

**COMMUNITY BASED PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT
OF URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES: A CASE
STUDY OF NEIGHBOURHOOD ASSOCIATIONS IN THE
CITY OF NAIROBI, KENYA.**

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**Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the requirements of
the Master of Arts (Planning) of the University of Nairobi**

August 2001

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for the award of any degree in any other university.


Signed...



Ondiek Mathew Okello, B.A.
(Candidate)

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university examiner.

Signed...



Professor R.A. Obudho, Ph.D.

DEDICATION

To my parents, a dedicated pair, whose inspiration and support kept alive the fire for the
ceaseless search for true knowledge, the truth

To my brothers and sisters who bore with me at their inconvenience, the many years of
schooling.

To Yvette, your support was indeed inspiring keep it up

To Davies, please keep the candle aflame

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ABSTRACT

Pursuant to the Local Government Act Cap 265, Local Authorities are monopolistically mandated to provide urban infrastructure and services, a mandate they have dismally performed. This has led to deplorable state of urban infrastructure and services a cross the country including the capital City of Nairobi. Heaps of uncollected garbage, blocked drains, burst sewers, potholes, and poor conditions of sanitation are nightmares to the city dwellers. This sorry state of affairs has been met with open criticisms directed at the city government and disillusionment among the city resident community. Small self-help groups that began to voice this concern have today crystallized into formidable neighbourhood associations, responding by filling, albeit haphazardly, this service gap. At the policy level, however, mechanisms of involving the residents in planning and sustainable management of the city do not exist. This study sought to assess the capacity of the neighbourhood associations by finding out the nature of urban infrastructure and services that they provide, the obstacles that they face; to suggest a participatory model for the provision of the same; and to make policy recommendation with a view to integrating the communities and thereby enhancing effective urban planning and sustainable management. Through purposive and intensive sampling techniques, three neighbourhood associations were sampled and by simple random sampling, sixty households were ultimately sampled for the study. Together with the household surveys, twenty-four institutional questionnaires and checklists were used. Research findings have been presented using descriptive method of data analysis, computer aided graphics and photography. In spite of the harsh policy environment, the residents' associations, this study found out, do respond to their local problems and provide a number of services as summarized in table 6.1. In this bid, however, they face a considerable number of obstacles ranging from policy at the top to threats from their elected leaders and the private developers. This study has suggested a participatory approach to urban planning and sustainable management based on partnerships. The various key stakeholders have been identified and their responsibilities specified. Recommendations touching on legislation, various government policies governing urban management, infrastructure and service provisions have been made in the final chapter.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADC	Area Development Committee
CA	Central Authority
CAP	Community Action Planning
CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community Based Organization
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CDC	Constituency Development Committee
CDD	Community Development Department
DDC	District Development Committee
DDO	District Development Office
DDP	District Development Plans
DFDP	District Physical Development Plan
DFRD	District Focus For Rural Development
DO	District Officer
DRA	Dandora Residents Association
EA	Executive Authority
GoK	Government of Kenya
GOPP	Goal Oriented Project Planning
GTZ	German technical Cooperation
HDD	Community Development Division
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPA	Interim Planning Authority
ITRS	International Trunk Road System
Karengata	Karen Langata District Association
KIP	Kenya Institute of Planning
KLDA	Karen/ Langata District Association
LA	Local Authority
LADP	Local Authority Development Plan
LDCs	Least developed countries

MDCs	Most developed countries
MFP	Ministry of Finance and Planning
MLS	Ministry of Lands and Settlement
NCC	Nairobi City Council
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NMGS	Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy
NTRS	National Trunk Road System
PDP	Part Development Plan
PPA	Physical Planning Act
PPRA	Physical Planners Registration Act
PPRB	Physical Planners Registration Board
PR	Preparatory Authority
PYG	Pumwani Youth Groups
RAP	Rapid Assessment Procedure
RAS	Residents' Association
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SIDAREC	Slum Information and Development Resource Centre
SSC	Site and Service Schemes
Sub-DPC	sub District Development Committee
TPS	Town Planning Schemes
UCAT	Urban Community Assistance Team
UNCHS	United Nation Centre For Human Settlement (Habitat)
UNDP	United Nation Development programme
UNEP	United Nation Environmental Programme
UNICEF	United Nation International Children Fund
WAC	Welfare Advisory Committee
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization
WPDC	Ward Planning And Development Committee

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The rapid rate of urbanization and the resultant concentration of population in urban centres have led to shortage of urban services required to support these increasing settlements. The World Bank estimated that about 170 million people in the urban areas lack access to potable water and the water supplied to those who have access is polluted (World Bank, 1992). In many Less Developed Countries (LDCs), about 350 million people in urban areas lack access to basic sanitation while only 50 per cent of urban solid waste is collected and a further 46 per cent are serviced (Wright and Bartone, 1990). The failure of the urban authorities to provide these crucial services has far-reaching economic, political and social implications. Lack of access to or unreliability of infrastructure services, for example, can have adverse effects on growth, forcing businesses and communities to seek higher cost alternatives, which might in future have unfavourable impacts on profits and the levels of production and diminishing standards of living for businesses and individuals, respectively.

Where the formal system of service delivery fails to reach the poor, the households must resort to alternative means that often imply not only low quality but also high costs. In the absence of piped water, for example, the people are forced to resort to water vendors whose source of water is suspect in quality. Moreover, the cost of this water is twelve times higher than that of piped water systems. While the blame has been squarely put on resource scarcity, emerging evidence suggest that the amount of resources already devoted to urban infrastructure service delivery is enormous (World Bank, 1994). Management was for sometime another culprit, and hence the emphasis on the application of accounting, organizational planning and prudent financial management practices such as transparency and accountability, the frustration with this approach has prompted a shift in strategy to the involvement of consumer organizations, interest groups, labour unions etc (Wynn *et al*, 1993). During the 1990s, decentralization was the catch phrase and was seen as the panacea to problems of urban service delivery. Pundits were cynical though, and saw it largely as a political strategy by the ruling elites to retain most of the power by relinquishing some of

it" (Prud' homme, 1992). It was largely attributed to the conspicuous economic failure of centralized state with the consequent decline in acceptance of dictatorial governments, the emergence of educated urban middle class and the consequent decline of traditional patron-client relationship between the government and the governed (Hall, 1993; Potter, 1993, and Fukuyama, 1992). As a result, therefore, while decentralization has brought change in the structure of urban service delivery it has not necessarily brought improvement (Dillinger, 1994).

Infrastructure services like water, for example, are regarded as public goods/services. Mairura (1988) observed that public facilities and services are not managed adequately in comparison with the privately owned ones. He recognized as a major bottleneck to effective management of these services the question of ownership. The concept of community participation has been recognized as an important element to be considered in the design, operation and management of these services. The problem of poor sanitation, for example is a direct consequence of community activities. The need for community participation in the development of infrastructure services emanate from the fact that central or local government provision and management is too difficult a task and the need for cost sharing (Pacione, 1981) and also, that their performance has been wanting. The world Bank (ibid) on the same vein looked at cost -sharing between government and consumer community as deriving "from consideration of efficiency," which suggested that governments can more effectively achieve their social and development goals by reducing widespread administrative over-commitment of the public sector while developing and relying more on the management capacities of private individuals who can respond to local needs and conditions in the development and management of these services.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The transformation of the world's population into urban dwellers has been phenomenal during the latter part of the 20th century. The urban population increased from less than 30 per cent of the total in 1950 to more than 47 per cent in the year 2000 and by 2020, about 57 per cent of the world's population will live in urban areas (UNCHS- Habitat, 1999). The sustainability of these urban centres will require the level of infrastructure and services that

will meet this demand whilst at the same time maintaining environmental levels free from environmental degradation.

In Kenya, rapid growth of urban centres will present perhaps the greatest challenge to both central and local governments in the 21st century. Unfortunately, like in other LDCS, urban centres in Kenya are faced by enormous backlogs in shelter, sanitation, roads, solid waste management and other support services together with overcrowded transportation systems, unstable consumption patterns, and environmental pollution. This scenario is further exacerbated by dwindling budgetary allocation for service provision and the capacity of local authorities is already constrained and alternative service providers will have to be sought. For example, capital investment in urban infrastructure as a share of gross capital formation fell from 14.3 per cent in 1970s to 12.1 per cent in the early 1980s (Mairura, *ibid*).

Future challenges to infrastructure provision will demand much more than taking inventories of infrastructure stock. Instead, it will require an overhaul of the local authority structure; a direct attack on inefficiency and wastage both in investment and service delivery and the direct participation of the user community in the design, planning, implementation and the eventual sustainable management. The past public sector delivery and management systems have failed to respond to consumer demand and spur the much-needed economic activity. This study explored the potentiality of the third sector as co-partners in the planning, provision and management of urban infrastructure which has over the years been the domain of Government of Kenya (GoK) with the attendant inefficiency and wastage, vices that can no longer be allowed to continue in the wake of dwindling resources and the heavy cost of investment in infrastructure.

1.3 Main Study Objective

The main objective of the study was to plan for community integration in the planning, provision and management of urban infrastructure and services in the city of Nairobi with a view to enhancing effective and sustainable planning and management.

1.4 Specific Objectives

To achieve the main objective above, the specific objectives sought to:

- (a) find out the nature and magnitude of urban infrastructure services that user communities can optimally provide for themselves;
- (b) identify the constraints that inhibit community based organizations in urban infrastructure service delivery and management; and
- (3) suggest a workable participatory model for urban infrastructure and services provision and sustainable management.

1.5 Study Assumptions

The researcher made the following assumptions:

- (a) Public sector infrastructure and services provision is not likely to improve while user communities, given appropriate institutional framework, can provide services to themselves;
- (b) Lack of properly managed and/or organized user-communities is responsible for their inadequate involvement; and
- (c) The planning process in Kenya although has been top-down has room for modification to involve the beneficiary communities.

1.6 Significance and Scope of Study

The significance of community participation is a documented fact. The GoK for example, agreed that it is not sustainable for communities to be mere beneficiaries of projects/programmes based on the top down planning paradigm. Moreover, the concept of community participation seems to be synonymous with rural communities and hence ignoring urban ones (Kenya, 1986; National Development Plan, 1979-83; and District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD), 1984). The policy documents, however, only touch on general participation without addressing how the communities (urban ones in this case) can be involved in the design, implementation and eventual management of urban infrastructure and services whose central/public provision has been wanting. The need to involve users of urban infrastructure and services in the systems' development and sustainable management is today a reality that cannot be ignored any further.

1.7. Justification of the Study

Infrastructure may be regarded as the 'engine' of economic activity. It is a necessary if not the only precondition for national development. The need for its adequate provision, efficient utilization and sustainable management should not be over-emphasized. Traditionally, the planning of infrastructure and services have been heavily influenced by engineers. It may have involved a financial analyst but almost never a behavioral scientist. Consequently it ignored the aspirations of the beneficiaries with disastrous results. In such a procedure, the eventual users are presented at the end with a proposal that has neither taken into consideration their own socio-economic priorities nor their ability to afford such services.

The planning, location, design and construction of facilities have traditionally been carried out by government without the involvement of the eventual users and with limited, if any consultation with them. Empirical evidence, however, suggest that infrastructure systems are best maintained, least abused and most financially successful when the communities to be served expressed real interest in the systems' planning, design and development (UNCHS-Habitat, 1990, 1991, and 1992, and Onduu, 1997).

The rapid rate of urbanization continues to strangle the capacity the public authorities to adequately manage, control and sustain urban development. Public authorities who have traditionally played the role of providers of basic services, community facilities and housing cannot afford to cope any more thus creating a divergence between demand and supply (Maganjo, 1992). It is this gap that the envisaged involvement of the community (third sector) is expected to bridge. Naiya (1977) noted further that planning requires the concerted efforts of physical, social and economic planners and its success will depend among other factors on the cooperation of the public who are in any case the implementing agents of such plans. Watkins (1976) also observed that municipal governments lack the capacity to detect or respond to complex social needs, which may be amorphous, non-material and poorly articulated.

Recent shift in policy towards the community sector in the planning and management of urban infrastructure stem from the recognition of the central role that infrastructure plays in the process of national economic development. This has been underscored further by the recognition of the fact that communities are better placed to respond to growing local problems and by the need to exploit the potentials and initiatives by individual citizens, communities and private enterprise (UNCHS- Habitat, 1990).

Participatory decision-making is critical to good urban governance as it ensures transparency, accountability, equity, efficiency and sustainability. Transparency because information priorities, strategies and actions are open to all stakeholders; accountability because by sharing in decision, partners are accountable to the public and to each other vis-à-vis the tasks they have committed themselves to; equity because the groups which are usually excluded from decision-making process have the opportunity to present their concerns and defend their interests; efficiency because information is shared and decisions are taken in common thus avoiding overlap and duplication of efforts. Unfortunately, this realization has not been transformed into a realistic participatory model that takes into consideration the aspirations and real interest of the communities to be served, especially urban ones.

In spite of the apparent advantages of participatory approach to infrastructure service provision, it has been employed minimally by local authorities and in infrastructure development projects. The reasons for this are varied ranging from legal, regulatory to technical constraints as well as to inappropriate policies and the absence of required management at the municipal and community levels. Most importantly, the absence of a workable model has been a major bottleneck. Bureaucratic resistance to change and the mere fact that it has not been done before constitute a major hindrance to the introduction of participatory approaches. Even when the will to introduce participation is present, lack of the knowledge of required inputs of time, skills, and resources may lead to unworkable compromises (Schubeler, 1996). The current study tried to evolve a workable model for incorporation into policy at the planning level at the Nairobi City Council (NCC) which may be used as a prototype for service provision and community involvement in other towns, not

only in Kenya but also in other LDCs which experience similar problems of urban planning and management of infrastructure and services.

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1 Sampling Procedure

In order to obtain data for this study, the City of Nairobi was zoned into residential neighbourhoods based on income levels: high income, low to medium and very low-income residential neighbourhoods. Purposive and intensity sampling methods, techniques that allow the researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of the study, were used (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999:50). Particular attention was paid to the existence of a formalized Neighbourhood Association (NA), Residents' Association (RA) or Community -Based Organization (CBO) acting as a forum through which the residents not only air their views but also get things done. It is on this basis, therefore, that the following associations were sample for the study.

1.8.1.1 Karen / Langata District Association

The Karen/ Langata District Association (KLDA/KARENGATA) was formed prior to independence and is a pioneer CBO in the City of Nairobi. It has cut a niche for itself as forcefully but peacefully voicing the concern of the residents. Its areas of concern have ranged from environmental issues to fighting against allocation of open spaces (land grabbing) in the neighbourhood.

1.8.1.2 Dandora Residents' Association

The Dandora Residents' Association (DRA) is relatively new in the scene having been formed in 1998. It represents the residents of Dandora Estate with their varied interests. Dandora Estate being a site and service scheme, a World Bank, NCC initiative, it faces problems that are unique to itself. The most prominent being improvement of shelter, broken down sewerage system, poor roads, insecurity and unsightly heaps of garbage. The residents have mobilized themselves through the assistance of a church- based Non Governmental Organization (NGO) called Welfare Advisory Committee (WAC) to help themselves construct permanent houses, fix broken down sewerage system, clear the drains and collect the garbage.

1.8.1.3 The Pumwani Youth Groups

The Youth Groups' Model is a new approach that has emerged lately in the city. A total of 17 youth groups in Pumwani have taken over the management of public utilities: water points, toilet facilities and drains and are doing a sterling job. The local NGOs, St Johns Community Centre and Slums Information Development and Resource Centre (SIDAREC) are complementing their efforts.

1.8.2 Data Sources

(1) Primary data

In order to collect primary data, the following methods were found appropriate and used

1.8.2.1 Household Survey

This study employed household survey as an important tool to obtain socio-economic and demographic profile and also to assess the availability and utilization levels of urban infrastructure and services in the neighbourhoods under study. In total, sixty- (60) household questionnaires, thirty (30) each for Karen/Langata and Dandora were used. This number, the minimum acceptable in social research, was adopted after the formula as given by Fisher, Laing and Stoeckel (1983), as shown below, failed to yield this requirement.

$$n = \frac{Z^2 pq}{d^2}$$

where, n = desired sample size (when target population is greater than 10,000)

z = standard normal deviate at the required confidence level;

p = proportion of the target population with the characteristic being measured;

q = 1 - p ; and

d = level of significance set.

This formula when applied gives a total of 22.7 and 7.6 households for Karen/Langata and Dandora, respectively.

1.8.2.2 Institutional Questionnaires and Checklists

Together with the household surveys above, institutions that provided crucial information

included the Seventeen Youth Groups in Pumwani, St John's Community Centre, SIDAREC, WAC, NCC; Physical Planning Department, Ministry of Lands and Settlements, KLDA, and DRA

1.8.2.3 Field and Site Reconnaissance

This technique is used by planners to gather first hand information about a problem. In this study it involved field visits to Karen / Langata, Dandora and Pumwani. Site recording and documentation in form of photographs, notes, updating of maps and other available documents, which provided important information about the sites, was done

1.8.2.4 Observation

This is a systematic and structured approach to identify community needs and problems by assessing the situation on the ground. It involved analysis of community infrastructure and services needs which were quite distinct for Karen / Langata, Dandora and Pumwani.

1.8.2.5 Rapid Appraisal

This is a less formal approach where data is collected by asking local people (households) for the information, the assumption being that the people have considerable amounts of information to convey which is relevant for planning. For purposes of this study the following methods of RRA were used:

- (a) **Talking to key informants** e.g. resident association officials, other community leaders generally, women and the youth.
- (b) **Informal interviews** with community members. This method proved useful especially during Dandora Residents' Associations meeting when a formal questionnaire became inappropriate.
- (c) **Group interviews** were useful in Pumwani with the its various youth groups managing toilets facilities and water faucets.
- (d) **Community meetings.** This was applied in Dandora when the researcher met members of Dandora Residents' Association.

(2) Secondary Sources

This involved a critical review of existing literature on the subject of study, both published and unpublished and any other literature sources that the researcher considered appropriate.

1.9 Data Analysis and Presentation

Because the study was mainly descriptive, the researcher used only descriptive statistics in data analysis and presentation. Other presentation techniques included computer-aided graphics, tables, maps, photographs etc, as the case was appropriate.

1.10 Study Limitations

The following problems were faced during the study:

- (a) Lack of accurate data;
- (b) Constraint of time; and
- (c) Inadequate research funds.

However, through persistence, extra efforts and mobilization of funds from other sources, the study was successfully completed.

1.11 Operational Definitions

1.11.1 Community

Precise meaning to the concept community may not be readily available. It may then be helpful to highlight some traits that are common to communities as follows:

- (a) Community is an area, whose location can be mapped. It includes those people who have a sense of belonging to a certain centre as a village, town or a city. It should be remembered that community boundaries might spill over city limits or even cross-country lines.
- (b) Community welfare depends upon adequate use of its resources. It is more than an area; it is an area with distinctive geographical and resource features and /or potentials
- (c) Community is a service centre. People gain a sense of community as they share the same service stores, banks, utilities, churches, schools, transportation facilities etc. A community is then a place where people shop, where they work, where they get professional services and where they find recreation.
- (d) A community is also a set of social relation already organized to get things done.
- (e) Community leadership takes on the complexion of the local social traits. It is associated with whatever class system that exists.

- (f) Every community to a greater or lesser degree has community loyalty. When people identify their own interests with those of a total community they are more inclined to ignore smaller loyalties that may divide them.
- (g) Every community has a fund of experience in tackling local problems. The experiences people have had with community planning in the past will almost invariably determine the degree to which they are willing to tackle co-operatively any problems troubling the community today.
- (h) Every community possesses a set of social values to which the majority of the people subscribe.

A community thus is more than an area, more than an economic centre for it is also a number of people sorted into various classes and groups as they associate with each other in daily living. A community exists only because there are recognized common loyalties and shared social values. Its very richness holds the hope of the future (Sanders, 1962:168).

1.11.2 The Concept of Planning

Planning assumes the application of rational and ordered choice to develop activities especially economic affairs. It is taken to be “an organized, intelligent attempt to select the best alternative to achieve specific goals” (Waterson, 1965). If this is the case, then planning assumes a logical sequence of events as selection of general objectives and their subsumed goals and targets; identification of available resources to serve the selection of appropriate means including various types of policies and means from mobilizing and the determination of best combination. This leads to formulation of more specific programmes within the general plan and finally, the provision for the plan implementation.

Since planning involves the problems of communication and authority, it ceases to be solely a technical process and domain of experts. Plans are ‘political programmes’ and therefore planning is part and parcel of a country’s ‘political process’. If planning has to be successful, they will have to ‘largely become negotiating and almost diplomatic agencies of government (Myrdal, 1968).

1.11.3 Residents’ Associations

May be simply defined as groups of people living in the same area or sharing common interests who have organized themselves to solve specific problems and improve the lives of

their members. It has both a social and spatial perspective.

1.11.4 Community Based Planning

Has been looked at variously by different people and organizations UNCHS -Habitat sees it as

- (a) voluntary involvement of people in making and implementing all decisions directly affecting their lives;
- (b) the activities undertaken by low- income households with or without outside assistance to improve their living conditions. Community participation has always existed in the form of mutual aid in many rural communities (*Harambee* in Kenya).
- (c) with the rapid urbanization of many LDCs, the concept has taken a different dimension to involve urban communities towards activities as settlement up grading and services provision.

In this study community participation is used to encompass the empowerment of people in the community to determine the type, degree and direction of change they need and want which is a basic tenet of democracy. Like UNCHS- Habitat, (1988) it considered participation as the “voluntary and democratic involvement of the beneficiaries in contributing to the execution of the project, in sharing the benefits derived there from and in making decisions with respect to setting goals, formulating the project and preparing and implementing the plans” (UNCHS-Habitat, 1988:3) It thus involves community empowerment to design, initiate, plan and implement development projects (infrastructure and services in this case).

1.11.5 Urban Infrastructure and Services

Services traditionally provided by public works, transport sectors, and utilities (roads and footpaths, mass transportation; water supply; drainage and flood protection; sewerage, solid waste collection and disposal; electric power distribution, street lighting; and telecommunication. Other social infrastructure includes health, education, recreation and cultural facilities.

1.11.6 Infrastructure Management

The management of infrastructure system refers to all activities and functions, which seek to direct or guide the main process of supply and use of infrastructure services.

Management is a goal directed activity whose purpose is to promote those flows of services and feed back, that through their impacts on the social and economic levels, for example, service access, would serve the general goals of enabling healthy and secure lives for the population, and promoting the productive and efficient operation of economic activities. With regard to the natural environment the usual goal of infrastructure systems is to keep emissions and environmental loading down to levels that are low enough to ensure acceptable environmental quality on a sustainable basis (Schubeler, *ibid*). At the institutional level, infrastructure systems should produce adequate revenues to maintain the financial stability of supplies and general user satisfaction, thus ensuring a positive climate and avoiding public discontent.

1.11.7 Participation in Infrastructure Management

Participation in Infrastructure Management is a process whereby people as consumers and producers of infrastructure and as citizens influence the flow and quality of infrastructure services available to them. It is based on voluntary relationships between various actors, which may include government institutions, individual infrastructure users, community based organizations, user groups, private enterprises and non-governmental organizations (Shubeler, *ibid*).

In simple terms, infrastructure service management is a cyclical process that goes beyond the operation and maintenance of existing facilities comprising the inter-related function of goal setting, planning, programming, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The main management functions are:

- Formulation of goals and policies,
- Long term planning,
- Medium term investment programming,
- Implementation of system construction and extensions,
- Operating and maintenance, and,
- Monitoring and evaluation of system performance and relevant conditions

Infrastructure service delivery systems comprise natural technical economic, social and institutional components as well as the processes that combine them and permit their

functioning as systems. The general purpose of infrastructure systems is to mediate between human activities and natural environment, provide needed resources and dispose of waste products. The main components are:

- Government institutions i.e. public bodies charged with the task of supplying services,
- Facilities - physical plants technical installations and equipment, and,
- Users of infrastructure services including households, residential communities, commercial and industrial establishments, and institutions.

1.12 Organization of Thesis

This study has been divided into six chapters. Chapter one deals with the background information about the management of urban infrastructure and services, their deplorable state and the role that the envisaged community involvement would most likely play towards the urban centre's sustainable management. Statement of the research problem, study objectives-overall and specific, study assumptions, justification, research methodology and operational definitions of concepts used in the study have been covered. Chapter two is on literature review on the concept of community participation and its application to urban infrastructure and services provision and management, the spatial planning process in Kenya, the planning institutions and related physical planning laws and statutes. Decentralization of service provision to lower levels and the potential for partnerships have been explored. Chapter three is on background information to the study area comprising the emergence, growth and development of the City of Nairobi, the spatial planning experience both in colonial and post colonial periods and has finally narrowed down to the specific study sites of Karen/Langata Neighbourhood, Dandora and Pumwani Estates. The chapter also contains an assessment of urban infrastructure and services, their utilization levels and the problems that they experience. Socio-economic and demographic analysis is also contained in the chapter. Chapter four covers study findings, addresses itself to the urban infrastructure, and services that the neighbourhood associations have provided for themselves over time plus a summary of the problems that they face in their daily operations. Chapter five proposes a participatory model for urban infrastructure and services provision based on partnerships approach, identifies the major stakeholders, their specific roles and the conditions that would be necessary for the model's success. In addition, the

chapter addresses how the urban communities can be brought on board and finally identifies appropriate tools depending on the nature of the urban communities. Chapter six is divided in to two sections. The first section gives a summary of the study findings based on study objectives while the second makes recommendations on policy options for future considerations by both the local and central governments and the urban communities.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The concept of community participation is not new especially in development literature. Its success has been said to depend on political support, existence of formalized and institutionalized frameworks and the willingness and ability of the people themselves to participate (Oyugi, 1973; and Nanya, 1977). To this end, three schools of thought have emerged *viz.* the felt need approach; the grass root democracy; and the extractionist school of advocacy.

(a) **The felt need approach.** The argument here is that the community should be allowed to determine for themselves on their own initiatives, what it is they feel they need most. In the context of physical planning in Kenya, therefore, this means that the people must be active participants during the plan conceptualization and objectives formulation. Proponents of this approach argue that communities have the capacity to improve their levels of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative with provision of technical assistance (professional guidance) only when desired to encourage initiative and self-help.

(b) **Grass-Root Democracy.** Although only well articulated in the politically developed countries, the approach fights for the democratic involvement of all people at the grass root level especially in matters affecting their individual rights. It lays emphasis on political and institutional decentralization (Gans, 1969; Hapgood, 1968; and Oyugi, 1981).

(c) **The Extractionist Approach.** This school holds the view that nothing can take place at the local level without the intervention and initiative of central government. It views community participation as a means to get free labour and money from

people at the local level. The need therefore to involve the people in planning is to get their acceptance and/or support

Naiya (1977) looked at public participation from the extractionist school of advocacy for public participation, which believes that there isn't much a local community can do to effect development without the intervention and initiative of the government. To him Kenya's public participation policies have gradually evolved to resemble the extractionist system. Other approaches that tend to oppose this view include:

- (a) Felt need school of thought according to which, planners should involve people by allowing them to determine for themselves that they need most.
- (b) Grassroot Democracy. This school on the other hand insists on political and institutional decentralization to give power to the people so that they may decide on what should be included in the plan so as to realize development.

Lisk (1985:5) on one hand looked at community participation more generally as the "involvement of the broad mass of the population in the choice, execution and evaluation of the programmes and projects designed to bring about a significant upward movement in the levels of living". Glass (1979:181) on the other hand, distinguished between two types of or purposes of citizen participation. One is the administrative perspective whose purpose is the mere involvement of the people in what the government has already set up, the aim being to involve citizens in planning and other governmental processes and as a result, increase their trust and confidence in government, making it more likely that they accept decisions and plans. Its main aim is to provide citizens with a voice in planning and decision making in order to improve plans, decisions and service delivery. This argument leaves out the community in the design through implementation and the eventual management of the projects by the community members themselves. Ghai (1988) similarly argued that grass-root participation has three interpretations, namely:

- (a) mobilization of people to undertake and implement social and economic development projects which have been conceived and designed from above;

- (b) decentralization in either organizational or governmental machinery for example, the transfer of resources and decision making powers to lower levels in line with Kenya's district focus strategy; and,
- (c) empowering the deprived and the excluded. Ghai's idea of mobilization implies that the communities are merely used as tools to achieve government objectives usually implemented from above, while his idea of decentralization has mainly failed as it still relies on government (central or local) machinery. He limits his idea of empowering to only the deprived and excluded and ignores empowerment of normal citizens in charting a course for themselves for their own betterment.

2.1.1 Participation and its Significance

Although various definitions of the concept abound, all of them share the notion of contributing, influencing, sharing or redistributing power, control of resources, benefits, knowledge and skills to be gained through beneficiary involvement in decision making (Korten 1980, Paul 1987; and Ghai *et al* 1990). In this study, the concept was used to refer to a voluntary process by which people including the disadvantaged (in income, gender, ethnicity or education) influence or control the decisions that affect them in the context of infrastructure provision – design, implementation and the ultimate management. The essence of which is exercising voice and choice (Narayan, 1995). According to Paul (1987), the four levels of participation are: information sharing; consultation; decision – making; and initiating action. Participation can achieve four principal objectives, namely, effectiveness; efficiency; empowerment; and equity.

(a) Project effectiveness

This is the degree to which stated project objectives are achieved. Client involvement may result in a better match between what the users want and what the project offers. Users can facilitate effective infrastructure provision and management in various ways including redefinition of objectives, better project design, redesign, site selection, resource mobilization, construction, implementation and maintenance of facilitates beyond the project life

(b) Project Efficiency

This measures the relationship between a given output and its cost and inputs because participatory decision-making allow more timely beneficiary inputs as well as synchronization of agency and client inputs it may lead to greater efficiency. Discussion, consultation and information sharing often produce greater consensus about goals and means and clarity about roles, authority and ownership than would be otherwise possible. Consensus and clarity in turn reduce conflicts and delays resulting in smoother implementation and lower overall costs.

(c) Empowerment

Is essentially a political concept that means more equitable sharing or redistribution of power and resources with those who previously lacked power. Any activity that leads to increased access and control over resources and to acquisition of new skills and confidence so that people are enabled to initiate action on their own behalf and acquire leadership is an empowering activity. Empowerment is thus about the capacity building of individuals and the organizations that support them.

(d) Equity

A major purpose of development assistance is a more equitable distribution of the benefits of development. It is well established that development gains tend to be captured by those who are already better off. Beneficiary participation which promotes transparency and accountability may lead to less capture by the elite's and to more equitable access to infrastructure and services including water and sanitation and hence helping to serve the purpose of development assistance in general.

Different governments depending on their level of political development have adopted various approaches discussed above. The highly centralized governments and the erstwhile allies of Soviet Union have adopted extractionist approach while the grass root democracy has been practiced in more liberal democracies like the United States. In Kenya, the top-down approach resembling the extractionist school of thought was adopted but with

overtones of the felt need approach especially in the 1980s. Although people have been encouraged to initiate projects, there is still government control. Moreover, community participation has been looked at only in relation to rural areas.

Statutory Community Participation in the planning practice may be traced to Skeffington Committee Report on "public participation in planning", Town and Country Planning Act (1971) whose terms of reference was to report on the best methods of securing the participation of the public at the formative stage in the making of developing plans for their areas. Among the suggestions that the committee came up with included community forum, advisory panels, co-optation of members of the public to planning committees and community development approaches. The recommendations also included the urge to keep the public informed throughout the preparation of structure/local plans, publicity of the initial intention to prepare plans, the convening of meetings, areas affected by proposed plans, guidance to local planning authorities on how they might fulfill their statutory obligation as stipulate in town and country planning Act (1971). This Act required that local authorities secure: adequate publicity/report is given in the area of survey and to matters that they may propose to include in the plan, and an opportunity for people to make representations on matters to be included in the plan as it affects them. Although the Skeffington Committee Report had important insights for community participation, it limited the scope to awareness creation and not necessarily active participation in the plan preparation, implementation and the eventual management, which this study addressed.

2.2 Community Participation and Infrastructure

Although the concept of community participation may be seen to be new, at least in practice, it is as old as town planning itself having been fairly articulated and advocated for by Housing Town Planning etc Act (1909) in Britain (Ashworth, 1954). In spite of this, however, projects have been planned without consultation with and the active involvement of the beneficiary communities in terms of getting their views, aspirations and felt needs in the initial stages of project identification and planning (GTZ, 1993).

Effective service delivery is further hindered by lack of local programmes, information and decision making structures responsive to community needs. The community sector in spite of meager resources can effectively participate in the provision of urban service (Brager, George and Hurry, 1973). In order to obtain improved quality of life standards there is need for reciprocal flow of information between those affected by circumstances and those engaged in the process of planning and the setting of objectives. Involving the community in the preparation of local physical plans is the basic foundation of a new planning system (Muhammad, 1992). This can easily lead to proper choice of standards for housing and infrastructure and services that are affordable to a wider range of population and mechanisms that will increase the proportion of public cost recovery (Hanssan, 1992).

2.3 Approaches to Urban Planning

The practice of land use planning whether in the developed or developing countries essentially set out to document a finite long term plan, which once legally adopted, forms the basis for public sector infrastructure and services investment and a detailed system of land use regulation and control. The success of these plans have been doubtful due to lack of proper legal and administrative frame-work; inadequate technical skills and financial resources; unrealistic assumptions (emanating from foreign base of plans), and, lack of community participation (UNCHS -Habitat, 1996:214).

In addition, the institutional capacity of many countries in the developing world to absorb change is usually disproportionately small compared to their aspirations. The implementation of such plans assumed the involvement of formal organizations in the residential, commercial and industrial sectors, through institutional bargaining and development is supposed to confirm to set procedures and regulations. This form of planning however mirrored the development model that was widespread after the Second World War with considerable state economic planning which relied heavily on central government finance and the technical capacity of public agencies to control most urban activity (World Bank, 1991). The performance of these plans have been limited in much of Africa and Asia due to high urban population growth rates, low and declining levels of household income and, most importantly, due to lack of effective enforcement practices

2.3.1 Traditional Approaches to Urban Land Use Planning

Broadly speaking, two traditions exist for urban land use planning, originating from the French, British and other European countries, which grew out of the concerns for public health and other urban concerns. This tradition involved a centralized public urban intervention through strong land use regulations and public sector investment often with a strong emphasis on civic design. The other, arising from the practice in North America emphasized land use zoning and land sub division regulations in keeping with a strong tradition of private property rights and values.

These traditional planning approaches have been challenged especially from the 1960s mainly for reasons of absence of community consensus in the plan making process and the divorce of planning from resource assessment. Master plans for example, were too costly and took a long time to prepare. At the same time, these plans were based on the 'top-down' allocation of land uses and communication based on rank size and other theories of optimal urban population distribution (UNCHS-Habitat, 1996: 316). In a nutshell, therefore, the planning practice based on the traditional models above have been bedeviled by among others:

(a) Lack of Co-ordination

Many urban centres in Africa and Asia have been characterized by short falls of public sector finance for the provision and maintenance of urban infrastructure, services and land for urban expansion. Master plans also failed to reflect the priorities, resource constraints and programs of the agencies responsible for infrastructure provision. Moreover, horizontal planning systems have related poorly to vertical systems of resource allocation.

(b) A two dimensional approach to urban development

In the master planning tradition as shown above, the plan was viewed as an end in itself rather than just one component in the management of urban processes. Planning was seen as a technocratic process rather than also as socio-economic and political process. This is the reason why it led to the formulation of policies and programs, which were ignored by the politicians and rejected by the community.

(c) Inappropriate Land use regulations

Master planning approach relied on rigid regulations using zoning, sub division, building policies and standards which generate more costs than benefits to the residents and business alike. Affordability and efficient access to land is also affected where there are complex development permission procedure in- built in the planning and land development process.

(d) Institutional shortcoming

The preparation and enforcement of urban plans has often been based on obsolete planning ordinances, placing absolute planning powers and responsibilities with the central government. This centralization has helped to widen the gap between the planning process and the executive system at the local level. Further, the responsibility of spatial planning in central government has frequently shifted from one ministry to the other (ministry of lands and Settlement, Public Works and Housing, Economic Planning or Local government). This usually leads to bypassing of urban planning authorities by both infrastructure delivery agencies and private developers. The approval process too is frequently over centralized, lengthy and cumbersome posing another deterrent to efficient plan making and implementation processes.

The increasing inability of the comprehensive planning approaches of the 1960s to meet the needs of rapid rates of urban growth in most LDCs, coupled with the unwillingness of central government to increase the powers and resources needed for cities to manage themselves, led to increasing public/private sector antagonisms. For example, the community and business people have been unable to rely on public sector to provide infrastructure and services and saw instead a negative and irrelevant system of land use regulation. Consequently, conflicts have normally arisen between planners and communities on critical issues as land uses. Such conflicts have been made worse because community interest (including business ones) were not meaningfully catered for in the plan preparation process. This study argues that the involvement of the community in the design, planning and implementation would reduce such conflicts and make the implementation of such plans more efficient because they would have the 'blessings' of the people.

2.3.2 Participatory Approaches to Planning and Development

Participatory methodologies are sets of tools that have been developed to better realize high levels of community members' involvement in development projects or to allow the inhabitants of a particular settlement to design implement and/or evaluate their own initiatives (UNCHS-Habitat, 1996). They are meant to facilitate higher levels of participation in which the inhabitants have control over their development process. They have been specifically designed to:

- increase available information about the settlement and residents;
- increase available information about the locality;
- identify development options;
- identify resources for such option,
- enable residents (individually and collectively) to prioritize their needs, and
- develop residents' self-confidence and collective capacity – (UNCHS -Habitat, 1996 323).

2.3.3 The Development of Participatory Approaches

Participatory methodologies have largely been promoted in rural development and public health. In this connection, they have been associated with concepts as Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and Rapid Assessment Procedure (RAP) in rural development and public health, respectively. Participatory Rural Appraisal for instance, demonstrates to and reinforces within the local groups, the breath, depth and the validity of the understanding of their needs and priorities. It builds on peoples' innate visual literacy by employing a variety of diagramming and visualization methods that enable both literate and non-literate persons to participate actively (*PRA notes*, 1994)

In the urban context however, the development of participatory approaches have been scanty both in content and scope. The case studies that have been done are rather description and give little emphasis to methodology. In Kenya, such approaches are fairly recent, having only emerged in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Moreover, community

based organizations have mainly been used as instruments of *accessibility* rather than managers of crucial services.

2.3.4 Strategic Structure Planning

This approach to planning deals with the durability of spatial, ecological, social, economic, technical and institutional factors of urban development. It mobilizes key actors in a dynamic, continuous and consensual vision-building and policymaking process. The process follows three tracks as follows: -

Vision: working towards a long-term vision on the sustainable development and the desirable structure of the city.

Action: Making daily policy, removing obstacles to sustainable development, action formulation and implementation.

Participation: Involving actors in planning and decision making process, resolving disputes between different levels of civic society. The strength of this approach is best illustrated by the following phrase:

“Vision without action does not yield tangible results. Action without vision fails to address strategic long-term conditions for sustainable urban development. Vision and action without participation is not sustainable as it does not take into consideration the aspirations of civic society as a whole” (*Localizing Agenda 21*, 1998:14).

2.4 The Urban Planning Process in Kenya

The urban planning process started with the comprehensive blueprint planning of the 1930s to 1960s, which was largely borrowed from the west, through disjointed incrementalism in the 1970s and structure planning in 1980s. Between and alongside these, there have been the planning scheme approach, the project approach and the recently emerging local planning, action planning, and neighbourhood planning approaches.

Like is the case in many other developing countries, urban planning in Kenya is understood to refer to physical land-use planning. Typically, this consisted of three key elements; first, an overall framework, usually a *Master Plan*, secondly, a set of *planning and building standards* and regulations and thirdly, a development control system. Since the preparation

of the first master plan (Master Plan for a Colonial Capital) for the City of Nairobi in 1948, master planning has been applied extensively in guiding urban developmental processes in the country's numerous other urban centres. The urban planning process in Kenya has also been characterized by the use of two other broad approaches albeit in combination. This included an often centralized, tradition of public intervention through strong land-use regulations and public sector investment, and the emphasis on land use zoning and land subdivision regulations.

The above traditions have been found wanting on various accounts. For instance, although a fundamental tool for effective urban development and management, the master planning approach has in recent years been less effective than it should. It has been criticized for being too complex, excessively bureaucratic, time consuming, elitist and too static in nature. Because of this, many of its policies have become outdated very quickly, thus rendering the process substantially irrelevant and unsustainable. Together with the other approaches, it has also been criticized for divorcing planning from resource assessment and the absence of community consensus in the plan-making process. Because of these and other shortcomings, the urban physical planning process in Kenya has been unable to cope with the demands of rapid urbanization. The net effect of such inadequacies is that urban development (population growth and expansion in urban activities) is now taking place outside the planning "rules of the game".

More recently, the country has been experimenting with various new approaches to planning such as the Strategic Planning and Participatory Environmental planning approaches. The anticipation is that the urban planning process in Kenya will benefit from the strengths of these two approaches especially in improving the current approaches. These are however relatively new approaches and their implications have not yet been fully appreciated.

2.4.1 Planning Institutions in Kenya.

Planning in Kenya is undertaken at three different levels and by different institutions depending on scope (subject matter and area of consideration), hence the categorization of planning activities into two. Development planning deals mainly with the organization of

various sectors related to social and economic development. Physical planning on the other hand mainly deals with the different aspects of land use and attempts to achieve a rational and efficient spatial organization of human development activities. These planning activities are carried out by different government agencies. Presently, they work independently from each other and their outputs may not integrate both spatial and non-spatial aspects of development. This section will mainly deal with the nature and role of spatial planning institutions in Kenya.

2.4.1.1 Sector Planning Institutions

Sector based (non-spatial) planning is mainly carried out by the Ministry of Finance and Planning. This is carried out at two different levels namely, national and regional. National-level planning is for instance, articulated through five-year National Development Plans and various parliamentary *sessional* papers. The Ministry of Finance and Planning prepares these. At the regional-level, the District Development Offices prepare five-year development plans. The planning process is supposed to start with the identification of problems from the grassroots level. These are then debated upwards through a hierarchical committee structure (Sub-District Development Committee up to the District Development Committee), established under the District Focus for Rural Development Strategy. The specific ministries and relevant departments then implement the proposals in the plans, with funding from the central government. The plans also incorporate the contributions of other key stakeholders such as the private sector and Non-governmental Organizations in the planning and implementation processes. This however, is often times not the case.

At the local level, the Ministry of Local Authorities through the Urban Development Department (UDD) also guides Local Authorities in the preparation of Local Authority Development Plans (LADPs). The aim of this is to develop medium-term investment proposals, which are later turned into development projects. The LADPs have been useful in the decentralization of planning activities and in increasing the Local Authorities' capacity to plan for the efficient use of their resources. But whether resident communities have been genuinely involved in the generation of these proposals remains a matter of conjecture.

2.4.1.2 Spatial Planning Institutions

2.4.1.2.1 The Physical Planning Department

Spatial planning is the undertaking of the Ministry of Lands and Settlement, with contributions from other related ministries. Like non-spatial planning, spatial planning activities are carried out at the national, regional and local levels. Here, the key players included the Ministry of Lands and Settlement's Department of Physical Planning, and local authorities. The former is mainly a preparatory authority while the latter is an implementing and development control agency.

The office of the Director of Physical Planning, established under the Physical Planning Act, acts as the chief government advisor on matters relating to physical/spatial planning and is responsible for the formulation of national, regional and local physical development policies, guidelines and strategies, among other functions. The office initiates or undertakes studies and plan preparation processes. It also facilitates the legal translation of these plans and oversees the implementation of proposals therein.

Apart from the office of the Director of Physical Planning, there are other crucial offices in the spatial planning process at the national level. The office of the Commissioner of Lands for instance, is responsible for the administration and management of land in the country. This office is therefore a major stakeholder in the planning process. Prior to the enactment of the physical Planning Act, this office facilitated the legal translation (approved and ensured compliance.) of plans prepared by the Department of Physical Planning. However, the majority of these functions have now been transferred to the Minister for Lands and Settlement. The Urban Development Department of the Ministry of Local Government is also another key partner, especially in translating planning proposals into development projects.

The office of the Director of Physical Planning operates at the regional level through the delegation of powers to the Provincial and District physical planning offices. The main planning activity at this level is the preparation of the Regional Physical Development Plan, which takes the administrative district, to be the planning region. The director may also

declare a region with unique or similar characteristic, a special planning area and initiate the preparation of a regional plan for the same. The regional plan is a technical report on the conditions, resources and facilities of an area, and a statement of policies and proposal with regard to the allocation of resources and the locations of development within the area. The plan aims at providing for the proper physical development of land, securing the suitable provision of infrastructure and services, and the orderly organization of human developmental activities such as commerce, trade and industry, education etc.

At the regional level, the District physical planning office may seek the contributions of other departments such as lands, agriculture, forests, water, etc. Close liaison with the District Development Committee may especially become useful in various stages of plan preparation. At this level, the role of Local Authorities again becomes significant, as they are the direct beneficiaries of the planning activities. But although the participation of the local people is provided for within the framework of the liaison committees, the approach remains reactionary and *ex post*. Moreover, the mechanisms of legal redress (liaison committees and the high court) remain out of reach of many Kenyans who may be aggrieved by planning decisions.

2.4.1.2.2 The Role of Local Authorities.

Under the country's planning laws, Local Authorities, at the local level, may initiate and undertake plan preparation activities. Their execution of this role is however, not clearly explained. The legally sanctioned role of local authorities are that of implementing the proposals of plans and ensuring that the requirements therein are complied with. Under the Local Government Act and the Public Health Act, Local Authorities have wide-ranging powers to control and guide development in their areas of jurisdiction. In addition, Local Authorities also use various by-laws to control a wide range of activities. The new Physical Planning Act (1996) gives added legal authority to the Local Authorities in the implementation of physical planning proposals and decisions. This represents a decentralization of enforcement power and ensures that local populations are able to chart their own futures.

Most local authorities (County, Municipal and Town Councils), however, do not often have

the technical capacity to play their role effectively due to lack of skilled personnel and elaborate enforcement machinery. As such, they frequently rely on the office of the Director of Physical Planning to undertake the preparation of physical development plans, etc for their local trade and service centres. Under such circumstances, the plan is deemed to have been prepared by the director on the behalf of the local authority. In addition to the Director of Physical Planning, they also rely on other agencies such as the Provincial Administration and the regular police force, to execute their development control decisions and enforce planning regulations, by-laws and standards.

2.4.2 Spatial Planning Laws & Associated Statutes in Kenya

Human activities take place in and compete for space. Space is a limited resource and can neither be stretched nor expanded. This therefore necessitates the establishment of rules and regulations that will regulate the nature and character of space use and the ensuing competition. The purpose and principle of planning law therefore, is to make suitable provision for the use and development of land and natural resources for building and other purposes, to the best possible advantage. Another purpose is to secure suitable provision for the public utilities and purposes (such as transportation, markets, hospitals, etc). The other role of planning legislation is to resolve land use conflicts arising from the activities of man. The sections below attempt to shed more light as to what constitutes planning legislation in Kenya, their origin and administration arrangements and whether or not they give room for the participation of other stakeholders in the planning process.

2.4.2.1 Origin and Development of Physical Planning Law in Kenya

2.4.2.1.1 Colonial Background

The origin of physical planning law in Kenya has its roots in the colonial occupation of the country, and the advent of urbanization, prompted by the development of the Uganda Railway. At the end of the 19th Century, during the very beginning of the colonial era in Kenya, the colonial government regarded indigenous people as incapable of holding interest in land. In 1915 therefore, all land in the country was declared '*crown land*'. The Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915 declared that all land is subject to His Majesty the King of England by virtue of His majesty's protectorate over the land. This opened up the way for the introduction into Kenya, of various other statutes, developed in Europe during the

Industrial Revolution. On the other hand, the railway gave rise to the urbanization process in Kenya. Although it gave initial towns some unique spatial/development character, the attendant and/or associated problems and challenges, including the confused nature of physical development, problems of poor sanitation and environmental degradation, necessitated some kind of planning intervention. Railway engineers whose aim was to establish an orderly spatial arrangement of urban activities therefore carried out initial planning activities. They mainly used the road system and racial segregation to achieve this. From the 1930's till the present, three major laws have been used to guide the planning and development of urban areas. These include the Town Planning Act of 1931, the Land Planning Act of 1968 and the Physical Planning Act of 1996.

➤ **The Town Planning Act of 1931**

It was only in the early 1930's that legislation relating to the use and development of land (especially on an urban scale) began to emerge. The Town Planning Act of 1931 (an amendment of the Cap 48 of 1931), was developed to control the development of towns. This Act created the town planning *Preparatory Authority* (P A) and the *Executive Authority* (EA). The former was charged with the responsibility of preparing Town Planning Schemes (TPS) while the latter was charged with enforcing observance of the whole or part of the scheme, and with executing any works therein. The activities of both were limited to Gazetted townships. The Governor approved plans prepared within townships while the Commissioner of Lands approved those prepared outside. Some of the plans prepared during this period included a Master Plan for the city of Nairobi (1948), and the Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy (NMGS) (1973). Since local authorities did not have adequate planning expertise, consultants prepared both plans.

In the Town Planning Act, the Governor in Council was empowered under Section 2 to do all things necessary for enforcing the observance of approved schemes. This he did by ordering the Commissioner of Lands to enforce the scheme and charge the PA or E.A for expenses incurred as a debt to the crown. Similarly, the Governor could establish a board and charge it with the responsibility for enforcing the TPS. Such a board was established for Mombasa Municipality to enforce the TPS of 1926 prepared for Mombasa Town.

➤ The Land Planning Act of 1968

Regulations on planning and use/development of land that had been put in place in 1961 were later re-enacted into the Land Planning Act (Cap303), of 1968. The Act set out to provide guidelines on the preparation and approval process of plans such as, area plans, town plans, subdivision schemes, etc. This Act extended planning to peri-urban areas – 5km from the municipal boundaries and 40 ft from the highways. The Act also established Interim Planning Authorities (IPA), and the Central Authority (CA). Local Authorities were supposed to constitute themselves into Interim Planning Authorities. No such authorities were declared but local authorities assumed the role. Where a preparatory authority existed as per the Town Planning Act, then it would cease to have any powers. The powers of an IPA ranged from plan preparation, and the consideration and determination of planning and development applications. All persons carrying out development were required to seek the permission of the IPA. The major plans prepared under this framework include Provincial Plans (for established provinces) and the Human Settlement Strategy (HSS).

The Central Authority's role was that of controlling development. This role contrasted with that of local authorities. The CA was composed of senior officers from relevant government departments such as the Commissioner of Lands, Agriculture, Health, Public Works, Economic Planning and a Town Planning Advisor. The CA received development applications in areas where IPAs did not exist and refer them to the relevant local authority. Similarly, the CA referred applications for change of user of agricultural land where the plot of land concerned exceeded 20 acres to the Divisional Board (a creation of the Land Control Act)

Another central player in the Land Planning Act was the Minister responsible for spatial planning. His/her role was to prepare Town Plans, Area Plans or subdivision and use plans in respect of unalienated government land. He/she was also responsible for approving plans and ensures enforcement and compliance with the same. The minister performed the latter role through local authorities. Through powers delegated to them by the minister, the Central Authority, Interim Planning Authority and Local Authorities could issue an enforcement notice where a developer had developed without their consent. Aggrieved

persons were also required to appeal to the minister who in turn would expedite on the matter conclusively.

➤ **The Physical Planning Act of 1996**

The main law that currently governs spatial planning in Kenya is the Physical Planning Act (PPA) of 1996, which repealed both the Town and Land Planning Acts. It provides the legal basis for the preparation and enforcement of different physical development plans and requirements. The Act established the office of the Director of Physical Planning, who is the chief government advisor, on all matters pertaining to physical (spatial) planning. The Act vests responsibilities of the preparation of all physical development plans in the Director's office. Through its sister legislation, the Physical Planners Registration Act, the PPA opens up room for the participation of the private sector in plan preparation activities through the establishment of the physical planning profession and registration and licensing of qualified planners. This represents entirely new plan preparatory authorities, a departure from the trend in the above two laws.

Depending on the type of plan, the Minister for Lands and Settlements and Local Authorities are responsible for the approval of plans. For instance, the Minister approves development plans and the relevant local authority approves subdivision of land, building plans and plans relating to the change of user and extension of lease. Here again, the role of local authorities in sanctioning development decisions is made clear and direct as opposed to the previous system where only their opinion was sought. When determining development applications, local authorities may grant or refuse to grant permission depending on various criteria. They also attach conditions to any approvals in order to ensure compliance with approved development plans.

The Act also stipulates development control measures that can be taken in order to ensure compliance with the plan's proposals and requirements. It empowers local authorities to regulate and exercise control over physical development decisions and activities. In so doing, the local authority sanctions all development applications and issues an enforcement notice where a developer has proceeded to develop without grant of permission. It also gives express authority to local authorities to do whatever they deem necessary to ensure

compliance with approved plans. This may include the charging of fines, and/or demolition of illegal structures. This represents a further reinforcement of powers already given through the Local Government Act.

The Act created National, District and Municipal Physical Planning Liaison Committees. In addition to being arbitration bodies on disputes arising from physical planning decisions made by various institutions, these liaison committees act as avenues through which the public can also be referred for determination.

Some of the notable achievements of the Physical Planning Act have to do with the separation of powers. Under this Act, the preparation of plans is left to Registered Physical Planners (including the Director of Physical Planning and his/her officers). The role of approving plans is shared between the Minister, and Local Authorities. Plan implementation and enforcement becomes an entirely local matter, the role being vested in local authorities. The office of the commissioner of lands ceases to prepare and approve plans and takes on the role of documenting and administration of matters relating to land. It is also important to note that an attempt has also been made to give the local people a voice through the system of Physical Planning Liaison Committees, but this system is also bogged down with its own problems as shown earlier in the text.

2.4.3 Other Laws Relating to Planning

There are numerous other laws that have a direct or indirect bearing on spatial planning activities. These can be grouped into three broad categories namely,

- ◆ Those laws that establish and define the roles, functions and operations of planning and development control institutions such as Local Authorities, Regional Development Authorities, etc. As mentioned above, the Physical Planning Act establishes the office of the Director of Physical planning as the principal advisory authority on matters relating to physical planning and development. The Physical Planning Act also establishes physical planning Liaison Committees on the National, Regional and Local levels as key arbitration bodies on matters relating to physical planning. The Local Government Act (Cap 265) on the other hand, provides for the establishment of Local

Authorities as legislative bodies and key development control agencies, a role further emphasized by the Physical-planning Act.

- ◆ Those laws that provide for the efficient management of land and other key resources such as water, forests, etc. The Government Lands Act (Cap 280), Trust Lands Act (Cap 281), Land Control Act (Cap 302), Land Consolidation Act, Land Acquisition Act (Cap 295), Land adjudication Act and Survey Acts define the different tenures under which land is held, and regulate the nature and character of land transactions respectively. The Water Act (Cap 372), Mining Act (Cap 306), Forest Act (Cap 385) and Agriculture Act (Cap 318), provide for the efficient use of other key resources such as water, minerals, forest reserves, etc, through conservation, regulated extraction and apportionment of the same.
- ◆ Those laws that provide the framework for the provision, production, operation and maintenance of key utilities and services such as electricity, water, sewerage, roads, communication, etc, with a view to ensuring safe and sustainable living environments. These include the Local Government Act, the Public Health Act, and Adoptive Building and Planning By-laws.

Below is a detailed description of some of the above laws.

- ◆ **The Government Lands Act Cap 280**

The act establishes the office of the Commissioner of Lands, who administers all government land on delegated power of the President. It regulates the alienation, use and development of government land. In undertaking these functions, the commissioner consults various stakeholders including local authorities, the Physical Planning Department and other relevant sectorial departments. It is on the basis of this act that government land is leased and enforceable conditions imposed. Previously, government, acquired, leased and administered land in urban areas under the Act.

- ◆ **The Local Government Act (Cap 265)**

This act establishes Local Authorities and grants them powers to control development within their areas of jurisdiction areas. It also gives local authorities council's powers to

enact/adopt by-laws for their day-to-day operation. Such by-laws would include planning regulation that may be enacted for the purpose of enforcing planning decisions. The Act stipulates that for the plan to take effect the Town Planning and Works Committee should formally adopt the plan, to be followed by a resolution of the full council. Thereafter, the local authority in consultation with other relevant authorities and with reference to the plan will be required to enact planning regulations for purposes of implementing the plan. The regulations should be detailed and comprehensive, covering the whole of the planning area.

◆ **The Land Control Act (Cap 302)**

This act controls use of agriculture land by establishing Land Control Boards to vet and approve transactions relating to land such as subdivision, sale and transfer. The Act establishes boards at the Divisional and Municipal levels. All applications for subdivision of land are to be accompanied by a plan, prepared by a registered physical planner under the Physical Planning Act before consent is granted.

In the past, perhaps owing to the simplicity of procedures it offers, some land transactions that do not fall within the jurisdiction of this Act have been processed through it. This has led to numerous planning problems especially where this involved the subdivision of agricultural land into urban type/size parcels. This anomaly among others is what the Physical Planning Act seeks to reduce.

◆ **The Building By-Laws (Grade I & II)**

The Government formulated these by-laws in 1968 to regulate the character and nature of buildings and other associated works. The Grade II by-laws were revised in 1995 to facilitate the development of low-cost housing. Local Authorities then adopted them by a resolution.

◆ **The Registered Lands Act (Cap 300)**

This act establishes the office of the Chief Land Registrar who is empowered to register all interest on land after the settlement process grants subdivisions of private land and large society and cooperative farms into portions of less than 20 acres.

◆ **The Registration of Titles Act (Cap 281).**

This act establishes the office of the Registrar of titles. Like under R. L. A., the office registers all interest on land. This act was used to register most land in the former 'white

highlands'. In planning, this act has been very useful in that all subdivision is consented to following proper planning.

◆ **The Trust Land Act (Cap 288).**

The act considers interests on land formerly designated 'native reserves'. These were later renamed as Trust Lands – land held in trust by local authorities for the people. It determines individual interest and sets aside land for public and government use. The parcels are registered under the R L A. It gives Local Authorities considerable control over land within their jurisdiction.

◆ **The Land Acquisition Act (Cap 295).**

This act empowers the government and Local Authorities to acquire private land in accordance with sections 117 and 118 of the constitution of Kenya. Acquired land is compensated at market rates plus 15% disturbance allowance. This Act has been very useful especially where land needs to be acquired for public use. Similarly, the government has often found it more convenient to acquire land for urban development, which in turn gives it a greater influence in terms of planning and development control.

Although the various Acts stipulates what is considered appropriate, it is unfortunate that some of them have been abused. For example, the Land Acquisition Act has been used to acquire land without demonstrating that the said land will be used for the "public good"

2.4.3.1 The Administration of Planning Law under the Physical Planning Act

The Physical Planning Act provides the legal basis for the administration of planning law in the country. The act provides for the preparation and enforcement of different types of physical development plans such as Regional plans, Structure plans and a variety of Short-term plans. The Act lays down the procedures to be followed in plan preparation, approval and the application for development permission.

◆ **Procedures for Plan Preparation, Approval And Implementation**

While the act vests the responsibilities of preparation of most development plans to the Director of Physical Planning, it does provide room for consultation with all relevant stakeholders including the local people. Part IV of the Act defines the types of plans to be prepared, outlines the content of each, the procedures to be followed in plan preparation, the nature of public participation, and approval processes.

Basically, the Act stipulates that the Director of Physical planning may prepare the above

types of plans with reference to Government land, Trust land or Private land within the area of the local authority (section 16 & 24). Upon completion of the draft plan, the director is to notify the relevant local authority to make representations in respect to the plan and publish the same notice in the Kenya Gazette and print media (section 19 & 26). At this juncture, the plan is also made available for public inspection and submission of representation against, or objection to the plan. The Director may in his/her discretion accommodate or decline to accommodate such representations or objections, provided that any aggrieved person shall have a right to seek redress through the system of Liaison Committees or the High Court.

The final plan is then submitted to the Minister for his approval prior to implementation. The approval is communicated through a Kenya Gazette notices (section 20, 21 & 28). Once approved, the plan shall have the full force and effect in the area to which it applies and all development proposals must comply with the requirements of the approved plan. Any amendments to the approved plan can only be effected through the process as above (section 27).

◆ Types of Development Plans

The various plans that may be prepared under the Physical Planning Act include the Regional Physical Development Plan and the Local Physical Development Plan. These may be long-term or short-term in scope and may be prepared for purposes of renewal or redevelopment.

a) Regional Physical Development Plan

This is a plan prepared within the area of authority of a County Council for purposes of improving the land and providing for the proper physical development of such land, and securing suitable provision for transportation, public purposes, utilities and services, commercial, industrial and residential areas, including parks, open spaces and reserves and also the making of suitable provision for the use of land. The matters, which may be dealt with in a regional physical development plan, are further outlined in the first schedule of the Physical Planning Act.

In Kenya the administrative District or County is considered to be the planning region.

However, such plan may also be prepared for an area with unique development potential or problems irrespective of whether such an area lies within or outside the area of local authority. This area is designated a special planning area by declaration through a Kenya Gazette notice. The implementation of a regional development plan may be either the responsibility of a local authority, or a regional development authority as in the case of a special planning area.

b) Local Physical Development Plan

The local Physical Plan is prepared with reference to any government land, trust land or private land within the area of a city, town or urban council or with reference to any trading or marketing centers. It may be for long term or short term physical development whose purpose is to guide and co-ordinate development of infrastructure facilities and services and for the specific control of the use and development of land in urban centers. It is what may be variously referred to as *Structure Plan or Urban Development Plan*. The matters, which may be dealt with in such a plan, are set out in the second schedule of the physical-planning Act.

c) Long-term Plans

These are plans prepared for purposes of interpreting and articulating government, local authority, and national and regional development policies in terms appropriate to the local area. They provide a frame-work for detailed policies and proposals for subsequent short-term plans for the area. They also indicate action areas for immediate intervention and provide a coordinated basis upon which various implementing agencies develop their individual programs of work for which they execute responsibility, for example housing, transportation, water supply, electricity supply, sewerage development, etc. the plans allocate resources and assign a time frame within which the proposals are to be implemented normally between 20 and 30 years. The contents of these plans are as set out in the third schedule of the Physical Planning Act. The above plans may also be considered to be long-term plans

d) Short-term Plans

Short-term plans of various types including, *Action area plans*, *Subject plans*, *Advisory or Zoning plans* and *part development plans*. Action plans are meant for comprehensive planning of areas selected for intensive development, which commence within a specified period. Subject plans are detailed treatments of a particular planning aspect, for example residential, commercial, etc. advisory or zoning plans on the other hand indicate the permitted subdivision, use or density of development. Part development plans on the other hand indicate precise sites for immediate implementation of specific projects, including land alienation purposes.

The content of short-term plans differs with all the above plan types and in most cases reflects details and proposals of a long-term plan, where it exists. The director of Physical Planning may prepare all these plans. However, except for the Part Development Plan, commissioned registered physical planners may prepare all the other short-term plans provided that all such plans have a seal of approval from the director.

e) Renewal or Redevelopment Plans

These are plans prepared to provide a broad land use framework illustrating a coordinated policy of renewal and guiding redevelopment activities. They contain proposals for the enhancement of the quality of the built environment through the improvement of one or a number of aspects of a particular area for example, road patterns and traffic networks, among others. These plans form a basis for determining development applications relating to extension of lease, extension of users and change of users. The director or registered physical planners may prepare the plans.

f) Other Plans

There are other schemes that are prepared for planning purposes. These maps drawn to accompany applications for change of user, extension of lease and extension of user, building erection and the carrying out of other works that affect material change of land. The main purpose of these is to illustrate the nature of development and give insight on the siting and/or location implications of the same.

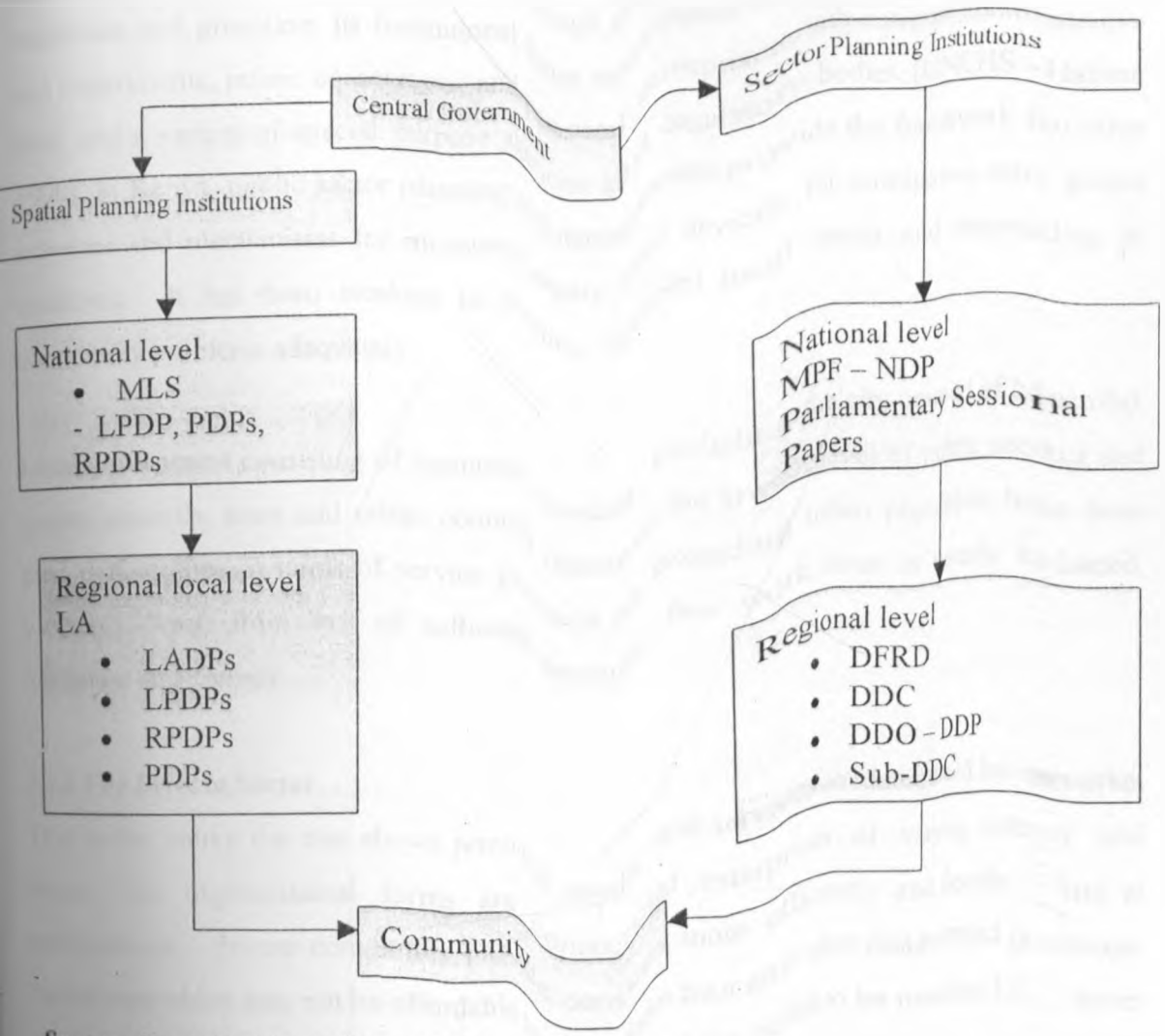
◆ Development Guidance (Control and Regulation)

Development guidance, commonly referred as development control in Kenya, is the regulatory and control system that aims at securing the proper/efficient use of the land resource by ensuring conformity with approved physical development plans and adherence to planning standards, regulations and procedures. Other purposes include the prevention of development injurious to man and natural environment and the deterioration of areas surrounding the proposed development.

In guiding development the Physical Planning Act requires any person wishing to carry out development within the area of a local authority to apply for development permission from the relevant local authority. The application must be accompanied by such plans and particulars as are necessary to indicate the purpose of the proposed development. In determining development applications submitted to it, the local authority must have due regard to any relevant approved physical development plan, standards and regulations and to any comments received from the office of the Director of Physical Planning. It may also consult with various government officers, authorities and the general public for their comments. The local authority may then grant or refuse to grant development permission and notify the applicant of the same (PPA, 1996a).

In a case where a development has been or is being carried out without development permission, or where the conditions of development permission have not been adhered to, the local authority issues an enforcement notice, specifying the measures as may be required to be taken within a specified period. In case of non-compliance with the enforcement notice by the developer, the local authority undertakes the said measures and recovers the cost from the developer. The Act preserves the right to appeal for developers aggrieved with decisions in enforcing compliance as in the case above. This is through the system of Physical Planning Liaison Committees. Although development guidance has previously been understood to mean control or prohibition (both by definition and practice), emphasis is being placed on local authorities playing a more facilitative role through the creation of awareness, and stakeholder participation in planning and decision-making processes

Figure 2.1: Spatial and Sector Planning Institutions in Kenya and how they relate to the Community.



Source: Compiled by author, 2001.

2.5 Infrastructure and Services Provision in Kenya.

The provision of infrastructure and services in Kenya over years has been on the responsibility of central and local governments and statutory parastatal bodies in the country.

2.5.1 The Public Sector

The public sector as used here operates through the process of administrative allocation, regulation and provision. Its institutional forms encompass central government ministries and departments, public corporations and parastatal enterprises, sub-national administrative units and a variety of special purpose agencies and regulatory bodies (UNCHS -Habitat, 1990). In Kenya, public sector planning and management provide the framework for other activities and mechanisms for increasing equity and devices for stimulating non public initiatives. It has been weakest in meeting detailed local needs and responding to community problems adequately.

Local government consisting of municipal councils (including the city council of Nairobi), county councils, town and urban councils represent the lowest level of public sector and their performance in terms of service provision to expanding urban population has been wanting. Apart from lack of sufficient revenue, their work force is usually bloated, inefficient and corrupt.

2.5.2 The Private Sector

This sector unlike the one above provides goods and services as determined by market forces. Its organizational forms are commercial enterprises of varying sizes and specifications. Private companies provide services more efficiently and flexibly but at market cost which may not be affordable to the urban poor and other disadvantaged groups. Water prices from private vendors for example, have been noted to be more than 12 times higher than that of piped water (UNCHS -Habitat, 1999).

2.5.3 The Community Sector and Infrastructure Provision

This sector (popularly referred to as the social sector, third sector or private-not-for-profit sector) includes a wide array of voluntary and cooperative non-governmental organizations, which operate on the basis of association, sharing costs and benefits within a self defined social or collective interest group. CBOs that include among others, single interest groups and local residents' associations provide an institutional framework for larger sections of

urban populations through which local needs are addressed. Recently there has been major shift towards this sector throughout the third world, but again this shift has not been without challenges. The planned withdrawal of the state from service provision may be construed to mean an evasion of responsibility or subordination of development goals to revenue saving programs. It is also inevitable that sometimes, relatively inexperienced voluntary organizations, despite high enthusiasm find it difficult to emulate, in the short term, the standards of public authorities (UNCHS -Habitat, 1990). Nevertheless, the trends are gaining popularity and creating responses to perpetual problems that public action has not been able to remedy. It should be noted, however, that these organizations might find it difficult to operate without a clear framework (guideline) of public sector support. In addition, the central government usually remains dominant in the provision of roads, trunk infrastructure, communication systems and important social facilities. Governmental intervention will remain vital in offsetting the undesirable effects of unrestricted market forces and community self-service provision in guaranteeing certain minimal standards in health, education and welfare and in protecting the interest of the vulnerable groups.

The provision of utility services, traditionally the domain of central government and local authorities is no longer sustainable. This is mainly in response to increasing pressure on public revenues and the search for efficient and flexible ways of meeting the demand of consumers at affordable rates. This search has ranged from experimentation with new technical options for the provision of trunk and centrally managed infrastructure to the implementation of policies and procedures that promote new forms of collaboration between the public, private and community sectors. In Kenya, this sector has been recognized as being critical in the mobilization of local resources to meet local needs but unfortunately has not been institutionalized and largely remains *ad hoc* initiatives by self-help groups responding to local problems in their neighbourhoods. This, therefore, calls for a planning intervention if these novel strategies have to be harmonized and institutionalized within the legal planning frame-works in the country and more so at the local authority levels.

2.6 Decentralization

Centralized economic planning intervention and control have been the norm in many third world countries and was viewed by national governments as the correct path to follow in spite of its apparent defects (Rondinelli *et al*, 1985; Berry and Jackson 1981; and Idode 1980). However, during the 1970s and 1980s, a number of countries that are politically, economically and ideologically diverse started to decentralize some development planning and management functions mainly because of their dissatisfaction with the results of national planning and administration, and because the underlying rationale of international development strategies changed during the 1970s. The goal of development policy in most countries was concerned with distribution of the benefits of economic growth more equitably to increase the productivity and income of all segments of society and to raise the living standards of the poor. Unfortunately, policy makers found it difficult to formulate and implement these strategies entirely from the centre. They sought new ways of eliciting greater participation in development planning and administration.

2.6.1 Rationale for Decentralization

Although not entirely viewed as a panacea to third world problems of inefficiency and mismanagement, decentralization elicited some optimism, reducing overloading and congestion in the channels of administration and communication. It was thought that it would increase governments' responsiveness to the public and increase the quantity and quality of services it provides. The major weakness here was that it concentrates purely on economic criteria and lacked a human face.

In Kenya, decentralization was embraced because the provision of services by central government ministries performed poorly because of the difficulty of extending the same to local levels. Maintenance of roads, for example, and other physical infrastructure were believed to be done better by local government (municipalities, town and county councils). It, however, turned out that these authorities performed disastrously owing to lack of funds and technical capacity to install and maintain these services.

Third World countries including Kenya have faced myriad problems in designing and implementing programmes for decentralizing development administration. Even where the efforts have been relatively successful, not all the anticipated benefits have accrued to both central and local governments (Rondinelli and Cheema, 1983) and inevitably to the citizenry. Ultimately, however, decentralization remains an ideological principle associated with objectives of self-reliance, democratic decision-making, community participation in government, and accountability of public officials to the citizenry.

2.6.1 Types of Decentralization

Decentralization may be looked at as the transfer of responsibility for planning, management and resource raising and allocation from the central government and its agencies to:

- (a) field units of central government ministries/agencies;
- (b) subordinate units or levels of government;
- (c) semi-autonomous public authorities or corporation;
- (d) area wide regional or functional authorities; and
- (e) non-governmental private or voluntary organizations (Rondinelli, 1981a)

Decentralization however is a complex undertaking subsuming under it other varied forms namely: deconcentration, delegation, devolution and privatization (Rundenelli, 1981a). For purposes of this study, only privatization was considered relevant. It refers to a situation where governments divest themselves of responsibility for functions, which are then transferred to voluntary organizations or allow them to be performed by private enterprises. In some cases the government may decentralize by shifting the responsibility for producing goods and supplying services that were previously offered by parastatal or public corporation to privately owned or controlled enterprises (Ralston, Anderson and Colson 1981, Freedman 1983).

In Sri Lanka, for example, voluntary organizations have come to play an important role in delivering services to meet basic human needs including day care centres, nursery schools, health clinics and to provide vocational training and non formal education. They operate through rural development projects and community self-help programmes that provide

social overhead capital, for example, roads, water tanks, irrigation canals, sanitation facilities, wells etc (Cheema. *et al* 1985). This example illustrates the fact that voluntary organizations including community based ones at the neighbourhood level can provide important infrastructure and services more efficiently than the governments have been able to do.

2.6.3 Privatization

Privatization is a new phenomenon representing the substitution of private for public provision of various goods and services. The techniques employed and the attendant activities that are considered and the zeal with which it has been pursued make it a distinct feature of the economic policies of the late 1980s and early 1990s. The kind of privatization considered here may trace its origin to the decline of growth rates in industrial countries in the 1970s and early 80s. The emphasis shifted from one, which considered the public sector as a major contributor to growth to one that strangled performance of the economies. The efficiency and effectiveness of the public sector began to be questioned and the need to reduce its size and scope was realized.

Simply put, privatization is the sale of government assets to private citizens. Yet it expands beyond this simple notion into broader and more complex issues involving the opening up of state monopolies to private competition, privatization of public services such as public utilities which until recently were the indisputable domain of the central and local governments. Attempts to convert the mixed economies in most of the third world including Kenya have tended to create several paradoxes either legal or institutional that must be faced at both theoretical and policy levels.

2.6.4 Economic Theory of Privatization

Privatization hinges on the neoclassical hypothesis that private ownership and management brings greater efficiency and more rapid growth. This is because the theory assumes that economic agents respond better to price incentives and signals in general. In addition, it is believed to increase output, lower costs and curb government expenditure, raises revenue to reduce public internal and external debt and promotes individual initiative.

while rewarding entrepreneurship (Todaro, 1994). Its ardent supporters also argue that it broadens the base of ownership and participation in the economy and hence encouraging individuals to feel like they have a direct stake in the economic system.

2.6.5 Privatization in Kenya

State owned enterprises were first introduced by the colonial authorities in Kenya. At independence in 1963, a sizeable state enterprise sector already existed (Aseto and Okelo, 1997). They performed important functions to the colonialists providing infrastructure and services needed for profitable exploitation of the economy.

At independence, Kenya faced a number of problems which needed to be addressed urgently and most importantly was the need to 'Kenyanise' the economy to provide and strengthen local entrepreneurship, encourage broad based economic participation, achieve regional balance, intensify development efforts and sustain growth as well as development. The policies adopted then took into account both the prevailing social and economic situation in the country. This policy strategy was epitomized by the publication of *Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*.

2.6.5.1 Objectives of Privatization

The governments privatization program derives from the overall economic restructuring policy framework and the budget rationalization as stipulated in *Sessional Paper No. 1, 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth*, with the general aim of enhancing the role of the private sector while restructuring the government portfolio towards greater efficiency and productivity. Among others, privatization was envisaged to:

- (a) reduce the financial and administrative burdens that parastatals and other statutory bodies impose on government;
- (b) raise revenue from state owned assets;
- (c) disperse widely the ownership of assets previously held by government,
- (d) attract foreign investment, managerial skills and technology; and,
- (e) improve the enabling environment for the private sector.

2.7 Summary of Emerging Issues

The literature reviewed above showed that the need for community participation in the development process has been underscored not only in Africa but also in other LDCs including South East Asia and Latin America. In fact lack of it has been the excuse for many project/programme failures in many countries including Kenya. Its significance has been shown to include project effectiveness and efficiency, community empowerment, equity and sustainability. In Kenya, attempts have been made to make the planning and development process participatory by decentralizing decision-making to the district levels within the framework of DFRD since 1984. However, due to bureaucratic inertia and lack of good will from the government machinery, DFRD has very little to show for its two decades of existence. In addition, land use planning emerges as one of the highly regulated professions in the country as demonstrated by the numerous legal provisions, which do not give room for other stakeholders. What has not been clearly demonstrated in the literature among others are:

- (a) How the communities are supposed to participate; and at what stages of projects/programmes especially in view of such rigid regulations and uncompromising policy environment, their capacities (existing and potential) and weaknesses;
- (b) Most of the references to community participation have invariably been used within the context of rural areas and thus ignoring urban ones; and
- (c) Appropriate models/tools of integrating the community have largely been lacking.

The current study makes a departure by first and foremost evaluating the capacity of neighbourhood associations, takes stock of what they do; the obstacles they face, and finally makes recommendations based on empirical evidence. Secondly, the study suggests a participatory model of infrastructure provision and management based on partnerships, showing who does what and at what levels and stages and finally gives a framework showing how the urban communities, either through their Neighbourhood Associations, Constituency and Ward Planning and Development Committees or Area Planning and Development Committees may participate in the planning, development, and sustainable management of urban infrastructure and services.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA

3.0. Study Area

Nairobi derived from Masaai syllabi *Nai* (meaning water) owes its origin to the construction of the railway between Mombasa and Uganda towards the end of 1890s.

In April 1900, the Nairobi Township Committee was established by the early settlers thereby marking the birth of local government in Nairobi. In October 1928, the Township Committee was raised to municipal status an indication of its rapid growth. On 30th March 1950 through the Royal Charter, Nairobi was accorded the status of a city, the title it holds to date.

The City is thus relatively young tracing its origin to the start of colonial economic processes in East Africa. The city is only a hundred years old and it evolved as a city for the white settlers. The experience in the city shows that urban development challenges of the post colonial period differ a great deal from those of the colonial times but the pattern of development structured during colonial period persisted to the present time. It covers approximately 680 square km, is the commercial, industrial, political and social hub of Kenya, a position she has enjoyed since the transfer of the colonial capital from Mombasa in 1907. It is located $1^{\circ} 16'S$ $36^{\circ} 50'E$ at an altitude of 1660m above sea level which is the South East end of agricultural heartland of Kenya (Kenya, 1970). It receives an annual rainfall of 907mm with a bimodal rainfall distribution pattern received between March to May and November to December with moderate temperatures throughout the year. International Trunk Road System (ITRS) or National Trunk Road System (NTRS) connects it to all major urban centres in the country and the neighbouring countries.

Although the NCC, the local government entity charged with development and management of the city, perceives city planning as an instrument for servicing urban development process it has not been successful in that effort. City planning process takes place within a political, social and economic environment conditioned by complex processes of change, which makes the involvement of the urban communities rather

difficult. Owing to financial mismanagement and professional malpractices, the city government has not been able to harness enough financial resources and professional competence to guide the city's planning and development process. Nonetheless, it has spearheaded some crucial interventions to address development problems and needs of the city.

It is discernable that urban planning experience in the city reflects various typologies of planning depending on the various challenges and the times of interventions. In some ways, city-planning process has closely followed the experience of industrial cities of Europe and North America in the 19th Century especially in terms of challenges and planning response up to the time of formal political independence in 1963. The experience of city planning in Nairobi is marked by movement from strategic concerns with social control and containment of development during colonial period to growth management and urban expansion in the post independence period. This transition was also marked by significant changes in political, economic and social variables influencing urbanization process and city development process in particular. Population changes marked visible change in trends between the periods 1962 – 1979.

3.2 Demographic Trends

The population of Nairobi has grown from 87,000 (1950) to an estimated 2.1 million (CBS, 1999). The average annual rate of population growth declined from 2.9 per cent during 1950-1965 to 4.9 per cent during 1970-1980s. It again increased to 6.3 in the 1990s. Rural to urban migration, natural population increase and extension of its boundaries as shown above have been responsible for this exponential rise in population.

Table 3.1 Nairobi's Population through the Years.

YEAR	Population	Growth rate (%)
1948	118,794	7.5
1962	343,500	6.0
1969	509,286	6.9
1979	827,775	5.0
1989	1,324,435	4.7
1999	2,143,254	4.7

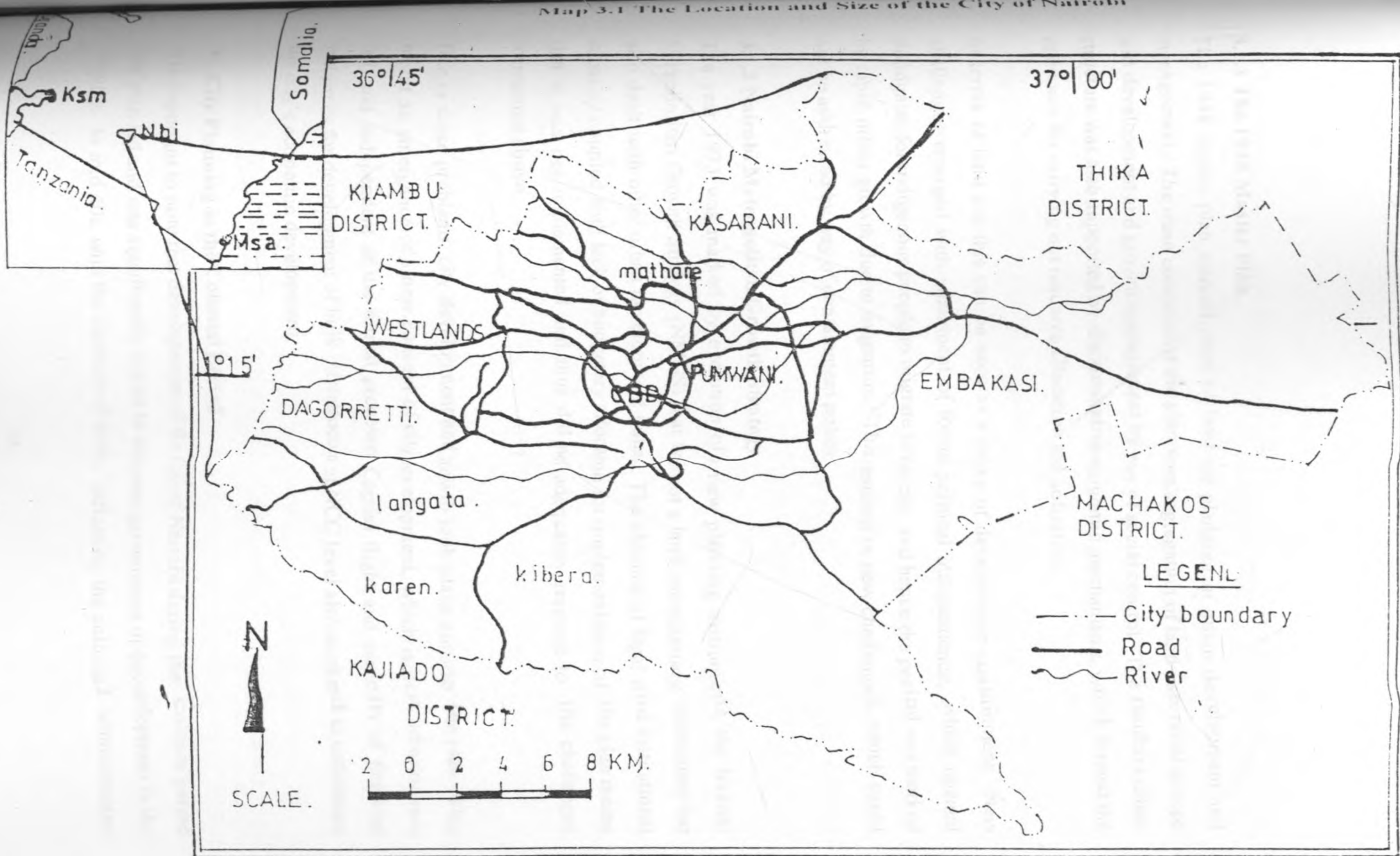
Source: Onduu, 1997:53, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999: Vol.1:3-1

During the period 1962-1979 Nairobi's population grew by 587,000 persons. Presently the city has an estimated population of 3 million and the metropolitan area is estimated to have a population of about 4.5 million. The metropolitan area is dependent upon the city proper for services, employment and the other resources for human development. All these present new development challenges, which require new and innovative responses. In the proceeding section planning responses from the time of colonial administration and to the present are discussed to expose experience of city planning in Nairobi. It is important to note that city planning is a constituent of regional planning with which it has a symbiotic relationship.

3.1 Urban Planning Experience in the City of Nairobi

Urban planning practice in the City has undergone evolutionary process depending on the various challenges. This has resulted in changes in urban planning practice in respect of methods, scope and perception. Nairobi being a colonial City, planning process has closely followed the experience of industrial Cities of Europe and North America in the 19th Century in terms of challenges and planning response upto the time of formal political independence.

Map 3.1 The Location and Size of the City of Nairobi



3.1.1 The 1948 Master Plan

The 1948 master plan marked entry of land use planning in urban development and management. The main concerns of the plan were segregation of land use, racial groups and development and growth management by way of social control. The resultant urban structure was also supported by discriminative economic mechanisms, which formed the main aim for carrying out resource allocation and utilization.

In terms of land use this can be seen as a policy of development containment. New challenges emerged with attainment of formal political independence, which opened floodgates for indigenous people to migrate to the city, and hence the period was marked by rapid urban growth due to migration. This resulted in new challenges, which could not be addressed by way of containment policy.

3.1.2 Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy

The year 1973 was marked by evolution of a new planning instrument, the Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy (NMGS) that was not a land use-planning instrument but also dealt with other urban development issues. The absence of legal and institutional capacity coupled with lack of budgetary allocation for implementation of the plan meant that it was not implemented and thus did not adequately respond to the challenges mentioned above.

Due to these problems, city development and growth took place outside the plan. This meant an emergence of a new concept of city development, which is not infrastructure led, and independent of the formal processes. Capital flight and scarcity of financial resources for development of bulk infrastructure at NCC level also worked to undermine the city's economic development.

◆ City Planning in the Colonial Period

It is important to note that development of the City of Nairobi during the colonial period was plan led and was significantly linked to economic governance of development in the country. In mid 40s, with the increase of settlers' influence, the colonial administration

commissioned a study and plan formulation process that was to ultimately result in the production of the 1948 Nairobi Master Plan. It contained proposals that depended on perpetuation and furtherance of the colonial discriminative economic processes and social exclusion as well as increased role of coercive state in the administration of urban development for its justification and hence implementation.

The 1948 Master Plan's strategy for development containment was important to settlers' community who wanted the city to be constructed around their interests. The containment strategy was to be realized by increased role of the coercive state using its military power and discriminative legislation and other mechanisms to prevent opportunistic migration by the indigenous people into the city and to regulate access to urban resources. Hence, the plan furthered social control, exclusion and segregation on racial basis. Appropriation of urban resources through the plan strategy obeyed hierarchical structure of the city population.

The plan was well linked to central government budgetary process and hence it exerted significant influence on government investment in infrastructure and other urban services development during the time. This clearly showed administrative, budgetary and political support for the plan, which in turn gave it a marked influence in city development process.

The old city, which is 84 square km, is primarily a product of the 1948 Master Plan. This plan structured the nucleus of the present-day city which features disparity reflected in all spheres of its development. The East and West divide, which still persists to the present day, was furthered by the 1948 Master Plan. The city, like in colonial days is divided into affluent and opulent west and poor and despondent east. The 1948 Master Plan in its content, context and concept was merely a land use plan. But its influence went beyond the traditional land use Master Plan more so due to the colonial administration's emphatic implementation of discriminative economic strategies, which significantly supplemented the plan implementation. The plan unfortunately depended on the myth that political,

economic and social variables propelling city development would remain static in nature and intensity. This did not happen and the plan became irrelevant.

◆ Political Independence and Urban Planning Challenges

In 1963 Kenya attained formal political independence, which marked the end of white settlers' influence in development administration and meant freedom to the indigenous population. This formal political independence opened floodgates for indigenous people to migrate to the city. This new phenomenon rendered the official plan of the city fostering development containment and relying on racially discriminative system of political administration and economic governance irrelevant and untenable. New urban planning challenges emerged from the social processes that followed formal political independence. These included: high rate of urban growth mismatched by lack of formal employment, affordable and decent housing as well as urban services; an established housing and land markets and tenure system that discriminate on income basis to the detriment of the indigenous people; transforming and incorporating the extended areas of the city which comprise mainly un-serviced farmland and two thirds of the new city area into viable and productive urban space; emergence of slum development and informal economy in parallel with the formal urban development process; inadequate infrastructure to support new investments in job creation and to accommodate rapid urban growth, high inequalities and social exclusion; inadequate political, administrative and budgetary support for city planning by the government; insufficient technical and financial capabilities of the city government to carry out its responsibilities to citizens; high increase of uncivil behavior especially by the sectors excluded from access to urban resources; and slow down in economic development.

◆ City Planning Response to Contemporary Urban Development Changes

The already mentioned urban development challenges mitigated that development containment strategy of the 1948 Master Plan was not viable and tenable. The city faced rapid population growth primarily due to migration as well high levels of poverty and inequality fostered by colonial economic system within a context of inadequate infrastructures and urban services as well as complicated land tenure system among other development constraints.

The NMGS laid emphasis on urban expansion to accommodate rapid urban growth thus deviating from the earlier typology of city planning which emphasized development containment. NMGS unlike the 1948 master plan was a multi-sectoral development plan. The plan laid a strategy for integrated urban development with emphasis on expansion to accommodate growth.

The plan, however, assumed greater administrative, political and financial support by the Central Government and laid framework for massive infrastructure investment by the government to facilitate expansion needed to accommodate high rate of urban growth experienced by the city. Urban expansion meant transformation and incorporation of the extended areas of the city, which were mainly farmlands into viable and productive urban environments suitable for living, working and recreation. The plan also conceived urban development process as infrastructure led. This meant that urban expansion involved infrastructure and service development in the extended areas of the city.

The plan's vision with regard to development concept was underlined by the assumption that the social, economic and political variables influencing urban development in the contemporary period was only different from those of colonial period in intensity, hence the plan's emphasis on urban expansion and infrastructure led concept of urban development.

The independent government did not provide administrative, political and financial support for implementation of the NMGS as a result of which implementation of the plan lagged behind. This provided new impetus to informal urban development culminating in entry of new players like land buying/housing cooperative societies and companies which mobilized citizens to purchase peripheral lands and illegally subdivide and build. By 1978 it was apparent that city development process was no longer curtailed by lack of infrastructures and other urban services despite the fact that these are fundamental to orderly urban development. The influence of informal processes of urban development reached greater heights in 1979 when it was estimated that 50 per cent of the city comprised unauthorized development.

- **Transformation of Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy to Land Use Plan**

The NMGS could no longer be relied upon for strategic guidance and especially with regard to sectoral development. As a result, the NCC in 1979 by way of rationalization of the NMGS redirected city planning to focus on structural development of the city. The NMGS implementation was to be undertaken by use of instruments for land use and density controls and at strategic level evolving spatial development plans covering all the extended areas of the city as well as zonal plans for the old city areas. These plans had a basis on the NMGS spatial framework for urban expansion.

The modification to infrastructure requirements for urban development in the extended areas allowed alternative methods of liquid wastes disposal and other technical services and committed private sector or developers to be responsible for minor extension of trunk services and domestic reticulations. The experience is that private sector has contributed nominally to extension of trunk services. This new rationalization meant that urban development in the extended areas could take place even prior to NCC providing infrastructure as long as there were some alternative infrastructure provision. However, development densities and land use remained restricted. Such restrictions became untenable due to rising land values, high cost of construction and high interest rates chargeable in the domestic finance market. The reality is that high-density developments occurred where infrastructure and services capacities were insufficient to cope with such developments. The result is massive environmental degradation and rapid dilapidation of infrastructures due to overload/overuse. In addition, most developments have encroached into areas that were designated for infrastructure and services development thus making it difficult to service the developments with infrastructure and other services.

- ◆ **Single Issues Plans.**

As Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategies implementation became confined to provision of spatial development framework after 1979 rationalization, new typologies of planning and a new wave of fragmentation permeated urban development management in the city. Single issue Master Plans whose origins are traced to donors who provided

technical and financial assistance for their formulation and the Central Government emerged to introduce a new wave of fragmentation in city development administration. At present the city has several such single-issue plans whose implementation are not pegged to the original urban expansion strategy of the NMGS nor any particular strategic vision. Their impacts on city development are nominal and invisible. Examples of these plans included: Water Supply Master Plan; Sewer and Drainage Master Plan; Solid Waste Management Master Plan; and ongoing study on Nairobi Urban Transportation Plan.

◆ **Informal Settlement Development Strategy and Action Plan.**

Inadequate influence of city planning strategies to steer city development to meet the development needs of the city and its citizens gave way to increasing dependent on the informal processes of urban development for provision of affordable housing and urban services, job creation and supplying land for development. The Gok and NCC have today recognized the vital role played by the informal sector by adopting a plan evolved through inclusive and participatory process involving the civil society and private sector. The Nairobi Informal Settlement Development Strategy (NISDS) is a multi-sectoral development plan evolved to create a new vision for urban development, which incorporates informal sector as a major segment, and to create coordination capacity at city level to mobilize resources and oversee implementation of projects aimed at improving living conditions in the slum settlements. Such a plan if implemented may mark the first attempt to making city policy process inclusive and participatory. However, the informal processes of city development have interdependent relationships with the formal processes to the extent that city level and national policies would determine the outcome of the said strategy's vision which is yet to be fully internalized in the local land use planning process, today governed by the Physical Planning Act No.6 of 1996. This Act of parliament makes physical (land use) planning a statutory function. Its provisions are limited in terms of flexibility required to accommodate non-statutory efforts like the informal settlement development strategy and to provide a lead towards evolution of a visionary and holistic plan for the city. From the city planning experience above, it emerged that the planning of Nairobi has been purely a professional undertaking premised on the top-down planning paradigms. The involvement of the residents either in plan conception or implementation

has been largely missing.

3.3 Infrastructure and Social Services

The demand for infrastructure and social services in the city has far outstripped the capacity of the NCC. In terms of road networks, Nairobi has about 1,900 kilometers of road about 1,300 of which are paved, about half of the secondary network in poor conditions and deteriorating. The conventional sewerage system covers about 50 per cent of central and old city area, septic tanks about 25 per cent (mainly used in low density sections), and pit latrines are dominant in squatter and shanty settlements and other high-density areas (Map3.3).

3.3.1 Water

An estimated 89 per cent of Nairobi's population is supplied with water through house connections; communal watering points and water kiosks. The City however, has a growing problem of water supply, which has its roots in the original choice of the site. Nairobi was not originally planned to be a large conurbation and the available water resource was sufficient only for a small population. To meet the growing demand water, has to be pumped from locations outside the city (Map 3.2). The entry of private sector players is envisaged to enhance the supply and distribution.

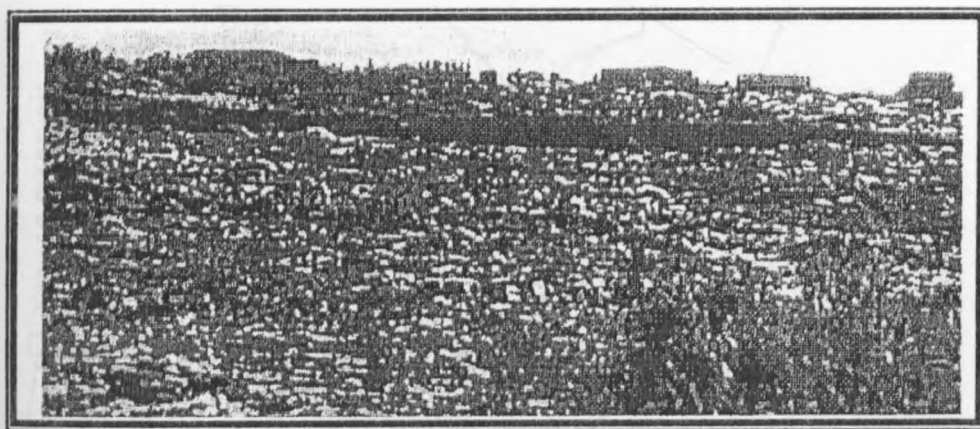
3.3.2 Sewage System

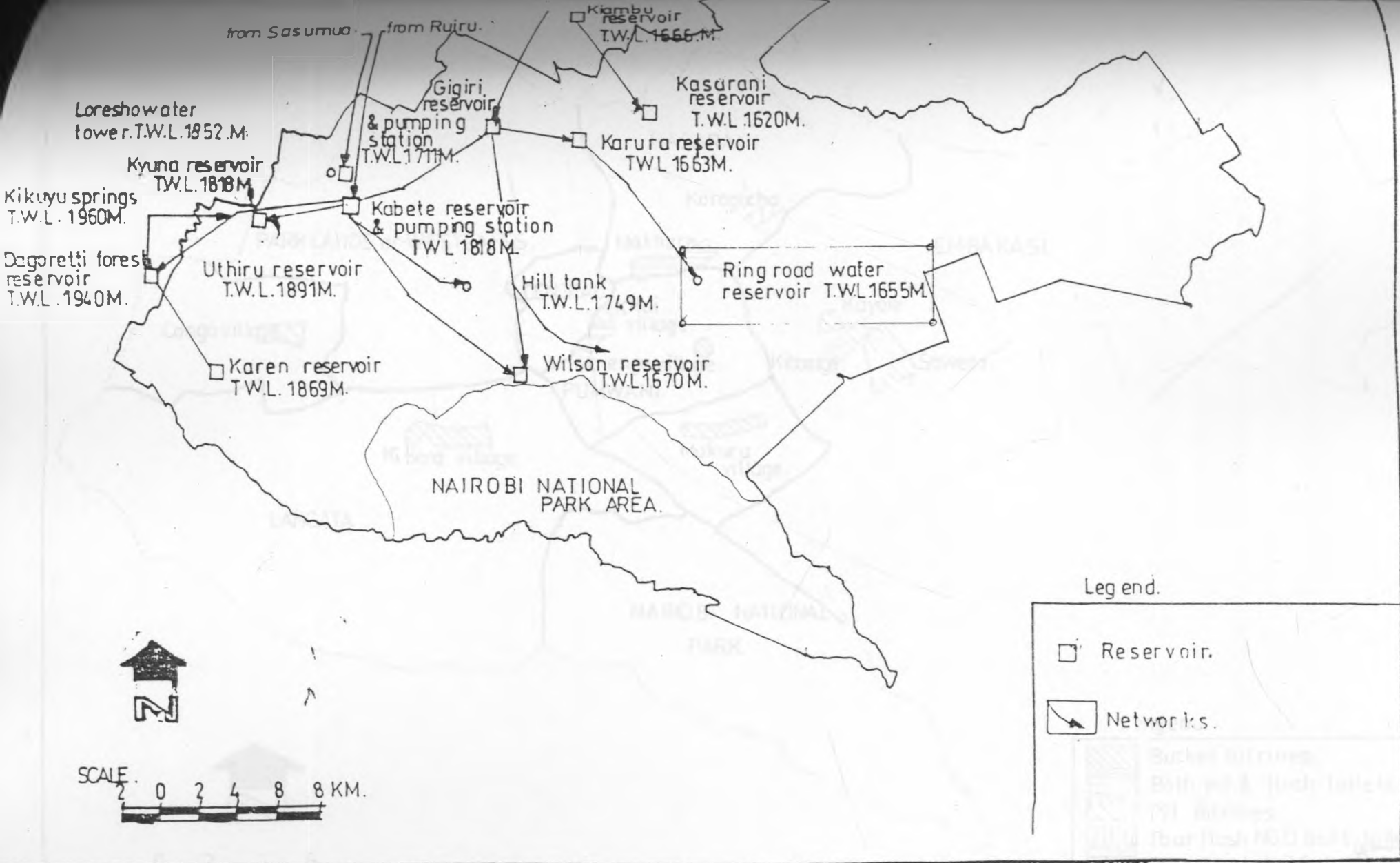
Sewage produced in Nairobi consists of wastewater, industrial effluents and storm water. The inadequate capacity of the existing treatment work results in the disposal of untreated sewage in Nairobi River and other small streams. Approximately 58 per cent of Nairobi population is served by the existing waterborne sewerage system, which suffers from a number of problems including poor maintenance, illegal connections, and blockages (Obudho, 1997). The remainder of the population is served by septic tanks, conservation tanks, or pit latrines, which contribute to the pollution of ground water and piped water owing to seepage when the pressure is low

3.3.3 Solid Waste Disposal

The collection, management and disposal of solid waste in Nairobi have become increasingly infrequent. It is estimated that about 1000-1,500 tonnes of refuse is generated per day out of which less than 200 tonnes is collected and disposed of at the open dumping site at Dandora (Obudho, *ibid.*) (Plate 3.1) which has been banned but is yet to be relocated. The capacity of the city council is constrained by lack of resources especially vehicles and apathy of the council employees which have led to uncollected garbage piling up in several residential estates in the city. Privatization is now being considered but the city council has not been able to pay for the services leading to the withdrawal of Refuse Handlers Ltd, a private company that collected and disposed of garbage from the CBD. The entry of the community sector in the management of solid wastes is perhaps long overdue.

Plate 3.1: The Dandora Dumping Site

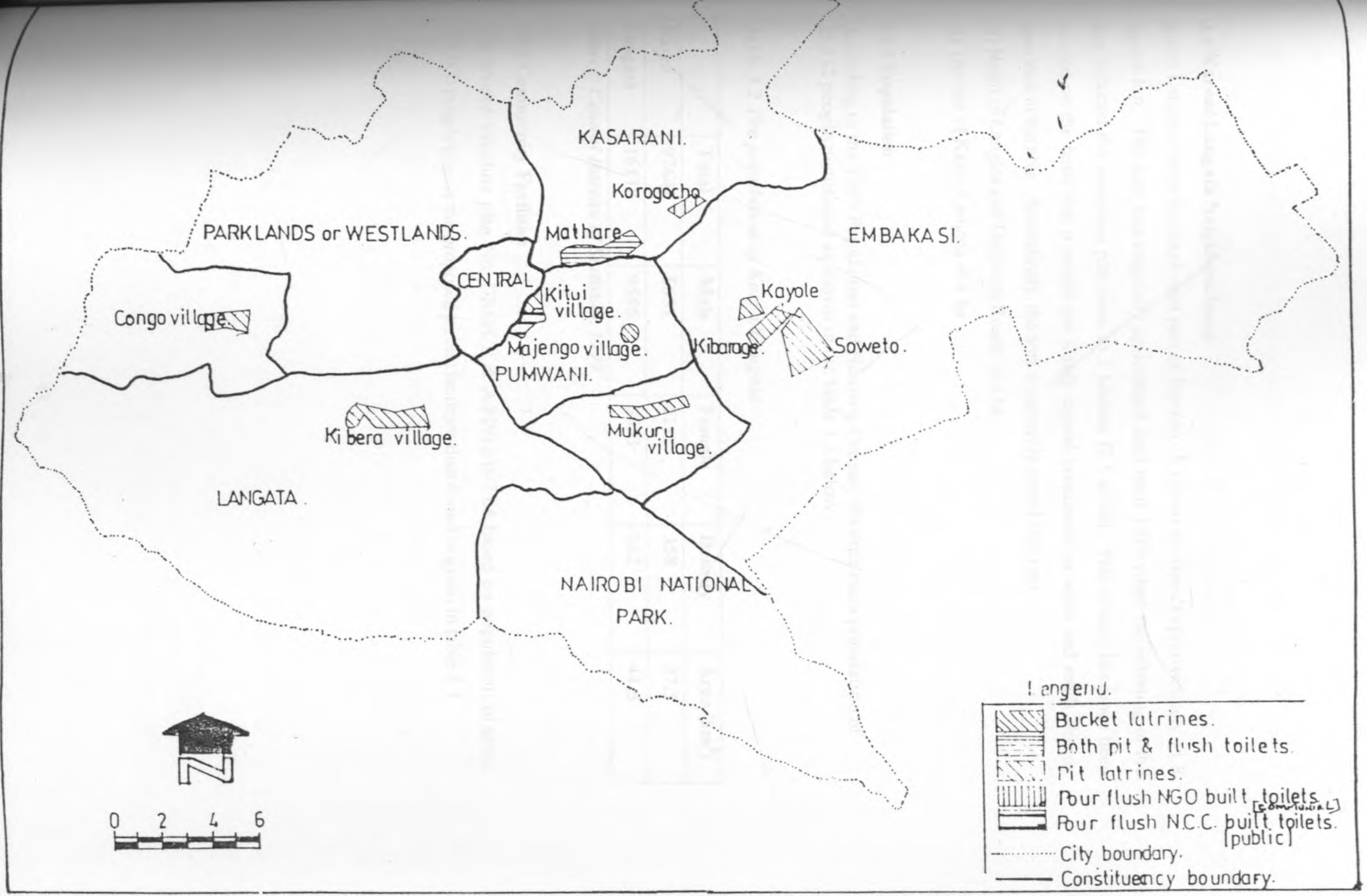




Legend.

- Reservoir.
- Networks.
- Sewer drains.
- Rain water & flood drains.
- 70' drains.
- 100' drains.
- 120' drains.
- City boundary.
- Community boundary.

Source: Nairobi Master Plan for Service, Sanitation and Drainage.



KASARANI.

Karogocho

EMBAKASI.

PARKLANDS or WESTLANDS.

Mathare

CENTRAL

Kitui village.

Kayole

Congo village

Majengo village.

Kibarago.

Soweto.

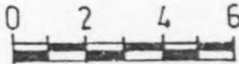
PUMWANI.

Kibera village.

Mukurua village.

LANGATA.

NAIROBI NATIONAL PARK.



3.4 Karen/ Langata Neighbourhood

Karen Langata forms the southwest part of Nairobi. It covers an area of approximately 71.8 square km. The area was originally agricultural land until 1979 when the rezoning of the area reduced the minimum plot sizes to 1 hectare (2.5 acres). This zoning has since been revised on the basis that it would not justify capital investment as water and roads already provided in the area. Accordingly, the area is currently zoned into two:

- (1) North of Langata and Dagoretti Roads -0.2 ha
- (2) The rest of Karen Langata -0.4 ha

3.4.1 Population

According to the 1999 Population and Housing Census, the area has a population of 25,882 people distributed as shown in the table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 The population of Karen/Langata

	Total	Male	Female	Density	Area (km ²)
Karen	9764	5651	4113	358	27.3
Langata	16118	9585	6533	362	44.5

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999.

3.4.2 Community Facilities

The revised structure plan No: DRG/CP & A/FP/12/B/7/88 based on population of about 100,000 people shows the proposed public facilities distributed as given in table 3.3.

Map 3.4 Location of Karen/ Langata in the City

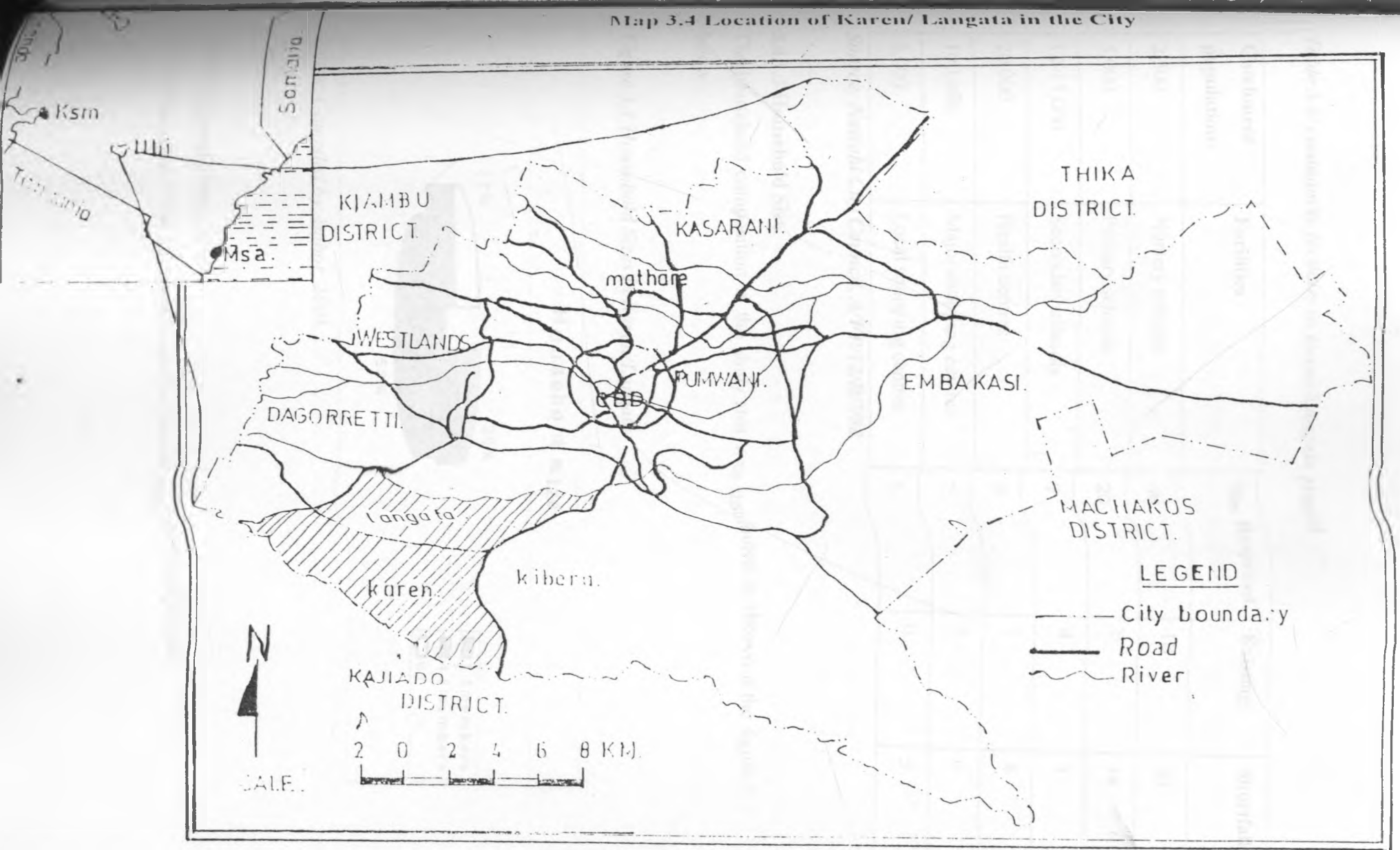


Table 3.3: community facilities in Karen/Langata (1988).

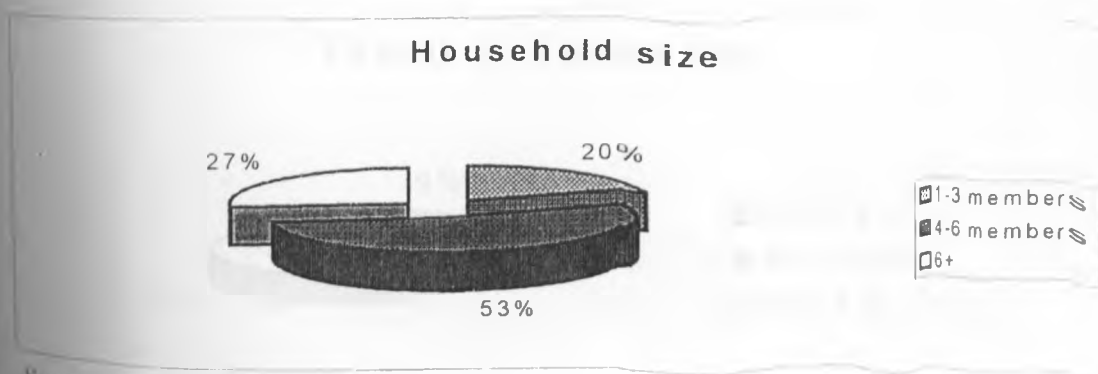
Catchment population	Facilities	No. Required	Existing	Shortfall
2,500	Nursery schools	40	10	30
5,000	Primary schools	20	6	14
12-15,000	Secondary schools	7	4	3
20,000	Health centres	5	1	4
100,000	Major shopping centres	2	2	0
5,000	Local shopping centres	5	0	5

Source: Nairobi City Council, A/FP/12/B/7/88.

3.4.1.3 Household Size

The household composition in the study area was distributed as shown in the figure 3.1 below:

Figure 3.1 Household Sizes in Karen/Langata

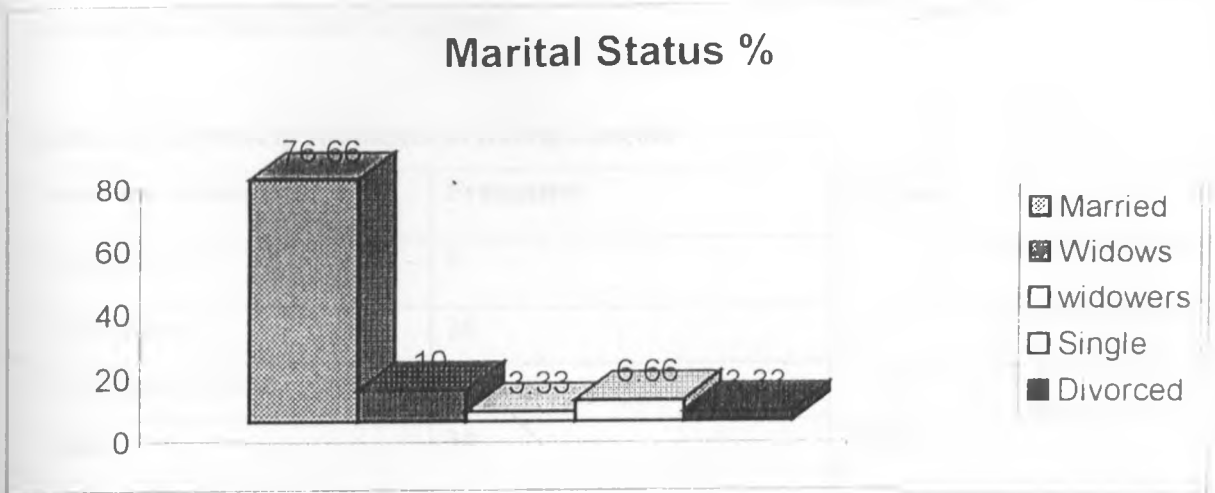


Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

3.4.1.4 Marital Status

The marital status of the respondents can be represented by bar graph below

Figure 3.2: Marital status in Karen/Langata

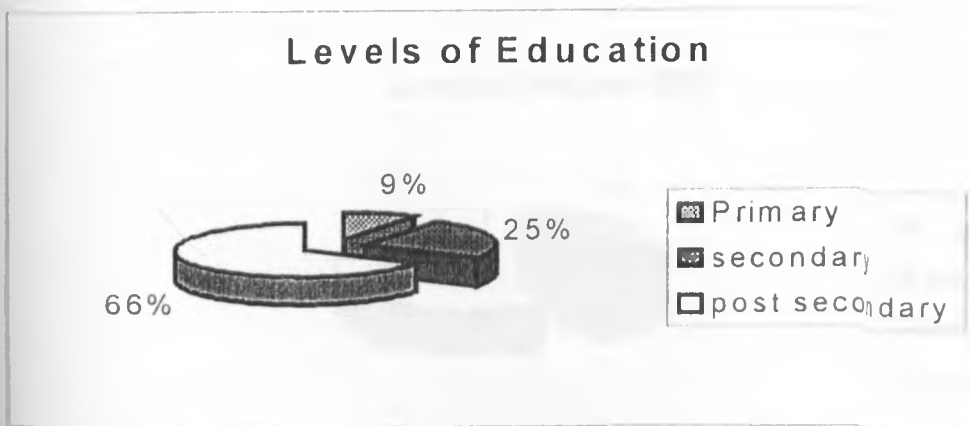


Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

3.4.1.5 Educational Levels

Most of the respondents as shown below had a high level of education attainment. This is significant, as it has been shown elsewhere in this study that level of education has a bearing on an individual's level of participation in neighbourhood activities. The high percentage of respondents with post-secondary education explains their commitment to KLDA's activities. This is represented in figure 3.3 below.

Figure 3.3: Educational Levels in Karen/Langata



Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

3.4.1.6 Duration of Residence

Duration of residence emerged as an important determinant of an individual's willingness to

participate. In overall, those who had stayed in the Estate longer had a higher propensity to participate in the neighbourhood's activities. The table below shows the duration of residence according to the respondents.

Table 3.4 Duration of Residence in Karen/Langata

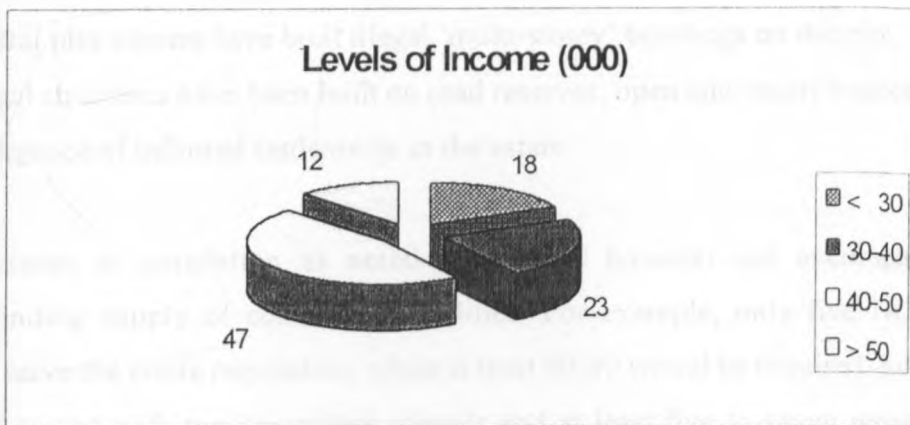
Duration of residence	Frequency	Per cent
Less than 10	6	2.2
10-20 years	16	53.3
More than 20 years	8	26.66
Total	30	100.00

Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

3.4.1.7 Household Income

Karen/Langata represents an upscale residential estate a fact which might be corroborated by the land values. Although the true levels of income could be withheld by the individual respondents for their own varied reasons. The pie chart below gives a summary of the research findings of incomes per month.

Figure 3.4:Houseold incomes in Karen/Langata



Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

Because KLDA operates through consultants and contracts, income levels, it was found out, played an important role in determining an individual's capacity to participate With a

monthly subscription of Ksh.2000 (ordinary members), it is only the well to do who can afford it.

3.5 Background to Dandora Settlement

Dandora Estate was the first World Bank, GoK sponsored Site and Service Scheme (SSS) in Nairobi, initiated in 1975. The aim of the scheme was to address the housing shortfall in the lowest cost category. Its intention was to provide about 6000 site and service plots to the target group then earning under Ksh. 650 per month. Each plot included a wet core and one room for habitation. Plot owners were given loans to enable them purchase building materials for further construction. These rooms could be used for family members or could also be rented out to third parties to generate income for loan repayment. The estate was comprehensively planned with a complete infrastructure of roads, sewers, storm drainage, street lighting and solid waste disposal facilities. Space was also allocated for community facilities including schools, parks, clinics, sports clubs, churches etc.

Over the years, however, the estate has degenerated to what it is today with a population of over 100,000 people (*Field survey, 2000*) compared to a planned number of 75,000 people only. This exponential population increase may be attributed to a number of factors, namely:

- (1) Many plot owners have built more than two or three rooms on the plot, often up to 7 rooms and thus resulting into full plot coverage;
- (2) Several plot owners have built illegal 'multi-storey' buildings on the plot;
- (3) Illegal structures have been built on road reserves, open and empty spaces; and
- (4) Emergence of informal settlements in the estate.

The increase in population as noted above was however not accompanied by a corresponding supply of community facilities. For example, only five NCC primary schools serve the entire population, while at least 40-50 would be required. Similarly the estate is served with two secondary schools and at least five to seven more would be required. The same applies to health centers, markets, police stations, fire stations parks and open spaces.

The infrastructure that had been laid down became hopelessly overloaded, coupled with lack of maintenance and general neglect: the roads, sewerage system, storm drainage system, and solid waste disposal facilities together with street lighting collapsed.

3.5.1 Dandora Population

The population of the estate, which has been increasing rapidly over the last 20 years, is distributed as shown in the table below.

Table 3.5: Population of Dandora

Total	Male	Female	Density	Area (km ²)
110,164	57353	52811	27,541	4.0

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999.

3.5.2 Services and Infrastructure in Dandora

Adequate and timely provision of infrastructure and services including water, drainage and sewage is essential for the efficient function of residential estates. Apart from enhancing the environmental quality of the estate, they are an important area for enhancing the general well being of urban dwellers. There are two categories of infrastructure as shown below.

3.5.3 Environmental Infrastructure

Sewage disposal involves the mechanism of handling domestic and industrial liquid waste. In Dandora, domestic (human waste) is done through sewer reticulation, but which faces problems of blockage and lack of maintenance. It is currently an area of concern among the residents.

Map 3.5 Location of Dandora in the City

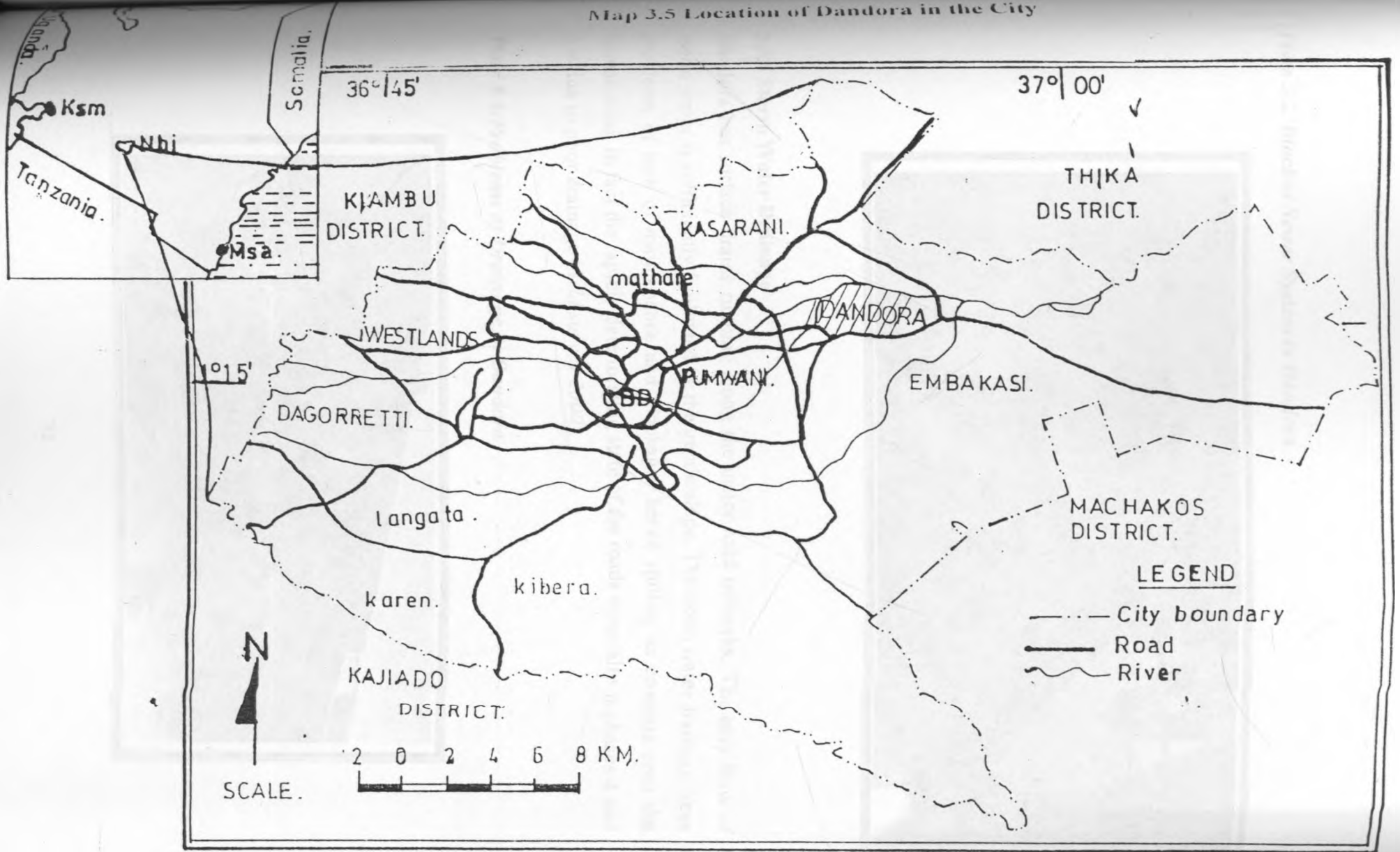
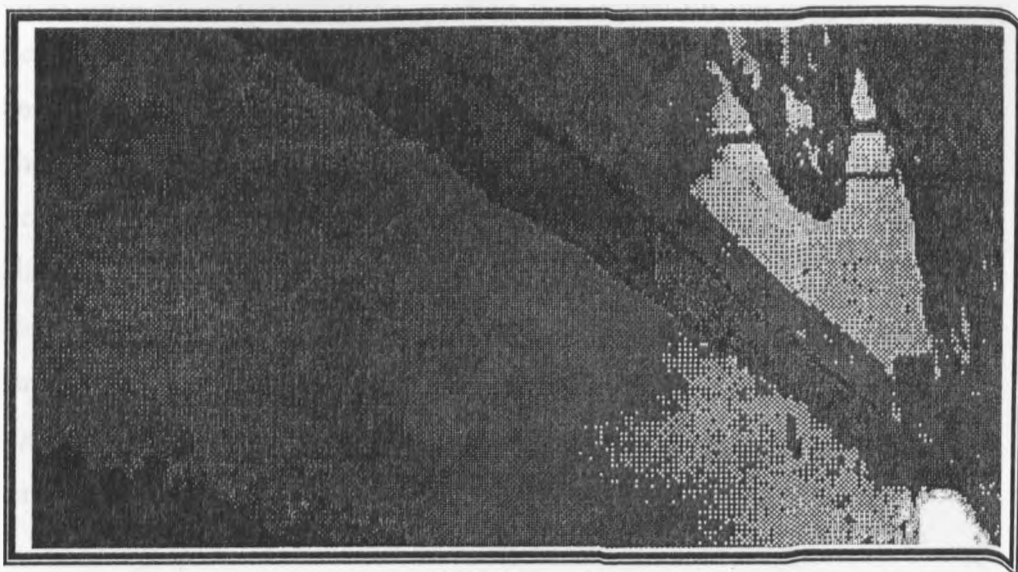


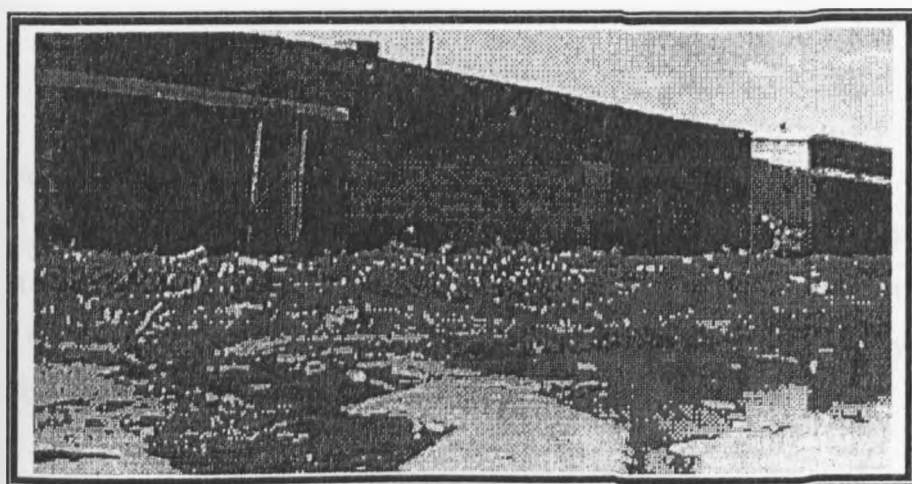
Plate 3.2: Blocked Sewer System in Dandora



3.5.4 Storm Water Drainage

Dandora has surface drains running along the major road networks. The easy flow of storm water is sufficiently facilitated by the gentle slope. The storm water drainage faces problems of lack of maintenance and blockages hence spilling its contents onto the tarmac road. In fact the rapidly deteriorating state of the roads especially in phases 4 and 5 is due to poor drainage (*field survey 2000*).

Plate 3.3: Problems of Drainage in Dandora



3.5.5 Solid Waste Management

The provision of solid waste management services is essential for the maintenance of a clean living environment and in enhancing the aesthetic quality of the neighborhoods. Apart from being home to the dumping site for the entire city, garbage heaps litter the estate in all the phases. The dumping site, the residents aver, is the greatest nuisance as far as environmental quality is concerned. Moreover, the people working on the site pose security problems to the once peaceful and secure residential estate.

The main problems confronting solid waste disposal management include lack of awareness among the public on environmental health, lack of appropriate equipment coupled with poor waste handling techniques. Majority of the residents dumps their refuse in undesignated sites where sometimes it is burnt or in most case left unattended (*field survey, 2000*).

Plate 3. 4: Open dumping of Solid Waste in the estate



3.5.6 Physical Infrastructure

Water: NCC supplies Dandora with water. Although the problems of water in the estate is not new, it had taken a different dimension with the then water rationing put in place by NCC. At the time of the study, Phase 1 was the most hit by the scarcity with taps running dry for 3-4 weeks.

Roads. Although initially well served by a central spine of road network, the road conditions today are in a pathetic state of disrepair as shown in plate 3.5 below.

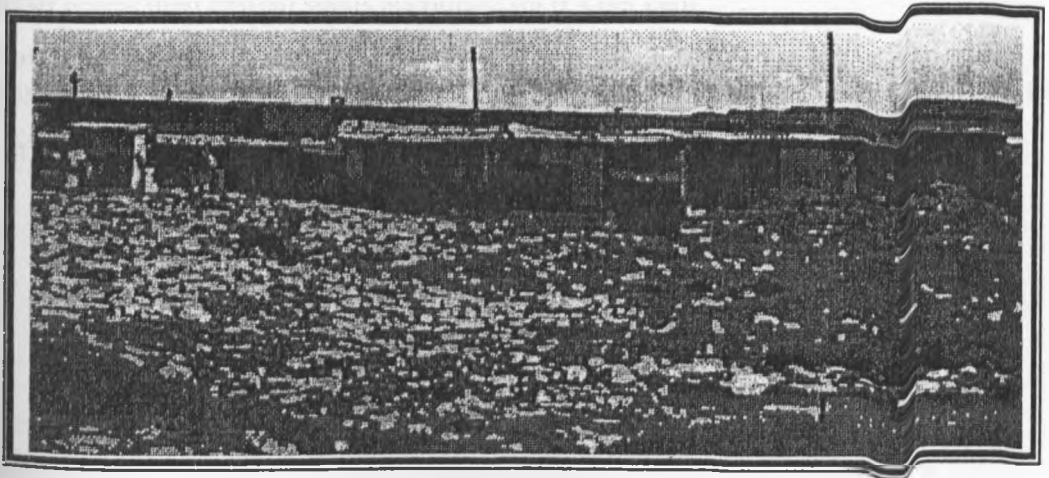
Plate 3.5: Deteriorating State of Road Networks in Dandora



3.5.7 Problems of Sewerage

The existing sewer system experiences blockages that eventually lead to bursts and overflows from the manhole sections of the main sewerage due to lack of adequate maintenance by NCC. This is illustrated in plate 3.6 below.

Plate 3.6: Blocked-manhole section of sewer system in Dandora.



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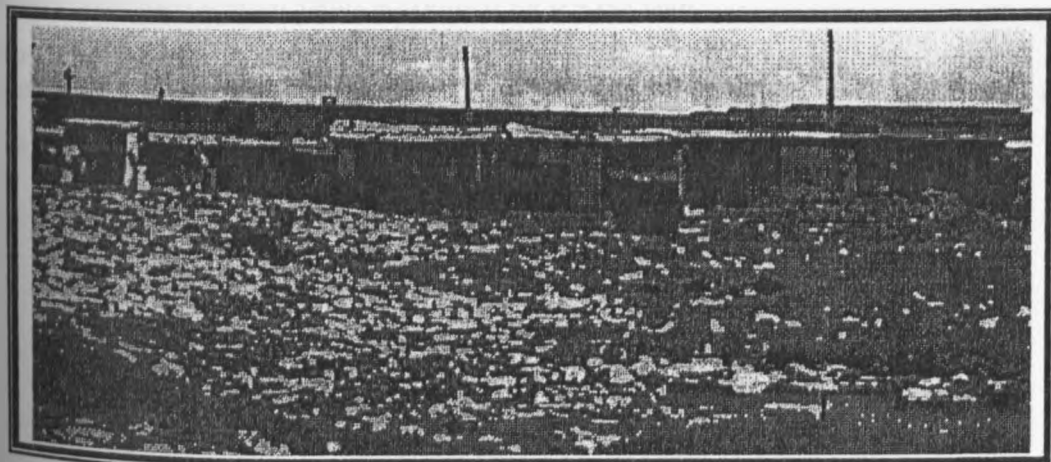
Plate 3.5: Deteriorating State of Road Networks in Dandora



3.5.7 Problems of Sewerage

The existing sewer system experiences blockages that eventually lead to bursts and overflows from the manhole sections of the main sewerage due to lack of adequate of maintenance by NCC. This is illustrated in plate 3.6 below.

Plate 3.6: Blocked-manhole section of sewer system in Dandora.



Summary of Problem Areas in Dandora

- Broken down sewerage,
- Blocked drainage system;
- Lack of street lighting;
- Insecurity,
- Indiscriminate garbage dumping in empty spaces along the roads,
- Lack of adequate personnel and appropriate equipment,
- Poor waste handling techniques;
- Conflict between scavengers, local community and municipal workers at the dumping site; and
- Low public awareness of environmental health,

3.6 Socio-Demographic Analysis

3.6.1 Age of Respondents

According to the survey, the population of Dandora is relatively young with 25 per cent belonging to the 20-35-age bracket. About 34.5 per cent belongs to the 36-45 age bracket, 22.4 per cent; 46-55 age bracket, and 13.3 per cent are aged 36 years and above.

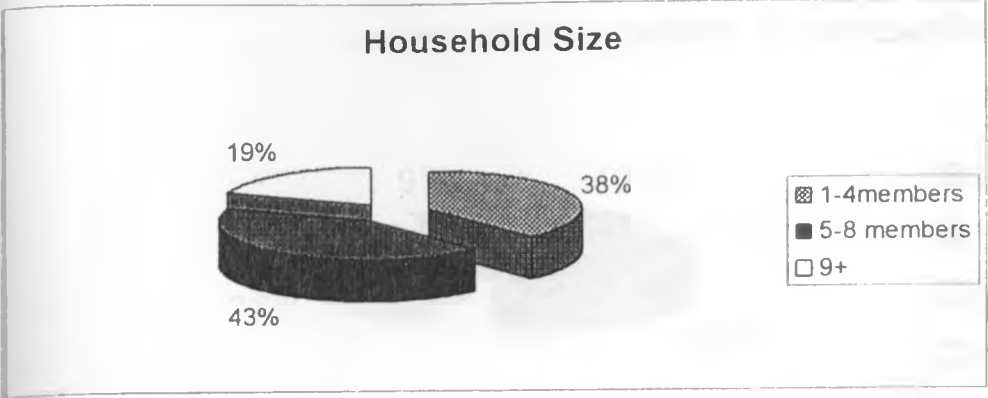
3.6.2 Marital Status

In the sample survey the proportion of residents who are married was 67.7 per cent, 12.9 per cent are single, 6.5 per cent divorced, a further 6.5 per cent are widowed while those who declined to reveal their marital status accounted for 6.4 per cent.

3.6.3 Household Size

The household had a mean household size of 5.1. The other ranges were distributed as shown in the pie chart below:

Figure 3.5: Household Sizes in Dandora

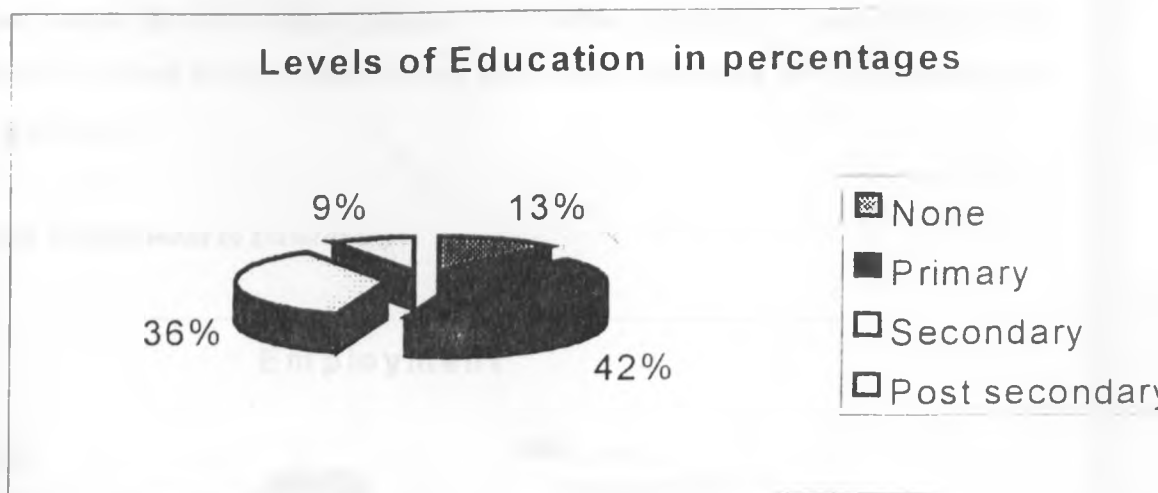


Source: Compiled by Author 2001.

3.6.4 Education Levels

Levels of education attained were relatively low as 13 per cent had none and those with post secondary education accounting for only 9 per cent.

Figure 3.6 Levels of Education in Dandora

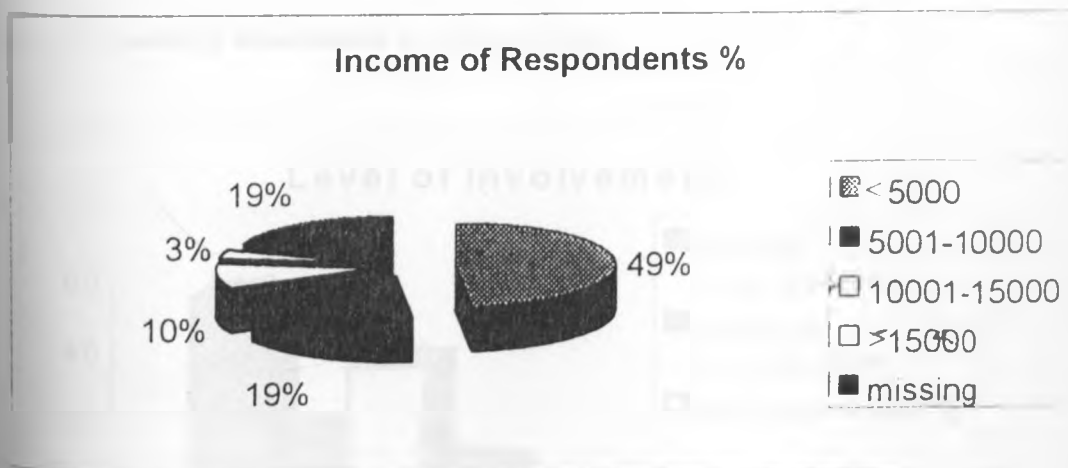


Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

3.6.5 Income of Respondents

Income for the respondents was a tricky question during the survey as most respondents decided either to ignore the question altogether or give blanket figures. The figures got and shown below, therefore, may not reflect the true income of the respondents

Table 3.7: Income of Respondents in Dandora

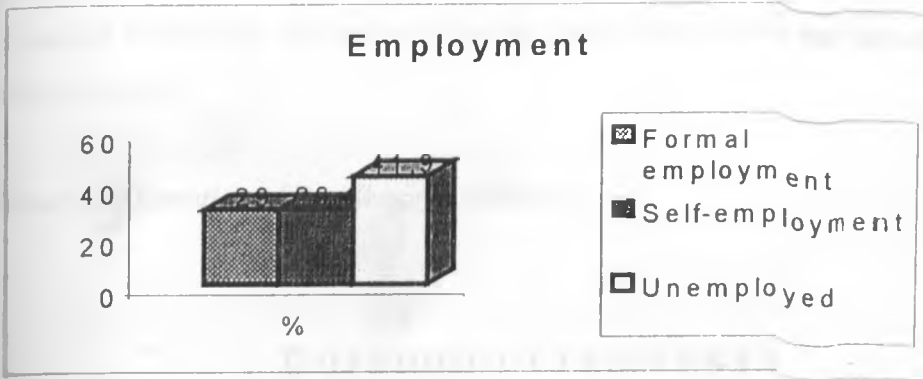


Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

3.6.6 Employment

The estate houses the low-income category of the urban population. It emerged from the survey that almost half the population (42 per cent) was unemployed. This is represented in the pie chart below.

Figure 3.8: Employment in Dandora

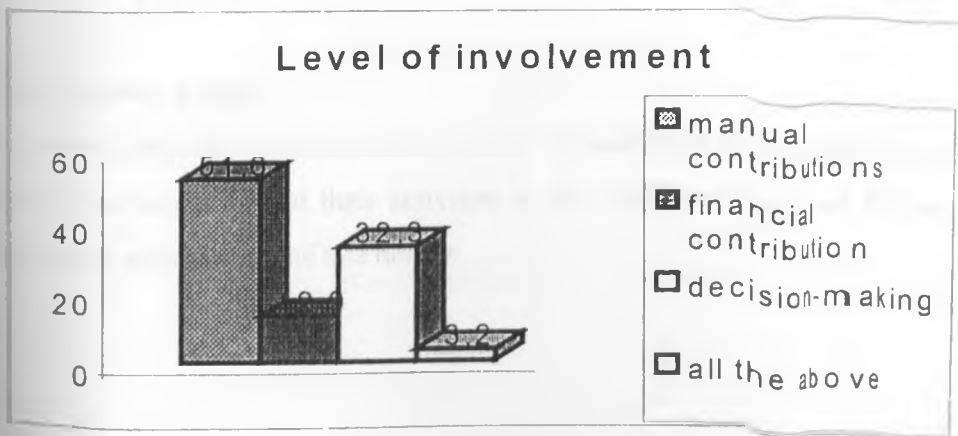


Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

3.6.7 Level of Involvement in DRA Activities

The research sought to find out levels at which the respondents have been involved in DRA activities. The bar graph below represents the response from the survey in percentages.

Figure 3.9: Levels of involvement in DRA activities



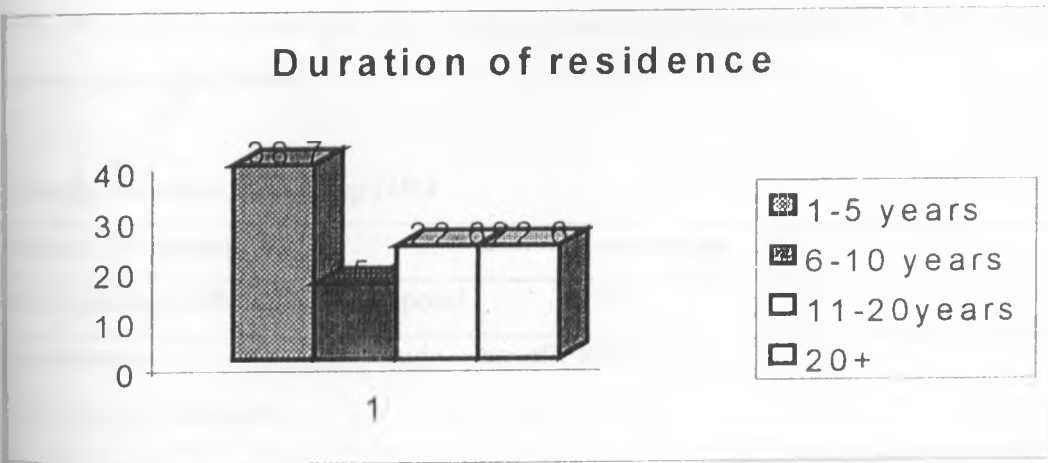
Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

The high percentage of involvement in manual labour provision may be explained by the high rate of unemployment, which stood at 41.9 per cent.

3.6.8 Duration of Residence

During the survey, it emerged that residents who have stayed in the neighbourhood for a long period of time tended to be more active than new-comers in the activities of DRA. They tended to identify with the neighbourhood more and thus were more concerned with its welfare than recent immigrants. The bar graph below shows the period of residence by the respondents.

Figure 3.10 Duration of Residence in Dandora



Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

3.6.9 Problems Faced

The respondents were asked to rank in order of magnitude the problems they face as DRA members as they carry out their activities in the neighbourhood. The following problems were ranked as shown in the table below:

Table 3.6: Problems faced by DRA Members

Problems faced	% Rank of Problem
Finances	16.9
Community organization	20.1
Local leadership	12.2
Lack of skills	34.3
Interference from city hall	16.5
Total	100.00

Source: Compiled by Author, 2001

3.6.10 Reasons for Joining Association

From the survey, it emerged that members joined the association for various reasons as shown in the table below:

Table 3.7 Reasons for joining DRA

Reasons for joining	Percentage
Proper garbage collection and disposal	16.7
Improvement of sanitation and general cleanliness of the estate	80.0
To curb the allocation of open spaces (Land grabbing)	3.3
Total	100.00

Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

3.7 Pumwani Estate.

Pumwani Estate is centrally located within Nairobi Extra-Provincial area. It occupies a site on the North side of Nairobi River, about 2.5 Kilometers from the CBD. The central location is the original site identified in 1919 by the colonial authorities for the establishment of a 'native location' (Majale, 1985).

The estate itself, including the land allocated to the structures as the mosque and the Social

Hall located within the residential area covers an area of approximately 0.9 square km, which extends on both sides of Digo Road. Pumwani borders Starehe to northwest, while Bondeni and Gorofani are located to the south. A part of the latter, comprising a row of two storey flats extends eastwards between the southern most line of house in the estate and the Nairobi River. California estate adjoins Pumwani to the east. This survey was conducted within Pumwani Division but within the villages of Pumwani, Majengo and Gorofani and Bondeni. The population of the villages according to the 1999 Population and Housing Census, was as shown below:

Table 3.8: Population of Pumwani Estate

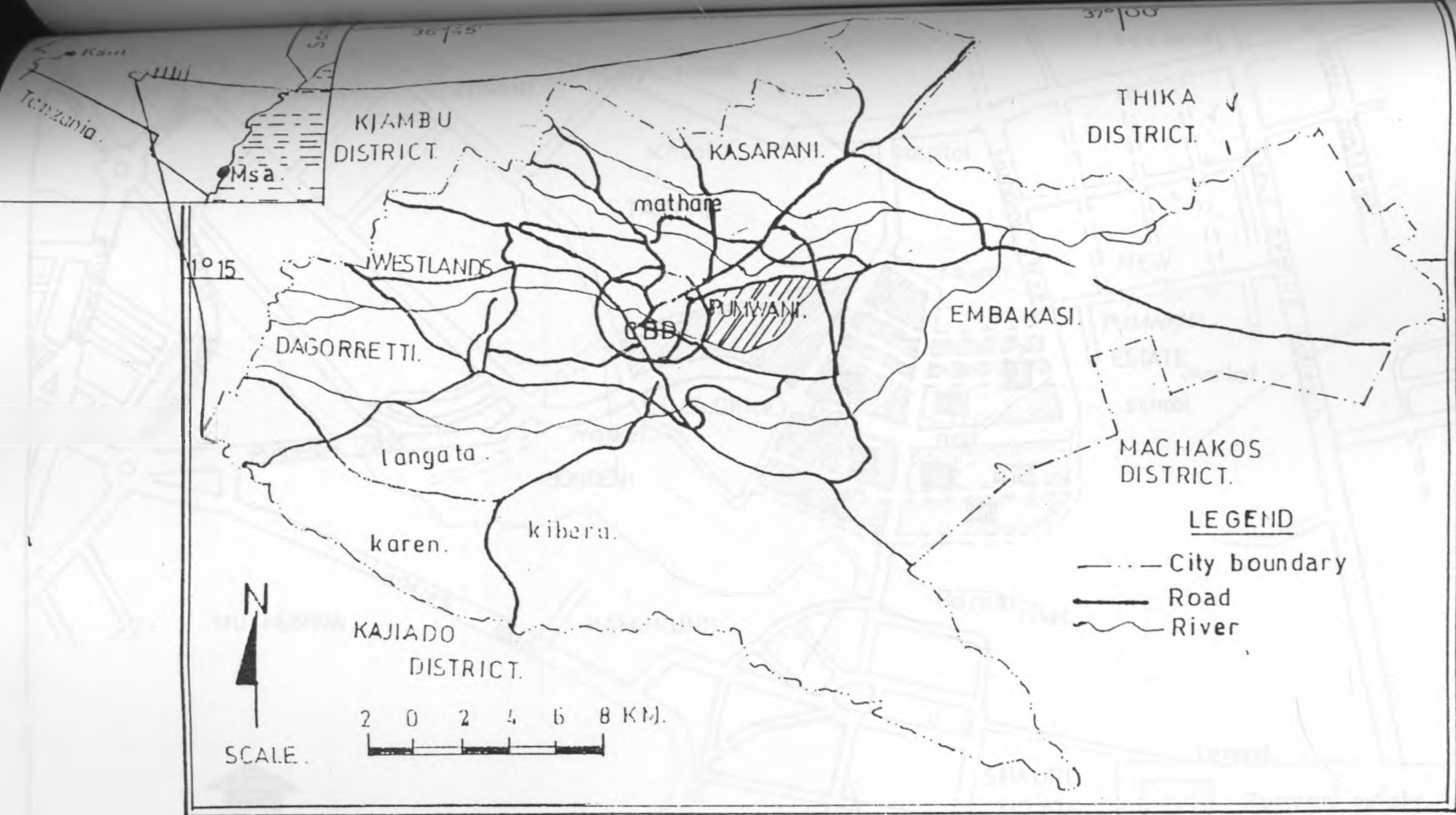
Village	Total	Male	Female	Population density	Area
Pumwani	21164	12226	8938	42,328	0.5
Majengo	17640	10117	7523	88,200	0.2
Bondeni/ Gorofani	2361	1462	899	11,805	0.2

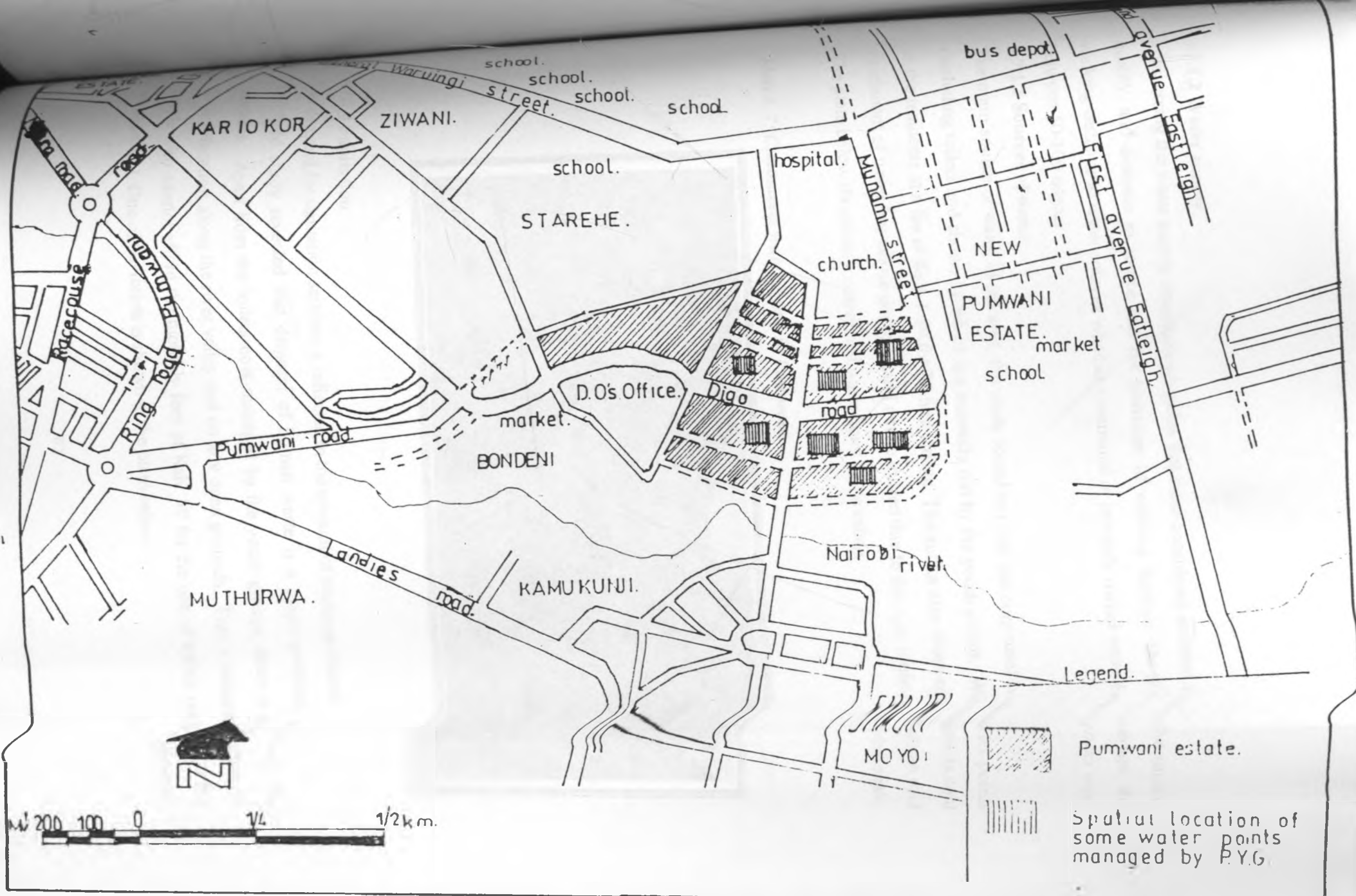
Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999.

3.7.1 Level of Infrastructure and Services

3.7.1.1 Water Demand

The total water demand in Pumwani area was found to depend on the population characteristics and activities. For planning and design purposes, the water demand was assessed on the basis of the total human population count and the per capita water consumption rate. In the study area, communal water points serve the people, initially run by NCC but which have since been taken over by the youth groups.





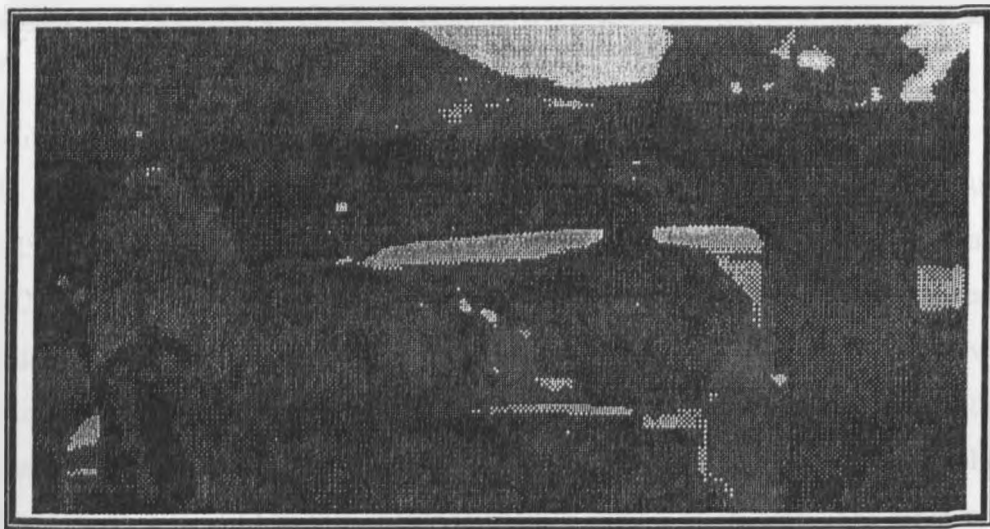
3.7.1.2 Water supply

In assessing the water supply important variables that were considered included the source, quality, and distance to source and the provision of washing facilities. On average, the walking distance to water sources whether communal or privately owned water *kiosks* were between 50-100 metres.

3.7.1.3 Sources of water

The main source of water in the area, the study found out was the communal water points (including toilets and showers), which are currently run by the youth groups. Water is sold to the residents at a fee of Ksh. 1.50 for 20-litre jerrican. The author also observed some roof catchment of water but whose quality could not be trusted due to the rusty roofing materials. The plate below illustrates a communal water point in the estate.

Plate3. 7: Communal water Point in Pumwani.

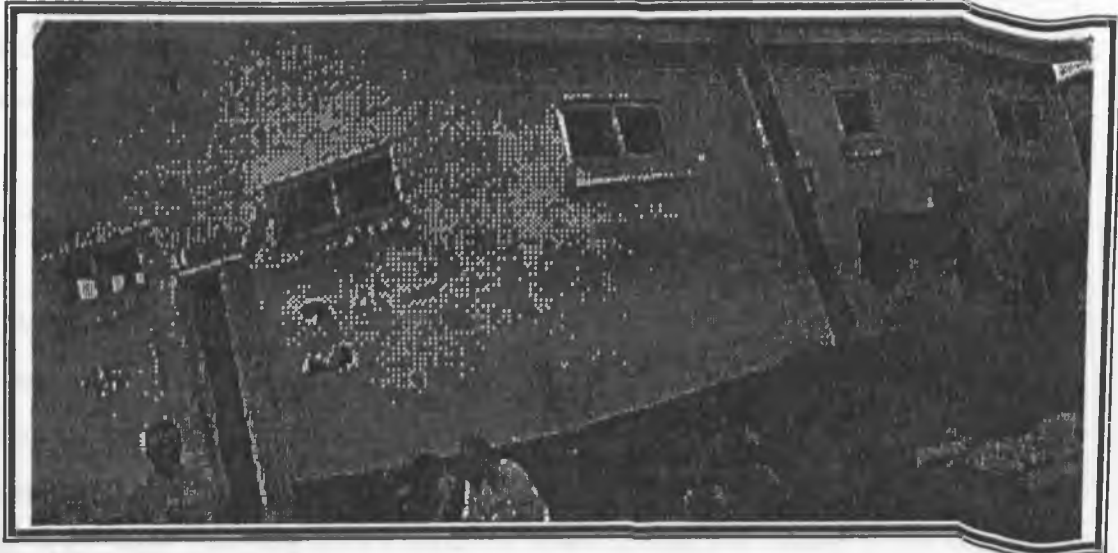


3.7.1.4 Sanitation

The demand for sanitation services is reflected in the amount of waste produced.

The field study revealed that disposal of human waste is a major problem among the residents. Apart from the toilets now managed by the youth groups, there is evidence of open defecation along the river valley and on any open grounds. This is presumably by the people who cannot afford the monthly fees of Ksh. 50 for the use of toilets under the new management. One of the toilets is shown in the plate below.

Plate 3.8: A Public toilet under management by one of the youth groups.



3.7.1.5 Solid Wastes:

The World Health Organization (WHO) puts the figure for solid waste generated in urban areas at 0.25 –0.5 kg per person per day in LDCs and MDCs respectively. A study carried out by UNDP (1988), however, estimated that 1.36 kilograms of solid waste is generated per capita per day in Nairobi (NCC, 1990). The field survey revealed that most of solid waste generated in Pumwani is disposed of haphazardly – dumped on wastewater drains and any open spaces within the reach of households. The composition of the wastes included Polythene paper, cooking oil tins, perishable vegetable matter, plastic etc. The table below shows the household solid waste handling mechanisms.

Table 3.9: Handling Mechanisms of Solid Wastes in Pumwani

Handling mechanism	Percentage.
Dumping on open grounds	64.0
Burning (open)	18.0
Other methods	18.0
Total	100.00

Source: Compiled by Author, 2001

3.7.1.6 Wastewater Generation and Drainage

It is important to note that approximately 80 per cent of water consumed by households end up as wastewater (Design manual for water supply in Kenya, 1980). During the survey, stagnating silage presented a major difficulty to the residents as almost all drains were blocked. Wastewater thus stagnates around the house posing real danger to the residents, especially children who even wade (barefoot) in such water.

3.7.2 Other Problem Areas

Apart from the deficient sanitation and solid waste management problems, the following were also evident: social vices as prostitution and drug abuse; crime/insecurity; housing problems (quality), and lack of employment.

CHAPTER FOUR

URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES PROVIDED BY NEIGHBOURHOOD ASSOCIATIONS.

4.0 Introduction

This study sought to find out the nature of urban infrastructure and services that urban communities can optimally provide for themselves owing to the failure of NCC to provide the same as outlined in chapter three. This chapter discusses the findings from the neighbourhoods/ associations studied.

4.1 Karen Langata District Association

Formed prior to independence in 1954, KLDA represents two upscale Nairobi suburbs of Karen and Langata. Many Nairobi residents and Kenyans know KLDA for periodically taking legal action against NCC and other parastatal decisions that it considers to be against the public interests. In 1996, the association halted through a court injunction the now defunct Kenya Posts and Telecommunications Corporation's decision to hike postal charges. In 1994, fed up with the sloppy and sporadic municipal services from NCC, KLDA initiated a court case against the authority demanding accountability for rates and service charges paid to NCC by her members. The court then allowed KLDA to collect and account for rates within its areas of jurisdiction.

4.1.1 Subcommittees

In order to ensure effectiveness and proper coordination, the following sub committees have been formed:

◆ Environment subcommittee

This deals with environmental conservation and protection and has been instrumental in the fight for the protection of Ololua Forest among others.

◆ Security subcommittee

Deals mainly with issues of security in collaboration with the Provincial Administration and the police.

◆ **Water subcommittee**

Karen/ Langata faces problems of water. Consequently, this committee was formed to liaise with relevant departments at City Hall, operate and maintain boreholes in the residential neighbourhood, and most importantly, explore possibilities of adequate water provision to the estate on a sustainable basis.

4.2 Urban Infrastructure and Services offered to date.

- ◆ Garbage collection (through Bins, a private company);
- ◆ Maintenance of roads;
- ◆ Maintenance of drains (earth);
- ◆ Collection of rates from residents;
- ◆ Preservation of open spaces and other public utilities;
- ◆ Development control;
- ◆ Operation and maintenance of bore-holes; and
- ◆ Maintenance of public amenity e.g. Karen Shopping Centre.

4.3 Problems faced.

According to the chairman, Mike Mills, KLLDA faces the following problems:

- ◆ Lack of adequate finances;
- ◆ Institutional bottlenecks, especially at NCC; and
- ◆ Lack of cooperation from some private developers.

4.4 Existing opportunities

- ◆ Cohesive community;
- ◆ Well organized and functional association;
- ◆ Effective structure of subcommittees;
- ◆ High incomes,
- ◆ High levels of education attainment; and
- ◆ Relatively low densities.

4.5 Dandora Residents Association

This association was formed in 1998 to address the plethora of problems that plague the residential neighbourhood. Dandora as has been pointed out in chapter three is characterized by

high levels of pollution, crime is out of control, public spaces meant for playground, clinics and schools have been allocated, unemployment the norm, clean water an anomaly and broken sewers a common occurrence. The idea behind starting a resident association, a Welfare Advisory Committee (WAC) manager, argues, "Was to build a sense of unity, a sense of community finding solutions to its own problems". Some of the problems that DRA sought to address among others were to:

- Fight against allocation of road reserves and other open spaces,
- Find a solution to the problem of solid waste and its associated problems,
- Lobby for the return of grabbed dispensary land,
- Repair roads and broken down services,
- Improve on security in the area, and,
- Harassment from the police

4.5.1 Organizational Structure

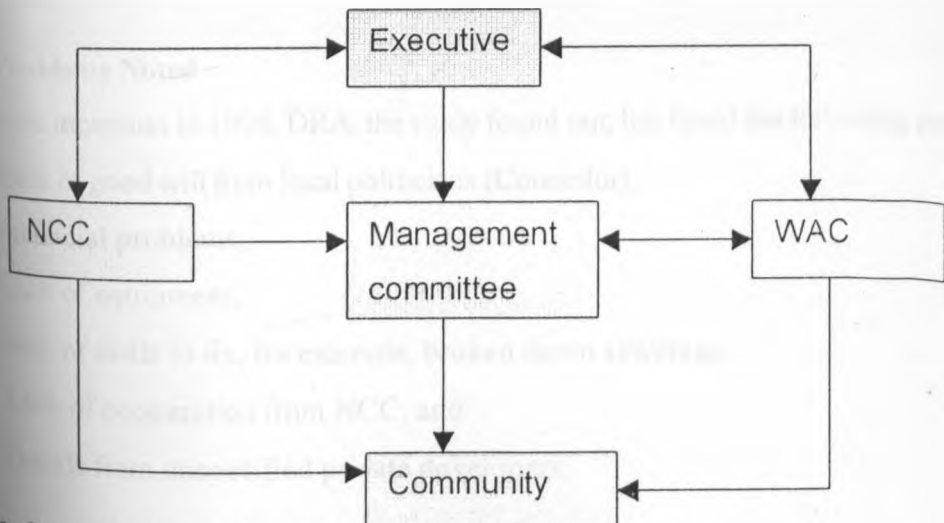
The management of the association is organized as illustrated below:

▪ *Executive Committee comprises:*

- Chairman;
- Treasurer; and
- Secretary.

Meets monthly.

Fig 4.1. DRA's Management Structure



Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

- *Management Committee*

This committee is composed of 35 members, 7 members representing each phase. It meets twice a month.

- *Community*

All the members of DRA meet whenever called upon.

Plate 4.1: DRA-Community Meeting in Session at the Catholic Church, Area 4.



4.6 Problems Noted

Since its inception in 1998, DRA, the study found out, has faced the following problems:

- Lack of good will from local politicians (Councilor);
- Financial problems;
- Lack of equipment;
- Lack of skills to fix, for example, broken down sewerage;
- Lack of cooperation from NCC; and
- Threats from unspecified private developers.

4.7 Infrastructure and services provided to date:

- ◆ Solid waste collection (twice weekly), (plate 4.2);
- ◆ Repair and maintenance of sewerage system (500m long), (plate 4.3);
- ◆ Maintenance of drainage system (over 2 km), (plate 4.4);
- ◆ Repair of sections of the road (4 km. long);
- ◆ Vigilante groups in the Estate (one per phase);
- ◆ Lobbied for the return of grabbed dispensary land; and
- ◆ Controlled police harassment.

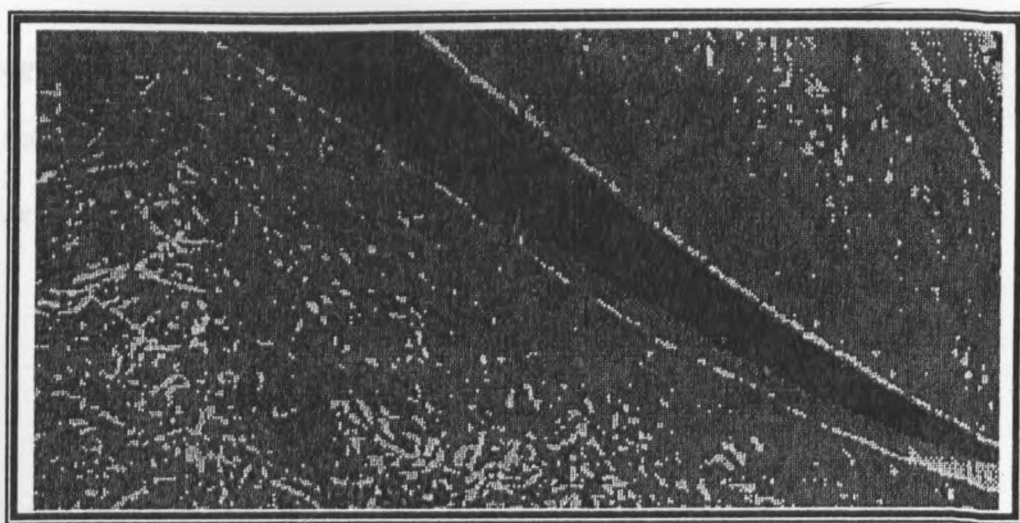
Plate 4.2: DRA members collect garbage in their neighbourhood



Plate 4.3: DRA Members Repair a section of Sewerage System



plate 4.4: DRA Maintained Drainage System



4.8 Welfare Advisory Committee

Welfare Advisory Committee (WAC) is a Church-based NGO that has been involved in community development in Dandora for about 20 years. Initially, its activities were limited to housing where soft loans were given to the poorest members of Dandora SSS to help develop their plots. In 1987, WAC started a programme to support small and micro enterprises that have become a defining feature of Dandora. This was mainly in response to the ever-rising levels of unemployment in Nairobi in general, and Dandora in particular. In 1995 WAC organically grew to include a community organization component whose overall aim is to create a sense of community and neighbourliness among the people of Dandora, in order that they may be able to address community problems like the ever-worsening problem of uncollected garbage, broken sewers, blocked drains, poor road networks and insecurity.

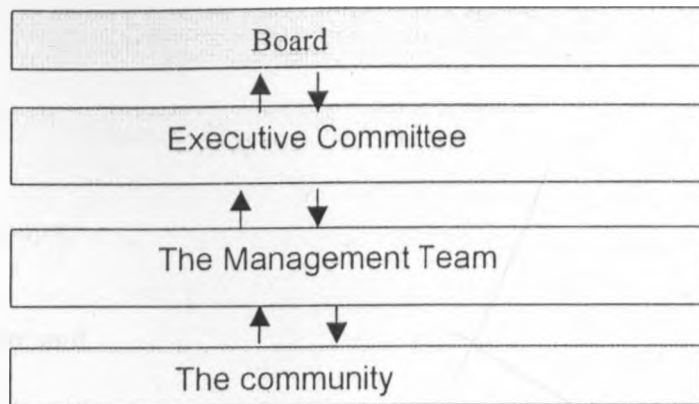
In 1996 a youth development initiative was launched to cater for the many and varied needs of the youth. The objective of this programme was to help the youth grow into responsible citizens. It helps the youth both boys and girls, acquire skills through apprenticeship.

Lastly, WAC has a community health education component, which promotes awareness on disease prevention.

Management of WAC

The management of the NGO is structured as shown in the figure below.

Figure 4.1 Management Structure of WAC



Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

The Board Comprises:

- 2 representatives from the Holy Cross Catholic Church, Dandora;
- 3 representatives from Housing Development Department;
- 2 representatives from other Churches in Dandora;
- 4 representatives from the lenders (Housing and Business),
- 1 Community development expert – UNICEF;
- 1 WAC Manager;
- 1 WAC Community organizer; and
- 1 WAC business development advisor.

The Executive Committee

This committee is composed of:

- 2 representatives from the church, including the father in charge;
- The assistant director of the Community Development Division (CDD); and

- A senior officer from the finance division, HDD Manager, WAC

This committee meets monthly

The management team is composed of:

- The manager;
- Community organizer;
- Business advisor;
- Assistant business advisor;
- Secretary; and
- Office assistant.

The team meets fortnightly.

The community

The various community groups:

- Women;
- Women/ men; and
- Youth

4.9 Pumwani Youth Groups

In response to the problems of infrastructure and services noted in Pumwani in chapter three, the youth in the estate have formed 17 youth groups in the area to address the problems. The groups were formed in 1999/2000 with the objectives of:

- Economically empowering the youth through income generation;
- Ensuring a clean environmental quality;
- Improving on security in the villages; and
- Enlightening community/creating awareness in the community on the dangers of drugs and Aids.

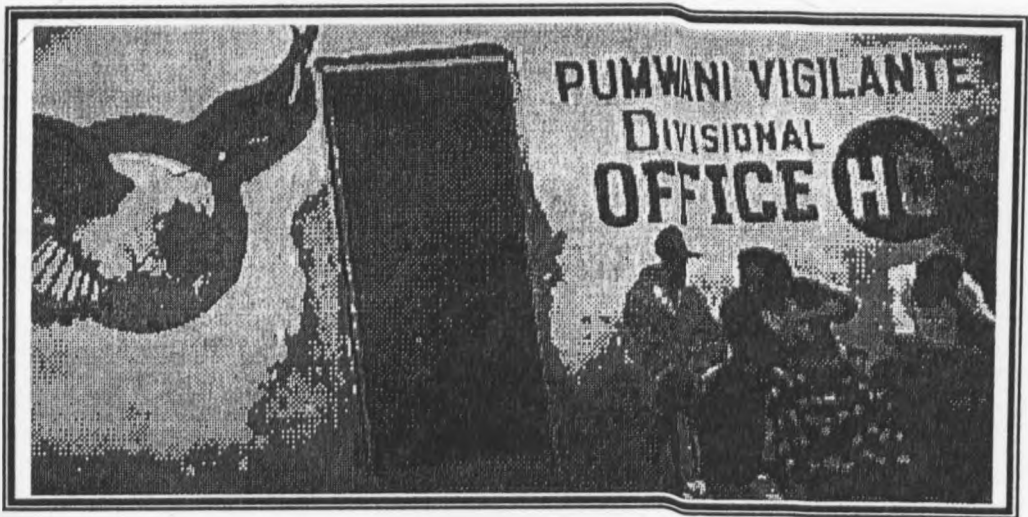
4.9.1 Management of the Groups

A chairperson, secretary and treasurer head the groups. The members work on rota, three people per duty session. On average, the groups have a membership of about 30 –35 members.

4.10 Urban infrastructure and services provided

- ◆ Management of communal water points including toilet and shower (17. No) (refer plate 3. 8);
- ◆ Collection and disposal of garbage (twice a week) for a small fee from plot owners (Ksh. 50 per plot);
- ◆ Neighbourhood/community watch schemes/vigilante groups (2 No), (plate 4 5);
- ◆ Unblocking of drains (storm water),
- ◆ Education on the dangers of drugs and diseases e.g Aids through a Youth and Reproductive Health Programme supported by SIDAREC;
- ◆ Sport – for development of talents and income generation; and
- ◆ Art and culture – form of entertainment and source of income

Plate 4.5: Community Watch Scheme/Vigilante operation base



4.11 Problems Identified

All the 17 youth groups in Pumwani were interviewed and some of the problems they identified are shown below:

- Political interference/harassment by the Provincial Administration;
- Lack of skills;
- Lack of equipment/medical facilities/first -aid kits; and

- Lack of cooperation from city hall.

4.12 Opportunities:

- ◆ Well-organized youth groups;
- ◆ Presence of active NGOs (St. Johns Community Centre and SIDAREC);
- ◆ Abundant labour- force; and
- ◆ Community facilities initially provided by NCC (communal water and washing points).

CHAPTER FIVE

TOWARDS A PARTICIPATORY MODEL FOR URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES PROVISION

5.0 Introduction

It is now recognized that the central government or its agencies (e.g. NCC) alone cannot bear the responsibility of providing infrastructure to the urban populations. Scarce public funds and increasing populations in urban areas are straining government's capacity to provide infrastructure and services. Many governments and local authorities are now enlisting the support of other partners: the private sector; NGOs; and CBOs. This study sought among others, to suggest a participatory model for the provision of urban infrastructure and services and the mechanisms of operationalizing the approach in the City of Nairobi.

5.1 Partnership as an Approach.

Partnerships may be described as mechanism for ensuring that the comparative advantages of different actors in the development process are exploited in a mutually supportive way i.e. that the strength and weaknesses of the public, commercial, private and non-governmental sectors are harmonized so that maximum use is made of the strengths while minimizing its potential for inefficiency caused by the weaknesses (UNCHS- Habitat, 1993).

Advantages of partnerships

- The approach provides a mechanism for resolving the "needs/demand gaps" in provision of basic services between what people need and can afford and what the market can provide.
- Partnerships enable different sectors to gain access to each other's skills and resources and provide mechanism for sharing risks and maximizing returns on investment.
- Partnerships can, and do provide an effective mechanism for improving settlement, infrastructure and other basic services particularly as government allocations dwindle and foreign aid ceases.

- It ensures that stakeholders have a say in the development of their communities thereby reducing the possibility of highhanded implementation to undemocratic processes.
- Adopting enabling approaches, activating participatory mechanisms, building among all partner groups and monitoring and assessing progress through networking and the application of modern information technologies.

In the envisaged participatory model the following partners would play an important role if it would see the light of day.

5.1.1 Role of GoK

The responsibility of ensuring the right enabling environment for partnerships to flourish rests with government who will provide the right legal, fiscal and regulatory framework required to mobilize the energies and resources of all the various sectors. The Habitat Agenda aptly captured this when it stated that:

“Governments as enabling partners should create and strengthen effective partnerships with women, the youth, the elderly, persons with disability, vulnerable and disadvantaged indigenous people, local authorities, the private sector and NGOs” (Habitat Agenda, Chapter IV, Section F).

5.1.2 The Private Sector

There are quite a number of areas in which the private sector can contribute to the delivery of infrastructure services for example, solid waste disposal. Pollution and health hazards caused by accumulated wastes in urban areas pose great danger to the environment and people's health. The various methods of private sector participation in solid waste management are contracting, concession, franchise and even open competition. The entry of this sector in solid waste management in Nairobi attests to this fact.

5.1.3 Role of Non Governmental Organizations

It is a truism that NGOs play an important role in working with CBOs in the their

development efforts. NGOs are often originators, enablers and implementers of new ideas and models. Their researches have led to better understanding of community infrastructure needs. In many instances, NGOs and CBOs have succeeded in demonstrating alternative solutions to meeting infrastructure and services needs through specific project/ programmes and these in turn have sometimes pointed to approaches with a national policy impact. Their collaborative efforts as coalition builders are now evident in many countries, as such coalitions seek to influence government policies and priorities. The roles of WAC, in Dandora, St. John Community and SIDAREC in Pumwani in helping the communities to address their problems must be seen in this regard.

5.1.4 Role of International Community

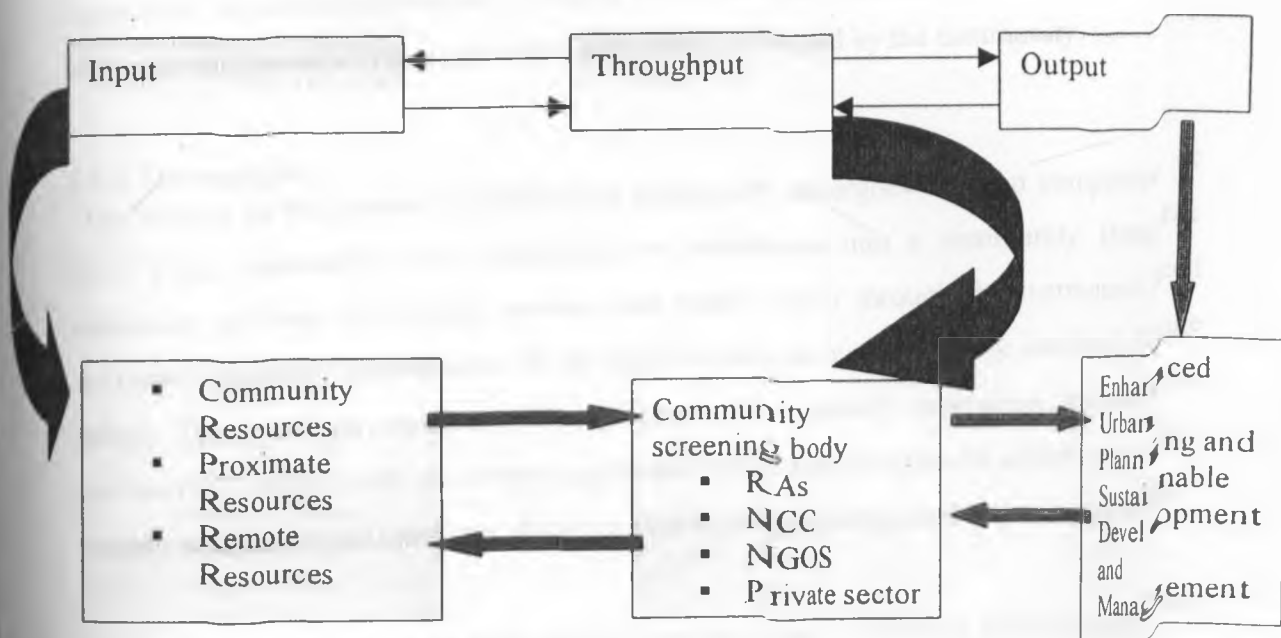
At the international level, there is need for international agencies concerned with urban infrastructure and services to promote community organizations representing residents in a manner that facilitates effective forms of collaboration with them. Ways must be found and procedures established which reduce domination by state agencies (NCC) and stimulate residents through their associations to take up the community participation challenge as an organized effort. These will include, for example, legal steps which guarantee spheres of autonomy for recognized organizations, the involvement of NGOs in jointly planned and executed projects and the allocation of parts of project budgets to NGOs as well as directly to communities, in support of their own development priorities.

It should be noted however, that the idea of transferring development decisions and use of public funds directly to CBOs/RAs in urban areas would no doubt be a difficult one. The degree of acceptance will, in part, be affected by the importance attached to the principle of enabling strategies and by the determination to see negative trends reversed. It will also be conditioned by the formal arrangements that govern the transfer of resources. These will require that CBOs/RAs be fully accountable for any funds they receive and that sanctions are exercised against "improper use".

The participatory model proposed was conceived on the partnership approach to urban infrastructure and services provision – NCC, the community and the private sector, through

awareness, organization and mobilization of the local community resources. Private agencies including the NGOs' resources may also be tapped to enhance the performance of the two sectors towards better urban service delivery and management. For purposes of this study, the model has been divided into three parts namely: **input**, **throughput/conversion** and **output**. The input – throughput-output model (Hardock and Hubelman, 1977, McGee, 1986) has been used to situate the system and emphasis its dynamism that then initiates a series of activities mainly in response to the peoples' local needs

Figure 5.1: Input-throughput-output model



Source: Compiled by Author after Hardrock and Hubelman, 1977; and McGee, 1986.

5.2 Parts of the Model

5.2.1 Input

The environment at its broad and specific (national and community) levels form the input. This comprises the physical, economic, demographic, cultural and political factors or conditions that generate needs, problems and demands on an organized/unorganized basis. The environment provides the resources from which a community can draw inputs -

infrastructure and community services, human resources and information. The community resources are then complimented by “remote resources” (International organizations, NGOs that are not directly or may not have direct transactions with the community) and “proximate resources” (groups that are interacting with the community (e.g. change agents, department of social services, religious groups, academic institutions and industrial firms-WAC, SIDAREC, St. John etc). Input resources directly or indirectly receive messages from the community for assistance for example, resources needed for information, infrastructure and service development. The various remote and proximate resources can then help the community organize themselves, draw action plans that will enhance the sustainable management of the community facilities as was exemplified by WAC in Dandora. Such inputs may be external or internal – coming in the form of infrastructure for water, drains, sewerage, and personnel for maintenance and control, provided by the community.

5.2.2 Throughput

This focuses on the internal processes that community undergoes to attain completion or attain goals, especially when innovations are introduced into a community. Dynamic interaction of ideas, knowledge, services and people occur through the institutionalized structures (residents associations) or through facilitation by community leaders (village elders). The community members, leaders (formal and informal), community organizations and the NCC interact with the change agents and work towards common community goals: potable water, functional sanitation facilities, drains, proper garbage collection and disposal

Because the community is an open system it is continually interacting with change agents, always sending and receiving messages to and from outside resources. Community groups (RAs, Youth Groups and other consumer organizations) with or without NGOs form the coordinating structure. If a working understanding exists between the informal leadership and the formal leadership as recognized by government, the body takes on a leadership role in the coordinating structure as can be seen in KLDA which has been properly institutionalized. This body in the long run forms the screening body or entry structure that takes in problems, needs, and demands of the internal environment and taps information, technology and resources from the outside world. This structure acts as a receptor. It

conveys information and transmits messages to and from the community and acts as a watchdog of community interest and agent to positive change.

The structure will also implement decisions, monitor activities, evaluate outcomes and transmit information back through the feedback process thus acting as an effector. In this regard, the body ensures the attainment of goods, screens community output and acts as an initiator when it feeds information back to the receiving portion and triggers a new set of action on policy decisions.

5.2.3 Output

The main aim of this model is to enhance effective urban planning and sustainable management of urban infrastructure and services. The ultimate aim is to improve the well being of urban community residents and extend the service coverage of public utilities on a sustainable basis. The participatory model that this study envisaged moves away from the service delivery model in which a government agency (NCC) is the benefactor and the community the recipient. In the proposed model, the community is empowered through the RAs and any other formalized groups so that they are involved in planning, implementing and management of development projects that best serve their interests.

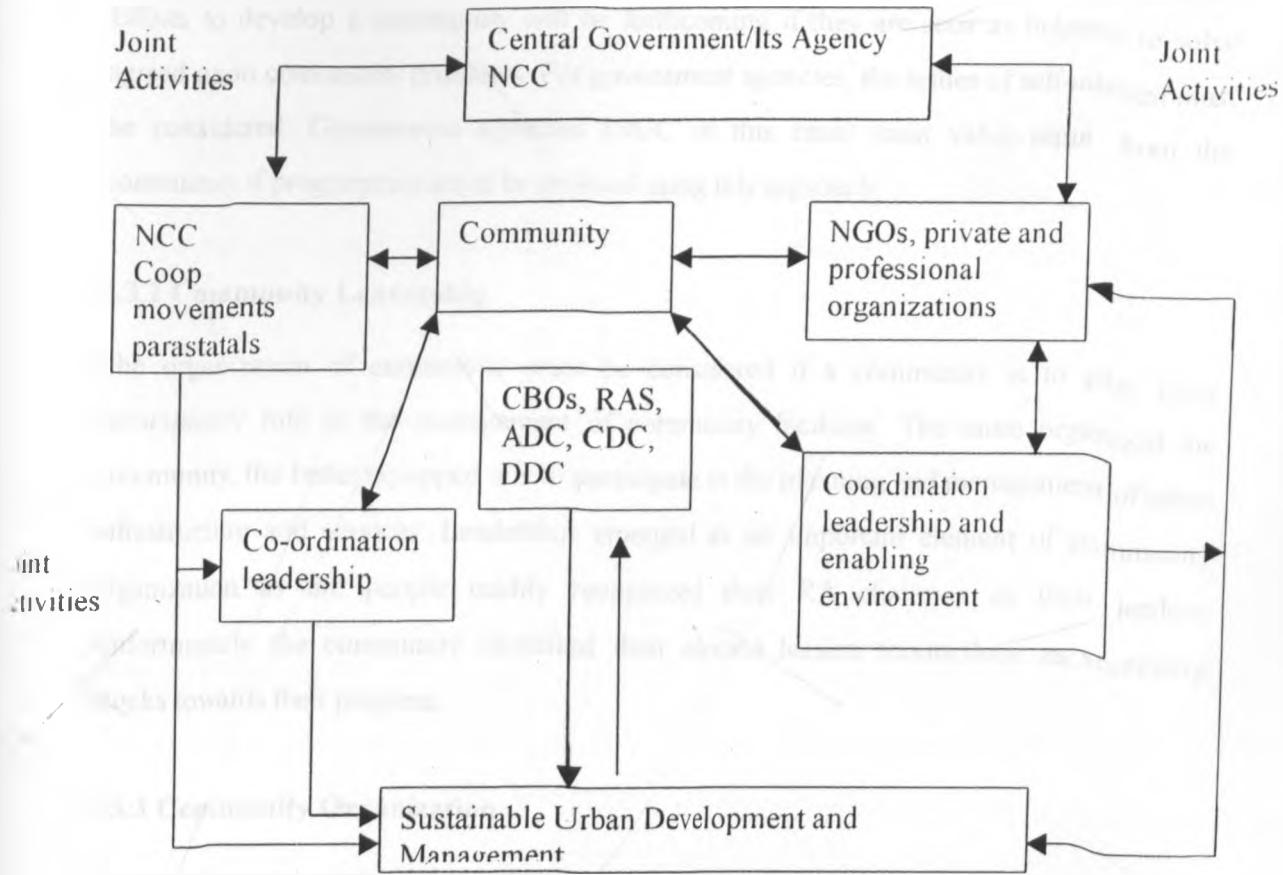
Table 5.1: Proposed model and its application to infrastructure and services provision in Nairobi.

Service	Input			Throughput	Output
	NCC	Community	NGOs/private		
Water	Infrastructure, Technology and Skills.	Labour, Maintenance & repair services.	Skills capital technology	Joint management of services, Planning decisions, Information, Technology, Implementation, Training, Monitoring, and control Maintenance and repair collection	Accessible communal water taps (Well-maintained). Controlled and efficient use of water
Garbage collection and Disposal	Land fills/ dump tracks	Routing and scheduling of collection, Setting up garbage collection points and guidelines for garbage disposal Labour, Maintenance and repair.	Skills, Information, and Technology.		Income generation for recycling of wastes/employment. Safer environment.
Sanitation	Infrastructure, Technology and Skills.	Labour, Maintenance & repair. Management and Community awareness. Hygienic practices.	Infrastructure Technology Community awareness on hygienic practices		Communal toilets. Better environment, hygiene and health.
Security	Street lighting, Training of selected community members, and Provision of basic equipment (e.g. spotlights, night sticks)	<i>Vigilante</i> groups Skills (manpower), Information, Cooperation from community members. Basic equipment and apprehension of suspects.	Infrastructure (<i>Vigilante</i> units) Awareness on dangers of crime		Community/ Civil police. Secure and safe environment.

Drains	Infrastructure, Skills and Technology.	Labour, Repair & Maintenance.	Infrastructure, Skills, Information, and Appropriate technology	Well-maintained drains (unblocked).
Health	Provision of Health facilities. Equipment, Medical expertise and supplies.	Medical aids, Labour to build and maintain facilities.	Health equipment, Supplies and medical expertise	Better community health. Basic medical training of some community members
Roads/paths	Infrastructure	Labour Maintenance & repair	Infrastructure, technology & equipment	Well-maintained roads

Source: Compiled by Author from Hardock and Hubelman, 1977; and McGee, 1986.

Fig 5.2: A schema for Participatory approach to Urban Development and Management



Source: Author 2001, Summary of model above.

5.3 Making the Model Work

It is important, as the study found out to examine the conditions required to make the model work. The following factors were found to play an important role as far as the success of the model is concerned.

5.3.1 Motivation

Community-based planning and management of urban infrastructure as shown elsewhere in this study is a partnership framework involving government agencies, the private sector, NGOs and the community. Incentives for both parties to cooperate must exist if interaction and involvement are to be sustained. For a community, the interest is to solve local problems

those identified by the people as affecting them. From the study, it emerged that communities have their own perceptions of problems and methods of prioritizing them. Efforts to develop a community will be forthcoming if they are seen as helping to solve agreed upon community problems. For government agencies, the issues of self-interest must be considered. Government agencies (NCC in this case) must value input from the community if programmes are to be evolved using this approach.

5.3.2 Community Leadership

The organization of community must be considered if a community is to play more participatory role in the management of community facilities. The more organized the community, the better equipped it is to participate in the planning and management of urban infrastructure and services. Leadership emerged as an important element of community organization as the people readily recognized their RA chairmen as their leaders. Unfortunately the community identified their elected leaders (councilors) as stumbling blocks towards their progress.

5.3.3 Community Organization

A precondition to a participatory urban infrastructure and service delivery is the existence of community organization and leadership. This is important because the community must be able to plan as a unit and set a common programme of action. In the case studies in this work, the RAs and the PYGs emerged as important elements as far as community organization and leadership are concerned. Community meeting of the residents (Dandora on 20/1/2001) with the help of WAC representative, may be what is needed to enable communities to define their priorities and take stock of their resources, opportunities and limitations.

In the neighborhood associations studied, the level of community organization was good. Residents were aware of their needs and prioritized them according to their own set of values (note the difference between the largely Christian Dandora and the predominantly Muslim Pumwani). What was evident was the need for information on options and the

provision of alternative technology that will enable them jointly with other partners in the development process, seek and obtain solution to their problems

5.3.4 Learning Approach

Community participation as an approach has not been institutionalized and remains in most case *ad hoc*. Initiating a new approach means that service agencies and the people involved must be willing to innovate and learn from experience. It means flexibility to try new activities and methods and initiating a feedback mechanism to ensure that both successes and mistakes are learnt. In the past, successes were attributed to the agencies, failure were only written about by academic researchers and was not fed back to the community. A new learning approach would attempt to provide a feedback on experiences to all parties involved.

5.3.5 Resources

Communities have diverse interests and problems, but few options because of their limited access to resources. In most case, lack of resources (information, skills etc) place them at a disadvantage. In order to improve service accessibility and sustainable management there is need to develop infrastructure by appropriate bodies and the people to acquire specialized skills. Sewerage system for example is far beyond community's reach. There is need therefore for external resources to be made available for community development. This can be complimented with community resources.

5.4 Steps in the Community Planning and Management Cycle

Planning and sustainable management of community infrastructure and services is continuous and cyclic. However, the following phases can be identified

5.4.1 Needs felt/ Planning

This is the initial phase of the process during which time community members feel the need to improve itself, in particular, for the purposes of this study, urban infrastructure and services. Through consultation with community leaders and residents, the need is diagnosed.

information about the need is shared, resources both remote and proximate are tapped and the communities plan various ways of meeting this need

5.4.2 Needs/Resource Assessment

Needs analysis, resource potential assessment is done and possible sources of external resources evaluated (both proximate and remote)

5.4.3 Search for information/technology/resource and Feedback

Internal resources (e.g. NCC, community leaders, residents), and external sources (e.g. line ministries, - culture and social services, water and sewerage departments of NCC) may be tapped for information/technology/resources. Internally, mechanisms for solving the problems continue while the search also goes to outside resources because a community is never self-sufficient in all aspects. This information is then sieved and merged with internal data.

5.4.4 Designing Action Strategies

Once the needs are properly identified and prioritized, and both internal and external resources evaluated, an action plan is then designed. The community, through the R.As. NCC and other relevant government representatives, form the coordinating structure, which fully assesses the situation, evaluates the resources and based upon the data, designs action programmes which are then translated into specific and action oriented steps. A conscious attempt to develop options to maximize community involvement in project implementation is then made

5.4.5 Implementation

This involves programming the implementation of the action strategies by breaking down the strategy, programmes or projects into various components, tasks, operations and activities. The coordinating structure then directs the implementation of the project by assigning various tasks and activities to the responsible group within the community. It also solicits and allocates resources to each activity e.g. wheel barrows, server rods, rakes and spades, tracks, etc.

5.5.6 Monitoring and Evaluation

The performance of the various task groups is monitored and project resources are allocated to ensure attainment of programme or project goals. Any deviation between performance and plan are noted. An evaluation measures success vis-a-vis expectation (plan). A good evaluation should provide the implementers and any other stakeholders with information which is crucial for goal attainment.

5.5.7 Modification/ Integration

During the programmes or projects implementation, monitoring and evaluation, the actual operation is compared with the theoretical plan so that those gaps are identified and filled. After the evaluation, the programmes or projects are either modified or integrated into the operation of the community.

All the steps mentioned above amplify the partnership approach to planning and sustainable management of urban infrastructure and services and hence the need for a strong community self-awareness, cohesiveness and collaboration among all stakeholders both internal and external.

5.5 Obstacles to Participatory Approaches/ Partnerships

In spite of demonstrable benefits likely to accrue as a result of partnerships as demonstrated above, the approach faces the following obstacles:

- **Lack of adequate legislation for civil society** and private sector involvement and bureaucratic inertia. The cultures of administration and entrepreneurship are fundamentally different. The former is procedure driven while the latter results-driven. The public and private sectors have little experiences working together except on the basis of supplier and producer.
- **Institutional challenge:** The existing institutional framework at NCC is not sufficiently conducive to enhance participatory approaches. There are actual and potential conflicts between NCC, NGOs, CBOs, and households. Multi-institutional development is

necessary for this new approach to succeed.

- **Attitude:** In some cases, people who have to implement policy changes are not fully convinced that working with “one another” is worthwhile. NCC may be wary of increased partnership with and the participation of other actors although it might support them for political expediency. There is lack of adequate experience and a paternalistic attitude on the part of NCC officials.
- **NCC/NGOs/CBOs Capacity:** There is need for the partners to develop a better understanding of the roles of the various actors. A consideration on funding and investment especially in information processing is required to improve their performance.

5.6 Necessary Conditions for Success

Partnerships are new management techniques that have not been properly understood especially in the Third World. In order for the technique to succeed, the following conditions, as UNCHS- Habitat, (1996) found out, may trigger action

- **A widely recognized crisis** – e.g. broken down sewerage in Dandora and deficient sanitary facilities in Pumwani.
- **Champion:** Even if the crisis is clear and interests exist, partnership arrangements will not succeed without the drive and commitment of a few individuals. In Dandora, for example, WAC has been instrumental in awakening the peoples’ latent energies while in KILDA, the current chairman, Mike Mills has been a power behind the association’s success.
- **Acceptance:** Champions cannot build partnerships alone. Others need to recognize that their individual needs can also be met through the cooperative process.
- **Credibility and Transparency:** Effective cooperation between NCC, CBOs, RAs and business people is difficult to achieve because of the wide range of participants involved, a low level of trust and little predictability in the process. The credibility of champions and other local leaders as well as transparency in the process is critical determinants of long-term success. As Badshad (1996) suggests, partnerships must include the principles of equity, transparency of operations and mutual benefit. Trust and

confidence in any project is necessary for successful partnerships.

- **Flexibility:** Partnership arrangements may vary in target, process and parties. Flexibility needs to exist in the choice of response in order to maximize effectiveness and optimize system's efficiency.
- **Time:** Partnership as an approach to urban infrastructure and services delivery takes time. The process of understanding the problems to be addressed and their impact on potential partners as well as their needs and aspirations takes time. Progress can be made along the way but the process of achieving and maintaining acceptance among users, providers and regulators is a continuous one.

5.7 Bringing the Communities on Board

Although participatory approaches have been advocated, a fundamental issue that has not been adequately addressed is how to bring the communities on board. This section highlights some of the ways through which the communities may be brought on board.

5.7.1 Residents' Associations

Residents' Associations are becoming an increasingly popular and effective means of solving a wide range of pressing local problems ranging from insecurity, potholes to uncollected garbage. Moreover, their locations make them better placed to address local problems.

5.7.2 Area Development Committees

These are novel management tools, which NCC can work closely with to monitor the developments taking place in their areas of jurisdiction. The ADCs should however operate within NCC's planning and development frameworks and play a consultative and advisory role on planning and infrastructure development matters affecting their particular areas. This may lay the foundation of alternative community-based and responsible urban management framework.

Its composition might include:

- Plot owners or their representatives;
- A representative of the area's community (Youth groups, NGOs, RAs, etc);
- NCC and other GoK officials;

- Elected leaders (e.g. area councilors), and
- Representative of church or social and/or voluntary organizations in the neighbourhood.

Its functions will include, among others:

- Coordination of all developments in their particular area in line with NCC and physical planning department planning guidelines. All sub-divisions and buildings plans, for example, can be submitted to NCC through ADCs. The latter will confirm the applicants' compliance with the area plan and community's aspirations before such plans are approved;
- Advising land owners and developers on sound planning principles and suitable approaches to development;
- Identifying, negotiating and acquiring/ exchanging land for the provision of required community facilities (roads, schools, recreation etc);
- Maintaining roads, lights, open spaces and advising on unit consolidation,
- Installing any other necessary infrastructure and services with professional guidance from NCC, Physical Planning Department and from private practitioners;
- Holding regular meetings, discussing projects, their design, implementation, maintenance and any other related welfare matter; and
- Sourcing funds for the neighbourhoods' socio-economic development. Such funds may be managed in trust in collaboration with NCC and other development partners in the neighbourhood.

5.7.3 Community-based Health Committees

These committees will be charged with the responsibility of running health centers/clinics. A sanitation component would be charged with the responsibilities of advising community members on:

- The best methods of refuse disposal;
- Keeping the environment clean and healthy by cutting off grass and draining off standing water from plots; and
- Ensuring portable water supply, adequate storm water drainage and garbage collection and appropriate disposal.

5.7.4 Village Elders

These will be community representatives living within a defined area. The residents may nominate them directly and then their names are vetted and forwarded to the area Assistant chief/ chief. These village elders can attend the ADCs. They would also be charged with the responsibility of mobilizing the residents to attend local level *barazas* and participate in local level tasks, for example, opening drains, and making other contributions in kind. This would be a unique move aimed at increasing the role of community in the planning and decision-making process. Further, the village elders have a closer link with the communities than elected councilors in terms of their level of interaction with community members and shared interests.

5.7.5 Community *Vigilante* Groups

These are security services necessitated by increasing need to provide security within the neighborhoods with the cooperation of the provincial administration (chief, DO, and police). Patrol services may be provided at night comprising the police and the youth. This is in line with what is popularly referred to as community policing. The groups exist in both Dandora (7 No.) and Pumwani (2 No.).

5.8 Tools for Community Participation

Tools and techniques for community based planning have emerged in recent years with a view to guiding and maximizing community participation. The overriding principle is that tools should be simple to use despite complexities of the circumstances that they are likely to confront. They demand flexibility and adaptability to specific demands from site to site and case to case. The efficacy of a tool chosen should be its ability to strengthen or develop a sense of community that allows it to achieve its goals. The following tools exist:

5.8.1 Planning for Real

Planning for Real (PR) has been used since the 1970's as a means of giving local people a "voice" and professionals a clear idea of local people's needs in order to bring about an improvement on their own neighbourhood/community. This tool uniquely builds around community – assembled model on which problems and improvements are identified through pictorial 'option' and cards. The purpose of these cards is to overcome communication

barrier by providing an “alternative currency” to words as a means of exchanging views and information. The model provides a common reference point around which to structure inputs and allows a broader perspective of issues as well as providing a physical base for placing suggestions. This tool is particularly effective in mobilizing community support and interest. Participants are drawn mainly from the target community, government officials, local authority officials, local leaders and relevant professionals.

5.8.2 Community Action Planning (Micro-Planning)

Community Action Planning (CAP) is an active, intense community-based workshop carried out over a period of two to five days depending on the specific goals of the workshop. The output is a list of prioritized problems, strategies and options for dealing with the problems and rudimentary work programme describing who, when and what is to be done. CAP adopts four general phases as shown below:

Phase I: problem identification and prioritization – what are the problems.

Phase II: Strategies, options and trade offs: what approaches and actions are most suitable to deal with the problems.

Phase III: Planning for implementation: who does what, when and how to get it done

Phase IV: Monitoring: How is it working and what are the lessons to be learnt

Participants at the workshop include a cross-section of community representatives (RAs), technical officers from the various departments (sanitation, water, housing, health, sewage etc). Subsequent to the development of the methodology in Sri Lanka, it has been used in Bangladesh, Poland, and South Africa and has been selected by the World Bank’s Economic Development unit for its municipal programmes in Latin America

5.8.3 Goal Oriented Project Planning

Goal Oriented Project Planning (ZOPP/GOPP) provides a systematic structure for identification, planning and management of projects developed in a workshop setting with principal community groups. The output is a planning matrix, which summarizes and structures the main elements of a project and highlights logical linkages between intended inputs, planned activities and expected results.

GOPP has two phases – analysis and project planning.

The Analysis Phase

This phase has four sub steps as follows:

- **Participation analysis:** An overview of persons, groups and organizations connected to a project and their interests, motives and implications for project planning.
- **Problem analysis:** Major problems are grouped into a problem tree with cause and effect and the identification of the core problem. The problems whether they are of sewerage or solid waste management are then noted on cards.
- **Objectives analysis:** A restatement of the problems into realistically achievable goals. This is done by writing the problems into outcomes often by reversing the cards.
- **Alternative analysis:** This is the identification of objectives and assessment of alternatives according to resources, probability of achieving objectives, political feasibility, cost benefit ratio, social risks, time horizon, sustainability and other facts as may be decided by the group.

Project Planning Phase

This has the outcome as the project-planning matrix (PPM). This is a summary of why the project is carried out, what it is expected to achieve, how it will achieve results, the factors critical for its success and the project cost. The problem with GOPP is its rigidity and has many times not succeeded because of overly directive moderators and disinterested local participants but has potential for utilization in the case of planning and implementation of urban infrastructure and services.

5.8.5 Urban Community Assistance Team

The Urban Community Assistance Team (UCAT) is an urban management technique where all vested interest groups are invited to participate. The main feature of this tool is the interdisciplinary team of professionals who address problems at various scales ranging from city and regional issues down to neighbourhood. The team in consultation with the people then prepares recommendation and development schemes.

UCAT has the following phases according to Wates (1996):

- Initial “getting started” phase. At this level a steering committee is formed based on an identified problem, solicits interest from local community and other necessary support.
- The “preparation” phase. Here, momentum and enthusiasm is built for the event, team members are identified, extensive information is gathered and the broad picture of problems identified.
- The “event” itself, which is recommended to be over a weekend, usually requires four to five days.
- The “follow-up” phase which includes the on-going activities stemming from the event.

The event itself has four main stages:

- The “problem” or “issues” stage where key problems and opportunities are identified.
- The “solution or options” stage – options are brainstormed.
- The “synthesis” stage, where teams analyze and determine strategy and a report is prepared.
- The “production” stage, where recommendations are presented to the community at a public *baraza*. This stage is important as it gives the professionals an opportunity to explain in detail their technical inputs and suggestions.

5.9 Community Types and Appropriate Tools

Communities are highly heterogeneous, depending on other factors as incomes, educational levels and physical location as demonstrated by the three case studies in this work. It would be very unlikely that the tools discussed above may be applied across the board. Three basic types of communities have been identified. These includes

- A. Those that are highly organized, cohesive and with a sense of identity, both socially and spatially. Two sub types are noted:
 - A₁ Low- income communities. They have much to gain in a participatory process and improved programmes. This category forms the ideal participatory

partnerships as can be seen in Dandora and Pumwani through DRA and PYG respectively.

- A₂ Higher income communities – these have access to power and provide the professionals cadres. They are likely to be reluctant to participate but rather demand accountability through lobbying and exerting pressure on service providers. KLDA party fits here.
- B Those with little sense of neighbourhood. Are seen as “stepping stone” communities and are highly transitory. Such neighbourhoods although not represented by the case studies in this study exist in Nairobi and other urban centers in Kenya. They require much effort to organize. However, through a participatory process a sense of community starts to form and a sense of shared interest develops.

Table 5.2:Community Types and Appropriate Tools

Type of community	Characteristic	Appropriate tool
Ideal participatory partners cohesive, highly organized, low income (DRA/PYG)	Much to gain but needs organizing. Action planning starts to stabilize community. Requires much effort. Customary target of community development inputs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Action Planning (CAP) • ZOPP/GOPP • Planning for real
Transitory communities Non-cohesive, transitory,(e g KLDA)	Little to gain, already in the power system. Difficult to work with	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Action Planning (CAP) • Planning for real
Reluctant communities, cohesive, highly organized higher income (KLDA)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban community Assistance team (UCAT)

Source: Compiled by Author, 2001

5.10 The Stages of Projects and Programmes

Initiation: This stage begins the process. Perceived problems, lack of basic needs, deficient services and new policy initiation are some of the ways the process begins. The basic goal and objectives are defined at this stage and general scope is decided. No specific skills are needed to initiate a project. The community through their RA can ably handle this.

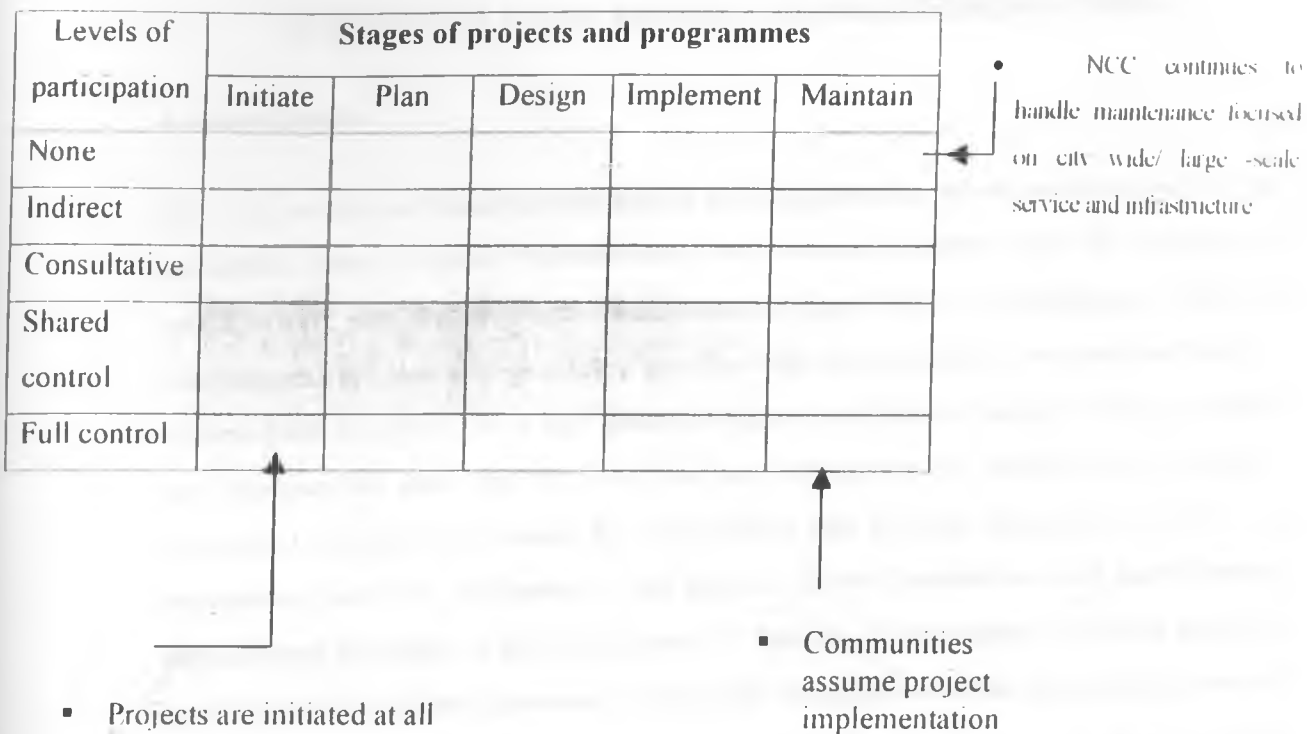
Planning: The specific activities are defined and resources needed are identified. Some skill is needed but good judgment is a priority and technical expertise can be provided as a resource. Techniques of planning are necessary although they can be quite simple and uncomplicated. The community through the assistance of a resource person can handle it well.

Design: The details are developed at this stage. Other technical expertise is needed. Such expertise can be sourced from other partners e.g. NCC.

Implementation: This is the project execution stage. Buildings are put up, infrastructure is laid, programmes are established and people are trained. Practical management skills are necessary for smooth and timely implementation. By mobilizing resources and through capacity building by way of training, the communities in collaboration with other partners, say NGOs and the private sector, the central government through a local level agency e.g. NCC can assist with project implementation.

Maintenance: The long-term on-going repair and upkeep of the project. Depending on the project nature and magnitude, the service users would be the most appropriate to be in charge.

Figure 5.3: Framework for Participation and stages of Projects



▪ Projects are initiated at all levels by NCC as a result of community pressure. Important community input is to avoid unneeded/inappropriate projects

Source: Compiled by Author.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF STUDY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

With the collapse of development control and management, which manifest itself in the deplorable state of urban infrastructure and services coupled with the increase of unauthorized development and the inherently low level of compliance with the requirements of plans and policies, a new thinking and approach is required for Nairobi. Arising from the above, the City Council of Nairobi will have to accept both in principle and practice the idea that the city can only effectively be steered by a visionary instrument evolved and owned by the citizens and not one imposed on them. A partnership with the residents of the city in policy formulation and development management processes is the way forward in Nairobi. This chapter is divided into two sections the first gives a summary of the study findings while the second puts forward recommendations that will have to be considered by the various partners in the sustainable planning and management of urban infrastructure and services in the City.

6.1 Summary of Research Findings

The first section of this chapter gives a summary of the research findings in relation to the objectives of the study set out in chapter one.

6.1.1 Urban Infrastructure and Services provided

A summary of urban infrastructure and services provided by the neighbourhood associations is illustrated in table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1 Urban Services and Infrastructure provided by Neighbourhood Associations

Neighbourhood Associations	Infrastructure and Services provided
PYG	<p>Management of communal water points (17.No).</p> <p>Collection and disposal of solid wastes (twice weekly).</p> <p>Community Watch Schemes (2 No)</p> <p>Storm water drainage (unblocking)</p> <p>Community awareness campaigns (e g on dangers of drugs and HIV/ AIDS)</p>
KLDA	<p>Solid waste collection through a private company (Bins Ltd)</p> <p>Maintenance of access and main road</p> <p>Collection of rates from residents.</p> <p>Preservation of open spaces and other public utilities.</p> <p>Development control</p> <p>Operation and maintenance of boreholes</p>
DRA	<p>Solid waste collection (twice weekly)</p> <p>Repair and maintenance of sewerage system (500m long).</p> <p>Maintenance of drainage system (4kms long).</p> <p>Community Watch Schemes (one per phase).</p> <p>Controlled land grabbing (e.g. lobbied for return of grabbed dispensary land).</p> <p>Controlled police harassment</p>

Source: Compiled by Author, 2001.

6.1.2 Constraints to Effective Community Participation in Urban Service Delivery and Management

The study found out the following as the major bottlenecks:

- Lack of adequate legislation for civil society involvement and bureaucratic inertia;
- Institutional challenges. Existing institutional frame work at NCC is not sufficiently conducive to enhance participatory approaches;
- Lack of appropriate attitude. NCC is reluctant and many officers are not convinced working 'with people' is worthwhile;
- NCC/NGO/CBO capacity. There is lack of understanding of the capacities of the identified partners;
- Lack of proper coordination between the NGOs the community and NCC. Everybody seems to be working on own projects/programmes without proper liaison with other development partners;
- Lack of appropriate skills /equipment;
- Limited investment portfolio;
- Limited long term investment plans;
- Limited sources of funds;
- Political interference; and
- Institutional bottlenecks, mainly at NCC.

6.1.3 Partners in the Model

The study sought to suggest a participatory model for urban infrastructure and service provision and management. The following key partners were identified and their roles specified. Refer to chapter five for more details.

- NCC
- NGOs
- Private sector
- Community
- Planners

- Professional bodies (e.g. KIP)

6.2 Recommendations

As mentioned above, the partners hitherto identified would have to consider the following: -

6.2.1 Nairobi City Council

- Conceive of infrastructure and services policy within which different actors may operate. This should be defined with the clear intention of making city residents (communities) actors and not merely target beneficiaries.
- Compile into a policy document all related planning and building standards to allow other actors into the arena, especially the community.
- Recognize the existence of Residents' Associations (RA), accept to work with their representatives and open up to public scrutiny and be accountable to members of the public.

6.2.2 Community

- Will have to mobilize themselves around the goal of sustainable provision and management of urban infrastructure and services and source local and external resources required for the implementation of required community facilities.
- Assist in the planning and implementing appropriate methods of urban infrastructure and services.
- With the help of NCC, government and NGOs, manage the future development of urban infrastructure and services by jointly improving the infrastructure and settlement facilities and installing income-generating inputs in the form of small businesses.
- Form statutory RAs in Nairobi to voice the planning, infrastructure and services concerns of their respective residential neighborhoods. Such residential associations should then be co-opted into the city planning liaison committees.

6.2.3 The GoK

Sustainable management of urban infrastructure and services require active engagement of civil society organizations as well as broad based peoples participation. In this regard, therefore, the government will be required to:

- Facilitate and protect people's participation and civic engagement through independent CBOs and NGOs that can be local, national and even international in scope
- Promote civic and human rights education and training programmes to make people aware of their rights and the changing roles of the youth, women and the disabled
- Remove the barriers that block participation of the socially marginalised groups and promote non-discrimination and the full and equal participation

In a nutshell, NCC CBOs, and NGOs must become stronger in the sphere of education, health, eradication of poverty, human rights and other related areas so that they can participate constructively in policy making and implementation. Resources will have to be availed for capacity building, community initiatives, networking and exchanges. Business enterprise and trade unions will have to be encouraged to generate jobs and provide basic infrastructure and services in collaboration with the resident community. Academic research and education institutions and media will play a more crucial role in generating, propagating, and disseminating appropriate information, respectively.

6.2.4 The Physical Planner

In the rapidly changing physical planning scene and as this study argues, the physical planner will no longer be the omniscient technocratic but rather a facilitator and mediator among other stakeholders. The planner facilitates and manages the process, helps participants appreciate other stakeholders' views and assists the communities to arrive at a consensus on the most appropriate land use. By engaging the stakeholders in the search for a desired future, the planner helps them to draw the rules of engagement, helps them make explicit their values, aspiration and commitments, especially with regard to the resources

they are willing to mobilize towards the attainment of desired end states. Owing to his/her training, the planner fuels the research for appropriate development models by supplying information to other stakeholders, developing different scenarios based on choices made at different stages in the search process, works out costs of implementation of the different options and summarizes conclusion reached at each stage of the search process. In this regard however, the planner as Ndegwa (2001) argues, must bring analytical skills that are understood by the community and which can be used by the community in a continuous search for solutions to their local problems.

6.2.5 Kenya Institute of Planners

Kenya Institute of Planners (KIP) like other professional bodies have interestingly been identified as key partners in the participatory process discussed in this chapter. As young as it is KIP will be expected to:

- Provide fora at different levels of society where stakeholders can explore the desired future.
- Facilitate the articulation and search for planning paradigms that are relevant to the diverse local conditions in the country.
- Organize meetings at which the society, professional bodies (like itself) and other stakeholders review alternative approaches to resolving local development problems.
- Spearhead search conferences, workshops and seminars where the various communities will discuss and develop approaches that only ensure that land is put to the most productive use but also caters for both the livelihood needs of the present and future generations.
- Forge linkages with community based organizations, the central and local governments, the civil society, the NGOs, the donor community and the private sector in the search for values and planning approaches that will satisfy the needs of Kenyans in their diversity.

6.3 Capacity Building and Institutional Development

“As an enabling strategy, capacity building and institutional development should aim at empowering all interested parties to play an effective role in urban infrastructure planning and management”

The Habitat Agenda, paragraph 178

Capacity - building and institutional development is the complex process of building up national and local capacity so that the necessary policies, institutions, and people are in a position to improve the urban infrastructure and services environment. In this regard, therefore, the government must develop the capacity to act on community priorities, stimulate local development and to encourage beneficial partnerships between governments at the various levels, the private sector, the non-governmental organizations and community sectors. Effectively decentralizing responsibilities and resources to local authorities and by supporting participation in the urban management processes can achieve this. Capacity building and institutional development should be aimed at governments and all involved parties including local authorities, parliamentarians, NGOs, CBOs and trade unions. In addition, government policy and legislation will have to encourage citizen participation through:

- Providing education in citizenship to emphasize the role individuals can play in their communities.
- Working to eradicate corruption and ensure transparency in the management of local community resources
- Facilitating the exchange of technology, experience and management expertise between government and local authorities.
- Strengthening central and local government capacities, associations and networks.
- Collecting and keeping appropriate data about urban communities, ensuring that it is desegregated by gender, age and income. They should also take cognizance of the disadvantaged and vulnerable groups.

6.4 Community Organization

The need for community organization should not be gain said. It remains the bane of community initiatives across the Third World. Looked at in terms of capacity building, it is seen as an enabling process by which the people become organized so that they are better equipped to identify their problems, prioritize them according to their strengths (resources) and weaknesses (constraints) and to address them either themselves or in collaboration with other stakeholders. But since a community is an expansive mass of people, the following entry points and strategies may be employed

- **Local leadership** Holding discussions with local area leaders (chiefs) and seeking public fora to make the community aware about the need for community organization and its role as an animator, facilitator and coordinator of community based initiatives.
- **Use of religious and other development agencies** This may involve visiting local churches / mosques and any other development agencies and discussing with them the need for cooperation and collaboration in community organization and mobilization
- **Use of existing groups**. This will involve visiting and holding discussion with the existing (women / men and youth) groups, the unemployed and the disabled about the need for group formation and community mobilization
- **Seminar / workshops** training of groups that already have projects is another important entry point. Planning of training workshops / seminars can be organized while critical areas as leadership, group dynamics, project management and problem solving techniques may be deliberated upon
- **Community education** The field survey found out that about 48 per cent of interviewees in Dandora do not understand the working system of sewerage. This was found out to be responsible for the use of insolubles in flush toilets. Examples of items used include maize cobs, stones, polythene papers, pieces of rugs etc. This, therefore, underscores the need to educate the residents on the operational mechanisms of such “foreign” technologies. Involving the people in the development of the same could equip them with valuable information as “ more people do not understand and appreciate the important of sewers in their lives” (Onyango, WCM, NCC, *field survey, 2000*).

“A people must be educated about the urgent need and protection and care of the sewage system. Unless this is done, the city council or whoever may have whatever amount of equipment, it will be of no consequence” (Onyango, Ibid)

6.5 Establishment of Constituency Planning and Development Committees

For effective coordination of planning and development at the local level, there is need to establish Constituency Planning and Development committee (CPDC) in every constituency in the city. Such a committee shall be responsible for the effective coordination of the planning and development at the constituency level and shall -

- (i) Facilitate the establishment of a community based management information system in the area,
- (ii) Identify and access community needs / problems to be considered for both the constituency development plans and capital projects,
- (iii) Prepare and evaluate development proposals / plans for forward transmission,
- (iv) Initiate, encourage, support and participate in communities' self help projects and mobilize people, material, financial and technical assistance
- (v) Generally coordinate and monitor projects and activities undertaken by government, government agencies, NGOs and CBOs.

6.6 Establishment of Ward Planning and Development Committees

The envisaged Ward Planning and Development Committee (WPDC) would be responsible for effective planning and development coordination at the ward level and shall.

- (a) Facilitate the establishment of a community-based management information system in the area,
- (b) Identify and access community problems / needs to be considered for the for the constituency planning and development committee;
- (c) Monitor and evaluate implementation of development plans as approved by NCC;

- (d) Generally coordinate and monitor projects and activities undertaken by government; government agencies, NGOs, CBOs and monitor development activities in the area;
- (e) Serve as a communication channel between the local people, CPDC and NCC,
- (f) Resolve problems identified at the local level; and
- (g) Discuss, evaluate and recommend for approval to the management committee of the council's investment proposal for the ward area

6.7 Proposed Amendments to the Physical Planning Act

As pointed out elsewhere, the kind of participation provided for within the framework of Liaison Committee is reactionary and *expost*, after the plan is complete. In order for the people to own the plan, what should be published in the local dailies should be the *intention to prepare* a physical development plan and not its completion as currently is the case. In this connection, other recommendations that will have to be considered include:

- Establishment of ward planning units (statutory) to make proposals to the physical planning department on the pressing problems of their wards.
- Inclusion of ward planning units into the district / municipal planning liaison committee.
- Submission of the development programmes from the wards to the Ministry of Finance and Planning for all the five-year national development plans. This will ensure that the government is not only aware of the development proposals of the people at the ward level, but also that the provisions of infrastructure reflect both the broad national priorities and local needs. By so doing, the Ministry of Finance and Planning will be able to play its rightful role, that of a coordinating and integrating agency rather than an initiator of sector plans.

6.8 Policy Options for the Future

The national and, in some cases, local governments will have to consider relinquishing their control over service delivery, as users, private firms and non-governmental organizations are granted a much larger role in service delivery policies. Yielding this

authority requires risk-taking and dynamic leadership that is willing to deliver services differently in order to improve efficiency. Substantive changes carry the potential for failure, and donors, national governments, and consumers must be willing to allow for some failures in exchange for the opportunity for more effective service delivery.

The key to reformed infrastructure policy is delivering infrastructure services to meet users' demands. Every process in delivery institutions must be responsive to the consumer. Movement to a demand orientation represents a shift from the traditional focus on expanding capacity through extending trunk lines and other means. Technology must be chosen, operations and maintenance must be performed, and other activities undertaken so as to meet demands. Responsive organizations will only exist if policy makers and system managers re-align processes from the internal operational focus of the past to an external, demand-oriented future. Changing the direction of an ongoing institution is difficult, but has the potential to be vastly rewarding. Consumers will be discontented unless service delivery decisions are based on demand. Dissatisfaction among consumers results in wasted investments, lost economic production, and low willingness to pay for services.

A demand orientation leads to service differentiation across cities and neighborhoods, both in terms of delivery technology and outputs. Policy must be sufficiently flexible to allow service delivery to reflect the differences. Policy makers must be willing to explicitly differentiate the services offered in higher income areas from those in lower income/lesser ability to pay areas as well as urban versus rural areas. The tendency often exists to design infrastructure investments to accomplish a range of goals, from equity, environmental to job creation considerations. Adoption of goals that are inconsistent with meeting demand or accomplishing other reforms must be considered carefully, because policies designed to meet alternative goals can lead to non sustainable services.

Competition must be introduced to lower service delivery costs and ensure the demands are met. Delivery through devolved governments and private firms are two ways of introducing competition. Some aspect of every service will benefit from competitive

pressures. Certain services, such as urban transit, solid waste management, electricity, and telecommunications, can be privatized. All other infrastructure services can profit either from delivery by devolved governments, regulated private delivery, or by direct provision by the user communities. Such competitive delivery mechanisms will shift the national government's role to put more emphasis on the regulations necessary to ensure that producers deliver reliable services, quality output, and at competitive prices. In this regard, incentives for regulators to operate in the best interest of consumers must be developed. In addition, the national government will continue to have a limited role in subsidizing delivery of certain services because of externalities and equity goals.

Pricing infrastructure services is necessary in order to finance service delivery, ration consumption to an economically efficient level, and provide an indicator of demand. Prices should fully recover costs for all infrastructure services except those with significant positive externalities to ensure that low-income residents have access. The cost of providing access can be minimized by targeting subsidies to the lowest income users and by differentiating services to meet the specific demands of low-income users. Payment of fees must be clearly linked to receipt of services and significant fee increases should be combined with service enhancements. Imposing prices, or user fees, to recover costs may be politically difficult in the short run because many services have historically been under-priced. Nonetheless, pricing is central to enhanced service delivery and must be part of an improved delivery system. Failure to price services is also politically difficult because inadequate services lead to dissatisfied residents and businesses, and lower economic growth.

Improved infrastructure must come from increased efficiency than from large, new investments. Service capacity often can be greatly increased by making existing investments more productive. Enhanced reliability and better quality service outputs must be achieved. Capacity is expanded by improved maintenance practices that extend investment and limit service losses. When new investments are necessary, the technology must be selected based on the ability to adapt to local conditions where user communities can provide required maintenance, and on the ability to meet demands. Alternative

delivery systems, specifically ones using small- scale delivery systems, must be adopted where appropriate. Pricing and other means of managing demand must be implemented as well.

6.9 Conclusion

The need for community participation in project initiation and implementation is today an undeniable fact, especially in the light of dwindling financial allocation to the LAs occasioned by poor economic performance in the country and the LAs' own inability to effectively collect revenue due to them. As demonstrated by the neighbourhood associations studied, the urban communities have shown their ingenuity and willingness to partner with other stakeholders like WAC, St. John Community Centre and SIDAREC in Dandora and Pumwani, respectively. Such initiatives, therefore, call for wholehearted support at both the policy level and in practice. Although NCC showed cold feet, it will have to be encouraged to embrace new approaches to city management. It will have to, for example, evolve an instrument inspired by the vision of the city residents, and in this regard, the several Commission Reports that have not been carried out should be debated by all and implemented accordingly depending on the wishes of the people.

No doubt, such new approaches to city management present real challenges to institutions and individuals that have been responsible for infrastructure and services provision and management, challenges which must be confronted by the desire and willingness to improve efficiency in service delivery and the recognition of the peoples' inalienable rights to decision –making in issues that affect their lives. Similarly, the urban communities through their neighbourhood associations will have to adapt proactive rather than reactionary approaches to the improvement of their living environment, in any case, they are the most affected by dysfunctional urban systems. They will have to be responsible and accountable to members of the public for any funding granted to them. It is only in this way that they may win the trust and support of locals and even attract foreign funds. This, in the final analysis, may improve their levels of investment in infrastructure and services, which this study found out to be a real impediment.

Infrastructure and services provision are governed by elaborate, but sometimes unrealistic planning standards and regulations. Some of these requirements are not only out of tune with the socio-cultural milieu of the people, but are also expensive and thus unsustainable in the long run. Cheap but sufficiently safe and locally available materials, for example, earth, wattle, twine, *makuti*, grass etc and technologies, which the locals can easily repair and maintain, will have to be explored. This is perhaps the only way through which genuine participatory approaches to urban management will be promoted with a view to enhancing effective urban planning and sustainable management.

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APPENDICES

APPENIX 1

HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

The state of urban infrastructure is of critical concern to both researchers and urban managers alike. This is partly because the existing models of service provision have not been responsive to the ever-changing consumer demand. The current study is an attempt towards evolving alternative, more demand oriented, and affordable mechanisms for urban infrastructure and services provision, based on Nairobi City Council. Any information afforded to this researcher will be highly appreciated and treated with utmost confidentiality.

Part A

1. Background information

Name _____ Age _____ Sex _____
Marital status _____ Household size _____
Land/plot size _____ Nature of ownership _____

2. Level of education (1) None (2) Primary (3) secondary (4) University
(5) others/specify

3. Occupation _____

4. Income per month _____

5. For how long have you stayed in this neighbourhood?

6. When did you join the association?

7. Why did you join?

8. How did you get to know about this association?

9. How have you been involved in the association's activities?

(1) Decision-making

(2) Finances

(3) Manual labour

(4) Others/specify

10 Do you have any training in the following?

- (1) Leadership
- (2) Project management
- (3) Technical expertise (planning/engineering)

11 What is your assessment of the following public utilities and their management? Tick as appropriate

	Poor	Satisfactory	Excellent
Water			
Sanitation			
Solid waste			
Roads			
Electricity			

How were you involved in the design and planning of the above facilities?

12. Show clearly how the process of identifying activities/planning was carried out.

- Was community action plan prepared?
- What methods did you use to identify possible solutions to the problems?

13. How were you involved in the process of implementation?

- How were the rest of community members involved, in need assessment, prioritization and objective formulation?

14. How are the service/facilities maintained on day to day basis?

- Who does what? How is it decided? Where do resources come from?

15. Do you think these activities/programmes are sustainable in the future?

- If Yes, how? If no, why not?

16. In your opinion do you think the association has met her objectives. Yes/No

17. If not, what problems/bottlenecks has it faced?
18. How do you think it can be helped out?
19. What, according to you is the best way for the management of urban Infrastructure and services?
20. What do you think other communities/residents should learn from this association?

Part B. Infrastructure and services and sustainable management

21. Name/list all the Infrastructure and services that the association has developed.
22. Who cleans/maintains the facilities/projects?
 - How often (daily/weekly?)
 - Who provides security for the site?
 - comment on the cleanliness of the facility
23. What has been the impact of the project on:
 - (a) Community members
 - (b) Non-members of the association.
 - (c) Environment
 - (d) Nairobi city council
24. What problems have you experienced since the inception of these projects?
25. Has the Association been helpful?
26. Would you say that the design and planning of these services involved the community needs?
27. What advantages do you think community-based management of Infrastructure have over public ones?
28. To what extent did the design and planning of these projects take into consideration your:
 - (a) Socio- cultural background
 - (b) Economic status
 - (c) Other resources- (technical/managerial/professional)

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRES FOR RAS

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING.

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Part A: Background information

1. Name/position of respondent
2. What is the name of the association?
 - (a) When was it formed?
 - (b) What were/are its objectives and how were they derived?
 - (c) What is the current membership?
 - (d) How does one become a member?
3. List the infrastructure and services that it has developed since its inception.
4. How are these services managed?
5. How are the (community) members involved in its activities, in terms of planning, design, implementation and management?
6. How does it relate with her neighbours?
 1. What capacity (managerial technical and financial) does it have to effectively run its affairs?
8. What are its achievements to-date?
9. What problems does it face in its daily operations?
10. Suggest ways by which these problems can be solved.
11. What do you think is needed to strengthen its organizational capacity?

What do you think the best methods of involving the community in the development and management of Infrastructure and services?

At what levels (in the planning process) do you think the people should be involved?

Is the association currently receiving any technical and/or financial assistance from external agencies e.g. donors, NGOs etc?

Part B: Policy Implications

What is the current state of policy at city hall in relation to neighbourhood association's activities?

Silent

Inhibitive

Supportive

Give specific details

6. How does the association relate with city hall?

7. Does its activities affect city hall in any way?

8. If Yes in what ways _____

9. Does the association liaise with the planning department when they are developing their services?

10. How specifically does the architecture and planning department come in Neighbourhood association's activities?

11. What do you think city hall should do to enhance the performance of neighbourhood associations.

and other consumer-based organizations.

12. How is this association linked to other CBOs in Nairobi?

13. What problems do you think neighbourhood associations pose to her neighbours (non-members)?

APPENDIX 3

NCC CHECKLIST

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL

PLANNING.

The state of urban infrastructure is of critical concern to both researchers and urban managers alike. This is partly because the existing models of service provision have not been responsive to the ever changing consumer demand. The current study is an attempt towards evolving an alternative, more demand orientated, and affordable mechanisms for urban infrastructure and services provision, based on Nairobi City Council. Any information afforded to this researcher will be highly appreciated and treated with utmost confidentiality.

1. What is the state of policy regarding infrastructure in the city
2. How is the planning for such facilities done, and by whom? interests in the plans?
3. How does the planning in (2) above incorporate community
4. At what levels do the people actually come in? ate in the planning process
5. Do they have the technical/ managerial capacity to participate in the planning process (explain)?
6. What specific facilities (infrastructural) do you think the communities can plan for and manage?
7. What are some of the benefits that may be derived from involving the communities in the planning and management of the facilities?
8. What problems do you think involving the people would pose to your department and city hall at large?
9. Suggest ways through which some of these problems may be overcome?
10. What in your opinion is the way forward for the planning and sustainable management of Nairobi infrastructure and services?

CLERKS DEPARTMENT

1. What are the policies governing infrastructure provision and management in the city

of Nairobi?

2. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the policies in (1) above?
3. To what levels does city hall intend to decentralize/ privatize her services?
4. Do you intend to involve the communities directly in service provision and management?
5. What institutional framework has the council put in place to ensure effective involvement of the community sector?
6. What statutory and regulatory measures do you intend to put in place to ensure that:
 - (i) Consumers are protected from exploitation (by their own neighbourhood groups)
 - (ii) Minimum standards are maintained for purposes of safety and environmental protection?
7. What benefits do city hall expect to derive from the above arrangements?
8. What problems do you envisage from the involvement of the people?
9. How do you intend to mitigate these problems?
10. What in your opinion is the way forward for effective and sustainable management of urban infrastructure in the city of Nairobi?

