocation site would be on the same lines as those of Kariobangi North, thereby maintaining a uniformity in usage, density and the type of neighborhood. Further the nearby Babadogo and

Dandora industrial areas would provide employment opportunities for the resettled community. The land here was also relatively cheap.

The planning and design stage also entailed the drawing up of the development plans for the site. This stage used a non-participatory model in which the community not involved in the design process (relocation project typology no.1). It was assumed that the Council technical staff were able to provide a suitable plan for the site and the house (i.e they knew what the community wanted). A comprehensive planning of the resettlement site was carried out by the Nairobi City Council, who provided for a site with minimal infrastructural services scheme and a complete houses scheme.

The Cost of the project was expected to be carried by the Government and Nairobi City Council. It was not possible to obtain the actual costing for all items from the Council on the Huruma project however from minutes of the Nairobi City Council Housing and Social Services Finance Committees it is indicated that the project financing was to come from the National Housing Corporation, who offered £50,000 to be utilized by end June 1970 (this is the end of the financial year for many organizations). The main costs included the construction of the houses and the provision of services including water. Electricity, access roads, markets , schools and health facilities. Other costs incurred included cost of surveys (which were passed on to allottees), cost of the studies, demolition and land preparation, and the general administration of the project. The Nairobi City Council Minutes of the Finance Committee of 16th September 1970 gave the cost of providing services to the Huruma Scheme to be £525,000 (Ksh 10.5 million), while the cost of house improvement was Ksh. 2,660,000 . This was made up as follows:

A. Servicing	Pounds
(1) For improvable villages (Mathare Valley).....	£75,000
ii) For un-serviced private company housing	£150,000
iii) For un-improvable villages throughout Nairobi requiring resettlement	£167,000

Hanjari (1988) notes that the cost of the housing units to be constructed using self help method were estimated at Ksh. 2000 in 1971. This had risen to Ksh.7500 by June 1995. While at Mji wa Huruma, on realizing that the relocatees would not afford to build their houses once allocated plots, the NCK set out to organize the community into savings groups, from which members could borrow money and advanced loans through these groups to the community. Thus NCK helped to organize the community into the first self-help building groups.

a) New Huruma Site

This was the second post-independence site and service scheme in Nairobi and is located about 8 kms to the east of the city center on Juja Road and at the junction of Juja road and Outer Ring Road. The participants in the planning of the scheme included staff from the Ministry of Local Government, Nairobi City Council and the Ministry of Lands. Later when the scheme looked at the planning of industrial sites, Kenya Industrial Estates and NCK were also involved. NCK had successfully begun some cottage industries in the nearby Mathare Valley settlement and were invited to participate because of this. The plan for the estate included a component of income generation activities, where the allottees were expected to rent part of the house to raise money to pay for the house. The Kenya Government set aside 115 acres of land for the New Huruma Estate, which was granted to the Nairobi City Council on a 99 year lease. The Council serviced the land and demarcated it into plots measuring 10mx12m for allocation on 50 year subleases at a ground rent of Ksh. 60/- per year. Map 4. 2 provides the location of the Site.

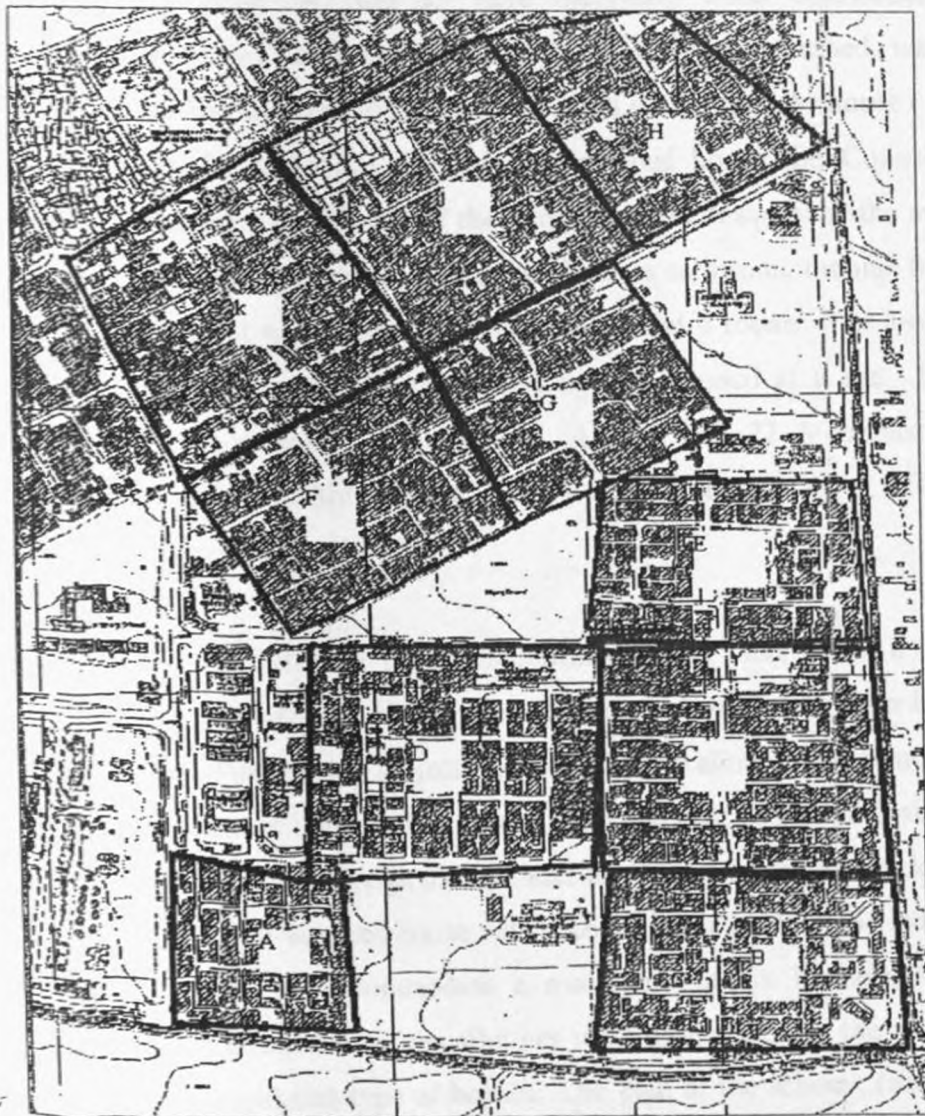
The Scheme was set out in 10 Zones, alphabetically annotated from Zone A-K

(missing out I) (see Map 4. 3). These Zones were further divided into two sectors:

(i) **Sector 1 covering Zones A-E** had 557 fully serviced plots, each measuring 7.526 by 11.580 meters and constructed with houses in a Tenant Purchase housing Scheme belonging to the Council for allocation to the low income people. The houses comprised 3 rooms and a service core with a kitchen and ablution block. The kitchen which in many instances was turned into an extra room by the allottees, meant that the

scheme had 2238 rooms, with each room being occupied by a family, giving a population of about 8,900 people (instead of the expected/ planned for 1671) in the settlement. The allottees were expected to occupy part of the house say 2 rooms and rent the other, to raise money. To the poor ex-Kaburini residents, raising Ksh 1100/= was virtually impossible. Their inability to access conventional financial resources threatened their chance to benefit from the Tenant Purchase scheme.

Map 4.3 New Mathare Estate



Source: N.C.C Planning Dept. 2007.

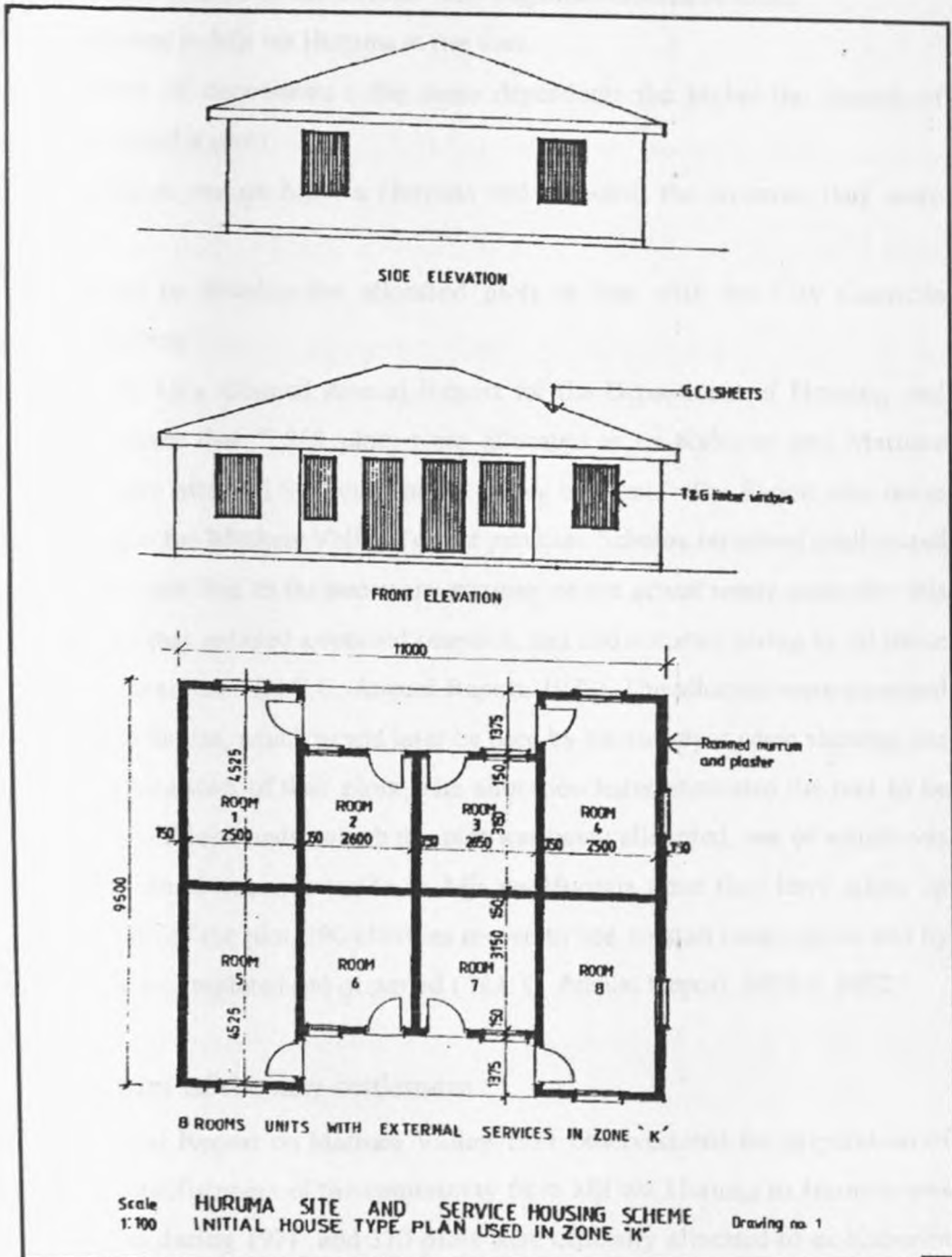
Although many residents were offered the houses only 120 were able to take up the offers after intervention from NCKK, who provided low interest loans totaling Ksh. 105,740 to them. The adoption of the minimum site and service scheme approach in Zones F-K was in response to this dilemma. It was viewed by the council as a more feasible and realistic means of re-housing the target group.

(ii) **Sector 2 included Zones F-K** was planned for 478 plots measuring 10.50 by 12 meters, with minimum services provided. These included on-plot piped water supply, a wet-core (with shower and toilet), roads, surface water drains, sewerage and street lighting. Zone "K" did not have individual water connections, toilets and showers. Instead six communal ablution blocks with attached water taps were provided. The first allottees in Zone "k" adopted a 8- room type house (see drawing 1) which they preferred to the original four roomed house the Council had initially suggested. The main drawbacks of the demonstration design was the number and size of the rooms. It was felt that to enable the allottees earn some income from the plots as well as live there it was necessary to have more than 4 rooms. The 8-room house type plan was designed, approved and issued by the Council at a fee. Each room was expected to accommodate a household. A total of 22 8-roomed houses were constructed with only three being constructed of stone walling. The rest were of plastered murrum block walling.

The Council discontinued the construction of these units when it realized that the development entailed a 100% plot coverage leading to overdevelopment and overcrowding. Further, the project was supposed to allow for incremental construction so that the allottees were not burdened with the cost of building all at once. It was found that the 8 -room design did not lend itself to incremental development. The plan was changed to a 6-roomed house with a courtyard, a kitchen and individual toilet and shower facilities, to accommodate a maximum of six households (Drawing 2). However, a large number of the allottees were unable to raise the necessary finance to construct the stipulated type of houses. The plan of the scheme (site layout) included sites reserved for educational facilities: 9 Nursery schools, 4 primary schools, 1 secondary school. Other uses planned for included sites reserved for 2 health clinics, 2

markets each on 2/3 of an acre, 1 shopping centre on 2 acres, 1 manufacturing and craft area on 1 1/4 acres.

Drawing 1. House Plan Zone 'K'.



Source. Hanjari (1983)

(iii) Selection of Allottees

Once the Nairobi City Council had finalized the site layouts and available plots, it was then possible to allocate. Data from the 1972 Demographic Survey formed the basis on which the allottees would be selected from. The eligibility criteria included :

- a) Being resident in Mji wa Huruma at the time.
- b) The number of dependents (the more dependents the higher the chance of being allocated a plot)
- c) Willingness to vacate Mji wa Huruma and demolish the structure they were living in.
- d) Willingness to develop the allocated plots in line with the City Councils approved plans.

The 1972 Nairobi City Council Annual Report for the Department of Housing and Social Services notes that “ 268 plots were allocated to ex-Kaburini and Mathare residents at Mathare Site and Service Scheme during the year.” The Report also notes that “ 142 houses in the Mathare Valley Tenant purchase Scheme remained unallocated by the end of the year due to the necessary scrutiny of the actual needy cases for this Scheme, a process that entailed a detailed research, tact and accurate listing by all those concerned in the exercise.” (N.C.C. Annual Report, 1972). The allottees were provided with a letter of allocation, which would later be used by the surveyor when showing the allottees the demarcations of their plots. The allocation letter stipulated the rent to be paid, and other conditions under which the plot was being allocated, one of which was that the allottee would cease to reside in Mji wa Huruma once they have taken up physical possession of the plot. 190 allottees moved to site to start construction and by 1979 37 units were completed and occupied (N.C.C. Annual Report, 1979 & 1982) .

(iv) Development of the new settlement

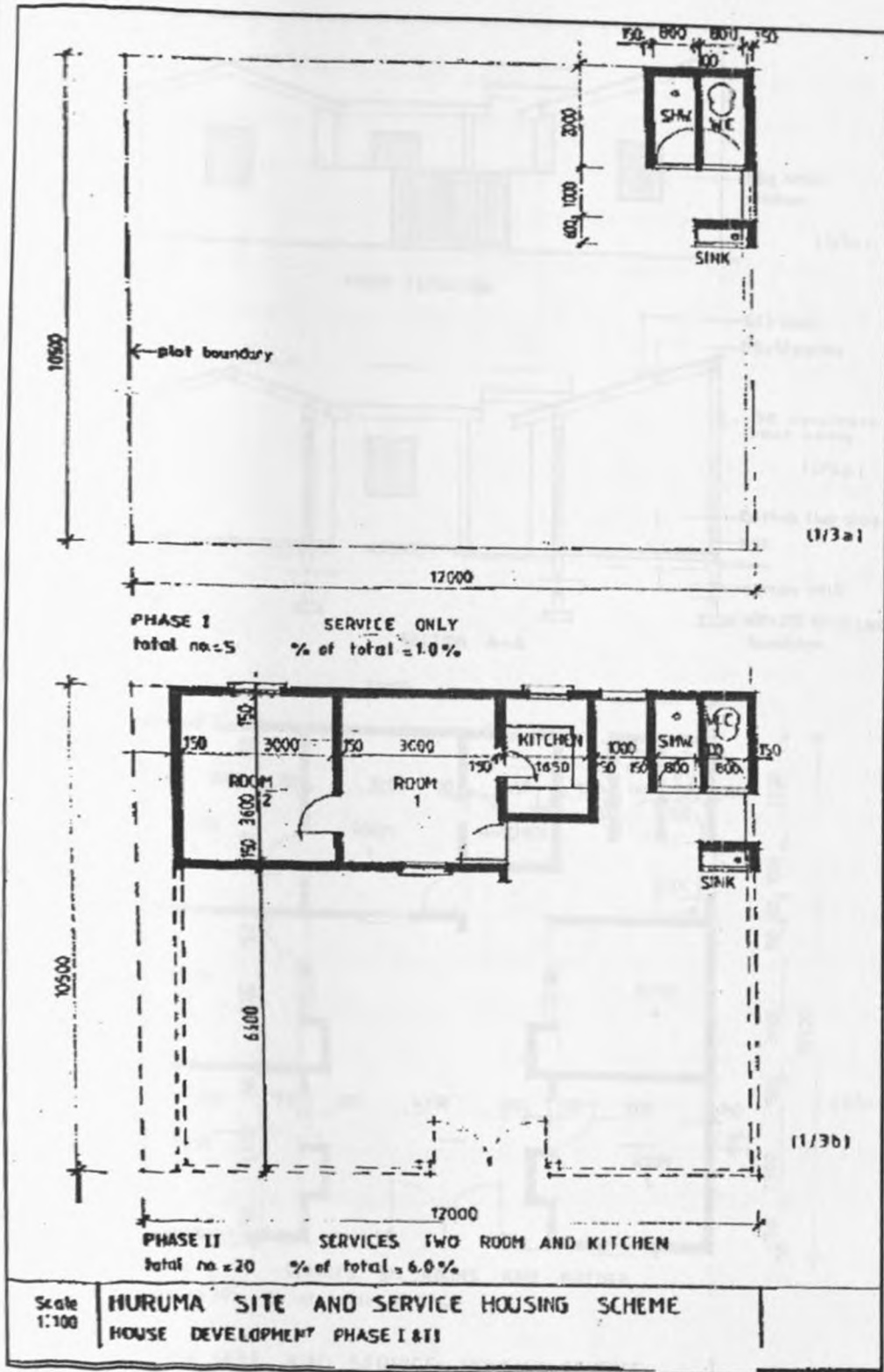
The NCCK Annual Report on Mathare Valley 1971 observed that the preparation of sites for the re-establishment of the community from Mji wa Huruma to Huruma was largely completed during 1971 and 370 plots were officially allocated to ex-Kaburini residents, but they occupied their plots in 1975 June. The long stay had caused anxiety and it was noted in the Minutes of a Meeting on Small Industrial Sites and Mji wa

Huruma Resettlement Loans that there was need for clarity among the residents to try and eradicate the prevailing confusion and establish confidence in the scheme. It was felt that the situation regarding the amount of loan available, the terms of the loans, the type of houses to be built and the method of both constructing and completing the house should be made clear, especially to the community leaders who would then be able to disseminate the information, and persuade the people to move to the new sites.

The development of the new settlement involved the construction of the housing, which was undertaken in stages as follows:

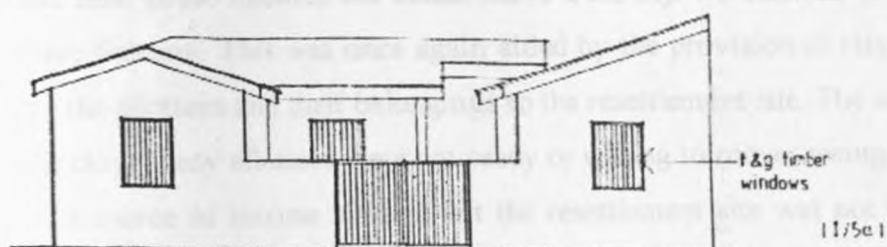
1. The provision of a serviced plot of land with a wet core consisting of water closet and shower provided by the Council.
2. To enable the allottees stay on site, otherwise they had to trek from Mji wa Huruma to the site each day, the council permitted them to erect temporary structure which they were expected to demolish once the house was complete.
3. The allottees were then expected to build two rooms and the foundation for the entire house. This phase proved to be the most challenging as the majority of allottees could not afford to build and the Nairobi City Council was not providing finance for construction, even in the form of loans. Construction was achieved mainly by utilizing building loans and contributions made to building groups that had been encouraged by NCKK, who were organizing the community to save for construction of their homes. It was noted that some allottees continued to reside at Mji wa Huruma while all the rooms on the new house were rented out to raise funds for the next phase.
4. The allottees were expected to construct the third and fourth rooms, followed by the fifth and sixth rooms. The process can be seen in Drawings 2 & 3.
5. The open courtyard in between the rooms was used for washing, drying clothes, cooking and as a children's play area.
6. Finally the security burglar proofing and metal external doors would be fitted. These were fabricated within the estate.

Drawing 2. Housing Development Phase 1 & 2.

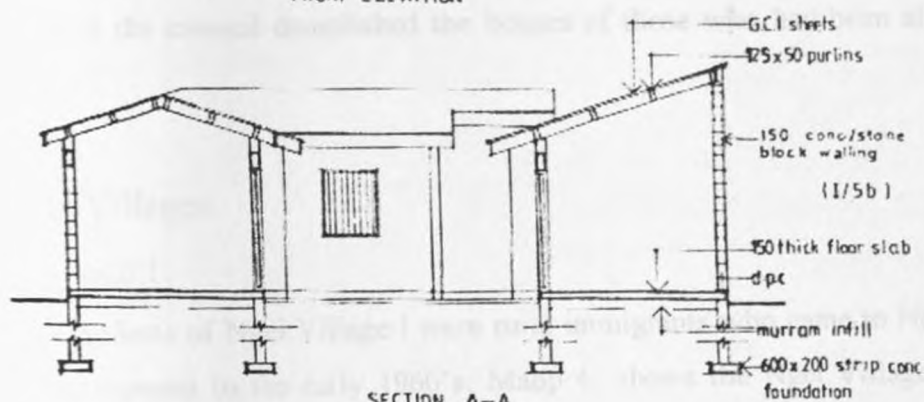


Source. Hanjari (1983)

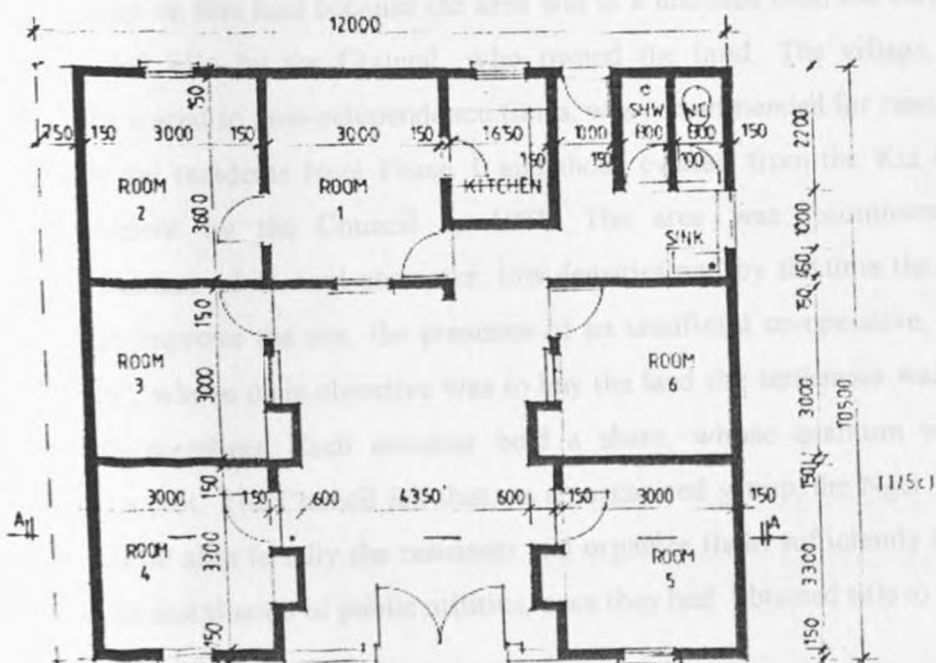
Drawing 3 Housing Development Phases 3&4



FRONT ELEVATION



SECTION A-A



PHASE V SERVICES SIX ROOMS AND KITCHEN
total no 305 % of total = 63.15%

Scale
1/100

HURUMA SITE AND SERVICE HOUSING SCHEME
HOUSE DEVELOPMENT PHASE V

Drawing no 1/5

Source: Hanjari (1983)

(v) Resettlement into the new Housing Units

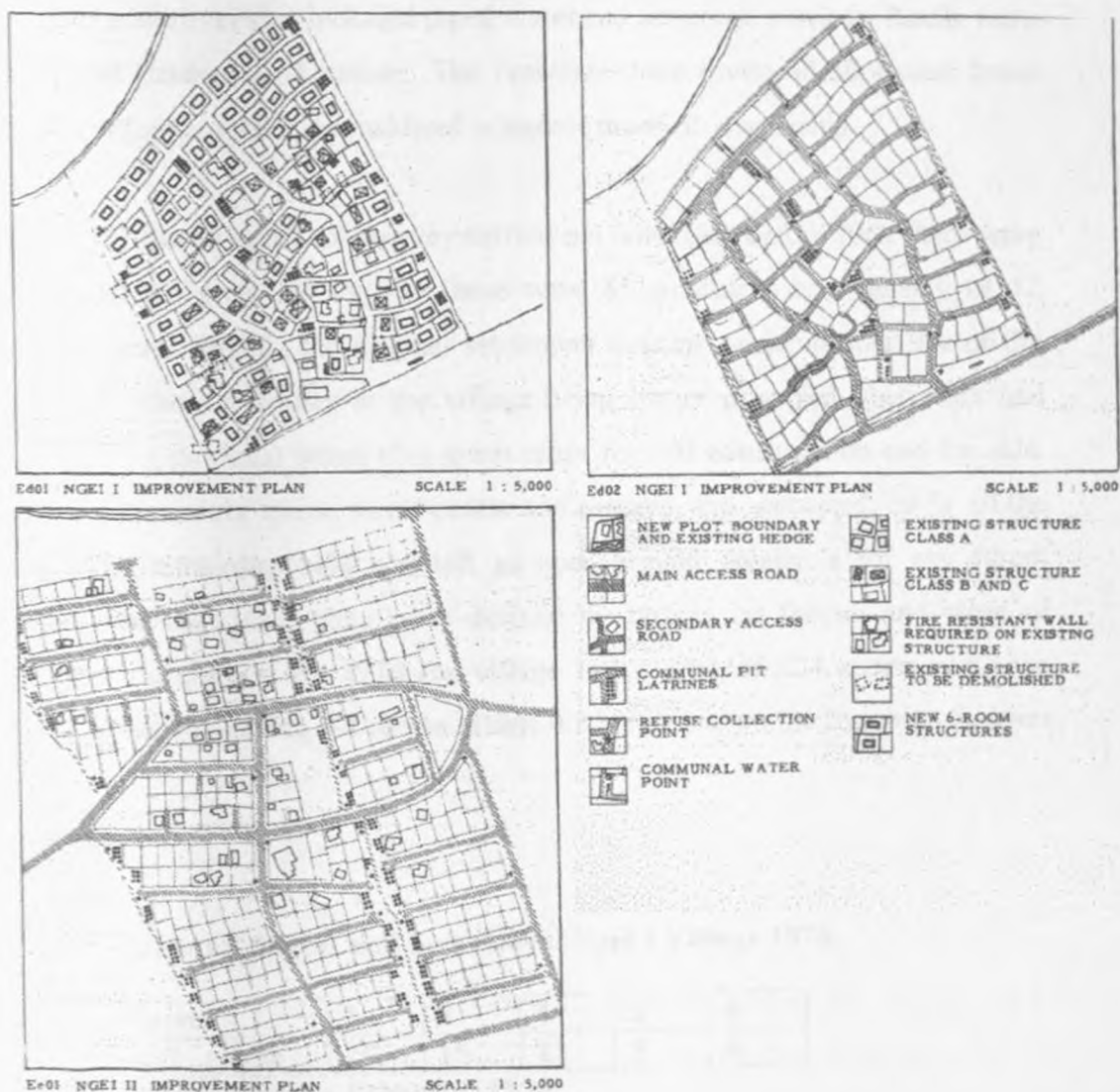
The fourth and final phase entailed the actual move from Mji wa Huruma to Huruma Site and Service Scheme. This was once again aided by the provision of city Council lorries to ferry the allottees and their belongings to the resettlement site. The move was far from being easy. Many allottees were not ready or willing to move, seeing the plots at Huruma as a source of income. Others felt the resettlement site was not ready for occupation because they had not completed construction of their houses. To ensure residents moved the council demolished the houses of those who had been allocated plots.

b) The Ngei Villages.

(i) Ngei Village 1.

The earliest residents of Ngei Village I were rural immigrants who came to Nairobi in search of employment in the early 1960's. Maop 4 shows the Ngei Villages. They were able to squat on this land because the area was at a distance from the City centre and had been left idle by the Council, who owned the land. The village, whose existence can be traced to post-independence times, was recommended for resettlement of the ex-Kaburini residents Ngei Phase 1 and those evicted from the Kia Michael informal settlement by the Council in 1978. The area was recommended for improvement because of its rural character, low densities and by the time the Council were willing to improve the site, the presence of an unofficial co-operative, "Ngei 1 Estates Society", whose main objective was to buy the land the settlement was located on for its 140 members. Each member held a share, whose quantum would be translated into a plot. The Council felt that, as an organized group, the Ngei 1 Village Society would be able to rally the residents and organize them sufficiently to enable them pay for the installation of public utilities, once they had obtained title to the land.

Map 4.4 The Ngei Villages



Source: Adapted from Etherton (1980)

Informal discussions with relocatees on site revealed that the evictees moved to Ngei Village 1 and negotiated with the people living on the site at the time, the “wazee wa Mji” (village elders) who allowed the new relocatees to move in, but as there was no “vacant land” to built on (each open space has an “owner”), the new relocatees were forced to rent existing rooms at Ksh.300 per month for a single room. Those wishing to purchase the homes available for rent paid Ksh. 550/- for them. However, the majority of people could not afford to purchase. After two years, the Council asked the residents

to demolish their structures and move to Ngei Phase 11, where the council had serviced plots. Services made available included piped water and sewerage services. Roads were constructed and finished with tarmac. The residents were given an allocation letter showing their Plot no. which is considered adequate proof of ownership.

Etherton (1976) from a household survey carried out notes that before 1962 there were no buildings in the area, but by 1969 there were 85 structures at a density of 12 structures per acre. Within the original settlement housing took up only 9% of the available land, with the houses in the village being owner occupied. Residents had "shamba's" (gardens) where they grew crops for self consumption and for sale. These crops were mainly maize, sweet potato and cassava, and occupied 30% of the settlement. The remaining 61% was left as open ground, available for any future settlements. The individual plots were defined by hedges or fences, and were of varying sizes and shapes. By 1976 the village had a total of 224 rooms, with the majority of structures having 1-2 rooms. Table 4.2 below shows the Number of rooms and structures.

Table 4.2 Number of Rooms and Structures: Ngei 1 Village 1976.

No of Rooms	1	2	3	4	5	6
% of total	30	25	15	21	5	4

Source: Adopted from Etherton, 1976.

7% (15) of all available rooms were used commercially, with 11% being general stores, 2% café/hotels, 1% butcher shops and 1% tea rooms. 98% of the structures were constructed of mud and wattle walls, with 43% having grass thatch or banana leaves roofs. 42% of roofs were also constructed of flattened metal tins, with 2% being timber off cuts. Floors were all rammed earth of compacted soil type. With ample space still available, houses were not tightly clustered together, and the danger of fire was mainly to those houses with grass thatch roofs with spaces of less than 3m between each house (Fire was a major concern in informal settlements, and still is).

The Village had minimal public utilities and infrastructural services. Electricity was not available and the access road into the village comprised a single track with two cul-de-sac branches, that were suitable for vehicular traffic. The majority of the Village was accessible by footpaths, which in many instances also delineated individual plots. Water supply was from a spring located on the edge of the village, but no water mains supplied the village. Residents would also access water from the neighbouring Kariobangi Estate, which had been provided with pipe water by the Nairobi City Council in an earlier upgrading exercise. This village was approximately 1 km away. For washing clothing and household utensils the residents used the nearby Gitathuru river, at one point where the river is closest to the settlement, and two smaller points. Garbage was burned regularly and tipped at 41 separate rubbish tips within the village. The village had 30 pit latrines, with each one serving 26 people. 2 public latrines were located centrally within the village. The village had an incomplete social hall, with no schools or clinics. Children attended school in the nearby Kariobangi and Ruaraka Estates.

ii) Ngei Village 2 (1969)

This village was considered for improvement and eventual resettlement of ex-Kaburini residents because it was largely on NCC land. The improvements suggested were similar to those of Ngei Village 1. The village traces its origins to 1964 when the first structures were noted. By 1969 there were 78 structures with a density of 7 structures per acre. 5% of the Village was housing area while 43 % comprised cultivated lands, where crops similar to those found in Ngei 1 were grown, with an additional area near the river under sugar cane cultivation. The open space accounted for 52% of the settlement. Buildings were similar to those of Ngei 1 in construction, with the buildings being widely scattered. In 1976 the settlement has 181 rooms, the majority of which were in 1-2 roomed structures. Only 3.3% (6) of the rooms were used commercially as general stores, tea shops, butchers shops and wood workshops. The settlement had one nursery school and one church.

Public utilities included an access road linking the settlement to Juja road, which was suitable for vehicular traffic. This road divided the village into roughly three equal areas. Water supply was from a spring and water from the Nairobi City Council mains was sold from a house located just outside the village. Washing of household utensils and clothes was at three points on River Gitathuru and at the spring. Garbage was regularly burned, after being deposited on a public dump. Pit latrines were distributed evenly throughout the village with each latrine serving 21 people.

Upgrading of the Settlements

Under the umbrella of the Ngei I Estates Society, (which later became Mberaini Company Ltd) the residents of Ngei Village 1 came together to try and purchase the land on which they lived. Having seen other informal settlements being demolished and the hardships that those residents faced, the desire to avoid being homeless, fueled their unity. The residents of Ngei Village 2 also faced the same problems. Social workers from the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) and the Nairobi City Council worked with the communities to garner their support to the proposed improvements to their settlements. This meant overcoming the residents' suspicions and winning their trust. This was the first indication of community participation in a resettlement project. However, it must be noted that in this instance those who participated in the planning of the village did not include the ex-Kaburini residents, who at the time were still resident at Mji wa Huruma, waiting relocation.

A plan drawn up for Ngei Village 1, in conjunction with the Ngei I Estates Society, tried as far as possible to retain the original layout of the settlement. Thus 70 plots already existing with houses and 67 vacant plots were drawn up. The average area of the plots were 132 sq. meters (1,480 sq. ft), able to accommodate a 4-6 roomed house, constructed under the Grade 11 bye laws, which were applied to the area by the Nairobi City Engineers Department. Although the sizes and shapes of the plots varied the village committee accepted this as they felt they could make corresponding adjustments according to the size of one's share. A total of 13 houses were demolished

to make way for access roads to each plot and a main access, from where it was organized to have garbage collected from each road intersection.

Originally, each plot was expected to have a pit-latrines which was to be sited at the edge of the plot, as the area was not connected to the council main sewer. Once the council sewer was connected, the area where the latrines were located was expected to be planted and retained as a pedestrian thoroughfare. In Ngei Village 2 the new plot sizes measured approximately 8mx18m, with plot shapes being both regular and irregular. The scheme involved a total of 501 plots and originally only single dwelling units comprising 4-6 rooms were permitted. The Council approved the plans although the cost of implementing them was not immediately worked out. The sites were marked out with the plot boundaries and access roads with the help of student surveyors from the University of Nairobi, and the Nairobi City Council begun work on the pit latrines, road grading and water supply. The Department of Social Services and Housing had the difficult task of allocating the vacant plots. Allocation was done through secret balloting although from discussions with residents it is evident that not all plots were allocated needy people from Mji wa Huruma or other informal settlements. Residents claim that many plots were allocated to Councilors or their cronies and incidences of double allocation, where plots were allocated to ex-Kaburini residents and unknown people, were noted by residents.

Like any typical informal settlement, basic infrastructure and services such as piped water, sewerage, roads, toilets in both the Ngei Villages are inadequate and in many instances non-existent. Much of the original infrastructure installed within the site by the Nairobi City Council has now collapsed from the effects of lack of maintenance and overuse. Live sewerage runs in open drains to the Gitathuru River, and open spaces have been occupied by more informal housing and as a result the settlement now appears unplanned. Waste management is a problem but at least this is being tackled to some extent via social networks in the community. Indirectly the health of residents may have improved somewhat from living in better houses and having more money for food, but the potential here has undoubtedly been reduced by deteriorating

infrastructure at neighborhood level. Overall educational levels in the neighborhood remain low, contributing to high unemployment and high levels of crime and violence. The Nairobi City Council (N.C.C) declared the area a special planning area under the Physical Planning Act of 1996. This means that the standards set out in the Physical Planning Act of 1996 can be adjusted and lowered in order to correspond to the social, cultural and economic realities of the residents.

Under Section 9 of the Grade 2 Bylaws (popularly referred to as the '95 Code), a minimum dwelling is defined as one habitable room, kitchen, ablutions and privy for the exclusive use of the occupants of the house. Section 10 (2) sets the minimum legal habitable space per person to be 3.72 square meters, laying down density levels. Thus taking an average family size of 5.4 persons, the minimum legal accommodation space is 20.1 square meters. Under these By-laws the W.C need not be an integral part of the house, so long as pit-latrines are 30ft from the habitable room or kitchen. However, this distance can be reduced by the medical Officer of Health, Ministry of Health. The Physical Planning Act with regard to Zoning and Development regulations are still applicable to the areas where the Grade 2 By-Laws have been applied. This is important because the Zoning regulations specify the minimum plot sizes permitted in an area and the building densities. Site coverage is determined by the method of sewerage disposal available for instance: Mains Sewer over 50%, Conservancy 15% and Septic Tank 20%. Any subdivision approvals are also based on these planning regulations with the Nairobi City Council charging a fee for each subdivision. The current Zoning regulations are as follows:

Table 4.3 Zone 7 Nairobi City .

Areas Covered	Ground Coverage	Plot Ratio	Type of development allowed	Min Area (Ha).	Remarks
Lower Huruma Mathare valley Mathare North Korogocho Dandora	50	75	High density residential Flats and Informal settlements	0.05 Lower in Site and Service schemes	Policy Issues: Special scheduled high density Informal development

Source: Nairobi City Council, Dept. of Planning, 2007

Since 2000 as zoning regulations have been amended the plot coverage's and plot ratios in this area have enabled increased density. Thus now using relaxed planning regulations it is permitted in Ngei to construct single storey housing, 2 level and 3 level rooms or flats, based on a type plan provided by the council's Housing Development Department. Planning development regulations existing are that plot coverage should be not more than 60% - 70%. The minimum size of the main rooms should be 10.1 square meters and based on the '95 Code and the Physical Planning Act. Today they are thinking of revising to 4 floors, probably because development in the area is already exceeding the 3 floor limit. This in itself is an indicator of the need for affordable housing for the poor.

iii) Ghetto Village

To ensure that all allocatees for the Huruma Site and Service scheme take up their plots, the council moved into Mji wa Huruma and demolished the remaining structures. Some residents who were not allocated moved to an area close to the site and service scheme, and next to river Gitathuru, which was vacant and proceeded to construct houses out of paper cartons. This was in may 1978. The Village was then named Ghetto Carton Village. There were over 100 people from Mji wa Huruma in this new settlement, waiting to be resettled by the Nairobi City Council. They were slowly joined by other people from settlements that the Council had demolished increasing the numbers of people requiring resettlement. This problem was further aggravated by the fact that as families grew older, children matured and formed their own households, thereby increasing the numbers who would qualify for plot allocation. The settlement lacked any services and after the outbreak of a fire in 1984 and fearing a worse disaster the council requested the residents to rebuild their houses using more permanent materials than paper cartons. The houses were also to be built in straight lines to allow for access and provide some order in the village. Some of the Ghetto residents were resettled in Ngei 1 & 2. But a large majority still occupy Ghetto Carton Village today. The following Box 3 carries an account by a resident of the village.

BOX 3 GHETTO VILLAGE .

Narrated by David Mwaniki, a leader in this village.

Most people who live here used to live near the graveyard (Kaburini) in Ziwani. The reasons we moved were that the late Mayor Margaret Kenyatta requested us to be moved from the graveyard because of the uncleanliness and because our houses were made of paper and as it was near the city center the Mayor requested them to be moved far away from the city. They were moved to Kiambu an area called Mji wa Huruma near the Karura forest in the year 1973. After 3 years the government allocated land to some of the people living in Mji wa Huruma in Huruma (Mathare) and this went on till 1978, others were taken to Ngei Estate, (a neighbouring informal settlement) and the rest of us were told to find somewhere to stay temporarily as the Council look for plots for us. Those who remained were about 380 people. We moved here and built houses made of paper and carton, since we believed then that the government was going to allocate to us plots like the other people and we would be able to build permanent houses. On 16th June 1984 a fire broke out and destroyed all our property and the government allocated 79 people out of about 400 to permanent places. It rained for 14 days as we waited to be allocated but we were not allocated, we were sleeping in the open and we would cover ourselves with papers. One day the social workers and city council requested us to build temporary structures near the river and they told us not to build houses of paper carton but to use mud or iron sheets and the houses were to be small because we would only be there for 14 days. The 333 people plus another 47 people who the social workers came with, plus others brought by the chief, settled near the river to this day. The problems encountered in this settlement include: No toilets and Water, and the houses are too small for us since we have children living with us. Our dream is that one-day we will also get to have a permanent home.

Source: Pamoja Trust, 2006.

4.4. Status of the Residents.

In order to assess the impact of the relocation on the residents of Kaburini, the researcher has analyzed various characteristics of the target community, while making inferences from the data collected. A total of 100 respondents were interviewed, 65 from Ngei Villages and 35 from Huruma Site and Service scheme, using the questionnaire at Appendix 1.

Socio-Demographic Trends.

This part of the report analyses the demographic characteristics of the population in Huruma Site and Service Scheme (HS&S), Ngei I and Ngei 2 villages (referred to as Ngei Villages). The demographic survey sought to find out how long respondents had lived in the area and where they had come from prior to this. The survey also provided information on household characteristics like size and composition of households, as this has an impact on expenditure patterns, incomes, poverty levels; education levels, health, housing conditions and overcrowding

Period of Stay.

Table 4.4 Period of Stay

Period	Ngei Villages		Huruma Site and Service	
0-5 year s	27	(41%)	12	(34 %)
6-10 years	16	(24%)	8	(23%)
11-15 years	9	(14%)	6	(17%)
16-20 years	5	(8%)	3	(9%)
21-25 years	3	(5%)	1	(3%)
Over 25 years	5	(8%)	5	(14%)
Total	65	(100%)	35	(100%)

Source : Field Survey , 2007.

Table 4.4 above shows that 41% of the respondents have lived in Ngei Village for upto five years. This could be attributed to the fact that a large number of the rooms are let out, with tenants moving as they better their situation. In comparison only 8% of the respondents had lived in the area for over 25 years. As the relocation was in 1975, this could be the respondents who moved from Mji wa Huruma. When asked where they lived before coming to Ngei Village 19% said they had come from Mji wa Huruma.

During the implementation stage of the project some of the respondents had remained in Mji wa Huruma even as the family moved to Ngei Village, just in case it was necessary to return to Mji wa Huruma. They did not trust the Nairobi City Council's resettlement plan, and retained the house/ plot in Mji wa Huruma until they were comfortable. Thus some of those people who had lived in Ngei Village for less than 20 years are included in this group. 38% were from other informal settlements mainly Mathare, Kibera and Kwa Michael, which had also suffered as the council demolished illegal settlements. 9% of the respondents were from neighboring countries, while 26% came from the rural area and 8% from other parts of the country.

For Huruma Site and Service Scheme, Table 4.4 shows that only 14% of the respondents have lived in the area for more than 25 years. This could be attributed to the fact that for each house built, up to 3 rooms are occupied by the household who own the house, and who may be part of the original ex-Kaburini settlers.

Like Ngei Village , a large percentage of the respondents (34%) had lived in the area for up to 5 years. During discussions with the respondents, it came to light that respondents also moved from one house to another within the estate, in search of higher level services. For instance some respondents had originally rented housing in Zone "K" but with time had moved over to Zone F, G, H,J. There were fewer people on the compound with six and not eight rooms, while the ablutions block was located within the housing. All 5 respondents who had lived in Huruma Site and Service, were part of the original group that left Kaburini in 1970, and moved to Mji wa Huruma where they constructed houses to let. 20% of the respondents stated that they had come to Huruma Site and Service scheme from other informal settlements. These included young men and women who, upon finishing school and obtaining a job found H S & S scheme ideal for living as rentals were affordable. 23% of the respondents had moved from the rural areas, coming to Nairobi to stay with relatives or look or jobs. 6% of the respondents settled in Huruma Site and Service scheme from neighboring countries , namely Ethiopia and Somalia. These are refugees. Most respondents elected to live in Huruma because of its proximity to city centre and the fact that public transport supplied by both matatu's (mini- buses) buses and taxi's were easily available.

Household Characteristics.

Household size

The study area showed household sizes ranging from 1 to 7 persons per household. These variations are shown in Table 4.5 below. The household types include single household, nuclear families and extended families. Most respondents in both Ngei and Huruma Site and Service scheme had extended families:

Table 4.5 Household size

Estate	1-3	4-6	More than 7	Total
Ngei Village	13 (20%)	28 (43%)	24 (36%)	65
Huruma Site and Service	3 (9%)	25 (71%)	7 (20%)	35

Source. Field Survey, 2007

In Ngei 79% of the respondents had families of more than 4 people, indicating overcrowding. The survey also shows that families (86%) occupied one room in the main house while an additional room was built of temporary material to cater for the older children. In Huruma Site and Service 91% of the respondents also had households of more than 4 persons, showing a serious incidence of overcrowding. The Survey carried out by HRDU in 1988 showed that families in this area had average household sizes of 7 persons. This then seems to indicate a fall in household sizes probably due to improved use of family planning levels. The survey also noted that there was a sizeable number of households living with relatives- especially grandparents looking after grandchildren.

Household Composition.

Table 4.6 shows the composition of the respondents.

Table 4.6 Household Composition.

Age (years)	Ngei Village	Huruma S&S scheme.
0-5	45 (11.5%)	16 (8%)
6-15	63 (16%)	25 (12%)
16-25	85 (22%)	50 (24%)
26-35	106 (27%)	71 (37%)
36-45	72 (18.5%)	30 (14%)
Over 46	19 (5%)	12 (5%)
Total	390	210

Source : Field Survey 2007.

The survey of households in Ngei Village revealed that 67.5% are aged between 16 years and 45 years. This is the most productive age, when most people are engaged in income earning activities. Children and /or dependants aged between 0 – 15 years make up 27%, while the older people aged over 45 years make up only 5 % . Huruma displays similar population trends with the most captive ages of 16 -45 carrying 75% of the population, while children and dependants are only 20% and those over 46 are 5%. This trend is also reflected in the 1999 National household survey.

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Education Levels.

Majority of respondents in Ngei Village and Huruma Site and Service scheme, had at least primary level of education. This is mainly among the younger set, with most of those people over the age of 60 not having any formal education. The correlation between education levels and income levels shows that those with higher education levels should earn more. This was not found to be the case. Rental incomes have helped distort this, with those older people (5%), who have minimal education have relatively high incomes from renting their premises. Also involvement in informal activities has also helped improve incomes, even for those in formal employment.

Table 4.7 Education Levels.

Area	No formal Education	Primary School	Secondary school	Tertiary	Total
Ngei Village	5 (8%)	38 (58.5%)	21 (32)	1 (1.5%)	65
Huruma Site and Service	4 (11%)	7 (20%)	22 (63.%)	2 (6%)	35

Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Table 4.7 shows higher literacy levels in Huruma as compared to Ngei Village, with 63 % of the respondents having gone to secondary school. This could be because many school leavers looking for accommodation find themselves drawn here. We were also informed that the Estate hosts many recently graduated University students who favor Huruma because of its proximity to Nairobi's city centre.

Discussions with respondents revealed that with free primary education, many more children were able to go to the formal schools. This has resulted in very high enrollment in the surrounding schools. With teacher/student ratios being as high as 1: 60, as compared to the UNESCO rate of 1:30 in developing countries. The development of the Ndururuno Secondary School was very welcome as it provided a secondary school within easy reach, and was expected to boost pupil enrollment.

Table 4.8 Occupation Patterns

Area	Formal Employment	Informal Employment	Formal self Employment	Informal self Employment	Unemployed	Other
Ngei Villages	7 (11)	22 (34%)	2 (3%)	18 (28%)	12 (18%)	4 (6%)
Huruma Site and Service Scheme.	10 (29%)	8 (23%)	1 (3%)	6 (17%)	7 (20%)	3 (8%)

Source : Field Survey 2007

Table 4.8 shows that the levels of unemployment in Ngei Village was 18% and in Huruma Site & Service Scheme was 20%. These unemployment figures are very high (about one fifth of the residents) and may be a cause of insecurity in the area. 34% of respondents in Ngei were in formal employment, including casual work., and 23% in Huruma. However, in both Ngei and Huruma a large percentage were employed in the informal sector – Ngei 62 % and Huruma 40%, mainly as petty traders, hawkers, vegetable vendors, food sellers. The researcher found that these were the informal occupations carried out by the residents of Mji wa Huruma, with the exception that additional occupations that have arisen thorough technological changes like T.V/ Video showing are now in evidence. None of the respondents said that they brewed local alcohol, which has recently been made legal, but said that most of the brewers were from the nearby Mathare Valley informal settlement , where the best (potent?) alcohol was brewed.

When comparing education levels and occupations, it was noted that in most cases those with higher education levels tended to be in formal employment, while those with primary or lower level of education tended to work in the informal sector, either as employees or in self employment.

Income and Expenditure Levels.

Incomes in the two settlements were raised from formal and informal employment, businesses and rentals. In some cases respondents received some money from relatives. As this was not consistent nor was the amount given, the researcher has assumed that

the income given by the respondents include any gifts. Table 4. 9 shows the income levels in both Ngei Village and Huruma Site and Service Scheme.

Table 4.9 Income Levels.

Income Ksh.	Ngei Village	Huruma
Up to 500	7 (11%)	1 (3%)
501 up to 1000	12 (18.5%)	2 (6%)
1001 up to 2500	16 (24.5%)	4 (11%)
2501 up to 4000	14 (22%)	6 (17%)
4001 up to 6000	9 (13%)	13 (37%)
Over 6001	7 (11%)	9 (26%)
Total	65 (100)	35 (100%)

Source : Field Survey, 2007.

The above table shows that in Huruma Site and Service Scheme over 50% of the respondents earned an income of over Ksh. 4,000 per month, while only 3 % earned up to Ksh.500 per month. In Ngei Village incomes were marginally lower with only 24% earning more than Ksh. 4,000, with the majority of the respondents (76%) earned between Ksh 1001-4000 per month. When analyzing the data it as noted that many of the respondents did not include rental incomes in their total incomes, so that the researcher had to add the two to obtain the total income.

Most people did not have savings with the majority of female respondents (21%) stating that they belonged to a ' merry-go-round' group, which is an informal saving scheme, in which several people come together and save a prescribed amount of money which is then given to each member in turn over a specified period like once a month. Information on the expenditure patterns of the respondents revealed that tenants spend upto 35% of their incomes on house rents (which is higher than the recommended 25%). This especially so for the tenants of the flats in the area. Lower rents were recorded for the single room bungalow type houses, however, for those in Zone "K" tenants were unwilling to pay high rents as the houses are constructed of murrum walls. The tenants also complained of overcrowding and the lack of privacy. This then means that the tenants have much less to spend on other items. Very little accounting was

made regarding purchase of clothes and personal items and respondents had to take the time to work out, by deduction, how much they spent on these items. This could be an indication that spending on personal items like clothing is only done when absolutely necessary. Expenditure on entertainment, gifts, health, maintenance and repairs of the house (especially by tenants) was low, with 76% of the tenants not spending any money on maintaining the house. Expenditure on food varied between the settlements, with some of the respondents from Ngei Village receiving food parcels from the rural areas.

Expenditure on services like water, electricity and garbage collection was kept at a minimum, and in many instances (especially for tenants of flats) rents included an element of electricity, water and security charges. 76% percent of the respondents reported that it was difficult to make ends meet and pay for food, education, health and rent on the incomes they earned. Most cases Children attended the public primary schools where education was free, (except for the various levies the schools charged as shown above). However, Secondary school education was a challenge and many parents found they were unable to pay, with children accumulating fees arrears. The result of this was that upon completion of schooling, they were not able to receive their certificates or results until all fee arrears were cleared making it difficult to obtain formal employment or further their education. None of the respondents found it easy to meet their obligations.

Economic Activities.

Both Ngei Village and Huruma Site and Service scheme is a hive of commercial economic activity. Informal discussions were held with business owners to ascertain if they resided within the estate or merely run the business and it was found that 94% of those interviewed (20) resided within the estate. Some resided on the plot where the business was located. In Ngei Village 90% of the respondents operated some sort of business, while in Huruma the figure was lower being 60%. The most common business venture included petty trading, hawking, hairdressing, sewing and textiles, kiosks selling various items, vegetable vendors and bars and eateries. Some of the

activities like sewing and textile were found to be carried out within the respondents home. But the majority of the activities were outside the house, mainly on the edge of the plot facing the road or on the road reserve. Plate 4.3 and Plate 4.4 show some business premises along the roadside.

Plate 4.3 Shops along a Road Frontage



Source: Field Survey, 2007

Plate 4.4 Commercial Activities



Source: Field Survey, 2007

The structures are make shift, being constructed of temporary materials like old G.C.I sheets and timber cutoffs. Roofing materials are polythene paper or old G.C.I sheets. 93% of the respondents said they owned the businesses they operated fully and had been in operation for between 32 years and 1 year. Most of those we could trace

having been part of the group who moved from Mji wa Huruma had small vegetable stalls, but depended mainly on rentals as sources of incomes, which were higher to those they had while in Mji wa Huruma.

Indeed on reflecting on the five theories carried in chapter 2 that seek to explain the continuance of informal sector activities the researcher learnt from discussions with the residents that, in response to the country's poor economic performance, and the rising unemployment in the formal sector, many residents have indeed engaged in informal businesses, with the informal sector providing an easy entry and an end to unemployment. This proof of the "lack of growth theory" also showed that some of the residents who were employed in the formal sector were also engaged in informal sector activities after working hours in an attempt at augmenting their low incomes. Changes in the economy leading to the loss of formal sector jobs through retrenchment, downsizing, new technological innovations, or privatization and the effect of the economic policies like the structural adjustment policies of 1980's, have also resulted in some residents resorting to informal jobs as the formal job market shrunk. These residents opened businesses and even employed others. The effect of this has been the rapid growth of the informal sector, which as evidenced in Table 4.8 employs the bulk of the people.

Housing Conditions.

The survey found that there were more tenants than landlords in both Huruma Site and Service Scheme and Ngei Village (40% landlords and 60 % tenants). In Huruma Site and Service Scheme 5% of the respondents were the original land owners who had got allocation from the Nairobi City Council, although many of them had not formalized the letters of allocation by getting formal leases or titles. In Ngei Village 7% fell in this category. Discussions with the respondents revealed that it was easy to buy and sell property in their neighborhood, with prices ranging from Ksh.500,000 to 1,000,000 per plot with house. 87% of the properties in Huruma Site and Service had been sold by the original allottee with some being sold two to three times since. The majority of the plots with high-rise flats were built on bought plots, with the land owner seeking to

maximize on his investment. Land in the neighboring estate which was company owned have had flats for a long time. Most of the tenants said the main attraction to living in these area was the low rentals charged. Table 4.10 carries a summary of the rentals paid

Table 4.10 Rents Paid by Tenants

Rent Paid (Ksh)	Ngei Village	Huruma Site and Service Scheme
Less than 500	4	1
501-1500	18	2
1501-3000	12	7
3001-4500	6	9
4501-6000	-	2
Over 6000	-	-
Total	40	21

Source: Field Survey 2007.

Discussions also revealed that on commencement of the lease, the landlords did not expect a deposit, although a few respondents in the newly built flats had paid one month rent as deposit . This made the housing more affordable. Most landlords lived in one room while leasing all the others, this being 5-7 rooms depending on how many rooms were built. House types included tenement rooms, single room flats and detached houses. Houses in the area are constructed of both permanent and temporary materials, namely stone walls with old G.C.I sheets roofing, or murrum block walls or mud and wattle. Plate 4.5 below shows a house constructed of stone.

Plate 4.5 Building Materials : Stone Wall House



A house constructed of stone walling. Notice in the fore ground the swept "yard" which is used as a play area for the children, cooking space and for drying clothes. In the background is a new block of single room flats

Source: Author, 2007..

Plate 4.6 Temporary Housing



The Picture shows:

1. temporary housing made of mud and wattle with a rusty G.C.I roof.
2. Houses constructed of old G.C.I walling and roofing.
3. In the background is a block of flats constructed of stone walling.

Source: Author, 2007.

When asked what they would change or improve on the house they live in, most landlords wanted to be able to build high-rise single room flats similar to those mushrooming in the area. They had all added an additional room to their house, which was occupied by immediate family, while the more permanent rooms were let out. Plate 4.7 shows the illegal galvanized corrugated iron (G.C.I) sheets extensions. These extensions encroach on the road reserve, considerably narrowing it.

Plate 4.7 Illegal Extensions to main House.



G.C.I. sheets extensions to houses. Notice in the forefront the open drain that is carrying the sewerage from the nearby toilets. There is a plastic pipe depositing its effluent into the open drain. Wooden planks have been used to make a bridge across the open drain.

Source: Author, 2007.

The change in land ownership in the area has seen the construction of high-rise buildings, most of which are not connected to the main City Council sewer. This in itself poses a great challenge especially with regard to the disposal of waste. The picture in Plate 4.8 shows a six storey block of single room flats, without a lift, quite contrary to Council's regulations. However, the Department of Housing Development, Nairobi City Council reckons it has no alternative but to approve the high rise buildings as they are what is being constructed.

Plate 4.8 High-rise buildings



Source: Author, 2007.

Use of Indoor and Outdoor Space

The survey revealed that about 85% of residents in both Ngei Village (84%) and Huruma Site and Service scheme (85%) use their rooms for purposes of cooking, eating, sleeping, studying and storage. In all cases the sanitary activities were carried out in a separate room, in some cases away from the plot. This has created the problem of lack of privacy as all household members have to occupy and use the same space. The residents have resorted to dividing the space by the use of a curtain, running across the width of the room, so that the sitting space (sitting room) is cut off from the sleeping space (bedroom). Cooking utensils and other personal items are them stored under the bed or table and in cupboards. Bedding for children and other household members are also stored under beds or in corners of the room. Plates 4. 9 to 4.12 show

how internal space is utilized. Plates 4.9 and 4.10 show how the room has been divided into two with a “curtain” made of cotton material laid on a support thread hanger. This is also used to hang clothes and other paraphernalia. Pegs are used to keep things in place. The rear side of the door has nails fastened to it upon which clothes and other personal items are then hang for storage.

Plate 4.9 Use of Indoor Space



Source :Field Survey, 2007

Plate 4.10 Indoor Space



Source :Field Survey, 2007

Plate 4.11



Source :Field Survey, 2007

Plate 4.12



Source :Field Survey, 2007

Plates 4.13 and 4.14 below show storage of family items like basins, cartons of utensils under the bed.

Plate 4.13 Under the bed storage



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Plate 4.14 Under the bed storage



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Plates 4.15 and 4.16 below show how household items are stored. Notice the paraffin stove in the picture and the bottles full of water for household use.

Plates 4.15 Storage



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Plate 4.16 Storage



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

The use of outdoor space in both Ngei and Huruma Site and Service scheme has similarities with majority of people (72%) opting to cook outside the house, especially during daytime. As the most used cooking fuels were charcoal and paraffin, in most instances the cooking stoves and Jikos would be put outside in the open, especially at

night until the coals were extinguished or the fumes from the paraffin stove died down. No utensils were left outside at night for fear of theft. Washing and drying of clothes was also mainly carried out in the open, during the daylight hours. In most instances clothes on the line were watched to ensure they are not stolen. None of the respondents practiced urban agriculture within the settlement although 2 (6%) respondents in Huruma Site and Service Scheme kept chickens and 1 (3%) had Doves. The open yard in front of the houses becomes the children's playground and meeting area for the residents of the different rooms, who sit outside in the evening sun exchanging stories of their day. Plates 4.17 to 4.20 show the use of outdoor space.

Plate 4.17 Storage of utensils on verandah



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Here the verandah provides space for the basins and buckets which are used for another outdoor activity, washing clothes, which are then hang outside, in many instances blocking the main access into the houses.

Plate 4.18 Children playing in the yard



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Plate 4.19 Activities outside



Source: Field Survey, 2007.

Plate 4.20 Out Door Activities



Source: Field Survey, 2007

The pictures above show that the open yard space is used for cooking and related activities like lighting the Jiko (charcoal burner cooking stove). It is also the space utilized by the children in the home as their playing ground. The open spaces within the plot have also been used to keep domestic animals mainly for the consumption of the family raising them. Plate 4.21 & 4.22 shows the rearing of Chicken and Doves.

Plate 4.21 Chickens in the back



Source: Field Survey, 2007

Plate 4.22 Rearing Doves



Source: Field Survey, 2007

Appendix 3 relates the story of Kambi Moto Upgrading, which demonstrates the effect cultural behavior has had on the resettlement.

Access to Infrastructure and Services.

The survey looked at the residents access to infrastructure and services like water, sewerage, garbage collection, health, education and environment and recreation. The survey found that a community center is under construction to serve all residents of both Ngei Village and Huruma Site and Service Scheme, and would be used for social gatherings, vocational training or as a nursery school.

Plate 4.23 Construction of Community Centre



Source: Field Survey, 2007

The construction of a community social hall using C.D.F funds

Sanitation and the Environment

In Zone K of Huruma Site and Service Scheme sanitation blocks were provided for a group of housing. Today these sanitation blocks have been allocated (grabbed) and converted to other uses. The sanitary block in the picture below is now a Video Show place.

Plate 4.24 Converted Sanitary Block.



Source: Field Survey, 2007

This has also meant that house owners have to construct pit latrines for themselves and their tenants. Plates 4. 25 and 4.26 below shows the pit latrine constructed by those who can afford to build them. 3 or 8.5% of the respondents in Huruma Site and Service Scheme had built their own toilet.

Plate 4.25 Temporary Pit Latrine



Source: Field Survey, 2007

Plate 4.26 Pit Latrine



Source: Field Survey, 2007

The pit latrine is constructed of temporary materials, and the waste is released into an open drain that flows through the estate to the river Gitathuru. The pit latrine in the Plate 4.26 is constructed of Stone walling, but the effluent is still released into the open drain behind the latrine. For those unable to build a pit latrine, the tenants are forced to resort to the use of "flying toilets" i.e they defecate in paper bags and throw these paper bags outside the plot, usually onto the road. This is a health and environmental hazard. Other lavatory types in the area include water operated toilets (found in the flats mainly) and open drain water operated water closets, that were provided at the time the houses were built.

The Sanitation blocks also provided water points for residents thus once they were sold off, residents had to find alternate means of accessing water. In most cases water is bought from water vendors at between Ksh. 3-4 per 20 litre jerry can. In Huruma 80% of the houses had water mains connected but 45% had the water disconnected because of non-payment or tampering with the meter (here the landlord removes the water meter every evening and returns it every morning, thus residents are able to get "free" water, upon discovery the Council officials disconnect the water.) In Ngei Village 40 % of the houses have water connections in the houses while 45 % have standpipes serving several houses.5% do not have water connection and purchase the water they use. Plate 4.27 shows an open road drainage which has become the main conduit for human waste and waste water. Notice the houses located next to the open drain. This poses a serious health hazard, and the smell from the human waste makes living in these houses (especially at night when there is hardly any wind to drive the stench away) a nightmare.

Plate 4. 27 Open Road drain carrying human waste



Source: Field Survey, 2007

Plate 4.28 Open Drain and Rubbish in Alley

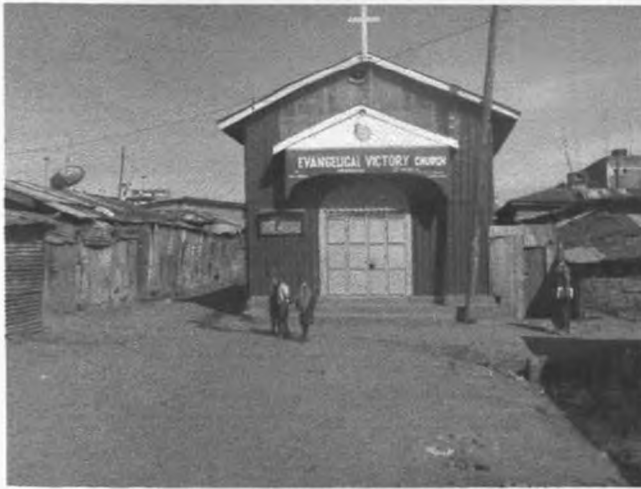


Source: Field Survey, 2007

This Plate 4.28 shows the alleys between the houses where the waste water passes. Notice that there is rubbish thrown about and there are children playing in the mess

oblivious to the health hazard. This alley is a planned road that has been encroached on by structures built by structure owners, who need the extra space for their grown up children and also built to stop the area in front of their homes being allocated to someone else.

Plate 4. 29 Construction on Road



Source: Field Survey, 2007

This church is also constructed on the road reserve making it difficult to access the surrounding area with motor vehicles.

Arrangements for garbage collection is on a private basis as the council trucks are not able to penetrate the settlement as the roads have been encroached on. Also for a long time the council has not been able to carry out this function, with the result that the residents were left to their own devices. The youth in both settlements have organized themselves into groups that collect and dispose of domestic garbage at a fee, ranging from Ksh.50 -100. As a result of the unsanitary conditions 45% of the respondents from Ngei Village said they had suffered from malaria/fever, while 83% had had diarrhea and vomiting, and 65% had had skin infections and eye infections. No one would admit to having contacted Tuberculosis, probably because of the stigma attached to it, but the researcher observed that the living

conditions of overcrowding are ideal for the spread of tuberculosis. In Huruma 56% of the respondents said they had suffered from diarrhea and vomiting at some time during the past year. Incidents of Malaria were few but 35 of the respondents claimed they had malaria. Vomiting and Diaphoresis was said to be common, especially among the children while 15% of the residents claimed to have gotten some skin ailment during the course of the year. No cases of Tuberculosis were recorded although the researcher again considered the area ideal for the spread of the disease. Due to constraints on time the researcher was unable to meet with the Medical officers in the Clinic at Mathare North, however it was noted that there were several informal health clinics operating within the area. 86% of the respondents said they visited hospitals and clinics when seeking medical treatment, 18% visited chemists to obtain medicine direct citing the cost of health care as a deterrent to seeing the doctor. 46% visited spiritual healers, while 22% said they visited spiritual healers usually as a last resort, when doctors were not able to cure their illness.

4.5. Emerging Issues/ Lessons Learnt.

As stated earlier relocation and resettlement has both positive and negative impacts on the community being relocated, and in many cases the host community. The measure is in relocating the neighborhood (physically destroying it) without destroying, at the same time, the lives and livelihoods of the people being resettled. Experience has shown that resettlement of communities is a complex issue that presents major challenges. The research process revealed a number of lessons, when taken into account, provides future opportunities for building a better society by reducing the vulnerabilities of the relocatees and their social groups.

- The first problem that was noted was that there was no overall plan for the resettlement of the people from Kaburini. The resettlement was in response to public outcry and hurriedly carried out. Thus at the time the first move was made to Mji wa Huruma, the Council still had not found a final relocation site. The result of this was that it took five years before the first people could move

from Mji wa Huruma. During those years the residents suffered as no public services were available on site.

- At the time of relocation no attention was made to the effect of removal to an isolated community far from the city centre where majority of residents carried out their business. The result of this was lower incomes, more suffering for the people and even children missed school. In quantifying the loss in a household, there must exist the understanding that the house is not only a place for living, but also a productive area, which plays a key role in their social and economic relations in the community.
- A resettlement programme should go beyond the provision of housing and should address other needs of the population such as the need for social infrastructure. The availability and cost of transport will greatly affect the re-establishment of the community.
- The City Council of Nairobi, seeking to fulfill a public function- providing housing- did not take account of the financial implications of the project on the community. Thus as recorded by Hanjari (1988), many of the original allottees, finding themselves unable to construct the expected housing, sold their interests in the land.
- The relocatees must also be able to reestablish their pattern of life in the new surroundings. Thus an overall recovery framework whose objectives are to minimize the suffering of the relocated community is needed. This framework should take stock of the recovery needs required to get the community back on track and secure wide support, including financial and technical resources; develop a partnership strategy for implementation with participation of multiple stakeholders, including the affected communities. This strategy must have a concrete timeframe and contain strategic and precise actions in the larger framework of sustainable human development, while combining long-term approaches with strategic, short- and medium-term interventions.
- As the community in the informal settlements are mainly low income, there is need to have in place financial programmes like revolving fund which could be used to assist the community and replicate the project elsewhere. There also

needs to be a contingency fund set aside for repairs and maintenance of the existing infrastructure, while seeing to their renewal.

- There was no or little involvement of the community in the planning stages of the relocation, so that the communities needs and cultural practices could be incorporated in the design of the housing and general community layout. This has resulted in extensions to houses being built to cater for growing families and the need for extra income. Since people have often strong economic, social and cultural reasons that influence their choice of settlement and housing, it is important that the relocation decisions and selection of resettlement sites are made in a consultative manner with full participation of the affected communities.
- Communities need to be prepared and informed before they are relocated and resettled. This empowers the community to be able to make informed decisions.
- The process did not take account of the economic life of the community so that issues like journey to work and its attendant costs were not considered. Also the availability of markets, health facilities, schools, and places of work. Resettlement programmes should aim to improve the living conditions of the affected population by addressing specific issues like:
 - Agriculture and livestock production, through the provision of seeds, tools, micro- credits, and other means
 - Small business through the provision of credits or other means
 - Recovery of and improvement of productive social infrastructure such as roads, markets, etc. which will support economic activities
 - The reconstruction of the housing sector using local technologies, construction materials, local know-how, to ensure that construction activities will have a direct positive impact upon the local economy.
 - Consideration of short-term gender sensitive alternative employment generation measures to compensate for lost livelihoods in the immediate post-relocation period
- The scheme was to cater for the displaced people from the informal settlement. However, it was noted that the council did not have the capacity to manage the

project. Issues of allocation, post project maintenance and funding soon came up. The result of this was allocation to people who were not qualified, and deterioration of infrastructure during the life of the project.

- The anticipated population densities were quickly over taken, and in fact the new owners started building multi-storey buildings, increasing densities further and stressing the little infrastructure available. This resulted in changes in zoning regulations but did not have a corresponding increase in infrastructure
- The cause-effect relationship between environmental degradation and poverty is complex and has been the subject of many studies. Pollution of the environment and degradation has resulted in an increase in health problems and an overall degradation of the settlement. For example as a coping mechanism people resort to use of flying toilets and organizing the collection of garbage.
- Problems of access as the planned roads were allocated by the Chiefs leading to blocked access. This has the repercussions of not allowing emergency vehicles like ambulances through.
- Appropriate mechanisms should be put in place to ensure secure land and housing tenure.

The study hypothesis is to be accepted as the study clearly shows that better management of the relocation and resettlement process by the actors would have helped ease some of the problems the relocatees face today.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

5.1 Introduction.

This study set out to find out how the process and method of relocation and resettlement of informal settlements has been carried out in Kenya with the aim of highlighting any useful lessons that have been learnt. Although various agencies have drawn up guidelines for relocation and resettlement, such as the World Bank, these guidelines are not necessary geared towards the unique problems of informal settlements. These guidelines also need to be customized to the local situation as mostly people are found when the relocation and resettlement has already occurred yet the problems start right from the beginning of the whole exercise. The study hypothesized that the primal ingredient in a successful relocation and resettlement exercise is the procedures and arrangements in place i.e. the plan and the study found that the non-optimal management of the process of relocation and resettlement of informal settlements has resulted in continued hardship for the communities that have been relocated and resettled. The objectives of the study were to examine the reasons for and the process of relocation and resettlement of informal settlements in Nairobi and to identify and examine the existing management framework for the relocation and resettlement in Nairobi. From here the study sought to evaluate the outcomes and impacts of the relocation and resettlement processes in Nairobi. Thus this chapter shall propose modules or approaches for the optimal management of relocation and resettlement of informal settlements.

5.2. Recap of lessons Learnt

As noted in Chapter 2 it is preferable to try and avoid the relocation and resettlement of informal settlements. However, in instances where it is unavoidable the issue becomes one of managing the process to ensure that there are minimal disruptions to the lives of those affected and the impacts of the exercise are reduced. From the analysis carried out in Chapter 4 it was found that the exercise should be based on:

1. A relocation and resettlement policy that clearly outlines the different stages and the necessary measures to be put in place to achieve them

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1. A relocation and resettlement policy that clearly outlines the different stages and the necessary measures to be put in place to achieve them

2. An institutional structure that enables the lead actors to carry out the process, in conjunction with other stake holders.

These two requirements must aim at ensuring that the affected community is able to afford the new housing and/ or the site and the community must be able to re-establish themselves in the new settlement.

From the analysis carried out the main findings of the study were:

- (1) There is no laid down procedure for the relocation and resettlement of informal settlements. Where resettlement has occurred each case has been carried out on an ad-hoc basis.
- (2) The Management aspects of the relocation process was mainly concerned with the institutional arrangements for the planning and design of relocation programmes and their implementation. The institutional arrangements in place when the relocation of the people from Kaburini was being carried out were not adequate. The City Council of Nairobi's Social Services and Housing Department were not equipped with adequate personnel, funding and equipment to successfully carry out the process. Thus careful attention needs to be paid to the institutional arrangements in place for relocation and resettlement before the exercise commences, to ensure they are adequate and workable.
- (3) There was no plan in lace before relocation and resettlement started, resulting in unnecessary hardships for the community. Mathooko (2004) notes that to fail to plan is to plan to fail.
- (4) The community need to participate in the plan making process at all stages, from planning through the relocation and resettlement and after the resettlement, so as to ensure their needs are considered and met, especially with regard to urban and architectural designs in the use of both indoor and outdoor spaces.

- (5) As part of the planning process, due consideration should be made of the social patterns and connectivity within the community so that in the new location these are not disrupted. There is also need to see all activities associated with housing as a component of the housing design concept.
- (6) Attention needs to be paid to the income generating opportunities at the resettlement site. In many instances informal settlement dwellers are dependant on the city center for their livelihood and moving away from the centre can mean the end of their livelihoods. Thus employment centers including areas where informal activities can be carried must be considered in the overall design of the new settlement.
- (7) The Choice of settlement sites should ensure accessibility, where transportation routes to the new site are planned for and provided with efficient and cheap transportation. Further the physical and social infrastructure must take account of densities and future development trends in the area.
- (8) The financing and costing of the project are important if the desired group are to benefit from the project. The study showed that many of the original allottees from Mji wa Huruma sold their plots as they could not afford them.

5.3 Recommendations.

The study recommendations shall be carried out at both policy level, which would be applicable to any relocation and resettlement project, and on a local level, addressing the specific problems and issues arising from the relocation and resettlement of Kaburini informal settlement to Huruma. These guidelines recognize that the process of managing relocation and resettlement is a complex one that involves the coordination and use of resources, including mobilizing human resources, over a long period of time. As noted in Chapter 2 the process can be broken down into four phases starting with the decision to

relocate, the planning and design phase, the implementation phase and the monitoring and evaluation phase.

a) Policy Level Guidelines

Policy guidelines provide a framework under which relocation and resettlement can be successfully carried out. They are not intended to be specific but are general in nature to allow for ease of application in different circumstances.

From the study it is clear that there is need for policy guidelines on which future relocation and resettlement programmes can be based. Policy Guidelines for the management of the relocation and resettlement should consider the following:

1. If possible relocation and resettlement should be avoided as it is not possible to alleviate all the suffering the relocated community will face. This is important as it sets the stage for the search of alternatives prior to relocation being advocated for. This principle is also carried by the World Bank Policy guidelines.
2. When relocation and resettlement is inevitable the following guidelines may be applied:
 - a) Programmes should be kept as small as possible, firstly because they are easier to manage and smaller sites easier to find, smaller programmes have fewer social organization problems and impacts can more easily be kept to a minimum.
 - b) Institutional arrangements for relocation and resettlement must take into account all possible actors. These include Public, Private and Civil Society. Relocation and resettlement is a complex endeavor and every effort must be made to include a wide selection of actors whose experiences and expertise will be of use and advantage to the programme.
 - c) The roles and responsibilities of each actor should be carefully spelt out. This will enable the project make use of available expertise from public, private and civil society thereby maximizing on the available resources and capacities.

- d) The project must have a coordinating actor, who shall be in most cases the Public sector. This is to ensure the smooth running of the project and for general organization. For the smooth running of the programme, the different key activities should be noted and an organization framework put in place that allows for a degree of flexibility in its workings, yet maintain a strict time line.
- e) The implementation of post resettlement activities should be carefully monitored, preferably by a Public body, to ensure that the programme objectives are followed and implemented, especially when this period extends over a long time.
- f) The Financial aspects of the relocation and resettlement programme should be thoroughly investigated and agreed upon before commencement of the programme. Estimates should include the possibilities of an increase in costs. Where costs are to be passed on to the relocatees, these should be kept to a minimum, bearing in mind that the relocation will disrupt their earning, and related to the payment capabilities of the relocatees. Where possible the costs of the relocation and resettlement should be borne by the party that seeks to have the settlement relocated.
- g) A Resettlement Plan where the components of the programme are noted should be drawn up. This planning stage should cover a sufficient period of time to allow for the acquisition of the resettlement site, the preparation and development of the site and the relocation to it, and the re-establishment of the community.
- h) An accurate description of the community to be relocated should be made, to ensure that all actors are clear as who is to form part of the relocation and resettlement programme. To this end it may be necessary and prudent to carry out an enumeration and a socio-economic survey of the project affected persons.
- i) A survey of the host communities should be carried out with the aim of finding out how the relocatees can be integrated into the community and

what assistance, if any, the host community can provide for the relocation exercise.

- j) Compensation, if made to the relocatees, should as far as possible be made in kind rather than in monetary terms. Experiences from other relocations (Ndakaine Dam) have shown that people dispossessed of their homes and given money rarely spend the money on purchasing a new home and end up destitute This is similar to the World Bank Guidelines.
- k) When selecting a resettlement site due consideration should be made of proximity to employment areas and access to income earning activities by the relocatees. The World Bank relocation and Resettlement Guidelines emphasize the need to try and relocate people as close to their original location. Although this is a commendable wish, it has been found difficult to implement especially when referring to informal settlements which are usually surrounded by already built up areas. Also land in the vicinity of Informal settlements is usually prime and expensive, and the housing units built there would not be affordable to the informal settlement dwellers. For sites far way from the original site, subsidies like transportation can be encouraged.
- l) To minimize the suffering of the relocatees, it is important that the time scale of the project be adhered to and kept to a minimum. Adequate time should be allocated to the preparation of the new site and the eventual removal. Movement should be in phases, according to completion of housing on the new sites. Experience from the relocation of people from Kaburini shows that the initial relocation to temporary quarters only intensifies the suffering of the relocatees and must be discouraged, unless unavoidable.
- m) The Resettlement Plan should be as comprehensive as possible. The components (items) of the resettlement plan should be assessed in terms of the physical, social and economic areas. Physical components include the type of housing, and infrastructure, Social include education, health social facilities and community development, while economic refers to

income generating activities and opportunities. The criteria for selection of the components should be based on the needs and requirements of the community to be relocated and the resources available. The relocatees should benefit from the relocation and resettlement.

- n) Participation of the community to be relocated and resettled in all phases of the relocation and resettlement should be encouraged, especially in decision making when matters affecting their welfare are concerned.
- o) Any financial support items for the relocatees should be included in the Plan report, and income generating activities built into the programme. Any loan schemes or repayment modes need to be flexible, in line with the communities earning power.
- p) Where security of title is being granted, there should be incorporated a clause prohibiting transfer or sale of the property for a specified period say 5 years after allocation or occupation.

b) Local Level Guidelines

These guidelines are project specific and although may be usable on similar programmes, are set out specifically to resolve the problems arising from the relocation from Kaburini to resettlement at Huruma.

1. The institutional arrangements for relocation and resettlement by the City Council of Nairobi's Housing Development Department need to be strengthened with capacity building, increase of staff and equipment. Currently the department is understaffed and is not in a position to carry out a large scale relocation and resettlement exercise.
2. There is need to continue involving the private sector and civil society in the relocation and resettlement process. The success of the partnership between the Council and Pamoja Trust at Kambi Moto is an excellent example.

3. Resources set aside for relocation and resettlement are not adequate and there needs to be more interaction and partnerships with the private sector and civil society to bridge this gap.
4. Communities should be encouraged to have a strong community organization that will serve the interests of the community in terms of resource use, social welfare and economic empowerment.
5. Post project monitoring and evaluation should have indicated the beginning of the environmental degradation and denegation of the settlements. Something should have been done.
6. Opportunities for community participation in the management of the settlement should be encouraged and may be the way to alleviate the problems of environmental degradation.
7. Through community empowerment, self-help assistance can be tapped and utilized for the betterment of the community.
8. The relocatees should be provided with sufficient opportunities to create and build up new livelihoods at the resettlement site.
9. Tenure options, suited for the situation, and inline with legal requirements should be encouraged

The guidelines adopted MUST of necessity take note of the financial limitations of the group, the social setup and the potential of the community.

5.4 Areas for Further Research.

The subject of relocation and resettlement is often treated as part of another study topic. Very little literature exists that is devoted to relocation and resettlement of

informal settlements. More research needs to be done to document other relocation experiences and help in understanding the relocation and resettlement process. Further research should also be carried out to ascertain the cost and benefits of the relocation and resettlement programmes in order to guide future development of programmes. Other areas of interest may include the decision-making throughout the relocation and resettlement cycle, investigation into the roles and responsibilities of actors and the physical, social and economic consolidation process.

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APPENDIX 1
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING
RESEACH PROJECT

MANAGING THE PROCESS OF RELOCATION AND RESETTLEMENT: THE
CASE OF KABURINI INFORMAL SETTLEMENT, NAIROBI

DECLARATION: This information is confidential and will be used purely for academic purposes only.

Village..... Date of Interview.....
Questionnaire number.....

HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondents Information.

1. Name of respondent (optional)
2. Age.....
3. Sex : 1 Male..... 2 Female.....
4. Marital status: 1 Married 2 Single 3 Divorced 4. Separated 5 Widow/ Widower
5. Education background;
 1. No Education 2. Primary Education 3. Secondary Education 4. College
 5. Other (specify).....
6. Ethnic background.....

1. Demographic Trends.

7. How long have you been living in this area (years) ?.....
8. Have you always lived here? Yes..... No.....
9. If No, where did you live before coming here?.....
 - a. Other informal settlement.....
 - b. Other non- informal settlement in Nairobi.....
 - c. Other City in Kenya.....
 - d. Rural area in Kenya.....
 - e. Other country.....
10. Why do you live here?

2. Household Composition

People staying in the house:

No.	Relationship to Household head- 1.Spouse, 2. son, 3. daughter 4. male relative (specify) 5. female relative (specify) 6.other	Sex 1.Male 2.Female	Age (years)	Education level 1.None 2. Primary 3. Secondary 4. College 5. Other (specify)	Main occupation 1. Formal Employment 2. Informal employment 3. Formal self Employment. 4.Informal self Employment 5. Unemployed 6. other (Specify)	Occupation before moving to Huruma 1. Formal Employment 2. Informal employment 3. Formal self Employ. 4.Informal self Employ 5. Unemploy 6. other	Income (per Month)
11.H/H head							
12. Spouse							
13.Son							
14. Daughter							
15.Other (specify)							

16.How many members of the household are attending school currently?.....

17. Apart from your household, how many families live in this house?.....

3. Housing Conditions

18. Do you own this house?

- 1.Own both land and structure
- 2.Own structure but not land
- 3.Tenant.....(Go to 14)

19. If yes, how did you own it ?

1. Allocation from Nairobi City Council
2. Bought it from a previous owner
3. Built it myself

20. What type of ownership document do you have?

- 1.None.....

2. Temporary occupation License.....
 3. Share certificate.....
 4. Letter from chief.....
 5. Freehold title.....
 6. Other specify.....
 7. Lease.....

21. Is it easy to buy and sell property in your immediate neighborhood?
 1. Yes..... 2. No.....

22. Within the past 12 months has anyone in your immediate neighborhood sold their property? Yes.....No.....

Construction details of house

Description	Remark	Condition 1. Good, 2. Bad 3. Very bad
23. Roof 1. Mabati (G.C.I), 2. Grass Thatch 3. Timber 4. other		
24. Walls 1. Murram block, 2 Mud and wattle, 3 Other		
25. Floor 1. Rammed earth, 2 Cement screed, 3 Tiles 4. Other,		
26. Doors 1. Metal 2. wood 3. Other.....		
27. Windows 1. Glass with metal frames 2. glass with wooden frames 3. Wooden shutters 4. Other (specify)		

28. Type of House: 1. Rooms 2. Row houses 3. Flats 4. Bungalow 5. Storeyed building 6. Other (specify).....

29. Do you maintain the house regularly? Yes.....No.....

30. How would you describe the condition of the house? 1. Well maintained.....
 2. Needs major repairs 3. Needs minor repairs 4. Needs to be demolished.....

31. Have you made any changes/ improvements to the house? Yes.....No.....

32. a) If Yes, please state what changes you have made? 1. Added 1 room..... 2. Added 2 rooms..... 3. Added 3 rooms..... 4. Constructed lavatory unit... 5. Other (specify).....

b) How much did it cost?.....

33. Why did you make the changes in stated above (32)
-
-

4. Economic Profile

34. What was the total household income last month? Ksh.....
1. Less than 2000.....
 2. 2001-5000.....
 3. 5001-10,000.....
 4. 10,001- 15000.....
 5. 15,001-2000over 20,000.....
 6. Don't Know/ Refuse to answer.....

For Owners:

35. Do you rent out rooms in your house?
1. Yes.....
 2. No..... (Go to Q59)

36. How many rent paying tenants do you have?.....

37. How much would you charge as rent per month for the house ? Ksh.....

For Tenants:

38. What type of tenancy agreement do you have with the owner of the structure?.

1. Written formal agreement.....
2. Verbal agreement.....
3. No agreement

39. What is your rent per month?

40. Has rent been increased or reduced in the past year?

1. Increased
2. Reduced
3. No change

41. Why was the rent increased?

1. For no reason
2. Due to improvements in the neighborhood
3. Due to improvements on the house by landlord
4. Landlord increases rent periodically
5. Other specify.....

43. Is any one in your household involved in business? Yes.....No.....

44. If Yes, what kind of business

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Sewing and Textile | 8. hairdresser |
| 2. Food | 9. Bar/ entertainment |
| 3. Kiosk selling various items | 10. T.V\Video |
| 4. Water Kiosk | 11. selling Vegetables |
| 5. Furniture making | 12. Selling clothes |
| 6. Metal welding/ fabrication | 13. Brewing |
| 7. Shoe making/ repair | 14. other (specify)..... |

45. How long have you carried on the activity?.....

46. Where do you operate from?

- a. Home Inside the house
- b. Home, outside the house
- c. Not home but in the settlement
- d. Outside the settlement
- e. Both outside and inside the settlement

47. Does your family wholly own this business? Yes.....No.....

48. If no, who else owns the business?

49. Does the business bring enough money? Yes..... No.....

50. Do you have savings? Yes..... No.....

51. Are you a member of a savings group? YesNo.....

52. How much do you save a month?

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1- 100/-..... | 101-200..... | 201-300..... |
| 3001-400..... | 401-500..... | 501-600..... |
| Over 600..... | | |

5. Expenditure Data

How much does your household spend on the following items?.

Description of item	Amount (Ksh.) per month
53. House Rent	
54. Electricity Bill	
55. Water	
56. Telephone	
57. Solid Waste Management (Garbage)	
58. Clothes	
59. Food and Household	
60. Fuel –Charcoal, Gas, paraffin etc	
61. Savings	
62. Entertainment/gifts	
63. Remittances upcountry	
64. Education	
65. Health	
66. Maintenance and Repairs of House	
67. Transport	

How easy is it for your household to meet the following obligations:

Item	1. very easy	2. Easy	3. Difficult	4. Extremely difficult
68. Feeding				
69. Rent payment				
70. Childrens/Wards Education				
71. Medical Bills				

6. Use of Indoor space

72. How many rooms does your house have?

73. How many rooms does your household occupy?.....No. of rooms

74. How does your family use this space?.

Cooking	Eating	Sleeping	playing	storage	resting	studying	Shower/w.c

75. Does the space you have meet your needs? Yes..... No.....

76. If No, what would you change ?.....

 77. How do you use the rooms your family does not occupy? 1. Rent them 2. Storage.
 3. other (specify).....

7. Use of Outdoor space

Outdoor activities	Time	Time of year	Comments
78. Cooking			
79. Washing/Drying clothes or utensils			
80. Playing			
81. Relaxing			
82. Agriculture			
83. Keeping animals			
84. Informal economic activities			

8. Infrastructure and Services.

85. Do you have piped water connected to the house? 1. Yes 2. No. (go to 88)
86. If yes, Where is it located ? 1 In the house 2 In the compound 3. Public water supply outside the compound 4. None
87. Is water supply regular? 1. Yes 2. No
88. If there is no piped water, where do you get your water from?
 1. Neighboring estate 2. Well 3. Water vendors
89. If you buy water, how much does it cost?
90. Do you have a lavatory in your house? Yes No.....
91. What type of lavatory does your household have/use? 1. water-operated lavatories 2. pit -latrine 3. Bucket latrine 4. Bush 5. None (flying toilets)
92. How many bathrooms are there in your housing unit? 1. I unit 2. 2 units 3 Other (specify).....
93. Where is the bathroom located? 1. Inside the house 2. outside the house 3. outside the compound 4. None
94. How many Kitchens are there in your house?.....
95. Where does your household usually cook its food? 1. Kitchen 2. Outside the house 3. Inside the room 4. Other (specify).....

96. Are amenities like kitchen, bathroom, toilet shared with other people? 1. Yes2. No.....

97. How does your household store its garbage? 1. In dustbins 2. In communal waste pits 3. In open spaces 4. Other (specify)

98. How do you dispose of your garbage?.....

1. Collected by NCC
2. Collected by private company
3. Burn it
4. Throw it on local dumping area
5. others.....

99. How frequently is the garbage collected? 1. Daily 2. Once a week 3. Twice a week 4. Once a month 5. Never 6. Irregularly

100. Are you satisfied with the garbage collection in your neighbourhood?

Yes.....No.....

101. Are there any access roads leading to your house? 1. Yes 2. No

102. If yes, what is the condition of the road? 1. Good 2. Poor 3. No road 4. Other (explain)

103. What kind of drainage do you have in your neighbourhood? 1. open earth drains 2. open cement lined drains 3. closed cement lined 4. None.

104. What is the condition of the neighbourhood drainage? 1. Good 2. Poor 3. Needs repair 4. Need a new one 5. other (explain)

105. Do you have stagnant, pooled water near your house ? 1. Yes..... 2. No.....

106. If yes, what is the source of this water?

1. Recent rainfall 2. Burst pipes in the neighbourhood 3. Burst sewer lines 4. Both 2 & 3
5. Other (specify).....

Do you think the available infrastructure adequate

Infrastructure	Comments/ Rating
107. Roads	
108. Water	
109. Sewerage	
110. Storm Drainage	
111. Solid waste management	
112. Street lighting and security	

Rating: 1. Very good, 2 Good, 3. Fair 4. Bad 5. Very bad.

Do you consider the available social facilities adequate

Facility	Comment
113. Nursery Schools	
114. Primary Schools	
115. Secondary Schools	
116. Colleges	
117. Health centers	
118. Employment centers	
119. Police station	
120. Post office	
121. Social halls	
122. Market	
123. Playing fields	
124. Shopping facilities	

125. What health care type does your household use? 1. Hospitals/Clinic, 2. Chemists 3. Traditional healer 4. relatives and friends. 5. Religious healer.

Which of the following health facilities are available in the area?

Health Facility	Available	Not Available
126. Hospital/ Clinic		
127. Chemists		
128. Dispensary		
129. Maternity centre		
130. Traditional healer		
131. Spiritual healer		

How many times in the past year, has any member of your family suffered from these diseases in the last month:

Disease	No of times
132 Diarrhoea	
133 Vomiting	
134. Fever/ malaria	
135. Worms / Parasites	
136. Skin infections	
137. Eye infections	
138. Tuberculosis	
139. Others (specify)	

140. What is your major source of power supply? 1. Paraffin 2. Firewood 3. Charcoal
4. Electricity 5. Other (specify).....

141. What cooking fuel do you use?.. 1. Paraffin 2. Firewood 3. Charcoal
4. Other (specify).....

142. What method of travel do you use to travel to work?
1. Private car 2. Bus 3. Matatu 4. Motorcycle 5. Bicycle 6. Train
7. Other (specify).....

143. How long does it take to get to work?.....

Appendix 2

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING
RESEACH PROJECT**

**MANAGING THE PROCESS OF RELOCATION AND RESETTLEMENT: THE
CASE OF KABURINI INFORMAL SETTLEMENT, NAIROBI**

DECLARATION: This information is confidential and will be used purely for academic purposes only.

Group Date of Interview.....
Questionnaire number.....

KEY INFORMANTS/ FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Respondent:.....

Title.....

Department.....

Responsibilities.....

.....

.....

A) The Decision to Relocate

1. Why was it necessary to relocate the informal settlement from Kaburini?
2. Who made the decision to relocate? Residents/ actors/ Public body.
3. When was the decision made?
4. Were the residents involved in making the decision?
5. How did they participate in making the decision?
6. Was there any opposition to the relocation from the residents of Kaburini?
7. Was the idea of the relocation introduced to the community?
8. How was it introduced and by whom?
9. Was the community or any other actor (CBO, NGO, FBO etc) involved in the communication of the idea?
10. What was the communities reaction to the communication?

11. Did the lead Actor have a predetermined site to where the community would be relocated?
12. How was the relocation site at Mji wa Huruma selected? Criteria for selection
13. Who owned the site prior to the relocation? Was it necessary to acquire the site?
14. Was the site developed or undeveloped?
15. If developed, who was on site and how would this affect the relocation exercise?
16. Were the community on site informed of the relocation?
17. If, yes, what was their reaction?

B) The Design Stage

18. How did the community move from Kaburini? Were they given any assistance by the lead actors? If yes, what form did this assistance take? Were the community expected to pay for the assistance, in part or whole?
19. Were the community given compensation of any form? If not, why not?
20. Prior to the relocation of the community to Mji wa Huruma, was there a relocation and resettlement plan in place? Who prepared the plan? Was the plan preparation process participatory?
21. Explain how the relocation process was planned. Was the selected relocation site prepared for the incoming community? If yes, what form did the preparation take?
22. Was the relocation site planned? What were the plot sizes? And the site layout? What type of housing options were provided for and why was this type of housing selected?
23. What were the prevailing planning and building regulations at the time- Plot ratios, plot coverage, Zoning, and special requirements or exemptions?
24. What was the type and level of infrastructural services provided
Physical- water, electricity, sewerage, drainage, transportation systems- paths, roads, rail, communication systems- telephone, radio, T.V, Physical layout.

Social- Nursery, Primary, secondary schools, tertiary colleges, health facilities, recreation facilities- playing fields, theatres, markets, shopping centers, police stations/posts, religious institutions, administration offices, industry, transportation centers, industry

C) The Relocation

25. Was an enumeration survey carried out to ascertain who the residents of Kaburini were? What was the eligibility criteria?
26. What arrangements were made for the community while at Mji wa Huruma? Were these arrangements adequate? If not, what did the community do?
27. What were the challenges faced by the people while at Mji wa Huruma? Who and what was done to mitigate them?
28. What economic activities were the community engaged in prior to the relocation? Was it possible to continue these activities at the new site?
29. What, if any, arrangements were put in place to cater for employment in the new settlement?
30. What is the ethnic composition of the settlement? Has this had an impact on the social organization of the community?
31. How much did the relocation and resettlement project cost? Who funded the relocation project? Were the relocatees expected to chip in or pay back? How were the costs to be recovered?
32. How long did the community remain at Mji wa Huuma and why did the lead actors find it necessary to relocate the community from Mji wa Huruma?

D) Resettlement at Huruma

33. How was Huruma selected as a resettlement site? (Criteria for selection)
34. Who owned the site prior to the relocation? Was it necessary to acquire the site?
35. Was the site developed or undeveloped?
36. If developed, who was on site and how would this affect the relocation exercise?

37. Were the community on site informed of the relocation?
38. If, yes, what was their reaction?
39. What arrangements , if any , were made for the transfer of the community from Mji wa Huruma to Huruma ? Were the community expected to pay for the relocation or were they offered a subsidy? What form did the subsidy take?
40. Was there any arrangements for compensation? If yes, what form did it take? money, building materials, transportation, support in construction of a dwelling,
41. Was there a plan in place before the relocates begun to move?
If yes, who drew up the plan and who was going to implement the plan?
42. Was there any preliminary preparation of the site and community for the move? Were services in place, housing complete, compensation paid, ascertaining who is eligible for compensation and how much, temporary housing in place? Was there provision for temporary housing?
43. When was the relocation expected to start and how long was the actual movement expected to take?
44. Who was in charge of the relocation and what was their role and responsibility?
45. What economic activities were the community engaged in prior to the relocation from Mji wa Huruma? Was it possible to continue these activities at the new site?
46. What, if any, arrangements were put in place to cater for employment in the new settlement?
47. What is the ethnic composition of the settlement? Has this had an impact on the social organization of the community?
48. How much did the relocation and resettlement project cost? Who funded the relocation project? Were the relocatees expected to chip in or pay back? How were the costs to be recovered?

49. Was the relocation site planned? What were the plot sizes? And the site layout? What type of housing options were provided for and why was this type of housing selected?
50. What was the cost of the new houses for the community? How was this funded? Were the community expected to pay back some of these funds?
51. What type of title was given to the community/ individuals within the community?
52. Has the granting of title in any way affected the development of plots in the area? Explain.
53. Once the relocation was complete, was there any arrangement to assist relocates settle? If yes, what form did the assistance take? Was there any follow up and evaluation of the project once complete?
54. If yes, who carried out the evaluation and follow-up and how did they do it and what did they do?
55. Who would manage the settlement once relocation was complete?
56. What institutional arrangements, if any, are in place for relocation.
 - Who are the actors?
 - What are their roles and responsibilities?
 - Is the Private sector/ civil society involved?
 - What is their role and responsibilities?

Appendix 3.

Kambi Moto Village: An Example of Cultural influences on relocation and Resettlement.

BOX 3 KAMBI MOTO.

Narrated by Peter Chege a resident of Kambi Moto and a committee member of the Muungano Savings Group- Kambi Moto was established in 1975, as a market for vegetables and charcoal within the New Mathare City Council estate. The business stalls were allocated by the chief, the District Officer and village elders mainly to people who had done some work for the government like the traditional dance performing groups and some youth. By 1978 the population in this area had increased and the people decided to construct low-cost houses to live in. By 1986 the new business and residential village had a population of over 600 people. On December 20th 1995 a fierce fire swept almost all the houses causing a lot of problems for the residents. However, as a result more residential houses were built in the area. Subsequently there were two other serious fires in 1997 and 1999, hence the name Kambi Moto.

Source: Pamoja Trust, 2006.

Kambi Moto, found within New Mathare Estate is an in-situ upgrading project, propagated by a local NGO Pamoja Trust. Some of the ex-residents of Kaburini were relocated and resettled here by the Nairobi City Council, who offered the relocatees homes within the new tenant purchase scheme. Although many relocatees were not able to take up the offers made to them by the Council, some did and moved into the estate between 1977 and 1978. Some residents were also allocated market sites within the area set aside for the market and parking.

With time as family members grew up, there was need for the grown children to find accommodation for themselves and families turned the market stalls into residential units for older sons who could not, traditionally, remain in the same house as their parents and some units were later sold (in the early 1990's). These were mainly temporary in nature, constructed of carton or paper and later G.C.I. sheets. In most cases the front of the structure was used as a business area and the rear as the residential quarters. Strict development control measures by the council had ensured that no extensions were built to the main houses. By 1998 the entire parking area had grown into a new village occupied by structure owners and tenants. The village was burnt several times and the residents lived in fear of demolition as government had again embarked on evictions (for instance demolitions carried out in Mathare Valley and at Westlands market in 1998-99). Each time the settlement was burnt and rebuilt, the number of residents grew, as those who had nowhere to go took advantage of the situation.

In an effort to find solutions to their problems, the residents of Kambi Moto decided to come together and form a residents group like had happened in nearby informal villages of Mahira, Redeemed and Ghetto under the umbrella of Kituo cha Sheria (a local NGO) to assist and support themselves. By the year 2000, Pamoja Trust a local NGO, started working among the residents of Kambi Moto in an effort to assist the residents improve their lives. Pamoja Trust encouraged the residents to begin savings groups, similar to those operated by Mahila Milan women Groups of pavement dwellers and slum dwellers of India. The purpose of the savings was to enable the residents have access to small business loans which would not require any collateral, but be guaranteed by members of the savings group. Also, the monies saved would go towards the construction of a house and the purchase of land, giving the residents security of tenure. the residents of Kambi Moto had agreed to come together to improve themselves. The savings groups were set up in such a way that members guaranteed each other thus ensuring that anyone given a loan would repay. Also amounts to be saved were varied, with each member saving what they could afford and records of the savings were maintained.

Affordable housing costing Ksh. 160,000 was designed with the community, who presented their views , and each member of the group was further expected to provide labour for construction of the houses.

A search of the lands records showed that the land was owned by City Council of Nairobi but that 4 other people had questionable titles to the same land. The community with the help of Pamoja Trust negotiated with City Council of Nairobi, who agreed to declare the area a special planning area and lower the planning regulations. The Group entered into a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with the City Council of Nairobi, who would provide the land free of charge, for residential construction by the residents.

As the upgrading was in-situ it was necessary to earmark housing for demolition to pave way for the first units to be built. To ascertain the number of people in the village requiring housing an enumeration of the residents was carried out by a combined group from Pamoja Trust, the community and the City Council of Nairobi. Prior to this Pamoja Trust and the Nairobi City Council engaged the community in a series of consultative meetings and information meetings to enable the community participate fully in the project. With regard to the enumeration process it was necessary to plan the process to ensure local representation within the enumeration groups to avoid having the exercise hijacked by outsiders or the introduction into the group of outsiders. Due to logistic problems arising when large numbers of enumerators are involved, there was need for the use of different skills to measure, for electronic registration, completion of enumeration forms etc and to ensure that the process operated continuously from start to end. The enumeration applied 4 basic data collection tools:

- Use of an enumeration questionnaire
- GPS and physical mapping of each dwelling and project affected persons;
- Digital photography and
- Video

Information from the enumeration was to provide data on standard characteristics of the projects affected persons (such as gross incomes derived from both formal and informal activities, health status, household sizes, educational levels). Information was also provided on vulnerable groups for whom assistance with relocation of their assets would be considered.