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DEPARTMENT OF REAL ESTATE & CONSTRUCTION MANAGEMENT
SCHOOL OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT**

**CHALLENGES OF SLUM UPGRADING FOR URBAN INFORMAL
SETTLEMENTS; CASE OF SOWETO EAST VILLAGE IN KIBERA INFORMAL
SETTLEMENTS, CITY OF NAIROBI**

**BY
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(REG. NO: B42/82146/2012)**

**RESEARCH PROJECT REPORT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE POSTGRADUATE DIPLOMA IN HOUSING
ADMINISTRATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

2013

DECLARATION

This Research Project Report is my original work and has not been submitted before for a degree or diploma in any other University.

Signed:.....Date:day of2013

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This Research Project Report work has been submitted for the Postgraduate Diploma in Housing Administration with my knowledge as the University Supervisor.

Signed:.....Date:day of2013

PROF. PAUL M. SYAGGA, PhD

DEDICATION

This Research Project Report is dedicated to my wife Jane Wangari, for her support and encouragement. I also dedicate it to my children Patrick Maina and Sharon Wambui.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor: Professor Paul Maurice Syagga for his invaluable and unlimited guidance and support throughout the study. I would like also to extend my thanks and appreciation to all lecturers of the School of the Built Environment who read and commented on my Draft Research Project Report or part of it.

I would like to acknowledge the support given to me by the Government of Kenya through the Ministry of Housing by sponsoring me to this Postgraduate Diploma Programme. Thanks also to Mr. Brian Ngaira for the assistance he accorded me in conducting the interviews.

ABSTRACT

The increased development of informal settlements will be the dominant form of urbanization in most developing countries. Rapid urbanization and its related consequences have been difficult to handle and manage, particularly in countries like Kenya, South Africa and Egypt. This report gives an overview of challenges of slum upgrading for urban informal settlements; case of Soweto East village in Kibera informal settlements, City of Nairobi. The report also constitutes study findings of a field research carried out in April 2013 guided by these central questions: - (i) What institutional arrangements have been put in place for slum upgrading in Soweto East village?; (ii) What are the roles of stakeholders in Soweto East village slum upgrading?; (iii) Which challenges have led to the unsuccessful uptake of slum upgrading in Soweto East village?; How can we manage the unsuccessful uptake of slum upgrading in Soweto East village?

The study employed secondary data from literature review for theoretical framework development and field study tools. Purposive sampling and Stratified random sampling techniques were used in the case of Slum Upgrading Department staff in the Ministry of Housing and Soweto East Village residents whose sample sizes were 14 and 217 respectively. The study also employed case study design and the data was analysed descriptively and presented in tables and figures.

Slum upgrading in Soweto East village has various stakeholders including tenants, resident and non-resident structure owners, land owners, public authorities, civil society, private sector and international development agencies. Despite the establishment of an all inclusive institutional framework for improvement and prevention of informal settlements through the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme and Kenya Informal Settlements Improvement Programme by the government, the implementation of Soweto East slum upgrading programme faces several challenges that include:- complexities of slum settlements with regard to tenure arrangements; lack of coordination of various stakeholders; resistance to the slum upgrading programme especially by the slumlords; lack of participation by the slum

dwellers in the upgrading programme; residents not being aware of their roles as stakeholders in the upgrading programme; lack of adequate land for slum upgrading; lack of goodwill and mistrust from the slum dwellers; inadequate budgetary allocations to the programme from the government exchequer; politicization of the programme; environmental degradation; varied political, cultural and religious inclinations amongst the residents and their leaders; various stakeholders being involved in the programme leading to partnership concepts that often derail the implementation schedules of the upgrading programme; and non genuine Non Governmental Organisations. It is in view of these challenges that the study recommends guidelines that are outlined in chapter five of this report for use in Soweto East village slum upgrading programme specifically and any other similar set up generally.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFD	French Agency for Development
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CCN	City Council of Nairobi
FBOs	Faith Based Organisations
GCST	Global Campaign for Secure Tenure
GIS	Geographical Information Systems
GoK	Government of Kenya
HIV/AIDs	Human Immuno Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICT	Information Communication and Technology
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
IFRA	French Institute for Dental Research
ILO	International Labour Organization
ITDG	Intermediate Technology Development Group
KENSUP	Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme
KISIP	Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
LAs	Local Authorities
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PIU	Programme Implementation Unit
SEC	Settlement Executive Committee
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
SUD	Slum Upgrading Department
UN	United Nations
UNCHS	United Nations Commission for Human Settlements
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
USD	United States Dollar

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study

Kenya, like other countries, has witnessed an unprecedented increase in urban population over the past fifty years. This has posed a great challenge to urban economies which have been unable to cope with the increasing demand for essential services such as housing, health and education. As a result, more urban dwellers in Kenya live in poverty and reside in overcrowded slums that lack basic amenities to sustain a minimum level of living. By 1999, the proportion of the urban population in Kenya had increased to 34.5%, affirming that one out of every three Kenyans currently lives in urban areas (GoK: 1999). This percentage is expected to increase to 50% by the year 2015. This rate of urbanization and the inability of our urban economies to match the pace have contributed immensely to the proliferation of slums and informal settlements.

In Nairobi, an estimated 1.5 million people live in informal settlements, roughly 60% of the city's official census population of 2.5 million (GoK: 1999). These 1.5 million people are confined to an area of less than 5% of total municipal residential land. Segregation policies in the colonial era, a post-independence policy of slum clearance and a more recent lack of equitable and defined land and urban development policies have shaped Nairobi slums, like Kibera, into their present state.

To reverse this trend, the Government of Kenya, in collaboration with other stakeholders, initiated two programmes: the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) in 2004 and the Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project (KISIP) in June 2011. The programmes are aimed at improving the livelihoods of people living and working in slums and informal settlements. This entails promoting, facilitating, and where necessary, providing security of tenure, housing improvement, income generation and physical and social infrastructure. The actual target is to improve the livelihoods of at least 1.6 million households living in slums (5.3 million slum dwellers) by the year 2020 (GoK, 2006).

1.1 The Problem Statement

Kibera, the largest informal settlement in Kenya, measures approximately 2.5 square kilometers and even going by the Kenya Population and Housing 2009 Census of 170,070 people, the density is 68,000 persons per square kilometer (Syagga, 2011). The intense overcrowding and the complete lack of infrastructure present the greatest physical challenges to upgrading. On the other hand, a series of factors including very low incomes, irregular employment, lack of secure land tenure or collateral, and lack of property and informational records prevent Kibera households from accessing loans to finance construction projects, housing improvements or home purchases (Mulcahy & Chu: 2007).

According to Mitullah (2003), Kenya's highly controlled and constrictive land policy, developed decades ago just after attaining independence, has contributed to the continued growth of slums, particularly in Kibera. Migrants settled illegally on uninhabited government land that was often later transferred into private hands in one of these informal transactions. Once an individual took control he could either raze the slum, which displaced the impoverished residents, or he could claim ownership of the structures and begin to collect rent. Because of their connections to government, the absentee landlords pay no taxes on the rent they collect and are not legally bound to provide any services. They have no incentive to improve conditions and, viewing slums as a continuous source of income, are generally opposed to any upgrading project.

Over the course of decades, slum dwellers have developed a general distrust of government, in part because of disappointment over government-promised upgrading projects that never materialized. In the past, upgrading projects often displaced the original residents, leaving many skittish about future government action. This statement is further echoed by Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), who states that "The relationship between the government and the residents is wanting. Due to decades of humiliation, evictions, false promises and demolitions, the residents regard any government interventions with a lot of suspicion".

According to Muraguri in (IFRA, 2011: 126), there are conflicts between tenants and landlords due to their varied interests. Besides, the fact that nearly 85% of slum dwellers are tenants is a unique aspect of Kenyan slum settlements which greatly hampers progress in slum upgrading. The varied political, cultural and religious inclinations amongst the residents, and those of their leaders, have contributed in creating suspicion and mistrust amongst the residents thus slowing down decision making. There is also the competing interests of various stakeholders in the slum, most of which conflict therefore they are a major drawback to the programme.

Another challenge is limited land space to cater for all residents within the slum settlements and scarcity of land for re-location where necessary. Land ownership is private in most settlements and lack of planning of informal settlements by the local authorities is a challenge towards upgrading the settlements. Partnership concepts also have the disadvantage of generating several parallel activities that often derail the implementation schedules. There are also issues with regard to governance and involvement of communities in decision making which have various complexities (Muraguri in IFRA, 2011: 126). According to SIDA (2006), the slums status quo is described as a product of power politics. This illustrates the difficulty of trying to change the status quo. The slum has been neglected as illegal dwellings and this submerges them to even greater impoverishment due to lack of social services.

Since the uptake of slum upgrading in Soweto East village has been unsuccessful, the study intends to ascertain which challenges have hindered the uptake; and then recommend appropriate policies and interventions towards addressing the identified slum upgrading challenges in the study area.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study is to investigate challenges leading to the unsuccessful uptake of slum upgrading in Soweto East village. The specific objectives are:-

- i. To investigate institutional arrangements put in place for slum upgrading in Soweto East village;
- ii. To investigate the role of stakeholders in slum upgrading in Soweto East village;
- iii. To identify challenges in the implementation of slum upgrading in Soweto East village; and
- iv. To recommend guidelines that can be used in solving the challenges of slum upgrading in Soweto East village specifically and any other similar set up generally.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. What institutional arrangements have been put in place for slum upgrading in Soweto East village?
- ii. What are the roles of stakeholders in Soweto East village slum upgrading?
- iii. Which challenges have led to the unsuccessful uptake of slum upgrading in Soweto East village?
- iv. How can we manage the unsuccessful uptake of slum upgrading in Soweto East village?

1.4 Research Assumption

The inherent challenges facing Soweto East village slum upgrading have contributed to low living standard of residents. The assumption will be investigated through analysis of field research findings presented in chapter four of this report.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The appearance and persistence of slums and informal settlements in cities of the developing world is the unequivocal and tangible evidence that the housing sector is not performing its role in providing equal access to a variety of housing options for its population. Some regard slums as the physical manifestation of market failure, while others look at it as government

failure and the result of the absence of a housing policy framework. Addressing the challenges of slum upgrading for urban informal settlement will therefore be critical to understand the way the housing sector works and the constraints that hinder accessibility and supply and which seem to be one of the underlying causes for people to choose the informal mechanisms to access housing.

Since slums and informal settlements provide shelter to majority of urban dwellers in Kenya and are indeed a major urban phenomenon in all urban centers, addressing the challenges of slum upgrading for urban informal settlements will contribute towards improving the livelihoods of the slum dwellers. The failure of slum upgrading would mean continued suffering of the vulnerable groups in the slum. The study identifies the underlying causes of these challenges and proposes appropriate recommendations which will help the programme to achieve its objectives. Of importance too is that the study recommendations are intended to fill the gaps and identify loop holes that might have been overlooked by various stakeholders of the upgrading programme in their approaches and interventions.

1.6 Scope of the study and its limitations

The study focuses on the challenges of slum upgrading for urban informal settlements in Soweto East village, Kibera informal settlements; Nairobi. Chapter one contains background of the study; the problem statement; objectives of the study; research questions; research assumption; significance of the study; scope and limitations of the study; and, definition of key terms. Chapter two looks into conceptualizing slum upgrading, elements of slum upgrading, institutional arrangements for slum upgrading, literature review on challenges of slum upgrading for urban informal settlements, impacts of slum upgrading initiatives from other countries, theoretical framework, and conceptual framework of the study. Chapter three is the research methodology which comprises background of the study area, overview of the nature of research, research design, sources of data, data collection techniques, population, sampling techniques and sample size. Chapter four is field study, data analysis and presentation while Chapter five is summary of findings, conclusions, recommendations and areas for further research.

Some of the limitations encountered during the study include: -bad weather as it was raining thus hard to work comfortably; the congestion in the slum area and lack of proper roads or paths made it hard to navigate through the area; unwillingness by respondents to give information and this might have contributed to loss of important information; some respondents claimed to be busy while others wanted to be paid prior to giving the information; and fear for security made it impossible to penetrate to the deepest parts of the slum.

1.7 Definitions of Key Terms

Informal settlements-“As settlements where inhabitants are confronted and exposed to 1) insecure residential status, 2) inadequate access to safe water, 3) inadequate access to sanitation and other basic infrastructure and services, 4) poor structural quality of housing and 5) overcrowding” (UN-HABITAT, 2003 quoted in Durrand-Lasserve 2006, p.2).

Informal settlements are described as illegal and spontaneous shantytowns lacking decent services and infrastructure. Terms for informal settlements vary ranging from slums, favelas (Brazil), aashwa'i (Egypt) and ciudades perdidas (Spanish, “lost cities”) and mukhukhu (South Africa) (Kramer, 2006). Godehart and Vaughan (2008) contend that these settlements are characterized by illegality and informality, environmental hazards, poverty and vulnerability, social stress and others.

In this research, I use the term informal settlements as it focuses on illegal houses without adequate structures and services.

Slum- “A slum is generally defined as a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city” (Caldeira 1996 quoted in UN-HABITAT 2003, p.10).

“Slums are neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slum range from high-density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities” [...] (Jargowsky 1997 quoted in UN-HABITAT 2003, p.10).

UNCHS (2002) defined a slum as “a term used to describe a wide range of low-income settlements and/or poor human living conditions”. The definition also encompasses housing areas that were once respectable or even desirable, but which have since deteriorated, as the original owners have moved to new or better areas of the cities. The term slum, has, however come to include also the vast informal settlements that are quickly becoming the most visual expression of urban poverty (UNCHS, 2002).

Upgrading- The word upgrading usually refers to an effort to improve living conditions in particular urban areas characterized by poor-quality housing and inadequate infrastructure and service delivery (Hardoy, Mitlin, Satterthwaite, 2001: 222).

Slum Upgrading Slum upgrading is a process of intervention for economic, organizational and environmental improvement to an existing human settlement undertaken collectively among citizens, community groups, governments (national/local) and any other development partners (Non-governmental, multi-lateral/bilateral organisations). Although the reasons for slum upgrading may vary from place to place, the main push factors have included the demand for affordable tenure options, environmental health considerations and poverty reduction (Syagga, 2011).

Stakeholders:-persons, groups or institutions with interests in project or programme (McElroy & Mills: 2000).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Conceptualizing slum upgrading

The word upgrading usually refers to an effort to improve living conditions in particular urban areas characterized by poor-quality housing and inadequate infrastructure and service delivery (Hardoy, Mitlin, Satterthwaite, 2001: 222). The global emphasis on the upgrading programmes and self-help housing emerged broadly in the 1970s when the World Bank searching for an alternative to widespread slum clearances and evictions started to stress a new 'paradigm' for the urbanizing world. The Bank's initiative was considerably affected by John Turner, the English architect, who advocated slum improvements free of government intervention to allow their residents to change their living conditions by themselves (Werlin, 1999).

Both upgrading programmes in temporary settlements and sites-and-services projects face large criticism because of their effects on the most marginalized slum residents. A reproof for the self-help loans under the sites-and-services/upgrading schemes is partly based on the estimation that in the 1980s the bottom 30 to 60 per cent of the urban population (depending on the country) was unable to meet the financial obligations (Peattie in Davis, 2007: 73). Obviously, a limited number of low-income urban households together with lower middle-income households access the loans more easily than the poorest slum families. An example from Mumbai shows that only 9 per cent of loan recipients belonged to lowest-income groups (Davis, 2007: 74). Although many slum dwellers benefited from the programmes in early years, most of them were exposed to greater exploitation and housing related problems in the long term. Frequently asked full cost recovery affected especially the poorest through 'mechanisms include self-selection in group-credit schemes, incentives for well-endowed people in entrepreneurship development and benefits for homeowners in upgrading' (Berner & Phillips, 2005: 22). The early faithful beliefs in Turner's idea of 'development from below' (Werlin, 1999: 1533) had been replaced by doubts and disbelief to address increasing urban crisis without greater government involvement.

Werlin (1999) describes four principal fundamentals for slum improvements which were not stressed enough in the first programmes between the 1970s and 1980s. Being underestimated, he states maintenance, land acquisition, tenure and community participation have contributed to make upgrading a 'myth'. First there has been a clash between quality of improvements and scale of the programme while the installment was inadequate (for instance not enough water hand pumps for the total slum population or no provision of improved sanitation) and of poor quality (Hardoy, Mitlin, Satterthwaite, 2001, Werlin, 1999). The problem of maintenance appears to be acute in upgrading programmes providing facilities to be shared (for example toilets or water hand pumps).

These are used more intensively than if such facilities are provided to each house and the maintenance has to be institutionalized (Hardoy, Mitlin, Satterthwaite, 2001: 222); secondly, everybody/nobody ownership dichotomy constrains adequate maintenance as well. Although secure land tenure was recognized as important in the programmes, the early Bank's loans did not fully integrate it as a pre-condition for an intervention to be successful (Werlin, 1999: 1524). Unlike Turner, the advocate of a moderate role for government, his Peruvian counterpart Hernando de Soto (1989) argues for government's responsibility for stronger engagement. More recently, upgrading programmes have stressed De Soto's perception to stimulate people's activity ensuring secure land tenure first. In spite of this, much evidence contesting the approach has emerged.

Secure housing as a prerequisite for an informal settlement improvement to be sustainable and to avoid further erosion of slum dwellers' assets has been recognized as one of the pillars of slum upgrading. Payne (2001: 420), states that titling became a mainstream development approach when the World Bank started to run revised upgrading initiatives in the 1990s: '*World Bank Housing Policy Paper* (1993) recommends developing market oriented systems of property rights and allocates priority to upgrading systems of land titling and regularizing tenure in squatter settlements'. These recommendations were based on clearly visible profits of the slum regularization which stimulate slum dwellers' investments in their 'capital' and enhance participation of the urban poorest in theory.

‘However, the titling approach has already achieved considerable momentum, which recent studies suggest needs to be challenged’ (Payne, 2001: 421). If the slum residents realize the value of the land, the higher price of a plot may attract them to sell it and move to dwell somewhere else. Payne (2005: 136) follows that ‘such actions may therefore actually result in an increase in informal settlements rather than a decrease’. Davis (2007) sums up that titling also impose higher prices and value of land and building materials in general.

Becoming suddenly ‘legalized’ slum dwellers have to follow ‘new rules’ and pay proper taxes and services. Payne (2005:137) argues that ‘high standards impose higher costs, and complex bureaucratic procedures impose delays that require informal payments to facilitate progress’. New regulations, administrative processes and bureaucracy make slum residents’ housing and livelihood more complicated. Slum dwellers have to move from ‘living from one day to another’ to thinking about their future and regular payments and duties. Most of them find it difficult, more expensive and less convenient than before and are eager to move to illegality again.

In fact, mainstreaming slum legalization has empowered informal land subdivision to become a widespread phenomenon. Research from different countries proved that the illegal rent in slums have increased notably for last two decades and more surprisingly it is even much higher than in the formal market (Davis, 2007). In other words, social differentiation has become one of the significant characteristics of an ‘informal’ settlement today. The promotion of slumlordism have not changed much for the urban poorest to reach appropriate shelter legally. Davis (2007), simply concludes that the World Bank’s initiatives generally failed to address the challenging urban crisis in the developing and transitioning countries. Being a little bit more optimistic, the failures have definitely brought some lessons learnt for seeking alternative solutions.

Since the 1970s the ‘participatory rhetoric’ has appeared in the Bank’s upgrading programmes. The role of beneficiaries’ participation was recognized, although mostly it has been much developed on paper rather than in reality lacking donor and government eagerness

(Werlin, 1999, Berner & Phillips, 2005). Governments show no real interest in involving slum dwellers in planning or decision-making processes before a programme or policy is implemented. Slum dweller participation has been more likely perceived as a tool to control them and to legitimize a government policy (Botes & Rensburg, 2000: 45). The odd understandings of ‘participation’ have become the common practice.

The slum population represents an increasingly significant *vote bank* (Baken, 2003). The large scale upgrading implementation was influenced by the recognition of slum dwellers as an important electoral base for a politician to be (re) elected (Hardoy, Mitlin, Satterthwaite, 2001: 221). Interest about urban poor had increased while they had been eligible to vote for a candidate in return for food, more secure housing or service provision. Davis (2007: 81) concludes that upgrading and site-and-services schemes are attractive to governments for simple reasons: promise of stability, votes and taxes. In many cases slum dwellers are easily seen as a tool instead of a target for policies.

In India those living in ‘irregular’ settlements lobbied hard to be labelled as ‘slums’ to ensure the ‘advantages’ of an upgrading programme. Moreover, politicians themselves were keen to support a formation of an informal settlement to enlarge their vote banks (Hardoy, Mitlin, Satterthwaite, 2001: 222). In a simplified way, slum upgrading has been perceived advantageous for both local government and slum dwellers.

2.1 Elements of Slum Upgrading

Experience shows that slum upgrading do require political will and firm commitment of local governments that can sustain long-term programming and implementation. In operational terms, it requires the establishment of an institutional and organizational setting through which (1) the participation of the target groups can be facilitated, (2) the partnerships between public, private and community stakeholders can be realized, (3) financial resources can be mobilized and allocated on a sustained basis, (4) local implementation capacities can be strengthened and (5) the coordination, planning and management of programs and projects can be organized (Acioly, 2007).

According to slum upgrading and housing infrastructure development report (2012) generally, the reduction of slums or the upgrading of slum environments and the lives of those in these settlements consists of but not limited to physical, social, economic, organizational and environmental improvements undertaken cooperatively and locally among citizens, community groups, businesses and local authorities. The activities that have been taken by many countries include: improving or installing basic infrastructure; mitigation or removal of environmental hazards; providing incentives and improving governance; rehabilitating or constructing community facilities; regularizing security of tenure; relocation/compensation or home improvement; improvement of access and affordability of social/health/education services; promotion of income-earning opportunities; and, building institutional frameworks and social capital/assets to sustain improvements.

2.2 Institutional arrangements for slum upgrading

Many human settlement development policies and strategies have been used in the past to deal with slums all over the world as well as in Kenya. Such policies and strategies have ranged from forced eviction, resettlement, site and service schemes and upgrading. Experience has shown that forced eviction, demolition of slums and resettlement of slum dwellers create more problems than they solve. Eradication and relocation destroys large stock of housing affordable to the urban poor, while new housing provided has frequently turned out to be unaffordable resulting to the movement of relocated households back to slum accommodation. Resettlement also shifts slum dwellers from their employment sources, destroys their productivity and disrupts their livelihood networks.

National approaches to slums and informal settlements all over the world have generally shifted from negative policies such as eviction, benign neglect and involuntary resettlement to more positive policies such as self-help housing, in site upgrading and enabling and rights based policies. Where appropriate upgrading policies have been put in place, slums have become increasingly financially cohesive, offering opportunities for security of tenure, local economic development, improvement of income and shelter among the urban poor. The accepted best practice for housing interventions in developing countries is now participatory

slum upgrading, with wholistic neighbourhood improvement approaches taking into account health, education, housing, livelihoods and gender (UN-HABITAT, 2003). Although such success stories have been few in comparison to the magnitude of slum challenges, experience accumulated over the last few decades suggest that in site slum upgrading is more effective and should be the norm in most slum upgrading programmes and projects. The key to success in such Programme, however, lies in creating easy access to livelihood opportunities as the central pillar.

In Kenya, the Government has acknowledged the existence of slums and informal settlements, and is committed to addressing the conditions through upgrading. It is therefore in the interest of the Government that slum improvement has been embraced as a principle policy of housing and urban development. The country's strategic framework in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, the National Housing Policy and the National Housing Development Programmes, have all recognized slum upgrading as an integral part of shelter development (KENSUP, 2005). The Kenya government also initiated the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme in 2004 and Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project in 2011 to improve the livelihood of people working and living in the informal settlements in the urban areas of Kenya. The issue of every person having the right to accessible and adequate housing, and to reasonable standards of sanitation has also been emphasized in Chapter Four; Section 43 (1b) on 'Economic and Social Rights' in the Constitution of Kenya, 2010.

2.2.1 The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2005

According to the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2005), implementation of slum upgrading has been identified as one of the program to address poverty by targeting the poor communities. The slum upgrading programme should improve the living conditions of millions of urban poor that live in urban slums mainly in Nairobi and Mombasa and lack access to basic water and sanitation, road, energy and housing infrastructure. The program should develop slum upgrading and relocation plans that include land adjudication and registration, expansion of water network and sanitation facilities, provision of electricity

distribution points, upgrading of slum roads, and enactment of housing legislation to facilitate private sector expansion of low cost housing and housing financing.

2.2.2 National Housing Policy, 2004

According to the National Housing Policy (2004), upgrading of slum areas and informal settlements shall be given high priority. It shall be undertaken with minimal displacement to cater for proper planning and provision of necessary infrastructure and related services. Appropriate upgrading measures shall be instituted for existing slum areas taking into account key upgrading components that cover security of land tenure, provision of basic infrastructural facilities and services, improvement of housing structure and the socio-economic status of the target community.

The Government shall streamline acquisition of land for housing the poor, adopt appropriate tenure systems, planning standards to suit given slum settlements and prevent unwarranted destruction of existing housing stock and displacement of the residents. Upgrading shall be integrated to take into account socio-economic activities that improve livelihoods of target communities while employment and income-generating activities that address poverty alleviation shall be enhanced.

The Government shall also facilitate slum upgrading through integrated institutional framework that accommodates participatory approaches involving relevant stakeholders, particularly the benefiting communities while enhancing co-ordination at national level. Upgrading shall take into account factors of ownership of land and structures, age of settlement, and affordability. Appropriate compensation measures shall be instituted for displaced persons where necessary. In order to improve the living conditions of a large proportion of the populations in urban areas, appropriate slum upgrading measures shall be instituted for each slum/informal settlement, taking into account the above main components and factors. To further address proliferation of slums and informal settlements, the Government shall ensure supply of minimally developed but incrementally upgradable low cost housing.

2.2.3 Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme

The Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) is a collaborative initiative that draws on the expertise of a wide variety of partners in order to redress the issue of slums. The Government of Kenya executes and manages the programme while the Ministry of Housing and the relevant local authorities implement it. Civil society partners, participating local communities and the private sector complement and support their efforts. The primary goals of KENSUP is to improve the livelihood of people working and living in the informal settlements in the urban areas of Kenya, to reduce poverty and fulfill the Millennium Development Goal 7 Target 11 – to improve the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. The vision of the programme is to facilitate improved and sustainable urban living environments in Kenya while the mission is to develop and implement policies, programmes and strategies to facilitate reduction and prevention of slums in Kenya (GoK: 2004).

KENSUP main objectives according to the Kenya government includes: to develop a national wide slum upgrading and management framework, institute good urban governance, provide social and physical infrastructure, provide security of tenure and improved housing; enhance opportunities for income generation and employment creation; attract private sector finance and encourage investment in slum upgrading; promote a culture for environmental conservation and management; enhance the capacity for research, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation; and to address and mitigate the prevalence of HIV/AIDS (GoK:2004).

2.2.4 Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project

The Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project (KISIP) is an initiative started by the Government in collaboration with the World Bank, SIDA and French Agency for Development (AFD) in June, 2011. It focuses on improving living conditions in existing informal settlements by investing in infrastructure and strengthening tenure security. It also support the Government of Kenya (government counterpart funding is 10%) in planning for future urban growth in a manner that prevents the emergence of new slums. It will be

implemented in 15 municipalities within five years from June 2011 at a cost of USD 165 million.

The project comprises four components namely:- **(i) Institutional strengthening and programme management of the Ministry of Housing, Ministry of Lands and the participating Local Authorities;** **(ii) Enhancing tenure security:** This involves planning, surveying and issuance of titles. Several activities that will be undertaken under this component include preparation of guidelines for informal settlements, establishing databases on land tenure, community organisation and mobilisation, preparation of development plans including determination of settlement boundaries, detailed mapping and provision of secure tenure, identification and verification of beneficiaries based on agreed eligibility criteria, preparation of local physical development plans, issuance of letters of allotment to households/groups, surveying of individual plots and preparation of registry index maps, registration and issuance of titles to households or groups. The government would like to have a model/guideline for informal settlements whereby the identification will be mostly done by the community. **(iii) Investing in infrastructure and service delivery:** The Government will invest in roads, bicycle paths, pedestrian walkways, street and security lights, waste management, water drainage, sanitation, green spaces, platforms etc. in the informal settlement spaces and, **(iv) Planning for urban growth.** Lack of adequate planning is a challenge. Through this component, the Government will provide technical assistance to the municipalities. The goal of this initiative is to take measures that will reduce or prevent slums (Muraguri in IFRA: pg 121).

2.2.5 National Slum Upgrading and Prevention Policy, 2012

In 2012 the Government through the Ministry of Housing, initiated the process of developing the National Slum Upgrading and Prevention Policy. The aim of the policy is to transform slums and informal settlements into more livable environments. For the successful formulation of the policy, the Government recognizes and undertakes to collaborate with all actors and stakeholders in an endeavor to ensure that the process is participative, all inclusive and compliant with the Kenya Constitution (2010).

The policy is in line with the fulfillment of the Millennium Development Goal No. 7 target 11. It is also informed by the Kenya Vision 2030 aspirations for a free nation and recognition of housing as a basic human right by the Constitution. In addition, with the anticipated acceleration of urbanization as Counties seek to establish respective capitals, the slum agenda has gained prominence with a renewed urgency to arrest the situation from escalating beyond manageable proportions; hence the focus on slum prevention where there are still no slums.

2.2.6 Kenya Vision 2030

Kenya Vision 2030 aims to provide the country's population with adequate and decent housing in a sustainable environment. Overcrowding, lack of adequate sanitation and pollution in urban slums pose serious health risks to residents. Unplanned informal settlements on the other hand, pose a serious challenge to the socio-economic development of the country. Kenya's urban areas have over the years suffered from poor planning, which has resulted in the proliferation of informal settlements with poor housing and little or no infrastructure services. One of the Vision 2030 flagship project amongst others that is the principle vehicle for achieving housing and urbanization is installing physical and social infrastructure in slums in 20 urban areas to formalize slums, permit construction of permanent houses and attract private investment.

2.3 Challenges of Slum Upgrading

General literature review on slums and slums upgrading may not specifically touch on the challenges of slum upgrading programmes or related solutions but it reveals various underlying factors that may influence such challenges. It is also important to note that slums upgrading is not an independent process but involves various interrelated factors on slums livelihoods. This justifies the scrutiny of a wide variety of literature to address such interrelated factors. In many cases, slums upgrading involves relocations of slum dwellers due to the challenge of finding enough land adjacent to upgraded slums. As a result, the interdependence between the city and the slum is broken leading to serious social economic effects. Sjoberg(1960: 100-127) conceives slums as an inseparable part of the urban economy and a product of urban stratification. Similarly, Meier (2000), notes that slums fulfils

important political, social, and economic functions in the city while Gallagher (1992), observes that many cities around the world depend on the informal sector. Hence, slum upgrading should avoid undue relocations to ensure continued interdependence for the benefit of slum dweller and the urban economy.

Social segregation is a major challenge in slums upgrading. House improvement activities should hence focus on underlying causes of such segregation. UNCHS (Habitat) describes the gated communities as a product of Industrialization characterized by modern information, transport and communication technologies (2001a: 37). Similarly, Beall (2002) attributes social disparity to foreign policies which have encouraged global investment and destroyed the local economy. Similar sentiments are given by Mumford (1961:432-433) who describes slums as a manifestation of capitalism. He attributes slum poverty and vulnerability to exploitation and inequalities perpetuated by the profit oriented new markets. On the same note, Castells (1996:346) describes slums as a product of globalization which apart from promoting labour market opportunities separates the haves from the have-nots. Similarly, ILO relates the proliferation of the informal businesses in the slums to current globalization trends such as the liberalization and SAPs (www.ilo.org, 2009).

On the same topic, Zamberia (1999) asserts that the marginalization of slum dwellers in governance circles worsens their leverage. The solution according to the World Bank is social inclusion of the marginalized to promote their bargaining power (www.worldbank.org, 2009). On a different perspective, Sherman et al, (1998) relates crime in the slum as a reaction to social-economic marginalization. Similarly an urban research in Kenya by Amis and Rakodi (1995) holds that crime is more prevalent among the poor than the rich. While the rich live behind the gated compounds, the slum dwellers are exposed to all types of crimes. The literature shows that slum upgrading have a great task in addressing the challenge of social segregation. Effective slum upgrading activities must comprise social inclusion agendas and related policies to bridge the gap between the haves and the have nots.

Slum upgrading also faces the challenge of dealing with slum exploitations perpetuated by high cost of house rents demanded by the landlords, corruption from police and administration officers and high cost of service delivery by the private sector. Ackroyd (2000: 139) describing London urbanization, relates the housing problem to rural urban migration in search for jobs, an opportunity used by landlords to rake huge profits out of cheap and unsanitary structures. Similarly, Cuervo and Hin (1998) observe that slum dwellers are characterized by inadequate economic resources, factors that endear them to the informal labour market. This informality, as UNCHS (2001a:72) asserts, perpetuates the exploitation of the poor. In a critical view, Michel (1997) notes that slums should not only be seen in terms of exploitation but also as a foundation for growth and development of individuals. Similarly, Briggs (1998:178) describes slums as basic springing boards for the poor. Following these literature, it can be concluded that effective slum upgrading programme should ensure support for informal enterprises and mitigate factors that lead to the exploitation of the slum poor to facilitate appropriate intervention.

Many slum upgrading programmes are mainly focused on housing improvements at the expense of other slum livelihoods. This is a challenge that requires urgent address to institute comprehensive slum upgrading interventions. Gong and van Soest (2002) observes that apart from house improvement, slum upgrading should also prioritize the socio-economic improvement of the poor. A similar observation has been made by Erdogan et al (1996) who recommends sustenance of social-cultural aspects as prerequisites to slum improvement. On a different perspective, Torstensson (1994) describes the upgrading programme as guided by Western norms. Seeming to offer a solution, (Leckie: 1995) notes that slums upgrading should integrate behavioural aspects of slum dwellers to enhance sustainability. Moser (1996) observes that secure tenure is vital in slum poverty alleviation. A similar observation is made by the Global Campaign for Secure Tenure (GCST) which asserts that security of tenure is foundational in the promotion of human rights (www.unhabitat.org/tenure.htm, 2009) while UNCHS (1996a) recognize home-ownership as a great opportunity towards promotion of identity and freedom. Still on the same perspective, De Soto (1989), notes that bureaucracy is the greatest impediment to acquiring security of tenure. The poor are

subjected to long, expensive and exhaustive procedures before they can buy a property or register a business. On a critical point of view, Payne (2002) describes legality as undesirable to the poor due to the fear of taxation.

According to UNCHS (2001b), effective slum upgrading requires active involvement of the target beneficiaries. Building on this assertion, the United Nations (2001) asserts that political will is essential for a successful upgrading process. Other writers describe transport as core to the livelihood of slum dwellers. A research conducted among the pavement dwellers of Bombay indicates that 80 per cent walked to work (Gopalan, 1998). This shows that many slum dwellers live in the impoverished conditions to be able to access their work places. Godard gives similar sentiments by noting that the location of housing should be accessible to the working places of the poor (1997). The literature indicate that slums upgrading should go beyond house improvements and incorporate other expressed needs that are key to holistic livelihood such as infrastructure, security of tenure and cultural aspects.

Politicization of slum upgrading programme is another outcome. Amis and Kumar (2000) link poverty in slums to political marginalization. This translates to lack of involvement in local governance. Similarly, Appadurai (2001) relates slums impoverishment to lack of political empowerment. In other words, slums poverty can be addressed by actively involving the slum dwellers in the decision making processes. Similar sentiments are made by Goetz (2000) and Goddard (2001) who single out social action and political mobilization as essential tools in challenging the status quo in the slums. Elmhirst (1999) relates slums improvement programmes to political survival strategies meant to manipulate the slum poor for selfish ends. Similar ideas are made by Roy (1999), who relates slum politics to social and economic agendas of the day.

On another perspective, Blong (1992) describes flooding as a slum environmental danger linked to lack of political will and resources. He also asserts that slum fires may be started to evict slum dwellers for political reasons. Similarly, Parnell and Hart (1999) relate spatial segregation to bad governance in developing countries. Building on this assertion, the UN-

Habitat observes that good governance should be based on the principles of sustainability; subsidiarity; equity; efficiency; transparency and accountability; civic engagement and citizenship; and security. (www.un-habitat.org/govern). Conclusively, the literature indicates that effective slum upgrading should integrate policies that promote local governance and political responsibility. In other words lack of political will as a challenge must be overcome to institute any meaningful and effective slum upgrading.

Slum upgrading also faces the challenge of extensive environmental degradation in the slums. Industrial effluent, uncollected garbage and flooding are among dangerous environmental exhibitions in the slums. Van Vliet (2002) describes dumping of waste in the slums as an immense health risk. Slums are also endangered due to the flammable building materials, illegal electricity connections and use of paraffin and charcoal for cooking in overcrowded houses. (www.innercitypress.org). Ruel describes ill-health derived from unsanitary conditions as a major determinant of poverty in the slums. The income of construction workers and rickshaw drivers in Dhaka decrease during the rainy season due to flooding (Ruel et al 1999). It is then prevalent that effective upgrading should integrate environmental rehabilitation and sustainability as a core intervention in house improvement.

NGOs can be described as necessary evil in the social economic dynamics of the slums. Necessary because they promote the much needed social activism and evil because some are not genuine hence posing a challenge in slum improvement initiatives. De Zoysa et al (1998) referring to New Delhi slums notes that the NGOs sector plays a significant role in providing local technical assistance and financial support in the informal sector. Similar sentiments are uttered by Madon and Sahay (2002) and Otiso (2000). Barasa and Kaabwe (2001) attribute the thriving jua kali sector in Kenya to NGOs. Edwards and Hulme (1995:7-10) describes NGOs (www.unhabitat.org/tenure) as products of neo-liberal economics and liberal democratic agenda. They refer to NGOs activities as questionable, as propagating dependence and as a failing to reach the target groups. This line of thought is supported by Halliday (2001:20-25) who describes NGOs not only as products of decentralization but also as representatives of the west.

Similarly, Stiglitz (1999) observes that decentralization alone cannot be the answer to effective service delivery because it has not been responsive to the poor. Instead, decentralization should involve the participation of the target groups. In this respect, Clark (1991:53) describes it as a great challenge to identify genuine NGOs due to prevailing lack of transparency and accountability. According to Fisher (1998:44), many NGOs cannot deliver since they have been compromised by ruling regimes while non compliance is punished by denial of registration and heavy taxation. Fowler (1998) supports the agenda of aid de-professionalization by removing the NGOs monopoly in the service delivery and instituting a people based approach. From the foregoing, effective slum upgrading should seek to work with NGOs that are accountable, transparent and that exhibit clear objectives.

Last but not the least; slums upgrading initiatives are disadvantaged by slum dwellers' ignorance, lack of knowledge and skills to cope with challenges. Capacity building has been hailed by many writers as essential in urban poverty alleviation. Rahman (2002) observes that capacity building should prioritize women who form the bulk of informal economy. He notes that mortgage repayments should be affordable. On the same note, Appadurai (2001) observes the need to promote local initiatives which address the expressed needs of slum dwellers instead of the western models. In sum, effective slum upgrading should ensure that the beneficiaries' capacities are built to enhance independence, rights awareness and sustainability of local initiatives. Also the Magdeburg Research Group on Mumbai Slums (2009) emphasizes lack of social activism among slum dwellers so that NGOs and grassroots organizations take initiative. The research group identifies strategies which can be used by NGOs for effective social activism namely; mobilization, capacity building, participation and empowerment (2009:48-59).

Conclusively, the above literature exhibits various challenges that could inhibit effective slums upgrading. It is then important for all slum improvement initiatives to address such challenges towards accessing adequate shelter to the poor. However this is not possible without a legal framework that guides such a process. From the foregoing, adequate housing

must be treated as a right for all to facilitate protection and freedom of the slum dwellers. Slum upgrading should then be based on a participatory and stakeholders approach to holistically address the expressed needs of the slum dwellers.

2.4 Impacts of slum upgrading initiatives from other countries.

Evaluations of past World Bank and other Development agencies on slum upgrading projects reveal that these projects when successfully implemented are associated with social and economic benefits that are quite high, e.g. in Guatemala (El Mezquital), infant mortality rates fell by 90 percent, crime dropped by 43 percent, private investments increased due to regularized land tenure and quality of living environments also improved immensely. Other countries have put in place enabling policies, plans and institutional frameworks with commensurate remunerations, e.g. Singapore and Curitiba in Brazil. Others have invested in skills towards effective inclusion, coordination and participation of various actors/stakeholders in slum upgrading, e.g. SIDA, relevant UN agencies: UN-HABITAT, ILO, Local and international NGOs. Others such as South Korea are said to have had visionary leaders who went out of their way to encourage compulsory savings schemes and put strong institutions in place to enable residents to participate effectively in coming out of poverty and slums (Cunningham, et al, 2006).

Determining whether a slum upgrading initiative has been successful depends on expectation and what the goals of the initiative are. In some cases, the goal is the provision of urban services. In South Africa, for example, there have been some very successful initiatives in which people who had no urban services were supplied with water, sanitation, and access to housing. For instance, Ekurhuleni, the third largest city in South Africa, has adopted an approach to slum upgrading that uses the upgrading process to drive sustainable economic development. Instead of focusing solely on housing for slum residents, the Upgrading for Growth approach involves providing opportunities for economic growth that meet the livelihood and social needs of the poor within Ekurhuleni's informal settlements (<http://www.citiesalliance.org>). According to this website, sometimes access to land has been a fundamental issue in slum upgrading programmes, as in Brazil. There have been numerous

cases where slum dwellers were given a right to the land and had a real sense that they would not be evicted. In other areas, such as Latin America, crime is a major problem in slums, and there have been concerted efforts to reduce crime and increase public safety

2.5 Theoretical Framework

Various Scholars have advanced many approaches of social change that deal with social structure hence many approaches to the study of urban housing. Different scholars and governments in addressing the issue of housing have applied several approaches. Urbanization theories among them migration, industrialization and dependency theories are used to give insights on the housing problems. The upgrading model (gentrification) in its view restores or smartens houses to make them more attractive for middle class residents (Malu: 2005).

A number of development theories tried in Developing countries are influenced by the Developed World to address the urban problem. Strong regulatory interventions (1945-1970), a Basic Needs approach (1970-1980), and Neo-liberalization with its varying emphasis on markets, privatization, enablement and good governance (1980-2000) were implemented in turn with limited success. New ideas and strategies like Sustainable Development are coming up with key focus on people as the starting point (GoK & UNCHS: 2003).

The study focused on the people (slum dwellers) as the main stakeholders in upgrading hence used the participatory approach. The reason is that in order to get nearer to lasting development results or sustainable projects, many agree that a participatory approach has to be taken (Mikkelsen: 1995: 60). This study also used the Stakeholders approach and the reason is that the two approaches incorporate the perceptions, attitudes and values of all stakeholders and therefore forge the essential component of lasting development.

2.5.1 Participatory Approach

The study took the participatory approach of involving the slum dwellers as the main stakeholders in upgrading programmes. The reason is because participation guarantees the

incorporation of the perceptions, attitudes and values of all stakeholders (Third Kenya Human Development Report, 2004: ix). Participation is an essential component of successful lasting development. It contributes to equity by involving people living in poverty and other groups in planning and implementation. This is because participation is in different levels, which include non-participation, information or indirect participation, consultation, shared control and full control. The quality of participation however depends not only on the level but also on the degree of intensity of participation.

There is large potential benefit to be derived from increased participation. In order for the benefits to be realized, programmes should establish institutional and legal frameworks and decentralized processes that allow people greater involvement in making decisions that affect their lives. At the appropriate levels, projects should increase local autonomy and participation in decision making, implementation and resource mobilization and use especially with respect to human, technical and financial resources and local enterprise development, within the overall framework of a national economic, social and environmental strategy.

The key to participatory development means fulfilling the potential of people by enlarging their capabilities and this necessarily implies empowerment of people, enabling them to participate actively in their own development. Community members discuss, listen, plan, and take decisions about their maintenance problems together with local authorities and other relevant stakeholders. In order to fulfill their potential, people especially those who are vulnerable and disadvantaged, must participate actively in establishing and maintaining independent organizations representing their interests within each country's constitutional framework. The people-centred strategy therefore initiates processes leading to community based housing in their areas (ILO, 2003:13). Thus genuine participation initiated and managed by people themselves is a goal in the democratic process.

The participatory theory was applied to Soweto East slum upgrading in the sense that community mobilization and involvement is taken by the implementing agency as an

important tenet of the project's goal and objectives. The participatory theory has its shortcoming of not capturing the vast, rich and varied experiences of all stakeholders in the upgrading process. The form participation takes is highly influenced by the overall circumstances and the unique social context in which action is being taken. To encompass all this, the study also used the stakeholders approach.

2.5.2 Stakeholders Approach

Stakeholders Approach involves inclusion of the central government, the local authorities, the societal organizations/cooperatives, the private developers and most importantly the community being upgraded. The approach holds that any program will be based on the premise that all stakeholders are key beneficiaries and therefore the starting point of departure. The reason is that all project activities aim at creating dialogue with the stakeholders and getting the necessary information from them through convenient communication methods (Mikkelsen, 1995:82).

However, Stakeholders Approach has been criticized basically on disadvantages of representation and delegation: involving people who may have limited knowledge of the subject area, slow decision making process and resulting to compromise which do not really represent 'best fit' in any particular way. Acceptance in this approach also relies on trust in those delegated. This approach needs care to ensure that all relevant issues are properly understood. This approach should allow full range of views and work to be carried out by those with appropriate skills and knowledge to permit project to move forward more rapidly.

Using the Stakeholders Approach, studies done in various countries (El Salvador, Senegal, Zambia and Indonesia) have shown remarkable departure from the World Bank's initial project objective of satisfying the lowest 40th percentile (Mitullah, 1985:6). According to Mamunji (1982), the efforts of slum dwellers should be recognized since they have scarce resources and minimum 'standards' should be applied for them. Even on the issue of standards, the application of minimum standards has often failed in slum development in Kenya because majority of slum dwellers are tenants who have no say in their shelter

development. It is rather the slumlords that shape and mould the policies related to slums (Mamunji, 1982:12). It is noted by Agevi (ITDG, 2002) that partnerships are critical in managing the development of slums.

Previous upgrading programmes in Kenya have been acting on policy premised on the assumption that those who live in slums own the plots and their shelters. The problem is therefore lack of tenure and provision of services. However, as found in a study of Migosi slum upgrading, most slum dwellers do not necessarily own the shelters in which they live. The majority only rent the shelter from slumlords (Mitullah, 1998:230). The popularity of both site and services, and upgrading of slums/squatter settlements is therefore based on the notion that giving the poor security of tenure transforms them into property owners. This enhances their ability to improve their housing condition. The stakeholders' theory was applied to Soweto East village because the main stakeholders being the residents of the village have been recognized and involved in slum upgrading. The theories helped the study in focusing to get necessary information about the village encompassing all tenets involved in the upgrading and bringing out the search for the objectives of the study.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

From the literature review, it has been noted that an effective slum upgrading should at least address the following challenges in this way:-

Challenge	Best Practice
Social segregation	Social inclusion of the marginalized to promote their bargaining power.
Slum exploitations perpetuated by high cost of house rents demanded by the landlords	Ensure support for informal enterprises and mitigate factors that lead to the exploitation of the slum poor to facilitate appropriate intervention.
Many slum upgrading programmes mainly focus on housing improvements at the expense of other livelihoods	Go beyond house improvements and incorporate other expressed needs that are key to wholistic livelihood such as infrastructure, security of tenure and cultural aspects.
Lack of political will	Integrate policies that promote local governance and political responsibility.
Extensive environmental degradation in the slums	Integrate environmental rehabilitation and sustainability as a core intervention in house improvement.
Some non genuine NGOs in slum improvement initiatives	Seek to work with NGOs that are accountable, transparent and that exhibit clear objectives.
Slum dwellers' ignorance, lack of knowledge and skills to cope with challenges	Ensure that the beneficiaries' capacities are built to enhance independence and sustainability of local initiatives.
Insecurity of land tenure	Address security of tenure and entire land administration.
Lack of partnership	Formulate a cooperative framework that facilitates full collaboration of KENSUP and other central government ministries/departments.
Lack of an institutional framework to guide slum upgrading process	Have a suitable institutional arrangement framework that is inclusive, can deliver and widely acceptable to guide the process.

Source: Adapted from Zamberia (1999); UNCHS (2001a:72, 2001b); Gong & Van Soest (2002); Amis & Kumar (2000); and Van Vliet (2002)

The study therefore proposes to examine to what extent the above challenges or any other have been managed in Soweto East village case study.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

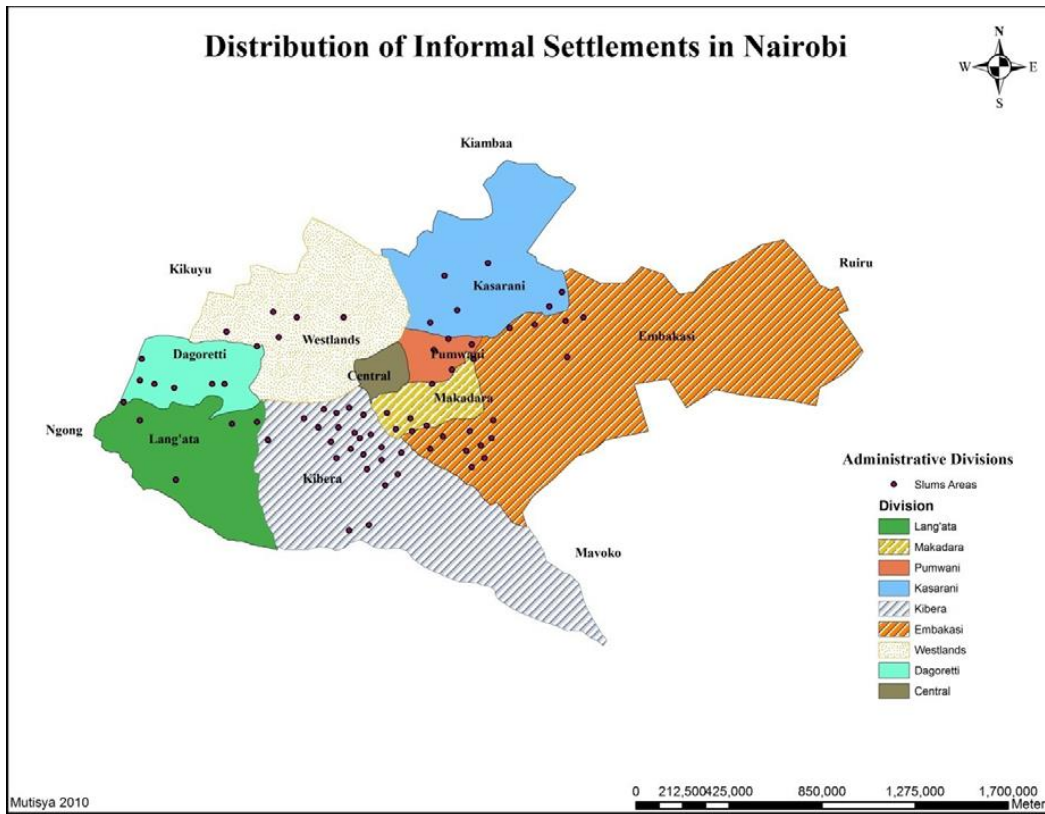
3.0 Background of the Study Area

The study area was Soweto East village in Kibera informal settlements, Nairobi. Kibera informal settlement is located southwest of Nairobi city centre and is approximately 5 kilometres away from it. There are 13 villages (shown in figure 2 below) that constitute Kibera informal settlements which include Soweto East, Soweto West, Makina, Kianda, Gatwekera, Kisumu Ndogo, Lindi, Laini Saba, Silanga, Mashimoni, Kambi Muru, Kichinjio and Raila (<http://peopleofkibera.com>). The villages names help reveal their history. For instance, Kichinjio (“slaughterhouse”) was so named since the location used to slaughter animals; Mashimoni (“caves”) had many pits; Kisumu Ndogo (“Little Kisumu”) was named after the city of Kisumu, which is predominantly Luos; and Raila named after the former Prime Minister of Kenya. Just outside the 13 villages are a handful of estates including Olympic, Karanja and Ayany to the northwest and Ngumo to the northeast.

Nearby landmarks are the Armed Forces Memorial Hospital, Highrise and Nairobi Dam Estates. Access to this settlement is via Mbagathi Way and Mbagathi Lane. As per the Kenya Population and Housing Census Report (2010), the village registered a total of 9,927 households with a total population of 28,182. Most of the houses are built of earth and rooms measure 10 feet by 10 feet. Flying toilets are very common, though there are a few privately-owned toilets and others still under construction. There is no dumping site in this settlement and therefore wastes are disposed off on terraces and roads. Drainage is minimal, and the houses are prone to flooding and there are also both formal and informal electricity connections.

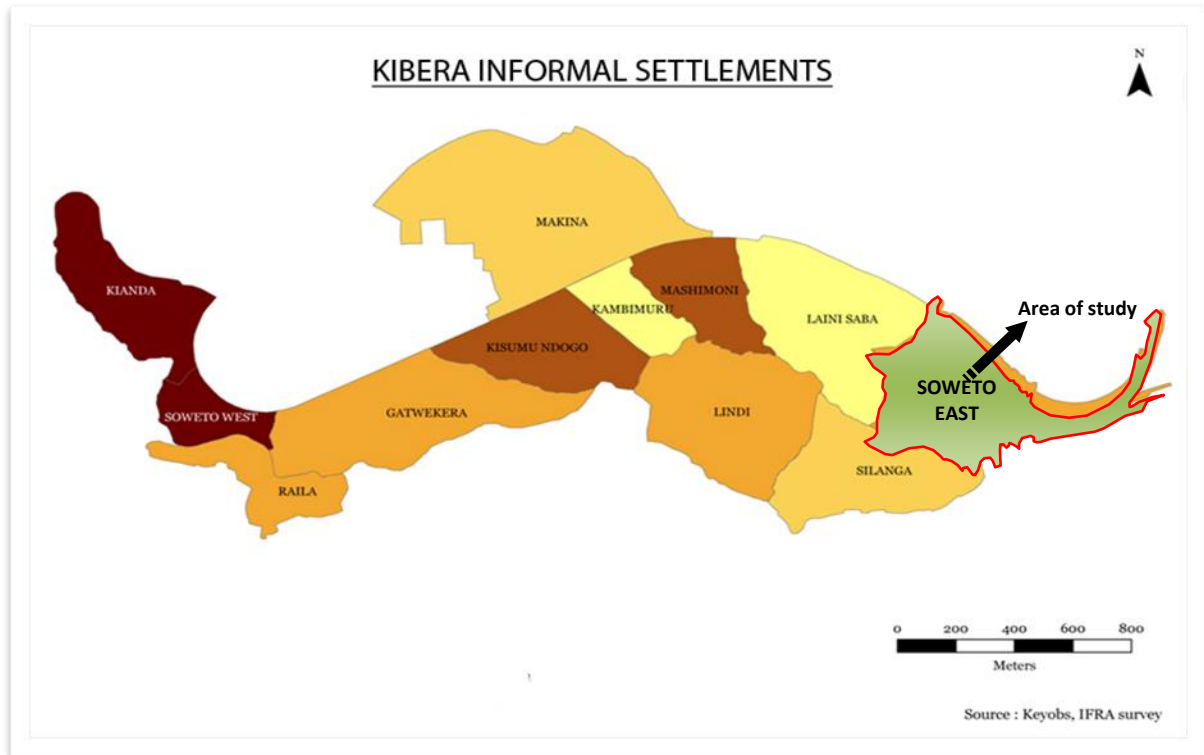
Figure 1 below shows the location of Kibera informal settlements in Nairobi administrative Divisions while figure 2 shows Soweto East village in Kibera informal settlements.

Figure 1: Distribution of informal settlements in Nairobi Administrative Divisions.



Source: Adapted from (Mutisya & Yarime, 2010)

Figure 2: Kibera Informal Settlements



Source: Keyobs, IFRA Survey: 2009

3.1 Overview of the Nature of Research

The study reviewed literature on challenges of slum upgrading for urban informal settlements; case of Soweto East village in Kibera informal settlements, city of Nairobi with emphasis on comparative literature from other parts of the world and this review is presented in chapter two. Field study was undertaken in Soweto East village during the month of April, 2013 and lasted for four weeks. Data for this study was through survey techniques that essentially consisted of documentation review, structured interviews and questionnaire. The key respondents were Soweto East village residents and Slum Upgrading Department (SUD) Staff in the Ministry of Housing. One Research Assistant was recruited, inducted on data collection and instructed to re-assure the respondents on the confidentiality of their feedback. Purposive sampling and Stratified random sampling techniques were used in the case of Ministry of Housing staff and Soweto East Village residents respectively so as to improve on validity.

According to Mugenda & Mugenda (2003), it is impractical to select a representative sample from the target; hence a sample was drawn from an 'accessible population' which is more narrowly defined and manageable. This sample was informed by the 2009 Population and Housing Census data for Soweto East village and it was pre-determined at a minimum of 217 respondents following the adoption of Fisher et al. (1983) formula. To conduct the study in Soweto East village, an introductory letter was obtained from University of Nairobi. One of the Settlement Executive Committee (SEC) members assisted in contacting the residents about the study prior to the field study.

3.2 Research Design

The study was a descriptive research that sought to ascertain the challenges of slum upgrading for urban informal settlements; case of Soweto East village in Kibera informal settlements, city of Nairobi. The study gave a detailed analysis of the challenges faced in Soweto East village slum upgrading program. The type of design adopted for this particular study was a case study that is an in depth study of a particular situation rather than a sweeping statistical survey. It is a method used to narrow down a very broad field of research into one easily researchable topic. Whilst it does not answer a question completely, it gives some indications and allows further elaboration and hypothesis creation on a subject. The case study research design is also useful for testing whether scientific theories and models actually work in the real world. It is argued that a case study provides more realistic responses than a purely statistical survey. Its advantage is that you can focus on specific and interesting cases. This may be an attempt to test a theory with a typical case or it can be a specific topic that is of interest.

Case studies are also flexible and may lead to the introduction of new ideas. Whilst a pure scientist is trying to prove or disprove a hypothesis, a case study might introduce new and unexpected results during its course, and lead to research taking new directions which could be more meaningful in the research area. However, some argue that a case study is such a narrow field that its results cannot be extrapolated to fit an entire question and that they show only one narrow example. They are also limited to the extent to which one can generalize

them to fit an entire population or ecosystem. In this case, the slum upgrading program in Soweto East village might have specific qualities that another slum improvement program does not have, making it hard to generalize findings.

In view of both arguments for a case study, it was considered the most appropriate for this study for various reasons. One is because the field of study is too broad and dynamic and therefore the need to narrow down the research through a case study. It was also an attempt to establish the extent to which the theories of participatory and stakeholders approach involvement in slum upgrading programs were actually working in reality. The research was also unique as it tried to establish how the challenges had affected the slum upgrading project.

3.3 Sources of Data

In this study, both secondary and primary data was used and the data was gathered through desk top research and field survey. Primary data was collected by interviewing selected Soweto East village residents and SUD staff. This form of data comes in handy to complement and add new dimensions to secondary data. The study used structured questionnaire containing both open and closed ended questions as a tool for collecting primary data information. Before embarking on the research, the author discussed the questionnaire with his supervisor to help in setting up the questions which were clear to the respondents. To obtain secondary data, a wide scope of literature was reviewed in relation to the study. This included desk top review of the existing data and information mainly from internet searches, published official documents and any other relevant records. The main aim of reviewing the secondary sources of data was to identify existing information gaps, challenges to be addressed by the study and inform areas to lay emphasis on. Secondary data therefore helped to establish what is already in existence in relation to current study and explanations that have been offered concerning relationships among variables.

3.4 Data Collection Techniques

The study employed documentation review, structured interviews and questionnaire as the data collection techniques as follows:-

3.4.1 Documentation Review

Various documents including text books, reports, published and unpublished works and websites were reviewed to get the necessary information on the research study. Nonetheless, some of the text books on the study topic were inaccessible. To counteract this challenge, published and unpublished works and access of information from websites acted as further reference materials. The method was suitable in the study because one could get comprehensive and historical information; and does not interrupt program or client's routine in program.

3.4.2 Structured Interviews

During the study, interviews were conducted on same questions in the same specified order so that statistical manipulation would be possible. Most of the questions were close-ended so that the respondent could select their answer from a limited set of responses that had been determined. No room was allowed of flexibility for the interviewer or the respondents when choosing the responses that would be pre-coded to make it easy for creation of computer database and the subsequent statistical analysis.

This technique was appropriate in the study area since the respondents targeted may have had trouble reading and answering questions in the English language. Thus the author and his assistant provided interpretation in situations that the respondents did not understand. In addition, given that structured interview leaves the researcher with no scope to find out the beliefs, feelings or perceptions of the respondent that do not fit into the pre-ordained response options (Burns: 2000), this challenge was overcome by identifying all the possible key people and then held wide consultation to establish all the options of the most significant responses. Additionally, the detachment and impersonal approach presumed for the interviewer in the structured interview session can eliminate trust and rapport building

between the interviewer and the respondent. This was overcome by first holding general and friendly conversation with the respondent before embarking into interview enumeration. Due care was taken to ensure that the conversation does not materially relate to the subject of the interview to prevent contamination of data. The technique was suitable in the study as it is faster and cheaper compared to a questionnaire mode. It is also possible to get full range and depth of information taking into account that it is flexible.

3.4.3 Questionnaires

The author and his Research Assistant administered to SUD staff questionnaires through hand delivery to their office in Nairobi instead of posting to save time and cost. Preference was given to the use of this technique over others because it was very hard to get all staff at once in the office due to the nature of their work. The staffs were allowed to complete the questionnaires anonymously to give as much information as possible. To overcome the challenge of collecting uncompleted questionnaires, a two week period was given and assurance given that the information gotten was strictly meant for academic work.

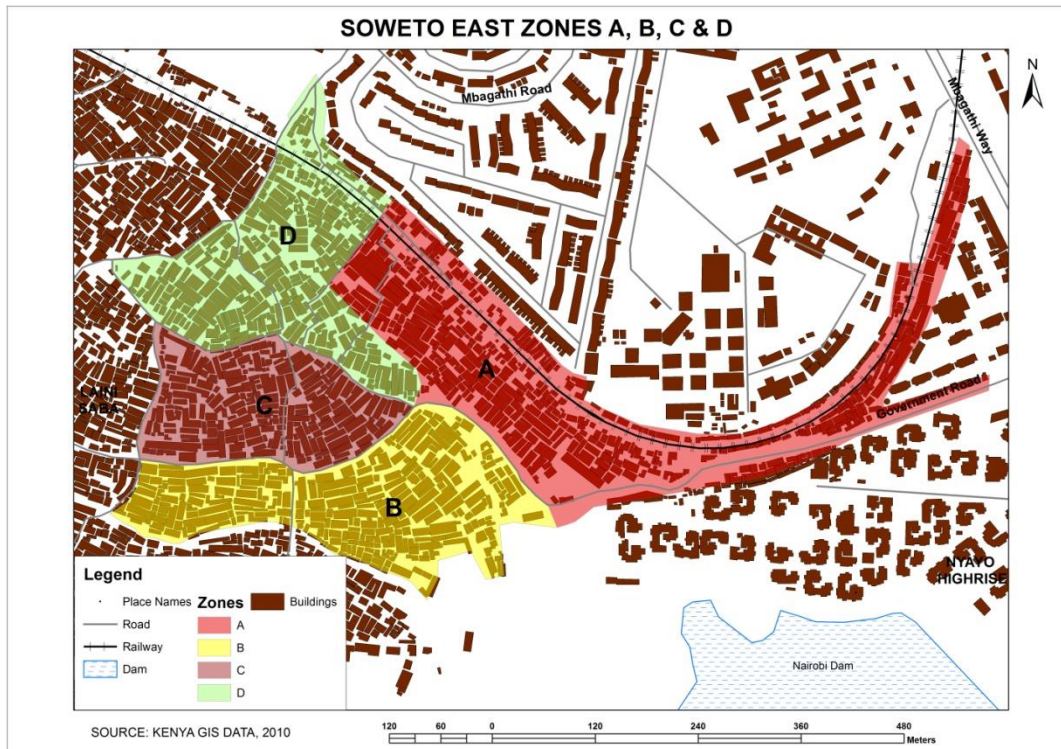
3.5 Population

Population is the entire group of individuals or items under consideration in any field of inquiry and have a common attribute (Mugenda & Mugenda: 2003). Accordingly, Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) states that it is impractical to select a representative sample from the target; thus a sample was drawn from an ‘accessible population’ which is more narrowly defined and manageable. Despite the high likelihood of losing the generalizability of the results, ‘population validity’ was used which is a way of establishing that the accessible population is in itself representative of the target population.

3.6 Sampling Techniques

Purposive sampling for top level management of the SUD staff was employed using a checklist of questions. In contrast, stratified random sampling technique was employed to Soweto East village residents spread out in four zones: A, B, C and D as shown in figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Soweto East Zones A, B, C and D



3.7 Sample size

The study adopted Fisher et al. (1983) formula in Mugenda & Mugenda (1999) to determine the sample size of 217 residents.

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

n = desired sample size

z = standard normal deviation at required confidence level

p = the proportion in the target population estimated to have characteristics being measured

q = 1-p;

In this study, the standard normal deviation at required confidence level (z) is 1.96 and the level of statistical significance level adopted is 5%

The proportion of target population to the population (p) is 28,182/170,070=0.17

$$n = \frac{1.96^2(0.171)(0.83)}{(0.05)^2} = 217$$

CHAPTER FOUR: FIELD STUDY, DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

The chapter contains field study, data analysis and presentation. The study findings have been discussed in relation to the objectives and themes derived from literature reviewed. The study findings are based on 217 respondents sampled from Soweto East village and 12 out of 14 sampled SUD staff. The respondents from the four zones in Soweto East village were as follows: - Zone A-85; Zone B-50; Zone C-37; and Zone D-45. The selection of the zones was informed by the need to have a valid and reliable data as information may vary markedly from source to source. The Research Assistance managed to collect 12 out of 14 questionnaires as he did not reach out to two staffs meant to fill the questionnaires. This represented a response rate of 85.71% which is very good for analysis and reporting (Mugenda & Mugenda: 1999).

4.2 Field Study

The area of field study was Soweto East village in Kibera informal settlements. The study employed stratified random sampling and purposive sampling techniques in the case of residents and SUD staff respectively. Soweto East population was divided into subsets (Zones, A, B, C and D) and samples drawn from each subset. The sampling technique was chosen because it allowed all variations in the region to be presented in the sample, and ensured equal degree of representation of the strata leading to even spatial coverage. Conversely, purposive sampling technique was used for SUD staff in order to reach the targeted sample quickly. With a purposive sample, there was highly likelihood of getting the opinions of the target population. Expert sampling as a sub category of purposive sampling was used. It involves the assembling of a sample of persons with known or demonstrable experience and expertise in some area. The method was considered because it is the best way to elicit the views of persons who have specific expertise.

A criterion was set for the SUD staff during data collection as follows:-knowledge of the program activities from conceptual phase; position to influence decision in that institution (management level), and a person directly involved in the program. In regard to management level, the SUD interviewees were categorized into three Job Groups:-Top management (P, Q, R and above), Middle level management (M and N), and Operational level (J, K and L). Each category had 5, 4 and 3 respondents respectively.

4.3 Data Analysis and Presentation

Analyzing results for a case study tends to be more opinion based than statistical methods. The usual idea is to try and collate data into a manageable form and construct a narrative around it. In addition, unlike a scientific study which deals with facts, a case study is based on opinion and is very much designed to provoke reasoned debate. This section constitutes the analysis and presentation of findings from the field study guided by the study objectives. The responses from Soweto East village residents and SUD staff have been analysed and presented in figures and tables. This facilitates efficiency in drawing conclusions that constitute the basis of final recommendations. However, prior to the study objectives, the author has given a consideration for the social economic background of Soweto East village respondents from the study conducted.

4.4 Social Economic Background of Soweto East village respondents

The age of the respondents was categorized into three groups i.e. below 20 years, between 20 and 40 years; and over 40 years. From the study findings, majority of the respondents (182 out of 217) fall into the working age i.e. from 20 years and above (as shown in Table 1 below) which means that they are in the slum working in formal or informal employment.

Table 1: Age of respondents

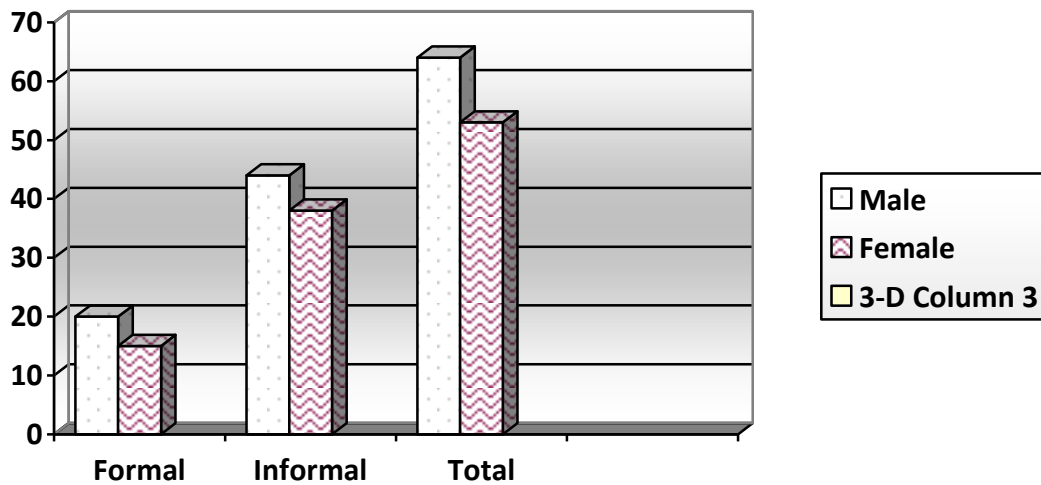
Age (in years)	Below 20	Between 20 & 40	Over 40	Total Frequency
Frequency	35	130	52	217

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The fact that most of the respondents are in the slum working in formal or informal employment in search for livelihood and cheap survival means as their priorities, poses the challenge of exclusiveness in the slum upgrading initiative. From the literature reviewed, this is in contrast to Third Kenya Human Development Report (2004: ix) on the principle of participatory approach that guarantees the incorporation of the perceptions, attitudes and values of all stakeholders. Mikkelsen (1965: 60), also states that “in order to get nearer to lasting development results or sustainable projects, many agree that a participatory approach has to be taken”. Further on, the Stakeholders’ Approach too emphasizes the inclusion of the central government, the local authorities, the societal organizations/cooperatives, the private developers and most importantly the community being upgraded. Werlin (1999), states that “the underestimation of community participation as a principal fundamental for slum improvements has contributed to making upgrading a ‘myth’.

In regard to employment, 100 respondents were unemployed while 35 and 82 respondents were employed in the formal and informal sectors respectively. The formal sector has employed 15 females and 20 males while 38 females and 44 males have been employed in the informal sector as shown in (figure 4 below). Some interviewees held that some of the unemployed people tend to engage in criminal activities while those persons in the informal employment are mainly involved in search of livelihood as their main priority thus gives little and/or no attention to the slum upgrading programme. Cuervo and Hin (1998) observe that slum dwellers are characterized by inadequate economic resources, factors that endear them to the informal labour market.

Figure 4: Formal and Informal Employment among Males and Females



Source: Field Survey, 2013

Concerning the education level of Soweto East village respondents, the analysis was done based on five levels i.e. None, Primary, Secondary, Tertiary, and University. It was also based on the male and female respondents as presented in the table 2 below.

Table 2: Education level of Soweto East village respondents

Education level	None	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	University	Total
Male respondents	8	30	55	25	6	124
Female respondents	6	24	48	12	3	93

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Of the 217 respondents interviewed, the data reveal that 6.5% had no formal education while 24.9% and 47.5% had completed their primary and secondary education level respectively whereas 17.1% and 4.1 % had furthered their education to tertiary and university level correspondingly. The fact that a significant number of the respondents (171 out of 217) that translates to 78.9% cumulatively had up to Secondary level education may have contributed to being not employed in the formal sector. As a result, they end up staying in the slum where means of livelihood is believed to be cheaper as compared to other areas in search of better

jobs. Some interviewees held that if their children are educated, they will get a good job in the future and move the family out of the slum. It is assumed that when there are many educated people, it is easier to understand the challenges of informal settlements and therefore have more participation towards slum upgrading. The study findings also indicate that women are less educated than their male counter parts which may explain a significant number of them being involved in the informal sector for lack of opportunities in male dominated formal sector.

According to UN-HABITAT (2003), the accepted best practice for housing interventions in developing countries is participatory slum upgrading, with wholistic neighbourhood improvement approaches taking into account health, education, housing, livelihoods and gender. Literature reviewed states that the reduction of slums or the upgrading of slum environments and the lives of those in these settlements entails the activity of but not limited to improvement of access and affordability of social, health and education services.

Pertaining to the duration of stay in Soweto East village by the respondents, the study findings indicate that 23 (10.5%); 75 (34.6%); and 119 (54.8%) of the respondents had stayed in Soweto East village for less than 5 years; between 5 and 10 years; and over 10 years correspondingly as presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Duration of stay in Soweto East village by respondents

Duration of stay (years)	Frequency	% of the Total
Less than 5	23	10.6
5-10	75	34.6
Over 10	119	54.8
Total	217	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2013

The study also found out that the respondents lived in the slum because life was affordable. Some were born there while others were born in other slums, upcountry and in other city estates. Those who came to Soweto East village from other slums were victims of eviction. This shows that slum upgrading is not a solution to eliminate slums. It was interesting to hear

the passionate self-perception of slum by the respondents most of whom used Swahili language. Slum was defined as: ‘*baba na mama yangu*’ meaning slum is ‘my father and mother’; ‘our home’; ‘*mapato yetu*’ meaning ‘our livelihood’; and ‘*mambo yote*’ meaning that slum is ‘everything’. It is important to note that all these responses amounts to livelihood which means slums exist as the basic source of livelihood for the slum dwellers. As per the interviewees, most people opt to live in the slum as opposed to supporting the upgrading programme. This is in contrast to the Stakeholders Approach that holds that any program will be based on the premise that all stakeholders are key beneficiaries and therefore the starting point of departure.

4.5 Institutional Arrangements for Slum Upgrading in Soweto East Village

The study found out that the institutional arrangements that have been put in place in Soweto East village falls under three levels i.e. Settlement, Local Authority and the National level.

4.5.1 Settlement Level

Slum upgrading in Soweto East village approach fully embraces the principle of stakeholder inclusivity and recognizes community level as the starting point. Communities in slum settlements are not homogeneous and in order for the communities to appreciate the events in slum upgrading, there is need to create a framework that harmonizes the disparities. This role is played by the SEC, composed of a cross-section of representation groups based on selected criteria (e.g. structures owners, tenants, gender, disabled, religion etc.). Its main role is to act as a link between the Programme Implementation Unit (PIU) and settlement community. The SEC facilitates community networks, cooperatives, and resource mobilization processes such as savings and credit schemes among others. It is the forum for advocacy for community rights and ideally ensures full community participation in decision-making.

The study affirms Syagga *et al.*, (2001) sentiment that “the non-resident structure owners also referred to as slumlords or absentee-landlords have persistently, vehemently and even violently resisted the slum upgrading programmes. They have seen any regularisation or improvement of the slum environment as a threat resulting in loss of income, power and

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

4.5.2 Local Authority Level

As per the Local Authorities' core mandate, they are involved in provision of basic public goods and services, shelter, social and physical infrastructure in the areas of their jurisdiction. In this respect, CCN undertake and monitor ground implementation of slum upgrading components in the village. CCN has comparative advantages by having multi-disciplinary and technically qualified personnel; and have experience of slum upgrading and low cost housing as derived in the sites services schemes and the World Urban Projects of 1970-80s.

The study found out from the local chief and one of the CCN representatives that some government officers and politicians owned structures in Kibera slum. This shows how difficult it is to institute political will in the implementation of the programme. The local administration prioritized lack of resources while the city council quoted poor planning and infrastructure. The CCN also attributed high rates of urban population growth, limited revenue sources, uncoordinated and ineffective partnerships to have resulted in a meager delivery of services in the informal settlement. These factors combined pose a great challenge towards the upgrading programme.

4.5.3 National Level

The study found out that at the National Level, Ministry of Housing through the Slum Upgrading Department coordinates slum upgrading activities in Soweto East village. The Department steers KENSUP, holds government budgetary allocation vote for the Programme

and houses KENSUP Secretariat which is a unit through which all programme activities are blended and mainstreamed for planning and implementation.

Some of the activities that have been undertaken and geared on slum upgrading in Kibera slums include Social and Economic mapping and Actors study to understand socio-economic characteristics of the residents; and documentation of the various actors in the 13 villages. This was based on the emerging consensus that for successful slum improvement to occur, action must be undertaken by all stakeholders i.e. Government at all levels, communities, development partners, NGOs, private sector bodies, and academic institutions among others. The project in collaboration with the Ministry of Home Affairs (Prisons Department) and Ministry of Lands secured a 2.5 hectares piece of land at Lang'ata as a decanting site. This site is for the purpose of constructing housing units to serve as temporary relocation premises for those residents of Kibera who were relocated in September, 2009 to pave way for upgrading activities in their previous locations.

KENSUP Secretariat officials in consultation with the community have also established the management of the housing units and other facilities at the Decanting Estate. There has also been but not limited to formation of Housing cooperatives to mobilize financial resources of the community towards the eventual ownership of housing units to be constructed in Soweto East, partial construction of an access road, a resource centre, water and sanitation facilities and development of a master plan showing the proposed land uses in Soweto East.

Some of the institutional challenges at the national level found out include: - diverse interests from various groups; various levels of power and influence; lack of an institutional framework to guide the slum upgrading process; low or poor budgetary allocations; politicization of the slum upgrading issue thus slowing down decision making; lack of adequate land; and lack of good will and trust from the slum dweller as they feel threatened and overwhelmed by the upgrading process and resulting construction.

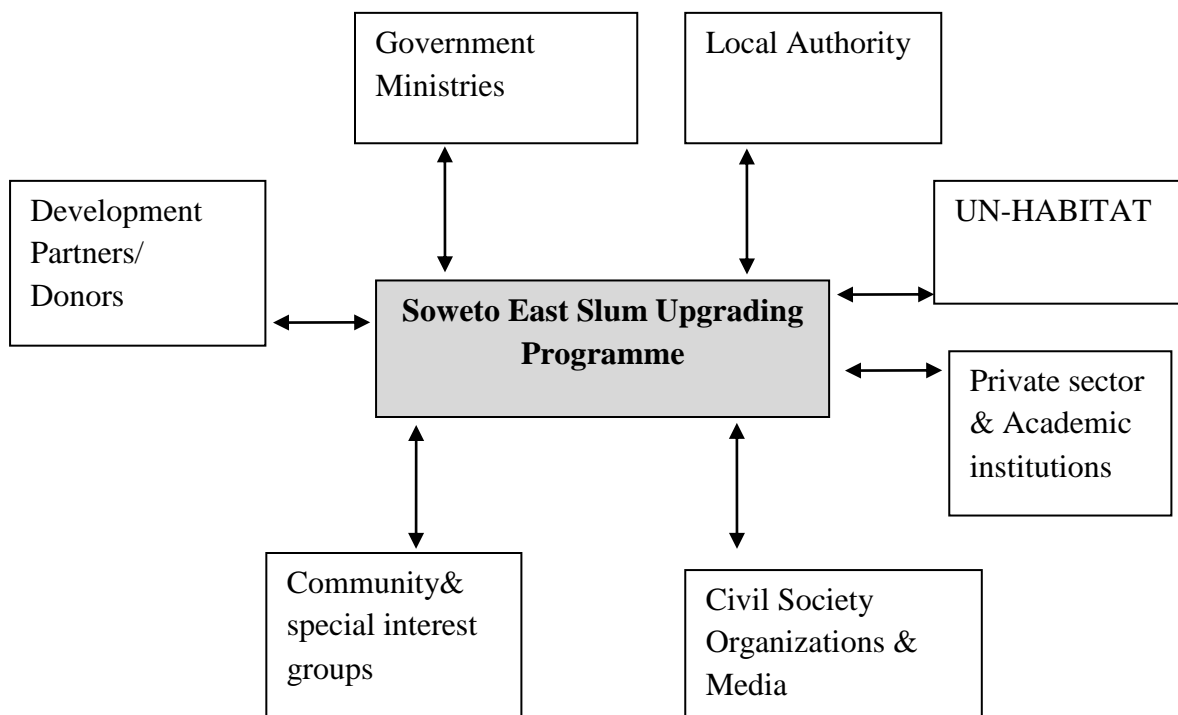
Sanyal & Mukhija (2001), note that the involvement of many actors in a project is likely to result in tension and conflict due to distinct interests and priorities. The study's conceptual

framework set out the need to have a suitable institutional arrangement framework that is inclusive, can deliver and is widely acceptable to guide the process. Experience shows that slum upgrading do require political will and firm commitment of local governments that can sustain long-term programming and implementation. In operational terms, it requires the establishment of an institutional and organizational setting through which (i) the participation of the target groups can be facilitated, (ii) the partnerships between public, private and community stakeholders can be realized, (iii) financial resources can be mobilized and allocated on a sustained basis, (iv) local implementation capacities can be strengthened and (v) the coordination, planning and management of programs and projects can be organized.

4.6 The Role of Stakeholders in Soweto East Village Slum Upgrading

The study found out that upgrading of Soweto East village informal settlement has various stakeholders (as shown on figure 5 below).

Figure 5: Stakeholders involved in Soweto East Slum Upgrading Programme



Source: Field Survey, 2013

Table 4: Roles of Stakeholders in Soweto East Village Slum Upgrading Programme

Stakeholder	Roles played
The Government of Kenya	Policy formulation, acquiring land, getting security of tenure, preparation of legal framework, physical planning, coordination, resource mobilization, global communication, monitoring and evaluation, institutionalization of programme units and development funds, and enlisting partners.
Local Authority	Implementation of projects within their areas of jurisdiction, coordination of community and FBOs, local level monitoring and evaluation, provision and maintenance of physical and social infrastructure, municipal planning including city development plans and Master plans.
Community/Settlement Executive Committee	Forming community networks and participate in the programme activities, community contracting, self-help initiatives, labour, resource mobilization through cooperatives and funding groups, local peace initiatives, awareness and sensitization, monitoring and evaluation of project activities.
Civil Societies	Ensure community involvement; creation of opportunities for the poor; create people awareness and mass mobilization; provide insight on the needs of the community through analysis; facilitate formation of development groups; empower the settlement communities through capacity building; facilitate mobilization of resources; monitoring and evaluation of progress; and invest in and implement specific upgrading interventions.
UN-HABITAT	Sensitization, create consensus on the subject, explore grounds for joint action, disseminate experiences, and act as lobbying and technical support agent at government/local authority level so that program is put as first priority on the development agenda and translated into resource allocation for action.
Private sector	Establishing micro finance institutions, credit and financial services, income generation activities, corporate responsibilities to the community, technical assistance/expertise, construction material resources, creation of employment opportunities, and invest in housing development.
Development Partners/ Donors	Build capacities at central level, disseminate experiences, mobilize and pool resource, act as a lobbying and technical support agent at government level so that slum upgrading programme is put as first priority on the agenda and translated into resource allocation for action, help to establish an information and communication system, provide financial and technical assistance/expertise for the implementation of the programme, give support to local actors in implementing their projects, provide financial support to specific components.
Media Houses	Advocacy, policy dissemination, information, education and communication and links the Programme to international and local information exchange.

Source: Field Survey, 2013

4.7 Challenges posed by Stakeholders in Soweto East Village Slum Upgrading Programme

Stakeholder	Challenges posed
The Government of Kenya	With the exception of the Ministry of Housing and that of Lands in the recent years, the other key ministries' efforts in the project have been minimal; low budgetary allocation in slum upgrading; politicization of the slum upgrading issue thus slowing down decision making; and inadequate land.
Local Authority	Lack of capacity especially technical staff, limited revenue sources, uncoordinated and ineffective partnerships that have resulted in a meager delivery of services in the informal settlement.
Community/Settlement Executive Committee	Poor networking, lack of participation by the community in the slum upgrading programme, court order barring demolition of structures for the nonresident structure owner, mistrust on the governments, and the community not knowing their role as stakeholders in the programme.
Civil Societies	Lack of coordination, poor networking, inadequate participation, new actors joining or leaving every day, and some non genuine NGOs.
UN-HABITAT	Lack of coordination, poor networking, inadequate participation
Private sector	Lack of coordination, poor networking and inadequate participation
Development Partners/Donors	Lack of coordination, frequent changes in the areas of emphasis, often times not building on past achievements, and some even withdraws at very critical stages of development and have a tendency to influence other partners to follow suit.
Media Houses	Poor networking and inadequate participation.

Source: Field Survey, 2013

4.8 Challenges of Slum Upgrading Programme in Soweto East Village

The study findings on the challenges of slum upgrading programme in Soweto East village are indicated on Table 5 and 6 as from the Soweto East village respondents and SUD respondents respectively.

Table 5: Challenges of Slum Upgrading Programme-Soweto East Village respondents

Challenge	Ranked from the most to the least common	Frequency
Competing interests of various groups	1	210
Complexities of slum settlements with regard to tenure arrangements	2	203
Lack of coordination amongst various stakeholders	3	195
Lack of adequate land	4	170
Community not knowing their roles as stakeholders	5	162
Varied political, cultural and religious inclinations amongst the residents and their leaders	6	150
Politicization of slum upgrading programme	7	138
Partnership concepts that often derail the implementation schedules	8	124
Non genuine NGOs	9	105

Source: Field Survey, 2013

Table 6: Challenges of Slum Upgrading Programme-SUD Respondents

Challenge	Ranked from the most to the least common	Frequency
Competing interests of various groups	1	12
Complexities of slum settlements with regard to tenure arrangements	2	11
Lack of coordination amongst various stakeholders	3	10
Resistance on slum upgrading by absentee landlord	4	9
Lack of adequate land	5	8
Lack of participation of slum dwellers in the upgrading programme	6	7
Inadequate budgetary allocations	7	6
Partnership concepts that often derail the implementation schedules	8	5
Lack of good will and mistrust from slum dwellers	9	4
Politicization of slum upgrading programme	10	3
Environmental degradation	11	2
Non genuine NGOs	12	1

Source: Field Survey, 2013

It is quite prevalent that competing interests of various groups; complexities of slum settlements with regard to tenure arrangements; and lack of coordination of various stakeholders are the main challenges in Soweto East slum upgrading programme. Muraguri quoted in (IFRA: 2011 Pg 126) affirms this statement by stating that competing interests of various groups e.g. NGOs, CBOs, FBOs, Central government, Local authorities and donor agencies have their own interests in the slum, most of which conflict therefore they are a major drawback to the programme. Further on, the dispute in land ownership with the Nubians community in the area has culminated to a court case thus delaying the implementation of the programme.

With respect to the lack of coordination amongst various stakeholders as a major challenge in Soweto East village slum upgrading programme, the respondents said that in many instances,

this leads to loss of synergy and valuable experiences and lessons, ending in duplication of efforts and poor utilization of resources. Hence it is important to have an effective coordination amongst the stakeholders. One of the slum upgrading elements according to Acioly (2007) is the coordination, planning and management of programs and projects.

Resistance to the slum upgrading programme by the slumlords was another significant challenge established by the study. According to the respondents, the slumlords generate income from the built structures and therefore are against the programme that would see the demolition of those structures which derives income to them. Syagga *et al.* (2001), states that the slumlords have persistently, vehemently and even violently resisted the slum upgrading programmes. They have seen any regularisation or improvement of the slum environment as a threat resulting in loss of income, power and control over a society they are currently benefitting from. He attributes a major problem in dealing with the slumlords to the fact that majority of them are not known and operate secretly but forcefully behind the scenes, mainly through managers and proxies, to oppose slum upgrading which is a threat to their lucrative business.

Lack of participation by the slum dwellers in the upgrading programme is also a major problem. The respondents attributed the challenge to such factors like the slum dwellers ignorance and lack of information on the programme amongst other reasons. According to UNCHS (2001b), effective slum upgrading requires active involvement of the target beneficiaries. The Participatory approach also emphasizes that participation is an essential component of successful lasting development.

From the study findings, most of the Soweto East respondents are not aware of their roles as stakeholders in the upgrading programme. This challenge is attributed to the slum dwellers' ignorance, non-representation in the KENSUP stakeholders committee and lack of information giving amongst other reasons. It is paramount then that education should be an integral part of the upgrading programme as a base to promote their dignity and freedom. On the other hand, the SUD respondents pointed out lack of adequate land as challenge towards

the upgrading programme. This challenge is complicated further by the residents and especially the structure owners who oppose relocation without compensation and scarcity of land for relocation where necessary.

Another notable challenge that was recognized is lack of good will and mistrust from slum dwellers. Majority of the respondents held that slum dweller feels threatened and overwhelmed by the upgrading process and resulting construction. The respondents said that the programme intends to displace them. It then beats any reason how the same people will support an upgrading programme intending to displace them. The respondents interviewed also gave the example of Nyayo High-rise estate adjoining the slum which they say was a slum improvement project meant for them but ended up benefiting the middle class due to corruption. Another study outcome challenge especially found out from the SUD respondents is the inadequate budgetary allocations from the government exchequer over the years to the slum upgrading programme. The respondents said that the funding of the programme has been receiving low preference compared to other development programmes. As a result, there has been a slow implementation of the programme.

Politicization of Soweto East slum upgrading programme and varied political, cultural and religious inclinations amongst the residents and their leaders were other challenges that the study found out in the upgrading programme. These challenges are associated with the facts that the informal settlement is a center of interest for influential politicians and government officers. With its high population, the area is a fertile ground for votes and politicians and government officers own structures or are landlords in the area. These factors combined lead to slowing down of decision making and slow implementation of the upgrading programme. Experience shows that slum upgrading do require political will and firm commitment of local governments that can sustain long-term programming and implementation (Acioly; 2007). Building on this assertion, the United Nations (2001) asserts that political will is essential for a successful upgrading process.

Environmental degradation is an extra challenge that the study recognized. There is no dumping site in the settlement and wastes are disposed off on terraces and roads as evidenced by figure 6 below. Van Vliet (2002) describes dumping of waste in the slums as an immense health risk. The environmental degradation is exacerbated by poor infrastructure networks that are exemplified by formal and informal electricity connections, minimal drainage and derisory roads or paths as shown in figure 7 below. Hardoy, Mitlin & Satterthwaite, (2003); Hodson & Marvin (2009), states that the slum is contaminated with human and animal faeces and all sorts of wastes which are worsened by open sewage and lack of drainage systems.

Figure 6: Garbage dumpsite in Soweto East village



Source: Field Survey, 2013

Figure 7: Poor infrastructure networks in Soweto East Village



Source: Field Survey, 2013

The study also found out that despite various stakeholders being involved in the programme, the partnership concepts often derail the implementation of the programme. The derailment is as a result of the diverse interest from each of them.

Last but not least is the challenge of existing non genuine NGOs in the slum. The NGOs are involved in promoting the much needed social activism but some are not genuine hence posing a challenge in the upgrading programme. The NGOs have been blamed for political compromise and lack of responsibility for the poor. This line of thought is supported by Edwards and Hulme (1995:7-10) who refer NGOs activities as questionable, as propagating dependence and as failing to reach the target groups. Clark (1991:53) describes it as a great challenge to identify genuine NGOs due to the prevailing lack of transparency and accountability.

Conclusively, the study findings reaffirm that most of the challenges faced in slum upgrading are almost the same as pointed out in this study conceptual framework. It is from these study findings that a conclusion and recommendations are based in chapter five.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Summary of Findings

The first objective of the study was to investigate institutional arrangements put in place for slum upgrading in Soweto East village. The following question was thus raised; what institutional arrangements have been put in place for slum upgrading in Soweto East village? The findings of the study is that the institutional arrangements that have been put in place in Soweto East village falls under three levels i.e. Settlement level, Local Authority and the National level. At the Settlement level, Slum upgrading in Soweto East village approach fully embraces the principle of stakeholder inclusivity and recognizes community level as the starting point. However, the non-resident structure owners also referred to as slumlords or absentee-landlords have persistently, vehemently and even violently resisted the slum upgrading programme. They have seen any regularisation or improvement of the slum environment as a threat resulting in loss of income, power and control over a society they are currently benefitting from.

At the Local Authority level, CCN undertake and monitor ground implementation of slum upgrading components in the village. The challenges they face in the upgrading programme are:-some government officers and politicians own structures in the area, poor planning and infrastructure, high rates of urban population growth, limited revenue sources, and uncoordinated and ineffective partnerships. At the National Level, the government through the Ministry of Housing has established an all inclusive institutional framework for improvement and prevention of informal settlements through KENSUP and KISIP. These programmes aim at addressing urban planning, infrastructural services, land tenure, shelter and improved livelihoods. They are also geared towards the fulfillment of Millennium Development Goals.

Nonetheless, there are some institutional challenges faced at the national level that include: - diverse interests from various groups; various levels of power and influence; low or poor budgetary allocations; politicization of the slum upgrading issue thus slowing down decision making; lack of adequate land; lack of good will and trust from the slum dweller as they feel threatened and overwhelmed by the upgrading process and resulting construction; and lack of an institutional framework to guide the slum upgrading process.

Objective two aimed at investigating the role of stakeholders in slum upgrading in Soweto East village. The question raised in regard to the objective was; what are the roles of stakeholders in Soweto East village slum upgrading? The findings were that upgrading of Soweto East village informal settlement has various stakeholders including tenants, resident and non-resident structure owners, land owners, central and local government, civil society, private sector, international development agencies and the media houses. All these stakeholders have their core roles and comparative advantages towards slum upgrading in Soweto East village. However, in many instances, there is lack of co-ordination amongst them leading to loss of synergy and valuable experiences and lessons, ending in duplication of efforts and poor utilization of resources.

Objective three intended to identify challenges in the implementation of slum upgrading in Soweto East village. The question raised with respect to the objective was; which challenges have led to the unsuccessful uptake of slum upgrading in Soweto East village? The findings were that several challenges hinders the implementation of slum upgrading programme in Soweto East village that include:-competing interests of various groups; complexities of slum settlements with regard to tenure arrangements; lack of coordination of various stakeholders; resistance to the slum upgrading programme especially by the slumlords; lack of participation by the slum dwellers in the upgrading programme; residents not being aware of their roles as stakeholders in the upgrading programme; lack of adequate land for slum upgrading; lack of goodwill and mistrust from the slum dwellers; inadequate budgetary allocations from the government exchequer to the slum upgrading programme; politicization of the slum upgrading programme; environmental degradation; varied political, cultural and

religious inclinations amongst the residents and their leaders; various stakeholders being involved in the programme leading to partnership concepts that often derail the implementation schedules of the upgrading programme; and non genuine NGOs.

5.1 Conclusions

In conclusion, this study can be termed as a success because it has been able to address not only the research questions but also the research assumptions and objectives. This study has proved that the unsuccessful uptake of slum upgrading in Soweto East village has been due to the inherent challenges faced in the implementation. If the recommendations of this research are implemented based on stakeholders' and participatory approach, there is great hope that slum upgrading programme in Soweto East village will benefit the intended target groups and contribute to adequate housing and improved living standards. The key issue is to actively involve the target beneficiaries and various stakeholders in decision making processes and in identifying the underlying causes of unsuccessful uptake of slum upgrading and together incorporate appropriate intervention strategies in a wholistic and inclusive slum upgrading. This will facilitate ownership, cooperation and sustainability of the programme.

5.2 Recommendations

The Challenges of Soweto East village slum upgrading programme are too diverse to be tackled by simplistic approaches. It requires a wholistic approach based on people mandate to demystify the underlying challenges and oversee effective slum upgrading. The study recommends that:-

- i. The various groups with competing interests in Soweto East slum upgrading programme should forge a way forward to cater for their common interests but at the same time be beneficial to the community. The activities of these various groups should also be coordinated from the start so that their interests are identified;
- ii. Land ownership disputes arising from complexities of slum settlements with regard to tenure arrangements in the informal settlement should be solved through SUD to enhance effective upgrading programmes. It is also recommendable that the upgrading

programme should liaise with the legal system to ensure that security of tenure is an integral provision for all slum dwellers to facilitate protection and sustainability.

- iii. The government should take a lead role to coordinate the various stakeholders involved in the upgrading programme to avoid the loss in synergy, valuable experiences and lessons.
- iv. Absentee landlords who view the slum settlements as source of income and therefore resist the idea to upgrade the slum should pay taxes on the rent they collect and also be legally bound to provide services.
- v. The programme should facilitate a wholistic re-evaluation to integrate the elements of participatory approach with active involvement and participation of the target beneficiaries.
- vi. To enlighten the community roles in the upgrading programme as stakeholders, it is essential that KENSUP actively involves all the stakeholders in dialogue and decision making processes. The government should enact a policy for the right to participation, involvement and information of the target beneficiaries in the slum upgrading programme. The beneficiaries must be actively involved at the conceptualization of the ideas, development of intervention strategies and at the implementation and sustainability levels.
- vii. There should be an effective carryout of basic land use planning, encourage participatory strategic planning and development control of the informal settlements as well as regular revision and consistent enforcement of policies that discourage sprawl of informal settlements.
- viii. To capture goodwill and trust from the slum dwellers, education should be an integral part of the upgrading programme as a base to promote their dignity and freedom. Slum dwellers should be invited to participate in training seminars, workshops and conferences on slum upgrading. The government should promote awareness on slum upgrading, responsibilities, entitlements, and duties through enactment of relevant policies, laws and the use of media.
- ix. The government should significantly increase its budgetary allocation for the slum upgrading programme if noteworthy impact is to be realized.

- x. The Soweto East slum upgrading should facilitate political reforms to enhance political responsibility.
- xi. There should be mitigation or removal of environmental hazards besides an integration of environmental rehabilitation and sustainability as a core intervention in house improvement.
- xii. The varied political, cultural and religious inclinations amongst the residents and their leaders should be solved to avoid the creation of suspicion and mistrust amongst the residents that slows down decision making in the upgrading programme.
- xiii. The roles of partnership concepts that often derail the implementation schedules should be coordinated.
- xiv. An effective slum upgrading should seek to work with NGOs that are accountable, transparent and that exhibit clear objectives. Special scrutiny is also needed to know the genuine and the irresponsible NGOs.

5.3 Area for Further Research

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

Further research would be vital on “*the importance of land tenure as a necessary precondition for successful slum upgrading*” as well as on “*the synergy of urban informal settlements upgrading with environmental improvements*”.

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Appendix I: Interview Guide for Soweto East Village Residents

My name is Ezekiel Ndukui Chege, a Post Graduate student undertaking Diploma in Housing Administration (DHA) course in the Department of Real Estate & Construction Management, University of Nairobi. In partial fulfillment of the requirement of DHA, I am currently writing a project report on *“Challenges of Slum Upgrading for Urban Informal Settlements; Case of Soweto East Village in Kibera Informal Settlements, City of Nairobi”*. I would like to ask you some questions related to my research study and assure you that the responses you give will be used for academic purposes only and will be treated as strictly confidential.

- 1) What is the age of respondent in years?

Age (years)	Below 20	Between 20 & 40	Over 40	Total Frequency
Frequency				

- 2) Are you employed or unemployed?

	Male	Female	Frequency
Formal			
Informal			
Unemployed			

- 3) What is your highest level of Education?

Education level	None	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	University	Total
Male						
Female						

4) How long have you stayed in Soweto East village?

Duration of stay (years)	Frequency	% of the Total
Less than 5		
5-10		
Over 10		
Total		

5) What institutional arrangements have been put in place for slum upgrading in Soweto East village?

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6) What are the roles of stakeholders in Soweto East village slum upgrading?

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7) How has been the implementation of sum upgrading in Soweto East village?

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8) Which challenges have lead to the unsuccessful uptake of slum upgrading in Soweto East village?

	Challenges	Rank them starting with the most to the least common	Frequency
1.	Complexities of slum settlements with regard to tenure arrangements		
2.	Competing interests of various groups		
3.	Varied political, cultural and religious inclinations amongst the residents and their leaders		
4.	Partnership concepts that often derail the implementation schedules		
5.	Politicization of slum upgrading programme		
6.	Non genuine NGOs		
7.	Lack of coordination amongst various stakeholders		
8.	Community not knowing their roles as stakeholders		
9.	Lack of adequate land		
10.	Any other(specify)		

9) How has the upgrading project affected your living conditions?

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10) Which policy initiatives have been initiated by the government to address challenges of slums upgrading?

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RESPONSES

Appendix II: Interview Guide for Housing Department Staff in the Ministry of Housing

My name is Ezekiel Ndukui Chege, a Post Graduate student undertaking Diploma in Housing Administration (DHA) course in the Department of Real Estate & Construction Management, University of Nairobi. In partial fulfillment of the requirement of DHA, I am currently writing a project report on *“Challenges of Slum Upgrading for Urban Informal Settlements; Case of Soweto East Village in Kibera Informal Settlements, City of Nairobi”*. I would like to ask you some questions related to my research study and assure you that the responses you give will be used for academic purposes only and will be treated as strictly confidential.

- 1) What institutional arrangements have been put in place for slum upgrading in Soweto East village?

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- 2) What are the roles of stakeholders in Soweto East village slum upgrading?

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- 3) How has been the implementation of sum upgrading in Soweto East village?

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4) Which challenges have lead to the unsuccessful uptake of slum upgrading in Soweto East village?

Challenges		Rank them starting with the most to the least common	Frequency
1	Complexities of slum settlements with regard to tenure arrangements		
2	Conflicts between tenants and landlords		
3	Varied political, cultural and religious inclinations amongst the residents and their leaders		
4	Competing interests of various groups		
5	Lack of adequate land		
6	Inaccessibility to housing finance		
7	Partnership concepts that often derail the implementation schedules		
8	Lack of coordination amongst various stakeholders		
9	Lack of good will and mistrust from slum dwellers		
10	Resistance on slum upgrading by absentee landlord		
11.	Environmental degradation		
12.	Non genuine NGOs		
13.	Inadequate budgetary allocations		
14.	Politicization of slum upgrading programme		
15.	Any other(specify)		

5) How has the upgrading project affected your living conditions?

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6) Which policy initiatives have been initiated by the government to address challenges of slums upgrading?

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THANK YOU FOR YOUR RESPONSES