

**PARTICIPATION IN UPGRADING PROGRAMMES: THE  
CASE STUDY OF MATHARE 4A SLUM UPGRADING  
PROGRAMME IN NAIROBI, KENYA.**



**By**

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Award of a Master of Arts Degree in Development Studies**

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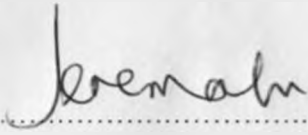
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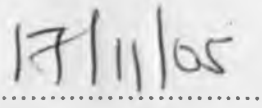
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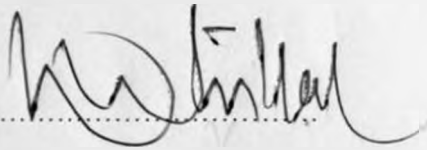
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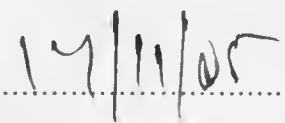
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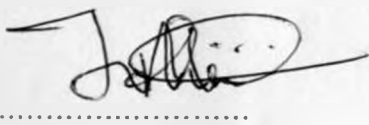
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## DEDICATION

This project paper is dedicated to all slum dwellers who suffer globally due to lack of pro-active participation in slum upgrading programmes. The paper is also dedicated to all development agents, especially those dealing with the local communities.

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## **ACRONYMS**

<b>AHF</b>	<b>African Housing Fund</b>
<b>AHT</b>	<b>Amani Housing Trust</b>
<b>CBOs</b>	<b>Community Based Organizations</b>
<b>DDS</b>	<b>Dandora Site and Service Scheme</b>
<b>DHPP</b>	<b>Draft Housing Policy Paper</b>
<b>G o K</b>	<b>Government of Kenya</b>
<b>HABRI</b>	<b>Housing and Building Research Institute</b>
<b>ILO</b>	<b>International Labour Organization</b>
<b>ITDG</b>	<b>Intermediate Technology Development Group</b>
<b>JPPT</b>	<b>The Joint Project Planning Team</b>
<b>KENSUP</b>	<b>Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme</b>
<b>KfG</b>	<b>Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (Germany Bank for Reconstruction)</b>
<b>MoPWH</b>	<b>Ministry of Public Works and Housing</b>
<b>MoLG</b>	<b>Ministry of Local Government</b>
<b>MoLH</b>	<b>Ministry of Lands and Housing</b>
<b>MoU</b>	<b>Memorandum of Understanding</b>
<b>M4A</b>	<b>Mathare 4A</b>
<b>NACHU</b>	<b>National Cooperative of Housing Union</b>
<b>NARC</b>	<b>National Rainbow Coalition</b>
<b>NCC</b>	<b>Nairobi City Council</b>
<b>NCBD</b>	<b>Nairobi Central Business District</b>
<b>NCSS</b>	<b>Nairobi Cross Sectional Survey</b>
<b>NGOs</b>	<b>Non Governmental Organizations</b>
<b>RGUU</b>	<b>Regulatory Guidelines for Urban Upgrading</b>
<b>R o K</b>	<b>Republic of Kenya</b>
<b>SNAP</b>	<b>Shelter Neighbourhood Action Project</b>
<b>SPARC</b>	<b>Societies for the Promotion of Area Resources Centres</b>
<b>SPRR</b>	<b>Strategic Public Relations and Research</b>
<b>UDD</b>	<b>Urban Development Department</b>
<b>UNCHS</b>	<b>United Nations Centre for Human Settlement-Habitat</b>
<b>UNDP</b>	<b>United Nations Development Programme</b>
<b>USAID</b>	<b>United States Agency for International Development</b>

## Abstract

This study set out to assess community participation in upgrading of Mathare 4A in Nairobi City Council. Specifically, the study investigated the factors that facilitated and those that hindered community participation. The study made use of participatory approaches, and in particular stakeholders' approach to assess community participation. The study relied on both primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected from both key informants and community residents using questionnaires. Secondary data was collected from available literature on the subject of study. Primary data was processed and analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Through this method, variables and frequencies were generated.

The study found that community participation in Mathare 4A was in two forms: individual and group participation. Both personal and communal interests motivated participation of the community. Factors that motivated the community to participate were better living conditions, improved housing, infrastructure and sanitation, refund for the former structure owners, employment in the project, and good security system. In the midst of motivating factors there were challenges related to social status, literacy levels, health and environmental conditions, occupational constraints, political upheavals, mistrust and suspicion as well as ethnic cleavages. All these issues and challenges affecting the community were managed through open *barazas*, seminars, wet core meetings, and workshops. The study found out that these factors were entangled in competing interests of different stakeholders. The competition affected participation required for effective implementation of the project.

The study findings show that there were a number of contentious issues in Mathare 4A. They range from ownership, allocation, rental, and leadership wrangles to ineffective community participation. Solutions to these issues have been sought through provincial administration. However, the attempts have largely been ad hoc and reactive, with little solution being attained.

Community representation in Mathare 4A does not reflect peoples' choice. This is because whenever local elections are conducted, they are flawed due to violence and intimidation. There is also minimal community involvement in the management of the programme. The desire of each interest group to maximise gains in the project have also contributed to ineffective community participation. The relationship between the community and developing agency has therefore been unstable since the skirmishes of 2001, developing the present stalemate.

The study makes a number of recommendations. It recommends efficient community representation through democratic electoral process in order to attain effective community participation. It further recommends an institutional framework that allows the entire community to be represented by individuals democratically elected. Once elected, a process that allows both forward and backward information flow has to be put in place. The institutional framework should allow effective community participation in M&E as feasibility surveys are being carried out. Finally the study recommends more in depth research on competing interests, conflict management and resolution in upgrading, and participatory role of various stakeholders.

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 OVERVIEW**

This study focuses on participation of slum dwellers in Mathare 4A slum upgrading programme in Nairobi, Kenya. The study discusses participation and slum upgrading; with a main focus on the factors that influence and those that hinder community participation in slum upgrading programmes.

The study has seven chapters, namely Introduction, which has the background of urbanization and slum upgrading, study objectives and justification. Literature review is in the second chapter while the study methodology and fieldwork data are in the third and fourth chapters respectively. The analysis of the data collected is exemplified in the subsequent chapter five and six. Conclusion and recommendations mark the end of this study.

#### **1.1.1 Background to upgrading**

More than twenty two percent of the world population is urbanized. In 1989, the rate of urbanization in the world was estimated to be 18.1%. In 1999, the urbanization rate was almost 30% (Desai and Pillai, 1972). In Africa, one in every five people lives in an urban area. It is also argued that urban development in most developing countries is accompanied by the creation of new slums and growth of old slums in cities (ibid). Therefore wherever there is an increase in urban population, there will be an increase in the number of slum dwellers.

Well over 300 million urban poor in the developing world have few options but to live in squalid, unsafe environments where they face multiple threats to their health and security. This population is made of over 200million in Asia, over 50million in Latin American, and over 60million in the unserved areas of Africa's cities, which are now growing at a rate unprecedented in human history (Sandhu, 1989: ii). The growing urbanization in a poor country such as Kenya is exasperating the problem of slums and squatter settlements as they are growing at alarming rates. The rate of growth of the slum population is far

outstripping that of the city's population. Infact, it is their socio-cultural marginalisation that is often responsible for their being neglected by the dominant section of the community (ibid).

Since the 1970s, African cities have experienced the fastest growing population rates in world history, at over 5% per year (UNCHS, 1996: 1). Africa is therefore undergoing an urban population explosion despite slow economic progress. Kenya's situation is no different from situations elsewhere in Africa.

Since independence, Kenya has experienced a very significant expansion of the urban population. As compared to 1962, the population in the 1989 census year had grown more than five fold from 675,000 urban inhabitants to 3.736 million urban inhabitants (GoK, 1995: 1). The growth of 5%, which was experienced between 1979 and 1989 was expected to continue in the medium run. A 1993-detailed analysis of the urban sector expansion arrived at an urban population of almost 10million by the year 2010 (Ministry of Local Government, 1993). The analysis saw future growth of urban population as mostly fuelled by a strong rural-urban migration trend. According to the projections, in the year 2010 about 30% of all Kenyans will live in an urban Centre.

Kenya's housing sector is currently besieged with a formidable combination of challenges. Factors such as unprecedented urbanization coupled with high population growth rates, poor domestic policy performance and the associated debt burdens have had devastating impacts on development policies and strategies. According to estimates the number of urban centres in Kenya has increased from 34 in 1962 to 277 in 1999 (GoK and UN-HABITAT, 2003). The urban population growth rate has even been higher than that of the country's general population growth rate, being estimated at 5.4% during the 1960s, 7.9% between 1969 and 1979; and 8% during the 1980s and currently 15% per annum. This has led to the rapid increase in the proportion of urban population from 5.1% in the 1948 to 15.1% in 1979, 18.0% in 1989 (GoK, 1996) and an increase of 35% in 1999. By end of 2005, the urban population in Kenya is expected to rise to 16 million and to 41.6 million by the year 2015 (Ministry of Local Government, 2004).

The urbanization process is itself not the problem in these urban areas. The main problem is that the urban centres and the authorities responsible for their development have not been able to cater for the basic needs of the increasing population resulting in unemployment, widespread poverty, deficient housing and homelessness among others.

The problem is more acute in the urban areas where more than five million residents now live in deficient, health threatening houses and conditions. Deficient housing manifests itself in the rapid formation and growth of informal settlements matched by deficiencies in the supply of the most basic infrastructure and public facilities required for humane habitation. Therefore the living conditions tend to deteriorate at an alarming rate.

Although Kenya's capital city, Nairobi's contribution to the total urban population in Kenya has decreased from 32% to 23% between 1980 and 1999, it is still one of the fastest growing cities in Africa. Nairobi's growth rate of 7% per annum is one of the fastest city growth rates in Africa. This is due to the rural-urban migration rather than from natural increase (NCSS, 2000: 2). It is estimated that between 50% and 70% of the Nairobi population lives in informal settlements where environmental and health conditions are very poor (Matrix Development Consultants, 1993; World Bank, 1999).

Nairobi hosts some of the most dense, unsanitary and insecure slums in the world (Syagga et al, 2001). In 1972, there were 49 squatter settlements in Nairobi, where 40% of the population was living (about 170,000 inhabitants). There are now 168 slum areas in Nairobi, in which 60 percent of the city's population lives, constituting a total of 2.5 million people (Njoroge, 1998: 21). Earlier on in 1968, these squatter settlements were considered not to exist. That's why a policy of demolition of shanties and forceful evictions were so much pronounced (NCCK, 1971:91).

Kenya government's policy has addressed the housing problem from the early 60s but has been faced with the ever-present housing shortage. From the early 1970s focus was laid on site and service development schemes, and the creation of housing finance institutions in order to mobilize private and public capital for the sector (GITEC consult,

1995: 1). Despite the efforts, the formal sector production could not keep pace with the population growth. A demand for about 60,000 units per annum in the 1980s was only met by an annual production of below 10,000 units, leaving the rest of the demand to be met by the informal housing sector. This trend was further aggravated as government development expenditures for housing declined from 3.4% in 1984/85 to 0.35% in 1992/93. As a result, the gap is constantly widening and in the year 2000, the demand rose to more than 120,000 housing units per annum (GITEC, *ibid*). There is now a demand for over 150,000 housing units per year (G.o.K, 2004). Overcrowded dwelling units, both formal and informal, are an indication of the growing deficit. This deficit has been felt in low cost housing, where it has not been possible to mobilize private capital at a significant scale.

The large deficit in the formal housing encouraged a dramatic growth of informal housing during the 1960s and 1970s. The government answered with a 'slum clearance policy' but abandoned this strategy when it became obvious that the formal housing sector could not cope with the problem.

Until 1974, the Kenya policy on slums and squatter settlements was demolition (G.o.K, 1974). The development plan (1974/78) stated that there would be no more demolition except in cases where alternative accommodation was provided. This change of policy led to rapid development of slums and squatter settlements since no alternative was provided for the slum dwellers. The new housing policy, as formulated in the Draft Sessional Paper on housing of 1990, defines the policy towards informal settlement to focus on 'upgrading of slum areas with minimum displacement' (Kituo cha sheria, 2003: 10).

On slum upgrading, the policy is dedicated to ensure effective upgrading as it states that 'appropriate slum upgrading measures will be instituted for each and every slum settlement, taking into account security of tenure, provision of basic infrastructural facilities and services, improvement of housing structures, socio-economic status of

target community, ownership of land and structures, age of settlement and affordability' (ibid).

Experience was not very encouraging in the beginning as several schemes had to be abandoned, mainly due to problems in land allocation and lack of community participation. In addition, subsequent increases of rents to unaffordable levels often deprived the initially intended target groups off their benefits.

The first urban development project, which was approved in 1975, had no upgrading component. The second project approved in 1978 had 19% of the projects' cost dedicated to upgrading (Mitullah, 1984; 5). The Migosi slum-upgrading project located in Kisumu was part of the World Bank/Kenya second development project. The project did not end up benefiting the earlier recommended target group but one of high-income bracket. The project also faced the problems of survey and compensation, approval of plans and tender procedures. The upgrading Programmes also faced the problem of high standards set for housing.

Upgrading projects implemented by the government in cooperation with World Bank attempted to improve the living conditions of the poor urban settlers in Kisumu, Mombasa, Eldoret, Nakuru, Thika, Nyeri and Kitale. However, these upgrading projects suffered from typical shortcomings: the benefiting communities were not involved in the design, implementation and maintenance of the projects. This led to over-designed infrastructure that was not affordable to the target group; development plans which did not reflect residents' aspirations; and high turnover among the initial targeted beneficiaries. This disregard of the community participation made the target group not develop a sense of ownership in the upgrading process and hence the inability to recover infrastructure investment costs, displacement and eventual gentrification of the areas (Muhindi and Ndirangu, 1997:5).



The first project that covered the city of Nairobi alone (Dandora Site and Service scheme) was meant to test the legitimacy of sites and services strategy in providing low-cost housing to the low-income groups. Other schemes such as Uhuru and Kariobangi had been implemented earlier and Umoja was being implemented at the time of Dandora's initiation but not on a large scale. The site and service schemes, like Dandora Site and Service have faced the problem of affordability by the communities for the services, which includes new and higher rents. The problem of plot ownership also complicated slum upgrading in the 1970s and 1980s. This was due to insecure land tenure whereby evictions were paramount and frequent.

Until the call for effective governance and implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), the Kenyan government and its Local Authorities were the sole providers of infrastructure and services, providing services largely to planned areas (GoK and UN Habitat, 2001: iii). The SAPs of 1980s required the state to roll back from service provision and government subsidies. This adversely affected the poor. Service provision in the country's urban slums deteriorated. The Nairobi city council could not cope with the problem of service provision. This is because Donors had no clear approach to working with informal settlements: they lacked coordination and did not view 'urban' as a funding category.

Apart from churches, which have historically supported the urban poor, many civil society organizations sprung up in response to the state's withdrawal from urban service provision. But due to the very complex nature of informal settlement development in Nairobi, attempts to upgrade slums have had mixed results.

### **1.1.2 Mathare 4A Slum upgrading Project**

The idea of helping Mathare slum dwellers in Nairobi to upgrade their living conditions was conceived some times back in early 90s by the Catholic Church establishments, namely, Kariobangi Church, St. Theresia's Church and St. Benedict Church. The church establishments sought to solicit funds from their foreign countries. Kariobangi Church undertook to source funds from Italy, St. Theresia's church from Canada and St. Benedict

church from Germany. St. Theresia's church undertook to upgrade Mathare 1 and 2 areas; St. Benedict church undertook Mathare 4A, and Kariobangi church was to concentrate on Kariobangi village. St. Benedict's church was successful in securing funds from KfW of Germany (Reconstruction Bank) ahead of the other churches.

In furtherance of its commitment to systematically upgrade slums in urban areas, the government of Kenya signed a contract in early nineties with the German Bank for Reconstruction (KfW). The contract was for the upgrading of one of Nairobi's biggest and oldest informal settlement, Mathare.

Mathare slum is located 5 kilometres from Nairobi central business district (NCBD), within a total area of 73.7 hectares, with an average number of slum dwellers of 200 per hectare (Matrix consultants, 1993:18). The upgrading project was to begin with the upgrading of an area known as Mathare 4A with a total population of about 6000 households.

While the contract was between the Kenya government and the German Bank, the executing agency for the project was the Arch Diocese of Nairobi, which established the Amani Housing Trust (AHT), whose responsibility was to act as the executing agency for the project and carry out the upgrading work (Ngugi, 2002: 9). AHT acted (and still acts) as a corporate under the Trustees Act (Perpetual Succession) to implement, manage and operate the project.

The project was the first major attempt, after Migosi World Bank upgrading project, by the government with the collaboration of other partners, at upgrading a heavily populated informal settlement. It represents an attempt at changing the tenure of the informal settlement dwellers and recognizing their existence as part of the urban housing landscape. Earlier projects like Dandora Site and Service Scheme, Mikindani as well as Pumwani were of small scale as compared to Mathare 4A. The Dandora site and service scheme, which was done with the support of the World Bank in 1974 comprised of about 6,000 plots (GoK. 1995: 5). Other schemes are Mathare North and Umoja 1 and 2,

Babandogo and Riruta in Nairobi, Mombasa (Chaani and Mikindani), and Kisumu (Nyalenda and Manyatta).

Mathare 4A Development Programme was established in 1990 to address the shelter and sanitation needs in the Mathare 4A area. The approach adopted in this programme was two fold. The first step involved conducting two concurrent studies before the implementation process. The first study was the feasibility study carried out in the major informal areas to find out how the shelter needs of the poor had been addressed and a social economic survey in previous programmes largely because of poor security of tenure, limited community participation and the project not benefiting the targeted beneficiaries (Kamau and Ngari, 2002: 5).

The objective of the programme was to provide affordable housing for the urban poor, by introducing gradual improvements to the area, so that sustainability of the programme could be guaranteed. This meant provision of roads, water, sanitation and sewerage disposal, electricity, street lighting and other services to the residents of the area.

The Mathare 4A project was initiated in September 1993 to house between 100,000 and 200,000 persons. The housing scheme was planned for execution in four phases over a period of five years. The first pilot phase was completed in 1995 and the second by end of 1996. These areas were in the reserve area (T area) of Mathare 4A which underwent land reclamation. The third implementation stage was also part of the pilot phase. Infrastructure works were completed by May 1997. The fourth implementation stage was to cover 3.25 hectares and construct an approximate 1,450 housing units. This stage was to commence in 1997. The fifth implementation stage was to cover 3.25 hectares and accommodate 1,640 housing units. This phase was to commence in 1998. The sixth implementation stage, expected to commence in 1999, covered an area of 3.5 hectares and was to have 1,830 housing units. The seventh and final implementation stage was to commence in year 2000 and cover an area of 3.7 hectares and have 1,930 housing units (GoK.1995: 3). But some factors affected the project midway from being fully implemented hence its stalling in 1997, before it was re-started in 2001.

Several explanations have been given as to why the project stalled in 1997. Some argue that politics got in the way and contributed to the stalling of the project. Others argue that the project stalled due to lack of funds to sustain it. But the executing agency itself sees the stalling to have been brought by its mistakes. These mistakes include underestimating the power and determination of the landlords who were involved initially in fighting against the project, 'neglecting' the target group representative structure by postponing the statutory elections, and overestimating the residents' sense of 'ownership' of the project (AHT, 2003: Annex2). The agency also blames itself for the lack of adequate involvement of the community members in the upgrading process.

Other arguments are posed on the rowdy skirmishes that were faced in Mathare slums. The Mathare 4A youths opposed the controversial slum's upgrading project when the officials running the Catholic-sponsored Mathare 4A Development Programme demanded ksh.380 monthly rents in 2001. Rivalry emerged between two groups within Mathare slums: the Mungiki sect and a gang from 'Kosovo' slum area. Violence erupted between these two groups and heavily armed police officers rushed to the area in 2001 to restore order. Hundreds of residents in the neighbouring slum villages among them *Kijiji cha Chawa*, ganged up and supported the police. They were incensed that their 'equally poor neighbours' were opposed to better housing. Property worth more than half a million shillings was either stolen or destroyed by the youths who broke into the contractor's store and stoned company vehicles. The sprawling slum was a no-go zone as missiles rained and roads were barricaded with burning old tires (Daily Nation, January 26, 2001).

The end result, and the way the community reacted in its involvement and participation is part of justification for this study. The analysis of participation is thus discussed in an effort to find out the factors facilitating and those hindering involvement of the slum dwellers in upgrading.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Housing is a basic need and a basic right (Constitution of Kenya, chapter 5 article 59) and therefore a prerequisite to the development of the people and their economy (GoK, 1994, GoK. 2002-2008: 71). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 recognizes the right to adequate housing as an important component of the right to adequate standards of living.

It is argued that shortage in housing is manifested by overcrowding and proliferation of slums and informal settlements in Peri-urban areas, and this can only be solved if it is addressed by the housing policies of a country. The policy is supposed to encourage integrated, participatory approaches in slum upgrading, which should include income-generating activities that effectively combat poverty.

Housing of the low-income earners especially in the slums is a universal phenomena and countries have attempted to assist upgrade them. Various interventions and strategies have been introduced in the past to deal with the situation. In the international year of shelter for the homeless in 1987, the National Shelter Strategy for the year 2000 was formulated to advocate for policy change (GoK, 2003: 3). The solution had to be sought within an enabling approach where the government facilitates other actors to invest in shelter. The principles of partnership and participation of all (stakeholders) were recommended.

Improvement of housing for the Kenyan population is a major concern to the government. Reasons attributed to the failure of urban planning, especially the upgrading of slums to satisfy the requirements of those in slums are bad governance, corruption, inappropriate regulations, dysfunctional land markets and above all, an absence of political will (Durrand-Lasserve and Clerc: 1996:15). Most studies also show that the problems of housing the slum dwellers arise due to poverty and unemployment, conflicts between development actors and communities, legal, political and financial obstacles, government resistance and rental constraints (ibid). This leads to uncontrolled proliferation of slums.

This study assesses the extent to which Mathare 4A dwellers participated in different levels of slum upgrading. The reasons are that most studies have shown that slum upgrading either fails or succeeds if the community is involved in one way or the other. There are many competing interests as demonstrated in Mathare 4A. Communities who live in areas destined for upgrading mostly want their mutual interests to be put into consideration. The residing community always wants their problems solved by the programmes. Their main agenda is better housing and socio-economic improvement. The developers (executing agencies) also want to achieve their stated goals as per the project designs. In most cases, the local politicians are involved and hence want to spearhead their interest especially political mileage. But putting all these interests forward might hinder the achievement of the desired objectives.

It is believed that participatory management at the local level is involving residents in a meaningful and inclusive way in the governance of projects and delivery of their services hence fully utilizing their strengths, knowledge, and skills. The reason is that participatory management facilitates policy implementation, limits conflicts and reduces costs because residents may be more willing to pay for services when they have participated in the identification of delivery option and the review of management alternatives, and when they understand the full costs, including capital, operation and maintenance costs associated with the basic service.

Previous studies and researches have shown that failure to involve residents in the planning and implementation of settlement schemes intended to benefit them is a major cause of the current housing problems in Kenya. In order to understand better the problems in Mathare 4A, this study approached the issues from development a studies perspective which is more positioned to redress the controversies around participation. In an attempt to investigate the extent to which Mathare 4A community participated in the upgrading programme, this study sought to provide answers to the following research questions:

1. To what extent does the process of slum dwellers' participation determine project's performance?
2. What factors facilitated the participation of the slum dwellers in upgrading Mathare 4A?
3. What factors constrained the participation of the slum dwellers in upgrading Mathare 4A?

### **1.3 Objectives of the study**

The main objective of this study was to have a better understanding of community participation in Mathare 4A programme. The specific objectives for this study were:

1. To evaluate the relationship between the process of slum dwellers' participation and the projects' performance.
2. To investigate the factors that facilitated slum dwellers participation in upgrading Mathare 4A.
3. To investigate the factors that constrained slum dwellers participation in upgrading Mathare 4A.

### **1.4 Justification**

There are several justifications for this study, the major one being the fact that people continue to live in slums and squatter settlements. The population that lives in Kenya's urban informal settlements makes up for more than 45% of the total population. Those in Nairobi tend to be much more densely populated, which makes it extremely difficult for *in-situ* upgrading. The overall average density is approximately 750 inhabitants per hectare, but in certain areas, densities may be upto 1,500 inhabitants per hectare (GoK. 1995: 9). Informal settlements are bound to grow further as the population pressure continues to mount on the city. With this situation of slums being so wanting, there is need to do research and propose solutions to efficient slum upgrading.

Secondly, the issue of service and infrastructure inadequacies in slums is worth research. It has been stated that the problem of informal settlements has grown to almost unmanageable proportions. Chances for improvement in both infrastructure and housing

for the lowest income groups are slim, if the past trends are maintained (GoK. 1995: 10). The fact that the services and infrastructures in Mathare 4A were improved makes the situation different from other slum areas, hence the need to review the lessons learnt for future upgrading.

The third justification is based on slum upgrading experience. In recent years, there has been increasing interest in slum upgrading. Approaches to the study of slum upgrading have often taken the view of improving the economic well being of the slum dwellers through provision of employment opportunities and diversifying their livelihoods. Also, development plans that address themselves to the issue of slum upgrading have usually enjoyed an approach that is common to all the slums. As a result, this has caused a lot of problems because many slum communities differ in many respects, as they are all situated in different and varying environments, traditions and cultures.

This study therefore focuses on showing that slum dwellers' participation is important in slum upgrading if success is to be achieved. The level and success of projects and programmes can improve if key stakeholders are actively involved in the project's activities. Major setbacks have been experienced by many implementing agencies. By now, the major impeding factors are well known, of which lack of community participation and the land issue are the most prominent issues (R.o.K, *ibid*, p. 9).

This survey is also justifiable on the basis of the situation of Mathare 4A during its implementation stage. There were several conflicts encountered in the process of planning and implementing the Mathare 4A project especially on tenure and governance issues. The conflicts of secure tenure, poor project governance, rent seeking, as well as lack of community participation emerged in most cases. This resulted in conflicts, including community confrontations in the project implementation process as well as clash of interests among different stakeholders. It is true that there were running battles between the community and the police security forces when the project became politicised. The period between 1997 and 2001 was full of chaos in Mathare 4A as evidenced by the skirmishes hence the impetus for this study.



Finally, this survey is justifiable in the role it will play in providing relevant information to the already available data on slum upgrading. Previously, much has been written on slum upgrading programmes in Kenya. However, no study has been done in Mathare 4A to show how and why slum dwellers participated in the upgrading process and to explain why conflicts arose.

Information about why and when the slum dwellers participate is key in planning upgrading projects. Collection of such information was the intention of this survey. The study contributes in availing data for policy makers and for the prospective projects that wish to upgrade slum people.

### **1.5 Definition of concepts**

The study has several concepts, which need to be operationalised.

#### **Slum**

The term 'slum' in this study stands for a physical setting/dwelling made of unauthorized materials. Slums are also referred to as shanties or informal settlements. Squatter settlements/spontaneous structures are normally made of cheap materials drawing on local technologies and methods (Ministry of Local Government, 1995).

Slums are neglected parts of the cities where services and infrastructure are appallingly lacking. Slum dwellers are the people who live in the slums either as owners of the shanties, or renters/occupiers.

#### **Slum upgrading**

Upgrading is referred to as improvement of the means to the package of basic services to improve the well being of the community. Slum upgrading involves physical, social, economic, organizational and environmental improvements undertaken cooperatively and locally among citizens, community groups, businesses, private organizations and local authorities. It is regarded as a systematic and progressive improvement of the social and

physical environment of the existing slum settlements through the provision of secure tenure and basic infrastructural services (Muhindi and Ndirangu, 1997:5).

### **Participation**

Participation is the process through which people, especially disadvantaged people, influence resource allocation, formulation and implementation of policies and programs (Baum, 1982). It also implies the way people are involved at different levels and degrees of intensity in the identification, timing, planning, design, implementation, evaluation and post-implementation stages of development projects. Participation should involve the local community in the upgrading program, from its inception to its completion. There are several types of participation: passive participation, participation in information giving, participation by consultation, participation by material incentives, functional participation, interactive participation and self-mobilization (Pretty, 1994 in Njoka, 2002). Some forms of participation in this survey include meetings, suggestion boxes, open sessions, special committees, public boards, and reports. In this study, this definition is used to stand for the involvement of the community as seen by Pretty, 1994.

### **Community participation**

An ancient definition by Cambridge conference of African administrators in 1948 held that community participation is 'a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with active participation and if possible on the community's initiative, by use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to seek its active and enthusiastic response to the movement'. This definition embraces all forms of community involvement in striving to attain better living conditions.

Armstrong (1987) calls community participation a bottom-up approach/ strategy and emphasizes its growth in importance especially in the Developing World. To Armstrong, community participation is the quickest method of achieving rural transformation. It creates a short cut to efficient factor allocation, efficient commodity exchange for maximum equity and a change for the primary definition of development to include diversified concepts defined by the broader goals. Armstrong however argues that the

government must provide broad dimensional support for this approach to be viable. This, he calls, 'protectionist legislation'. But this definition does not show how citizens at the grassroots level may be involved in participation.

The UN (1985) identified community participation as synonymous to community development. It stated community participation as the process designed to create conditions for economic and social progress of the whole community with its active participation. Hallman (1983: 32-33) concurs with this definition when he holds that community development is a teamwork process by which the efforts of the people are united with those of the government and other development agencies to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of people. Encyclopaedia for real estate terms (1987: 719) defines community participation as a process where new development proposals are presented to the community for comments. But since participation is not only commenting, this definition is vague and insufficient for our study.

Maina (1994: 6) views community participation as a democratic approach when he notes that it is an expression of, and commitment of the peoples' right to be involved in matters that concern their life. Each member of the community is taken to have a right to bring out ideas towards development. Each person has the right to be involved in development. This definition sees development depart from planning for the people, to planning with the people.

Lisk (1985: 5) looks at community participation as the involvement of the people in making and implementing of design at all levels and forms of socio-economic activities. This active involvement of the population in the choice, execution and evaluation of programmes and projects is designed to bring out an upward movement in levels of living.

Paul (1987, p. v) in his critical review of the World Bank experience in both rural and urban programmes defines community participation in a developmental context. To Paul, community participation is an active process whereby the beneficiaries influence the

direction and execution of development projects and their benefits. He further outlines three objectives of community participation:

- i) Empowerment- community participation empowers the deprived and the excluded to take part in development issues.
- ii) Improving project efficiency- by bringing together the resources available in the community for purposes of development.
- iii) Project cost sharing- to reduce project related costs through contribution of money and labour (cash and kind) by the beneficiaries.

This study combines several definitions: the definitions of Hallman (1983), Armstrong (1987), Paul (1987), and Maina (1994) suffice here so that community participation can be seen not just as having power to determine how urban's poor environment is financed but also about reshaping what is produced-the kind of house, nature of ammenial and infrastructural services and the forms of property ownership. This definition elaborately defines the concept community participation as voluntary and democratic involvement of beneficiaries in contributing to the execution of the project in sharing the benefits derived there from, and in making decisions with respect to setting goals, formulating the project and preparing them in implementing the plans.

### **Upgrading Programmes**

These are programmes carried out to improve the standard of living of the people who live in the slums. The programmes make people obtain an improved, healthy and secure living environment without being displaced. These programmes help to enfranchise the urban poor since they have high social priority. The programmes also improve the provision of services and infrastructure to the community.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1 Literature on slums

The review of literature on slums shows that there are three groups of scholars who have expressed different views about slums (Sandhu, 1989: 19). According to the first school of thought, a slum is regarded as an entity or place that lacks usual characteristics of a community (Riis, 1990). The approach also views slum dwellers as having unstable life (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963). The second group of scholars views a slum as full of organized and politically active people (Eke, 1981). The organized communities are at levels of family and community. The third group of scholars holds the view that all slums are not identical (Sandhu, 1989). This group divides the slum into two major types: 'slums of hope'-communities hoping to go out into better place because of their ability, and 'slums of despair'-dwellers who have nowhere to go and are convinced that they will spend their lives in the slum (Seeler, 1959; Stokes, 1962).

Studies about slums in Kenya can be divided into three main categories: Studies conducted in relation to census, studies on general physical and socio-economic surveys and studies which focus attention on the social life of slum dwellers (Gupta, 1968). Looking at the literature of slum upgrading, there seems to be lack of consensus as to the implication of upgrading the societies in a vague policy environment. Mitullah (1984) posits that the most effective alternative approach is to construct cheap public housing for rental or buying. Owouche (1998) argues for privatisation of housing sector to avoid government involvement. Malombe (1990) in the study of Dandora Site and Service points out factors that limit the success of public policies relating to housing. Mitullah (1993) found fault with the state policy, which focuses on home ownership whereas majority of urban residents are renters who can hardly afford to own houses (Mitullah in Ng'ethe and Owino, 1998:223). Michael Chege in a seminar paper noted how a landlord class came into being in Mathare (GoK, 1980). Amis (1984) in *Squatters and Tenants* argues the case of Kibera slums and the issue of commercialising of unauthorised housing.

The World Bank has initiated an Action plan for an ambitious goal of addressing the slum problem in cities. Its aim is to improve basic municipal services for 100 million people in the World over the next twenty years (2020). The World Bank stresses the importance of project ownership at local level, coupled with broad based partnership at the global level. The *Cities without slums Action plan* endorsed at the Millennium Summit of the UN recognized that a better solution to slums is to regularize and upgrade existing dwellings with participation and contribution of existing residents, with the objective of providing title to the property occupied by each slum-dweller.

Martin Lyria, a construction consultant based in Nairobi argues for creation of NGOs that deal with shelter or building materials at community level to start operating in Kenya. He proposes a model of high-rise blocks made up of independent single rooms for renting or purchasing. But literature from Indonesia shows that housing conditions get better in slums when low-income earners in urban settlements (Kampongs) are involved in upgrading programmes. The emphasis is on community development using institutional building and infrastructure improvement as a means to strengthen community involvement in building Kampongs.

The report, entitled *Nairobi Situation Analysis* (Nairobi, 2001) was a first step in a newly launched collaborative initiative led by the government of Kenya and UNCHS -Habitat to improve informal settlements and reduce urban poverty in Nairobi (Syagga et al, 2001). From the report, the government is supposed to facilitate slum upgrading through integrated institutional framework that accommodates participatory approaches involving relevant stakeholders, particularly the primary stakeholders while enhancing coordination at national level.

Literature on slum upgrading mostly deals with issues related to socio-economic aspects of slums. Costs of upgrading through the so called 'enabling approach' to shelter provision (Jo Beall in Allen and Thomas, 2000: 437), security of land tenure (Ngugi, Sept.2002), provision of basic infrastructural facilities and services and improvement of

housing structures (GoK, 2003), are the key aspects studied. Studies on upholding the moratorium demolitions in unplanned settlements are also done (GoK, 2003).

It was noted by Agevi that partnerships were critical for controlling the spread of slums. Ways of engaging politicians in sorting out the land issues were sought and the need to empower the slum dwellers through educating them on their rights, obligations and more importantly their abilities was emphasized (ITDG kit, 2002).

Hamdi Nabeel (1991) has discussed engaging slum dwellers in upgrading through participatory enablement. Nabeel sees participation of non-professionals (slum dwellers) as an important part of rigorous inquiry into the form of building and into the needs, habits and social institutions that produce some 80 percent of the world's built residential environment (Nabeel, 1991: xi). Engaging slum dwellers in upgrading programmes therefore involves participation in planning, flexibility and enablement (Turner in Nabeel, 1991).

Trends towards people's participation in housing albeit patronizing as a slogan began to question existing relationships among people, professionals, industry and government authorities (Wates and Knekitt, 1987). Projects like Shelters Neighbourhood Action Project (SNAP) and Ralph Erskine's Byker project in Newcastle saw architects deployed locally in project offices, involving inhabitants in planning and design and using innovative, unorthodox techniques. Initiated by Strathclyde University in Scotland during 1972, Project Assist involved residents in the rehabilitation of old tenements (Nabeel, 1991:20). Populists therefore emphasise community empowerment as the way to effective planning. Users are seen to be indispensable to making more efficient the practice of planning and the production of houses because they are more conversant with, and knowledgeable about local needs and conditions, and because they can bring resources not easily replicated by formal institutions.

Turner in his article '*Housing by People*' argues that user participation is an essential part of repairing the natural relationship between people and places. Various shades of community participation in most projects aptly represented by Sherry Arnstein's "*Ladder of citizen participation*, 1969 include: Cooptation, manipulation, therapy, informing, consulting and placation (Ibid: 75).

In Developing countries, community participation became a buzzword in international urban development policy when the World Bank accepted sites and service schemes as legitimate programs in housing in the mid 1970s. The 1976 U.N Vancouver conference in particular saw significant shifts in policy. As a follow up, and in line with experience and developments in Europe and United States, redevelopment gave way to upgrading: the poor were seen as a resource and not as a burden to the economy.

The Dandora community development (site and service scheme) in Nairobi represents a conventional user participation stance (Chana, 1984). People were less involved in managing the social, physical and financial institutions of development and its overall planning but more involved in building their own houses. But a good category of projects involving community participation in a much broader sense includes a combination of upgrading existing slums and squatters and new sites with services. Forbes Davidson's Project in Ismaili, Egypt, is one example, as is the program in Lusaka, Zambia (Jere, 1984:59).

Community participation is thus one of the key components of most development programmes, which is usually ignored particularly during the initial planning stages. This has often caused problems related to non-acceptance of programmes which planners assume are most suitable for respective communities. In most communities, participation is normally passive. This does not involve consultation and involvement of the respective communities in decision-making. Their participation is normally through in depth studies and surveys (Majeres, 1985: 34).



Recent literature on participation shows that participation has broadened its scope. The emerging participatory development 'paradigm' suggests two perspectives: First, substantive involvement of the local people in the selection, design, planning and implementation of Programmes and projects that will affect them, thus ensuring that local perceptions, attitudes, values and knowledge are taken into account as fully and as soon as possible. The second is to make more continuous and comprehensive feedback, an integral part of all development activities (Jamieson, in Mikkelsen, 1995: 61). This paradigmatic change seems to originate more from development work than from research.

## **2.2. Forms of community participation**

Community neighbourhood projects are concerned, designed, implemented and sometimes maintained in two ways: firstly, the community project maybe initiated by community leaders or community-based organizations (CBOs), and secondly, the project maybe initiated by external agencies, either donor agencies or Non Governmental organizations (NGOs) [Gitau, 1998: 1].

### **2.2.1 Spontaneous community participation**

Historically, human communities have set about their own shelter and settlements in accordance with their felt physical, economic and social needs without seeking assistance from external providers (Njoroge, 1998). This situation is still pronounced today as exhibited by behaviour of poor urban communities building slums and squatter settlements. UNCHS (1989:3) indicates that most of the cases of spontaneous community participation are due to lack of government intervention. Even with government intervention through demolition and evictions, the community has contrary achieved their goal in isolation and irrespective of law and regulations. This however seems to be the situation of Mathare 4A slum before the upgrading programme commenced. There was very little adherence to the Nairobi City Council's (NCC) planning regulations and building codes.

### **2.2.2 Government solicited community participation**

The government initiates policies that create access to land and housing finance. Through the government efforts, communities have shown an impressive willingness to organise and generate improved housing and environmental conditions in their neighbourhood. The government defines and creates policies to harmonise disparities in order to provide suitable housing conditions. Very effective community participation has emerged where government agencies interacting with communities have been appropriately structured and staffed. Relationship between agencies and communities are also enhanced when they take place in the context of enabling legislation and supportive policy (Njoroge: 1998).

### **2.2.3 NGO solicited community participation**

NGOs have proved to be very useful intermediaries through which government and other agencies can reach the low-income communities for development. In quantitative terms, about 5,000 informal plots or units in Kenya were developed through donor-aided Programmes or by NGOs engaged in the upgrading of squatter settlements. Undugu society and the NCKK engaged considerably in the sector in the 1980s but since abandoned direct participation. The major problems faced by NGOs were in the land question but the emphasis on community participation made the schemes more successful than others at that time (GoK. 1995: 1). Numerous other NGOs are still working in informal settlements, though not directly involved with housing or infrastructure. Their main focus is on social services, welfare and general community development. All major church organizations, including the Catholic Church, are also engaged in this sector. Only the National Cooperative Housing Union (NACHU) and the African Housing Fund (AHF) are engaged in residential development, though still at a relatively small scale (ibid).

Perhaps the most outstanding example was the Dandora site and service scheme (DSS) in Nairobi, which was supported by International Technical Assistance Agency namely, the World Bank and the USAID in collaboration with Nairobi City Council in 1977. The project was a relatively low-cost housing scheme for the urban poor. The project aimed at

providing land and infrastructural services together with demonstration housing units, which were to be completed by the beneficiaries through various self-help options. The idea was to enable plot ownership by the poor with access to safe water, garbage disposal, proper sewerage disposal and electricity. This required active participation and contributing manual and self-help labour, as well as taking responsibility for management of the emerging resulting environment. The NGO in Dandora site and service scheme provided among others; spiritual needs, social ministry, nursery and primary education, family life education and counselling services, youth projects, social welfare services, health outreach to the sick, a library, and a revolving loan scheme (Malombe, 1995). The residents referred to as allottees in Dandora Site and Service scheme participated through formation of building groups and other programmes. These groups were trained and assisted in launching a welfare fund in partnership with Dandora Catholic Church. The people were also involved in financing, building and maintenance of their own houses. However, mismanagement and corruption together with rapidly growing population of the urban poor (now are over 200,000) soon led to Dandora site and service scheme failure.

The Undugu society's experience in Kitui Pumwani settlement shows that projects initiated from outside are more or less successful depending on how responsive they are to socio-economic conditions of the target community. The project aimed at providing secure tenure, upgrading infrastructure, slum reconstruction and construction of houses in newly planned neighbourhoods (Njoroge, 1998:21). Community participation was through formation of groups; one youth and one mixed. The community also participated through training the groups on group guarantee concept of borrowing. The community also participated by attending group meetings and training workshops. The community was also involved in maintenance of infrastructure works.

### **2.3 Theoretical framework**

This survey explores the extent to which the Mathare 4A slum dwellers were engaged in different levels and forms of participation in the upgrading process. The study aimed to discover whether or not the slum dwellers' participation affected or promoted upgrading program's success in achieving its goals and objectives. It is a study that belongs to social change process, and therefore required theories of social change to explain behaviour among the slum community.

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 housing problems. The upgrading model (gentrification) in its view restores or smartens houses to make them more attractive for middle class residents.

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, privatisation, enablement and good governance (1980-2000) were implemented in turn with limited success. New ideas and strategies like Sustainable Development (SD) are coming up with key focus on people as the starting point (GoK. and UNCHS, 2003).

This study has its focus on the people (slum dwellers) as the main stakeholders in upgrading hence uses 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 uses two theories: Participatory approach and Stakeholders approach. The reason is that the two approaches incorporate the perceptions, attitudes and values of all stakeholders and therefore forge the essential component of successful and lasting development. The two approaches are used in this study to bring out the issues of participation in Mathare 4A.

### **2.3.1 Participatory approach**

This study takes the participatory approach of involving or engaging 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 and 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.

Participation in projects can be at all stages and this is key to involve the stakeholders. It is thus taken as an end in itself (transformational participation) as well as a means to development (instrumental participation). As an end, participation entails empowerment to social justice, equity and democracy (Third Kenya Human Development Report, *ibid*). As a means, participation is a tool to implement development policies.

There is a 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 fulfil 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, 2000:13). Thus genuine participation, initiated and managed by people themselves, is a goal in the democratic process.

The participatory theory applies to Mathare 4A slum upgrading in the sense that community mobilization and involvement was taken by the implementing agency as an important tenet for attainment of the project's goals and objectives. The theory therefore shows that the problem of community participation in Mathare 4A was and still remains to be lack of consideration by the implementing agency, especially on the diversity of the community's socio-cultural and economic backgrounds.

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, this study also used the stakeholders approach.

### **2.1.2 Stakeholders approach**

The participatory approach has a subset which is the stakeholders approach and which this survey narrowed down to. 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 the 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 and covered. 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 a remarkable departure from the World Bank's initial project objective of satisfying the lowest 40<sup>th</sup> percentile (Mitullah, 1985: 6). According to Aziz 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, as he puts it;

'The need to empower the slum dwellers through educating them on their rights, obligations and more importantly their abilities should be emphasized'

Governments are continuously being pressed by both the UN and bilateral agencies to adopt 'enabling shelter strategies' which implies a change from policies of intervention (which involves conflicts) to policies of liberalization so as to enable both the market forces and individuals to provide housing (UNCHS and GoK, 1994).

In 1994, UNCHS-Habitat Report noted that:

‘At least one billion people worldwide did not have access to safe and healthy settlement (Owouche, 1998: 3).

The Kenyan government then admitted that it could not satisfy the demands for housing which stood at 60,000 units a year. Despite this inability, the government remained actively involved in housing provision, especially giving mandate to private developers. The new NARC government in Kenya promised to deliver 150,000 housing units per year in its 2003 development agenda (Daily Nation, March 15<sup>th</sup> 2004). This implies that housing sector is a major ingredient towards Kenya’s development. The support of slum upgrading by the government will therefore promote partnerships between the government, the private sector, professionals, external support agencies, local authorities, cooperative societies and communities in infrastructural development (Daily Nation, *ibid*).

Previous upgrading Programmes in Kenya have been acting on a policy premised on the assumption that those who live in the 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. It is from this perspective that one intends to study the conflicts involved in the project circle, from its inception to its completion, and how the community is involved through their participation.



The stakeholders' theory applies to Mathare 4A because the main stakeholders being the residents of Mathare 4A were recognised and involved in the upgrading. The community's scarce resources were vital in the process of upgrading as participation was done through representation process and delegation. This theory was therefore applicable for study.

In summary, the two theories helped this study in focussing to get necessary information about Mathare 4A, encompassing all tenets involved in the upgrading. The two theories were very useful in bringing out the search for the main objectives of this study.

## **2.4 Study assumptions**

This study was able to come up with at least three broad assumptions.

- The study made the assumption that participation of slum dwellers was recommended by the implementing agency.
- The study also assumed that there were factors that facilitated this participation of the slum dwellers.
- The study also had the assumption that, slum dwellers participation was hindered by factors in the community as well as in the implementing agency, hence the controversies in the project.

## **2.5 Dependent Variables**

### **Participation**

In this survey, participation in slum upgrading is considered a dependent variable. It is considered both as an aspect of social engagement as well as economic involvement. It is also taken to mean the physical participation of the individual in given activities. The slum dwellers' participation was considered to be effective if it was geared towards some gain or goal attainment. The major parameters used to measure participation were: man-hour spent working in the upgrading program, information given, information shared, the number of days spent working in the project and the number and type of meetings/forums attended.

## **2.6 Independent variables**

### **Education Level**

Education levels attained by the residents of Mathare 4A were considered as independent variable. Education was taken to be the total number of years of formal schooling the residents spent. Formal education is also considered here as a very important tool of participation in slum upgrading. The reason is because education raises the aspirations of people towards activities that promote their standards of living and also increases their capacity, including skills for participation.

### **Age**

Age of the respondents was taken as an independent variable. Age was measured in terms of the number of years one had lived since birth. According to the ILO report of 1972, education and age differentials lead to a lot of inequalities in income especially in rural areas. The same applies to slums and squatters settlements. Therefore, age is a very important variable in this study.

### **Family Size**

Family size was very important variable since in many ways it represented the household, which was our unit of analysis. The family size is the total number of people living in a housing unit.

### **Occupation**

This was the leading independent variable and it encompasses many activities, which are also varied in their own operation. Occupation was the role played by the respondents in engaging on economic activities that contribute not only to household livelihood but also nation building. It is the kind of work(s) the respondents do in search of livelihood sustenance.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This section outlines the study methodology by discussing study site, sample frame and types of data, sources of data, data collection procedures, and data analysis. The methodology section enabled the realisation of this study and attaining of the laid down objectives.

### **3.1 Study Site**

The slum investigated by this survey is the upgraded Mathare 4A project; situated four (4) kilometres from the Nairobi Central Business District (NCBD). Mathare 4A project lies on the Eastern side of Mathare valley. The entire residential area is 18 hectares, excluding an empty triangle area of 1.2 hectares. During the baseline survey by the government in 2000, the average household size in Mathare 4A was estimated at 3.5 persons. Assuming that a household occupies each of the 5,152 residential structures listed in the master file, the total population of Mathare 4A is estimated at 18,032 persons. This estimated population size is lower than that of 1995 study (21,600 persons) and the 1999 census one (25,000). This translates into a density of 1,222 inhabitants per hectare. Therefore, Mathare 4A is a highly densely populated area by any standards (SPRR, 2001: 12).

The reasons for this site is that Mathare 4A Development Programme is the first project to upgrade a big slum in Kenya with a population of more than one million slum dwellers. This makes the site unique in its setting.

### **3.2 Sample frame**

Based on a consensus estimate of 18,032 persons for the entire area and allowing a standard error of 3 percent at 95 percent confidence level and a non response rate of 5 percent, an optimum sample size of 50 households was arrived at, out of 5,152 households listed in the rent collection master file. Among the selected were 15 households (units) that the housing structures were not upgraded. Systematic random sampling with a random start point was then utilized to select households within the Mathare 4A area.

### **3.3 Types of data**

Qualitative and quantitative data were utilized by this survey. Details of Mathare 4A upgrading project were obtained through household interviews and from the housing files at the project office (Amani Housing Trust). Information on slum dwellers' participation was collected through interviewing of the house-occupants. Selecting the household heads of 18 years and over did this.

To achieve the ultimate aim of this survey, it was deemed pertinent to design questionnaire instruments to standardize data collection procedures for consistency. The questionnaire design process commenced with a thorough desk study that involved review of literature from the baseline surveys and the feasibility studies as well as other relevant materials. Two types of questionnaires were used: one for the residents of Mathare 4A and the others for the management in AHT, Ministry of Local Government, and Nairobi City Council (find appendix). Other secondary data was collected from the Amani housing trust, The Catholic Archdiocese of Nairobi, as well as from the Ministry of Lands and Housing. This secondary data was related to Mathare 4A slum upgrading programme.

The residents' questionnaire was administered to each selected household. The head of each household (or any other responsible and knowledgeable member) responded on behalf of the other household members. The emphasis of this questionnaire was on the primary areas of participatory concern plus certain background information about the household. On the other hand, the in-depth questionnaire (the facility questionnaire) elicited mainly qualitative and quantitative information, particularly regarding slum dwellers' participation. Both questionnaires are attached here in as appendices 1 and 2.

### **3.4 Sources of data**

The data for this study was obtained from both primary and secondary sources: reading the existing written materials on housing in general and specifically on site and service, and upgrading programs. This involved a review of secondary data from policy documents, research reports, and other materials from both public and private sources.

Primary data was collected through a survey of residents sampled from the 1480 housing units.

### **3.5 Data collection procedures**

The whole of upgraded Mathare 4A constitute a universe of study. Using a systematic random sampling, a sample of 50 housing units from Mathare 4A was drawn by selecting every 30th case in both upgraded and unupgraded areas of the project. The main questionnaire for residents was then administered to the head of every housing unit selected. All the primary data collection procedure took a time frame of three weeks. Additional primary data was collected through key informant interviews and discussions with officials in Amani Housing Trust, Ministry of Lands and Housing, the City Council of Nairobi as well as the Urban Development Department (UDD) of the Ministry of Local Government. Probability and non-probability sampling techniques were used in collection of these data.

### **3.5 Data analysis**

Editing of the completed questionnaires was done before coding process. The Structured and Unstructured questionnaires were coded and overall data processing done using Statistical Package Social Sciences (SPSS). Grouping and coding of data was done to enable processing and tabulation. Frequencies were run and tabulation done for analysis of the responses. Multiple responses were also processed and integrated in analysis.

Through the use of SPSS program, descriptive and inferential statistics were used to summarise data and infer the sample results to the population. Correlation and regression analysis were used as descriptive tools. Triangulation was done and data presented using tables, bar graphs, histograms and pie charts. Percentages and tables were used for describing differences between variables and for easy comparability.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: OVERVIEW OF MATHARE 4A AND PARTICIPATORY FRAMEWORK**

### **4.1 Mathare before upgrading.**

The Mathare 4A slum had about 26,000 inhabitants consisting of 8,000 households (AHT, 2004, 1). The inhabitants were accommodated on 18 hectares of residential area. The population density was thus in the range of 1300 inhabitants per hectare. An economic survey of 1995 showed that the average household size was 3.2 persons per household. It also showed that 50% of the households were people staying alone, the rest were families (AHT, *ibid*). The inhabitants generally belonged to the lowest urban income group. The survey also showed that about 90% of the households were tenants, 10% of the residents being structure owners. The average rent level was in the range of kshs.330 per month per room. The structures themselves were generally made of mud and wattle type with an average room size of 10 square metres. The walls were generally very low, giving minimum headroom. Kitchens were non-existent so cooking was taking place inside the room or in the outside 'corridors'.

The environmental conditions of Mathare 4A were underlined by heavy pollution of the Getathuru River caused by domestic liquid and solid waste discharged into the river from the slum areas, as well as from temporary overflow from a main sewer line passing near the river. The sanitary conditions of Mathare 4A were deplorable as the sewerage only collected in open drains without any connection to the main sewerage system, except for one of the two public toilets. Otherwise, substandard pit latrines were the only sanitary facilities (R.o.K. October 1995: 2).

More environmental pollution was due to lack of proper ventilation that contributed to a major atmospheric pollution problem. Other environmental problems were associated with the domestic pollution. Besides causing health problems, the open sewerage system also constituted a major pollution problem for the Getathuru River.

The conditions of roads in Mathare slum before upgrading were pathetic. They were either feeder roads that were full of potholes, or were footpaths that were not easily accessible. Before upgrading, the Mathare 4A had no tarmac or murrum roads. What were available were only footpaths, which vehicles could not access. Communication in this area was difficult especially at emergency cases, like sickness. The communities were interested in getting better roads, other infrastructure and services.

Better living standards were also likened to accessible water. The community wanted accessible water within the area. Water in Mathare 4A was only available through water vendors and *kiosks* and a few of the landlords who were able to connect water in their plots. The price of water (Ksh.10) per 20 litre Jerican was too much for the Mathare people since majority of them were (and are still) living below the poverty line, hence could not afford. Many would use other sources of water, which led to spread of diseases like cholera and dysentery in Mathare slums. All these seem to have made slum dwellers to liken better living standards with water availability.

Another service that was lacking in Mathare 4A was electricity. There was no connection to electricity. A primary school and a health Centre were located nearby, but like other community facilities did not have electricity (R.o.K, *ibid*).

The objectives of the upgrading programme were thus based on this background: to provide acceptable housing, to upgrade the living environment of the slum dwellers by improving their sanitation, accessibility and security as well as provision of physical infrastructure services namely, clean water, sewerage and sanitary facilities, drainage, refuse collection, street lighting, roads and social amenities.

## **4.2 Mathare 4A project design**

On 8<sup>th</sup> May 1992, the government of Kenya entrusted the Catholic Archdiocese of Nairobi with the implementation of Mathare 4A Development Programme. A great deal of experience, both very encouraging and sometimes afflicting has been gained during the elapsed period of the pilot phase. Faced with the socio-economic realities of the target community, the projects initial approach had to be redesigned and adjusted for the intended beneficiaries. Fruitful discussions yielded the new concept, which was finally cleared for implementation and put in place as from September 1993. The pilot phase lasted from September 1993 to September 1996.

The primary development goal of Mathare 4A Development Programme was improvement of the living conditions of the people in Mathare 4A area (GoK, 1995: 3). The main principles agreed on with the target group (community) include: comprehensive involvement and participation of the target community, clear development preference, financial affordability, relocation modalities within the programme area, and specific programme institution. The projects relevance to the National development policy was based on the criterion of 'minimum displacement' of the community, and emphasis on social dimensions in development particularly on poverty alleviation as a major goal within the national policy.

A socio-economic survey done in 1992 allowed the target community to freely define their development priorities (ibid.:16). Top preference was given to housing and housing related development issues; toilets, water supply, complete replacement of the houses. Infrastructure improvement were also considered; electricity, roads, refuse collection, street lighting. Community facilities were third in preference; educational facilities, better health facilities, more and better places of worship and recreational facilities (Gitec consult, 1995: 19).

After intense discussion with the participative structure of the target community, the government of Kenya and the donor agency alike, agreed to broaden the project objectives: to cater for social and economic dimensions. They also agreed to have the



flexibility of a 'programme approach'. This was due to the human development aspect that needed frequent adjustments.

The immediate programme objective was thus

'Speedy infrastructure upgrading for the improvement of the housing environment with self-supporting administration and maintenance of services and facilities'. The subsequent programme objective was 'continuous improvement of the housing situation in a process of development with substantial contribution to housing investment from internally generated financial resources'.

(Gitec consult, 1995: 19).

The complementary development objective thus became the 'preservation and strengthening of the multi-functional residential, social, commercial and economic character of the area'. The primary development goal became

'Improvement of the living conditions of the people of Mathare 4A.'

(Gitec consult, 1995: 19).

The project was therefore designed to change the whole situation of Mathare 4A. On infrastructure, roads and footpaths were constructed at fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh implementation stages. All this was undertaken on an area of 2,220 square metres. The cliff area drainage construction in the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh implementation stages took 1,085 square metres (GoK. October 1995: 3).

The development of the project was in the area occupied by the Mathare 4A slum dwellers. The area that was unoccupied (the T area) was a swamp in the periphery and therefore needed reclamation before any development was started. This area became the first part to be developed for relocation as a pilot project. The main development area was thus supposed to be done in phases.

The project design was planned to have a three-roomed house for each household, with a toilet and a bathroom/ washroom. The housing was also designed to have a veranda and an open space. More still, the houses were designed to have roofing tiles and connected with electricity (GoK, ibid).

The project design also had plans for demolition before upgrading. Structures within the road and footpath reserves as well as wet core areas were demolished. This was done in stages. At fourth implementation stage, a total of 428 rooms were demolished for construction of roads (2,995m<sup>2</sup>) and wet cores (1,500m<sup>2</sup>). At fifth implementation stage, a total of 459 rooms were demolished to pave way for construction of roads (3,122m<sup>2</sup>) and wet cores (1,700 m<sup>2</sup>). At sixth implementation stage that commenced in 1999, a total of 451 structures were demolished to construct roads (2,895 m<sup>2</sup>) and wet cores (1,850m<sup>2</sup>). At the seventh and final implementation stage, 532 structures were to be demolished to construct roads (3,587m<sup>2</sup>) and wet cores (2,000m<sup>2</sup>). All this demolition of structures had implications to the residents of Mathare 4A.

Construction of temporary housing and river control was done. At fourth implementation stage, 148 rooms were constructed in Triangle area, with 14 wet cores. At fifth stage, 194 rooms were constructed in River plan 1, with 17 wet cores. At sixth implementation stage, 186 temporary rooms were constructed at River plan 1 with also 17 wet cores. At seventh implementation stage, a total of 55 rooms were constructed at River plan 2 with 5 wet cores. Additional temporary housing in the Triangle area and associated extension of footpaths, water mains and sewers were to be executed during the fourth implementation stage.

A Nairobi City Council's main sewer with manhole already existed in Mathare 4A area. So the project developers projected sewer lines. Water reticulation systems and garbage collection points were set. Water manholes and connection lines of varying sizes were required (based on connection of wet cores).

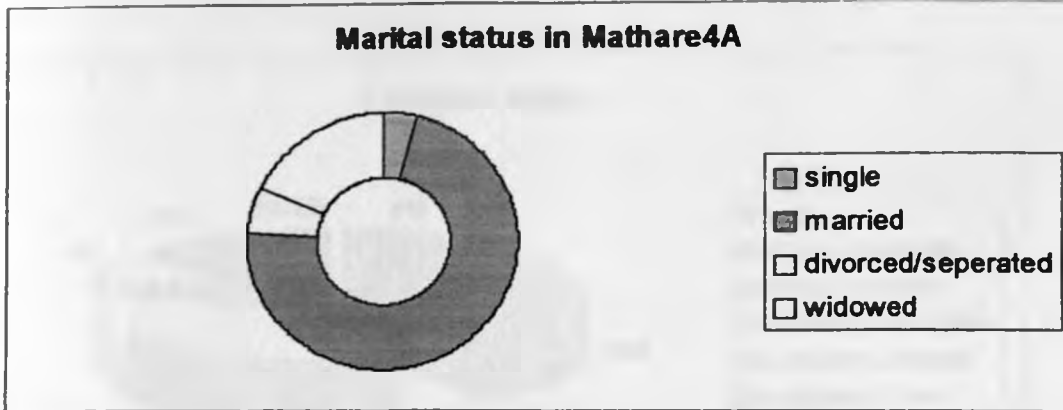
Security street lighting also required relocation of residents to pave way. Security street lighting was done in the whole of Mathare 4A, especially on the main roads. The area on the cliff wasn't lit, as well as that on the riverbed.

A mixture of Landlords/ structure owners and tenants occupied the project area. At least 28% of the responding population of this survey was made of former structure owners. This population of former structure owners had its way of participation, which was more of resistance than cooperation.

#### **4.3. Socio-economic characteristics of Mathare 4A residents**

Following this study, characteristics of the respondents were gotten. From the study, a greater majority of the respondents (72%) were married. Only 4% were single families, 6% divorced or separated and 18% were widowed. The research found out that majority of the household heads was male (58%) while 42% were female. This data shows that the male had the greater share in participating due to their big number. The survey also found out that marital status influenced the people's participation in the upgrading programme. The reason is that majority of those who took part in upgrading claimed that at least one of the spouse had time to take care of the family matters while the other could get involved in the project. The figure below shows the marital status of the respondents.

**Figure 1: Doughnut chart on Marital Status**

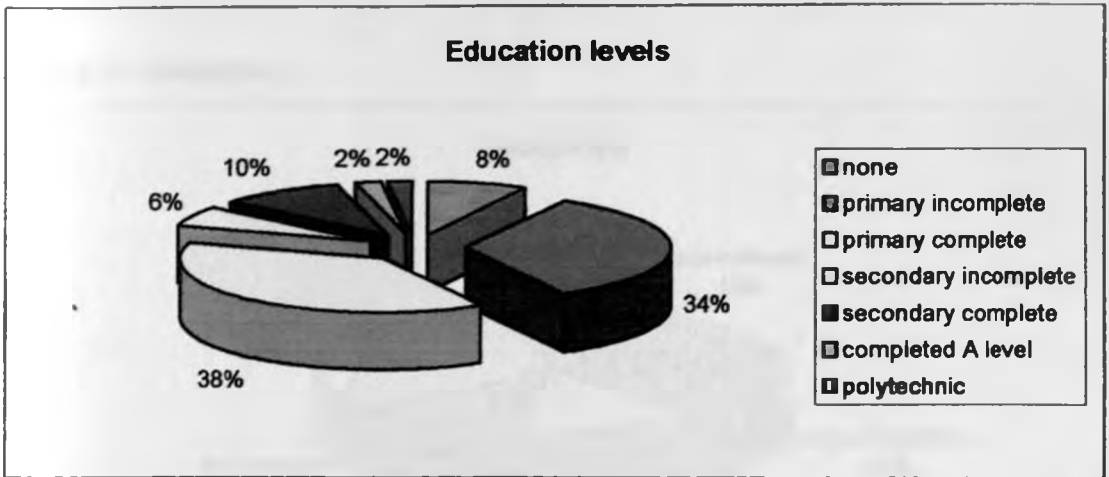


Source: Field Survey, 2004

The survey also found out that a greater majority of the population that participated in the upgrading programme was over 50 years of age. The survey revealed that more than 28% of the populations were above the production age of 50. The age levels also meant that those who participated during the implementation of the project are still living in the area. Cumulatively, the survey shows that 10% of the household heads of the population is below the age of 30 years. What this implies is that this population was relatively young in 1992 when the project was being planned and implemented in 1997.

The survey also shows that a greater majority of 80% of the population has only completed primary school. The survey also found that 8% of the population had not gone to school as reflected in figure below, and so their participation in the programme was affected by their illiteracy.

**Figure 2: Levels of education**

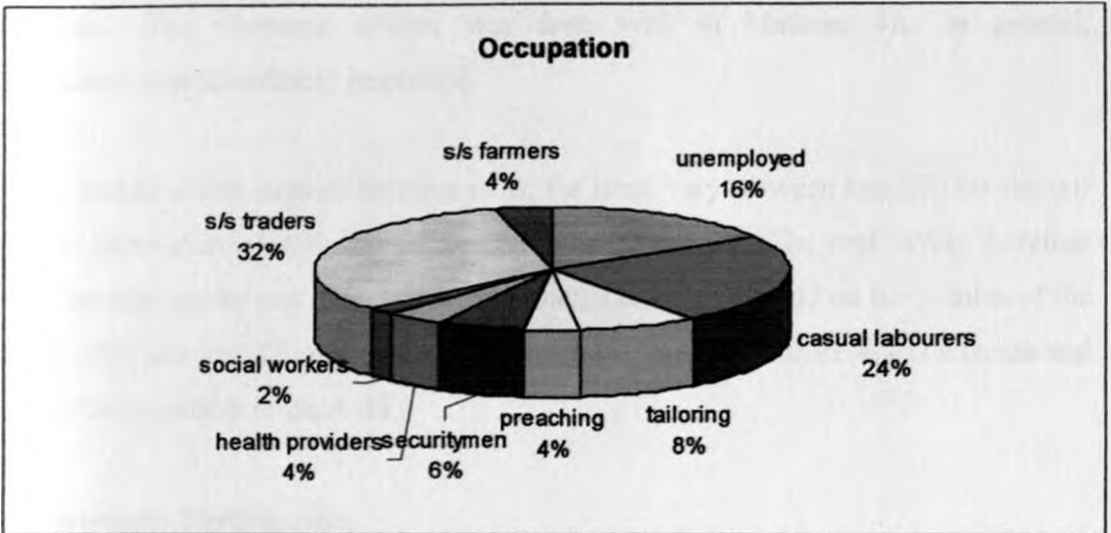


Source: Field Survey, 2004

The fact that majority of the population in Mathare 4A are semi-illiterate means that their participation was constrained and limited to some forms. This survey found that the levels of education in Mathare had a lot to do with the community participation. The survey found that most of those residents who cooperated in participation had completed primary school levels and beyond. These were the most conscious residents who wanted the upgrading programme to uplift their standards of living.

The Mathare 4A residents are engaged in different occupations. The table below shows different occupations performed by the Mathare 4A residents.

**Figure 3: Occupation**



Source: Field Survey, 2004

The figure above shows that majority of the residents of Mathare 4A are small scale traders (32%) followed by casual labourers (24%). The unemployed 16% of the respondents are in most cases the youth, the housewives and the elderly. Other professional in Mathare 4A include the tailors forming 8% of the respondents, the security personnel (6%), the healthcare providers forming 4% of the respondents and 2% social workers.

#### **4.4 Housing Conditions**

This survey found out that all the Mathare 4A-housing units were one-roomed houses. The survey found out that a majority 68% of the families in Mathare 4A live in a one-roomed housing unit. This is only followed by 24% of the families that have two single rooms. Only 6 percent have four rooms each to shelter their families. What this means is that majority (68%) of the Mathare 4A families are congested in single rooms.

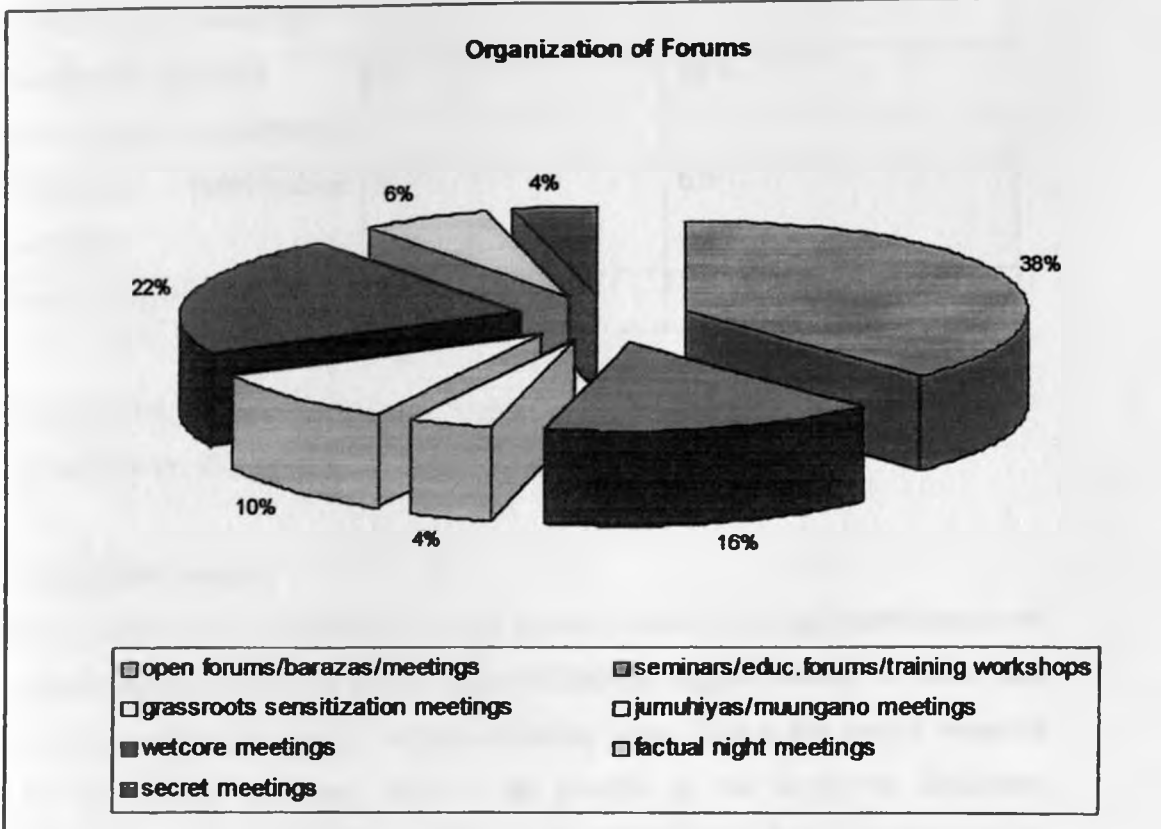
This survey also found that it is not the whole of Mathare 4A that has been upgraded. The unupgraded houses are those that were erected initially by the former landlords and were unfortunately not developed during the upgrading. One of the reasons is that the project did not complete its works due to the political disruptions that surmounted to its stalling. Commendable is the work done on infrastructure. Here, the streetlights were erected and the roads tarmacked. Dumping sites were developed and the refuse collection system harmonized. The sewerage system was done well in Mathare 4A. In general, infrastructure was remarkably improved.

When it comes to the issue of housing rents, the rents vary between ksh.200 for the unupgraded units and ksh.400 for the upgraded housing units. The rent levels therefore depend on whether the unit was developed or not. They also depend on the number of the housing units one has. Of note is that everyone who lives in Mathare 4A is a tenant and pays rent every month to the AHT.

#### **4.5 Community Participation**

Proactive participation of community members in a project certainly leads to successful implementation and community ownership of the project through its stages (SPRR, 2001:77). Project beneficiaries play a major role in the day-to-day dealings of a community project. In Mathare 4A slum upgrading programme, community participation was expressed in different forms, especially at the initial stages. The figure below suffices to show the forms of forums organized.

**Figure 4: Pie chart on Organization of forums**



Source: Field Survey, 2004

Evidence from the figure indicates that open forums (barazas and meetings/*Kamukunji*) were popular in Mathare 4A in the initial stages of implementation and even after implementation. Almost a quarter (38%) of the organized forums were the open forums. Evident from multiple responses is that a majority of 69% attended the open forums. The least popular were the grassroots sensitisation meetings, which have only 6.9%. These meetings were organized in small groups at the initial stages of the project. The idea was to get the population that was welcoming and that understood the agenda of the project. Seminars, educational forums and training workshops lie in the middle with 24.1%. These seminar workshops were set to inform people more about the benefits of the upgrading programme and to assist the developers get support from those interested. The table below outlines these multiple responses.



**Table 1: Multiple responses on organisation of forums.**

Category label	Responses	Percentage of responses
Open forums/barazas/meetings	40	69.0
Seminars/educational forums/training workshops	14	24.1
Grassroots sensitisation meetings	4	6.9
Total responses	58	100.0

**NB.** 7 missing cases; 43 valid cases

Source: Field Survey, 2004.

#### **4.5.1 Participation stages**

Community participation in Mathare 4A was in two forms: individual participation and group or mass participation. The survey revealed that the biggest number of individuals (68%) started to participate at the conceptualisation stage. This is the period when the agenda of the project was being 'sold' to the people. At this stage, the developers mingled with the residents of Mathare 4A by sensitising them of the development 'to come'. At this stage also, the use of questionnaires and opinion seeking was employed.

At the planning stage of the project, the number of the population (slum dwellers) that was involved was minimal. This survey found out that about 6% of the community was involved in the planning stage. Of great recognition is the number of slum dwellers who participated at the implementation stage. The survey found that about 24% of the households in Mathare 4A were participating at this stage. Summing up this number with the earlier one involved at the conceptualisation stage (68%), we find that before implementation of the project, the number of the slum dwellers involved made the Mathare community aware of the project.

Other individuals though minimal (2%) started to participate fully at the monitoring and evaluation stages. Those who did so were like 'rubber stamps' to the project developers' presence as they were not well informed of the intricacies of M&E. This meant that the project began to involve fewer numbers of people at this stage that was very vital.

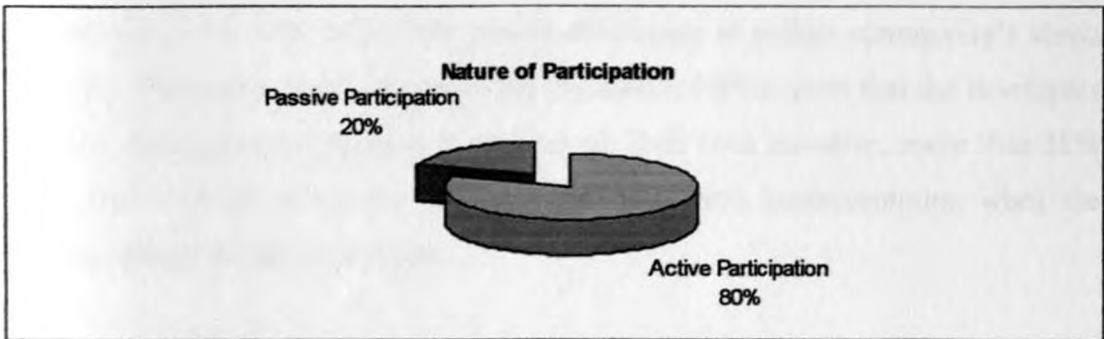
The slum dwellers also participated in forming groups during the implementation stage. These groups were either formed formally or informally. This is represented by 52% of the respondents as compared with 40% of those who participated in groups at the conceptualisation stage. This trend implies that although individuals participated mostly at the conceptualisation stage, they started to form groups in big numbers mostly at the implementation stage. Other groups started to form at the planning stage as well as implementation and evaluation stage.

#### **4.5.2 Forms and patterns of participation in Mathare 4A**

Participation is said to stimulate local initiatives and cooperation in the way planning is done (NCCCK, 1971:35). Participation also helps projects get full support of all those concerned with the welfare of the target population, in particular accommodating and reflecting local wishes. Participation of slum dwellers in Mathare 4A was expressed in different forms, either actively or passively or both. Active participation is defined as having the authority and ability to provide information pertaining to the system being built and to make pertinent and timely decisions regarding the requirements (Scott, 2001). In this definition, people take the initiative independent of external institutions to change systems. Passive participation in this study stands for people being told what is going to happen, or what has already happened (Pretty, 1995).

The most outstanding response shows that majority (80%) of the slum dwellers actively participated in the upgrading programme. Only 20% passively participated in the slum-upgrading programme. The figure below shows the nature of participation.

**Figure 5: Pie chart on nature of participation**



Source: Field Data, 2004

Of note is that even where the community was participating especially in the relocation, consultation or even in giving opinions, it was not effective. On making the decision to be relocated, the slum dwellers (both renters and original structure owners) in one way or the other contributed to the decision. The survey shows that 32% of the population participated in making the decision to their relocation. This is compared with a 68% majority of the population that did not take part in the decision to relocation. What this means is that, relocation decision was more or less influenced by the developers, Amani Housing Trust. The data also shows that since majority did not take part in deciding whether to be relocated or not, and to where, more people were really inconvenienced. The data shows that at least 56% of the population was inconvenienced.

Consultation is very important in participatory development. Before any project is implemented or even planned for, it is necessary for the developers to consult all stakeholders including primary stakeholders if the project is to succeed. This is relevant for sustainability and ownership of the project. Consultation in Mathare 4A seems to have started before the implementation stage. From the survey, it is evident that virtually everybody who was living in Mathare 4A was consulted. The Developing Agency, Amani Housing Trust consulted majority (80%) of the residents. Fr. Klaus also did a

of informing and consulting the community under the Catholic Church as reflected by 16% of the respondents. The then area chief is also said to have consulted and informed the population. The rest were consulted in the planning stage (12%), implementation stage (16%), and during monitoring and evaluation stages (2%).

Besides consultation, the population was also involved in giving information through filling questionnaires. This helped the project developers to collect community's views and opinion. Although a great number of the population (48%) claim that the developers did not seek their opinion but gave it out through their own initiative, more than 38% gave out their opinion about the project before and after implementation when the developing agency sought their views.

The participation of Mathare 4A was both regular and irregular in the slum upgrading process. About 64% participated regularly while 36% participated irregularly. This trend could be explained on the grounds of the socio-economic situation of the community in Mathare 4A. Since majority of the people in Mathare 4A are engaged in small scale trading activities, their regular participation could have been affected by their occupational roles in trying to seek sustenance and livelihood diversification.

#### **4.5.3 Forums organized**

It is evident from the study that forums were organised in Mathare 4A slum upgrading process. These forums were for both individuals and groups, not to mention the unorganised sporadic mass meetings, which were disrupted by police and other opposing community members.

The forums organised were of different types and calibre. The most popular were the *baraza* called either by the AHT or slum dwellers themselves. The *baraza* had the greatest attendance (38%) of slum dwellers in Mathare 4A, as compared to other forums as shown on table 2 below.

**Table 2: Forums for participation**

Type of forums	Frequency	Percentage
Open <i>barazas</i>	19	38.0
Wet core meetings	11	22.0
Seminars, educational and training workshops	8	16.0
<i>Jumuhiya</i> and <i>Muungano</i> meetings	5	10.0
Faction night meetings and secret meetings	5	10.0
Grassroots sensitisation meetings	2	4.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	50	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2004.

From the table, the types of forums were not exclusive. People attended more than one forum. The trend on attendance of forums means that there were no conditions for participation in forums hence the reason for more attendance.

The situation in Mathare 4A was that forums became more popular when the slum dwellers started engaging themselves in matters related to the project development. The reason why the open *barazas* were popular is that they had no conditions of attendance. More still, the *barazas* were held at convenient times for the people to attend. The reason for this preference was that the *barazas* were held in the open space and attendance was open to all. No secrets were held in these *barazas* as issues were discussed openly.

One important forum that was applied in Mathare 4A was the use of representatives. Representation was mostly done through the committees and wet core leaders. Representatives were used by the developing agency to help get peoples' views and opinion especially on issues dealing with water and sanitation. The representatives consulted the residents on issues touching the project and also collected information for the executing agency. When it came to accessing benefits, the representatives in most

cases put their interests first before those of other people. The representatives also worked with bias for those of who pushed their way up.

Although the wet core members elected their wet core leaders, the fact that most of the elections were mired by fraud and rigging made members suspect the leaders. This has brought the malfunctioning of most of the wet cores in the project area. Infact, the disconnection of water in most of the wet cores due to pilling water bills made the wet cores less popular, hence not popularly acceptable.

The *Jumuhiyas* also had representation. These *Jumuhiyas* were formed by majority of the former landlords. The slum dwellers in these forums expressed their opinions and grievances through their representatives. The representatives were mostly the ones who were consulted by the AHT on matters of law and order. But from the situations that followed implementation of the project in 1997 to 2001, it is evident that these *Jumuhiyas* were set to push for their members' grievances first before those of the whole community. They are said to have opposed the project right from the start when they realized that the project developers were not just concerned with their grievances alone.

*Muungano*<sup>1</sup> also operated on representation format. Elected officials of the existing operational committees formed the *Muungano*. It was made up of the area chief, two representatives from the executing agency, and three representatives from the wet cores and a community development officer.

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1. *Muungano wa wanavijiji* is the urban poor federation in Kenya in the informal settlements. The main aim is developing a consensus among the inhabitants around issues of land and structure entitlements, and building community capacity to address them. *Muungano* also operates base saving schemes that provide a community structure for governance and housing initiatives (Jane Weru in Environment and Urbanization: Participatory Governance. Volume 16 No.1 April 2004).

#### 4.5.4 Techniques used in participation

Mathare 4A slum upgrading programme had very many avenues and channels of presenting peoples' views. Such channels include seeking and giving opinions, use of representatives, question and answer method, unstructured shouting and demanding, use of posters and pamphlets, use of organised drama skits as well as letter writing and memos. The table below suffice to show the trend.

**Table 3: Techniques and ways of participation**

<b>Technique/ way of participation</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1. Attending forums	32
2. Representation	26
3. Question posing	18
4. Unstructured shouting and demanding	10
5. Posters and Pamphlets	8
6. Drama skits	4
7. Letters and Memos	2
<b>Totals</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field survey, 2004.

The technique of giving and seeking opinions meant that residents of Mathare 4A were given the opportunity in organised forums to speak out their minds on the way forward for the project. A 32% majority of the respondents claimed that they attended the forums and had the chance to seek and give their opinions. The executing agency organised these forums to collect people's views and respond to their grievances.

Another technique that was used in Mathare 4A was the use of representatives. Representation in Mathare 4A was used by the committees and the executing agency still relies on it as the approach for development. This survey found that about 26% of the respondents expressed their opinions through representatives. This survey also realized

that this use of representative stakeholders approach was not effectively applied in Mathare 4A.

Question posing and responding with answers was also a technique used in this slum upgrading. 18% of the slum dwellers put their questions forward seeking for answers. This survey found out that most of the questions that the slum dwellers posed went unanswered. The answered questions had their focus on development by the AHT. Questions that seemed to be opposing the project or those that seemed to be politically instigated went unanswered. This was done by the developing agency by pilling all the questions and choosing which ones to answer.

Unstructured shouting and demanding to know the situation and progress of the slum upgrading programme was also experienced in Mathare 4A. This was mostly done by 10% of those slum dwellers that opposed the project, especially during the relocation periods. This technique became popular in Mathare 4A when the project became politicised and the community had very limited channels of communication with the executing agency. This technique was applied in the open *barazas* and during chaos.

Another technique used in Mathare to communicate was the use of posters and pamphlets, which were pinned in various notice boards in Mathare 4A area. Posters and pamphlets seem to have captured the day when suspicion was high. This technique of using posters and pamphlets seem to have had a backing of 8% of the households interviewed in the Mathare 4A.

Other techniques used in expressing opinions and grievances are drama skits that were popular in the seminars organized by the AHT as part of sensitisation process. These drama skits were organized by the executing agency in collaboration with the Catholic Church. The actors in the skits were selected slum dwellers that were acting for the development of the slum. Other actors were skilled artists solicited by the executing agency for upgrading message to 'sink' into the community. The skits were to educate the slum people on importance of the slum-upgrading programme especially on



improving the standards of living. At least 4% of the respondents claim to have taken part in these skits.

The technique that achieved the least popularity is the usage of letters and memos. The survey shows that only 2% of the respondents wrote or received letters and memos as channels of communication. This could be explained through the literacy levels in Mathare 4A where only 20% of the respondents have gone past secondary level. Another reason for the little usage of this communication channel is accessibility of the community members. Most of them go out to seek livelihood during the day (and even at night) hence the problem of reaching them.

## CHAPTER FIVE: FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION

### 5.1 Introduction

Community participation in development initiatives does not just happen, it is initiated. The developing agency is supposed to manage the process over a period of time, and allow others involved more or less control over what happens (Simons, 1997). The AHT as the developing agency in Mathare 4A was set to achieve more of the set goals with effective community participation.

In Mathare 4A, about ten community organizations/groups were formed. These groups were formed with very noble intentions of acting as linkages between the community and the AHT management. The groups had the objective of popularising the project to the community. They held several meetings in the neighbourhood during the pilot phase aimed at exposing the community to the design and objectives of the project (SPRR, 2001: 77). The meetings provided forums for the residents to raise questions and input into the upgrading programme. Participation of the community was thus anticipated by the developing agency to be a process of involvement, consultation and information sharing.

A number of factors influenced Mathare community's participation in the upgrading process. These factors include; improved housing and environment; use of force by the AHT; former structure owners' fate as land lords; employment and business opportunities; and representation of group members. Others, which included family size, Christian faith, issuance of kickbacks by AHT, and influence of former structure owners, friends and neighbours as indicated in table 4 below, had a lot to do with community participation.

**Table 4: Reasons for participation**

<b>Reason for participation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1. Improved Housing and Environment	30	60
2. AHT use of force	6	12
3. Landlord's fate: compensation or not	5	10
4. Employment and business opportunities	4	8
5. Representation of group members	3	6
6. Others	2	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Data, 2004

## **5.2. Improved housing and environment**

The upgrading of Mathare 4A was based on the results of the pilot project survey that was conducted in 1992/93. The main objective of the upgrading programme was to improve the living conditions of the people in Mathare 4A (GoK, Oct.1995: 3). This goal includes improving housing conditions, social infrastructure and services and provision of necessary facilities like water and electricity.

The living standards in Mathare 4A were pathetic before the upgrading project started. The concept 'better living standards' had different meanings to different people in Mathare 4A. A large percentage (60%) of the people used better living standards to stand for quality of housing and environment. This included those residents (52%) who wanted housing units of good quality, spacious and with secure tenure and those who attributed better living standards with improved environment (8%).

Initially, the Mathare environment was filthy with open sewerage, and only two unkept and inaccessible City Council (public) toilets. There were no access roads especially for vehicles. The area was stinking since there was no garbage dumping sites.

Since the surrounding environment of Mathare slum was filthy and inaccessible, the residents wanted the programme to make their environment better and the area accessible.

Basing their argument on these objectives, the residents of Mathare 4A claim that they were promised tenant-purchase scheme which meant getting: a three-roomed house, a toilet and a washroom (wet core). The community claims that the project was going to be a tenant scheme for only the first ten years. After that, the developed Mathare 4A project would belong to the community. This study found that 52% of the community participated on trust that the project-executing agency was going to deliver as per the project design. This was not achieved and eroded community faith and trust in the developing agency.

In the project design, the residents of Mathare 4A were going to get improved housing units and infrastructure services. Since the project was not completed (stalled), not all areas were upgraded. It is evident from this survey that at least 14% of the households live in housing units which are not upgraded at all. Only infrastructure namely, roads and the streetlights were provided. This means that the project design was not fully executed and hence partially benefited those whose houses were not upgraded.

### **5.3 Use of force by the AHT**

In the process of initiating community projects, some organizations or developing agencies apply force to coerce the community to be part of the process. Use of force was found in Mathare 4A to have been used by AHT against the residing community. A total 12% of the interviewed respondents argued that the developers used force to make the community comply with their demands as reflected in table 4. This included forced evictions and demands for the community to pave way for development without their consent. The community also argued that the developers used government machineries (Police and Provincial administration officers) to get peoples' compliance. This occurred when the community became resistant to the AHT procedures of relocation.

The issues of demolition of housing units together with forced participation (evictions) also influenced the community to participate in groups. The use of force by the AHT to relocate the residents and evict those resisting prompted the community to form participatory groups. This sort of participation in Mathare 4A was both expressed by the residents either as individuals or in groups. The residents' participation was either because of individuals' will or was influenced by groups formed in the area. This survey found that not everybody who was relocated was inconvenienced, but 56% of those relocated residents were inconvenienced. This means that the residents were either moved by force, lost or had their houses broken into. The table below shows the number of willing participants, either as individuals or in a group.

**Table 5: Cross tabulation on willingness to participate**

COUNT		Did you as a group willingly participates in the process?		TOTAL
		Yes	No	
Did you as an individual Participate willingly?	Yes	31	11	42
	No	1	7	8
<b>TOTAL</b>		32	18	50

$\chi^2 = 10.963$       Degree of freedom= 1  
 $p = 0.001$       level of significance= 0.05

Source: Field Data, 2004

A Chi-square test was conducted to test the association between individuals' willingness to participate and groups' willingness to participate. It was hypothesised that individuals' willingness to participate was associated with groups' willingness to participate ( $H_1$ ). The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) tested is: there is no significant relationship between individuals' willingness to participate and groups willingness to participate. The hypothesis was tested

at significant level of 0.05. The value of the Chi-square was found to be 10.963 with a significant level of 0.001. This significant value is less than the selected alpha level for the critical region being 0.05 hence we reject the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) and accept the alternative hypothesis ( $H_1$ ).

Statistics from this survey indicate that majority of the slum dwellers got willingly involved either as individuals or in groups. From the cross tabulation table above, individuals who formed groups made the majority number (62%). Only a few (22%) did not participate willingly. It is from this trend that a conclusion can be drawn; that some households were coerced to participate in the project.

Although not every community member was involved in Mathare 4A slum upgrading programme in a group, almost three quarters (74%) of the population was in groups either representing community views or elected to fight for their rights. Group participation was largely influenced by the interests the community had in upgrading.

The survey found out that water issue influenced group participation. Majority of the community members wanted to get water into their housing units especially in the wet cores. About 20% of the respondents in this survey argued for both the water issue and group joint action. This made many of the community members to form wet core groups. It is in these wet cores that representatives were elected to deal with the issue of water. It is believed by the wet core members that the community's joint action contributed a lot in their participation since the groups were formed on this tenet.

It is therefore prudent to say that community participation in upgrading Mathare 4A was influenced by use of force by the executing agency. This use of force made many community members to form groups to express their views and opinions as well as resist the evictions and demolitions. The sort of participation that the community had was thus apathetic about the way the developing agency was expressing and putting forward the upgrading proposal/ plans.

#### **5.4 Former structure owners' fate: compensation or not**

Participation in Mathare 4A upgrading programme had a lot to do with the former structure owners. There were basically two types of former structure owners: those who lived outside Mathare 4A, referred to as absentee landlords, and those who lived within Mathare 4A, constituting around 6% of all households (Dick, E. 2004: 6). The influence of these former structure owners was in terms of pressure to the upgrading developers and those tenants who seemed to collaborate with them. The reason given for participation of these former structure owners is that they wanted to get refund for their structures that were demolished before and after the project started. They therefore demanded to get compensation for the structures, for they realized that they were no longer going to be owners of any structures. This prompted them to put more pressure to the developing agency. Eventually, these former structure owners had a lot to do with the conflicts that led to the stalling of the Mathare 4A project.

This study found out that, about 10% of the respondents were former structure owners and were therefore influenced by the new developments in the area to participate in the upgrading programme. They argued that the developers had promised to adequately compensate them. The developers were also going to provide three bed-roomed houses that would belong to the residents after a period of ten years (some claimed fifteen years). When the former structure owners realised that this was not going to be, they revolted against the developers and demanded back their housing structures.

The former structure owners also claimed that the rent payments were mutually agreed upon between the two parties: the community and the developing agency. This arrangement was flouted when the AHT operated as a 'Landlord' by demanding house rents. The situation turned out to be that of evictions and removal of roofing in cases where the tenant could not pay rents promptly. Incidences of door removal became common and the Mathare community started to resent the work of AHT. Although the project was designed to give the community leverage in management, it turned out that the AHT became the 'owner' of the project hence managing it in totality. The community felt betrayed by the AHT, which was supposed to act on their trust.

This study therefore found that compensation of the former structure owners for their demolished structures had a lot to do with participation of Mathare 4A community. It is prudent to argue that the pressure put on AHT by these former structure owners, in regard to the rent payment patterns, and the period agreed upon for the rent payment (ten years) all culminated to making the community in Mathare to participate in this slum upgrading.

### **5.5 Employment and business opportunities**

Every development initiative is bound to bring employment opportunities to the communities involved if not to the experts involved. In most cases, the residing communities are affected positively in their economic spheres. Most of them benefit by getting employed by the developing agencies to take part in the implementation of the initiatives. Others get opportunities to supply required materials hence bringing economic benefits to them. Some development initiatives also open up the areas for business ventures.

This study found out that a sizable number of slum dwellers (8%) in Mathare sought employment opportunities in the upgrading project, whether on casual or permanent basis. The project was designed in a way that the target community was going to be involved by contributing either in cash (rent payment) or in provision of free labour. The employment opportunities that were available on casual terms were in brick-making and manual duties during the implementation stages. After implementation commenced, the community was also involved in providing security and other necessary duties to the project. There were also opportunities for the slum dwellers to do casual work especially in repairs and maintenance in the project area.

Employment patterns in Mathare are determined by the availability of employment opportunities and accessibility to the nearby industries. The level of education the community members have, the expertise and even the age also determine these opportunities.



The Mathare 4A community generally belongs to the lowest urban income group with an average monthly household income of between Ksh3, 500-4,000 (Mathare 4A slum rehabilitation project, Policy brief: pg 1). With rents being increased from below Ksh.300 to Ksh.400 (depending on the number of housing units one has) by the AHT, there was need for the community to seek for employment opportunities to get more resources and be able to afford the hiked rents. There was also the need to get easily accessible opportunities within the project area other than going to seek for employment elsewhere.

This survey found out that the community members sought for employment opportunities in Mathare 4A slum upgrading programme. However, it was unfortunate that not all the community members could get employed in the project. Most of those who couldn't get work in the project claimed that nepotism was being practiced especially to those who were seen to be sympathisers of the project developers. This started to sow the seeds of opposition to the upgrading programme, which eventually erupted in violent clashes.

Business opportunities as found out by this survey are a very important variable especially in Slum areas where it is survival for the fittest. Most of these opportunities are accessed by the well to do people in slums who fight any competition from others not in business. Business opportunities in Mathare 4A are very important for survival and for livelihood diversification. In Mathare 4A, business opportunities were constrained by congestion and lack of better housing plan. Most businesses that were accessible to majority of the community members were in small and micro enterprises as well as in the *Jua kali* sectors. The coming of the Development project opened doors for the residents in their endeavour to search for more business opportunities. This was due to more improved environment, accessible roads and improved housing, as well as well developed business premises.

The residents of Mathare 4A did not only desire getting good residential housing units, but they also desired to get business units from which to generate income for paying rents and sustenance. The upgrading programme provided for business premises especially along the main roads and the feeder roads, but some residents who do not live in such

premises have turned their residential units into business units. This survey found out that at least 8% of the households in Mathare 4A had made their residential units business sites. This was evident by seeing small 'kiosks' being either developed outside the housing units or residential housing windows being made shop counters.

The survey also found out that majority of those residents who have their housing units turned into business premises were doing small scale businesses. The residents argue that they participated in upgrading because their former housing units were not viable to do business in. They claim that they had no security before, as well as accessible roads that they could use to bring merchandise to their small shops. The upgrading therefore fulfilled their dreams, hence their participation.

Overall, employment opportunities and the desire to do business in Mathare 4A promoted community participation. The availability of fulltime or part-time work in the site, opportunistic business ventures (like hawking *chapati*, tea and lunch to labourers) and even new improved business structures led the community to take part in the upgrading process.

## **5.6 Representation of group members**

Representation in Mathare 4A had a lot to do with influencing the community to participate in the upgrading programme. Representatives played a key role in influencing participation of the community, especially on matters that affected them directly. This survey found out that 6% of the respondents were representatives of the Mathare community in the programme. It also found that most of the representatives participated in wet cores, formed groups, and even in seminars and in *Muungano*.

Community representatives in Mathare 4A had the role of collecting peoples' views opinions and suggestions and forwarding them to the executing agency. The channels of forwarding the views by the representatives were found by this survey not to be clear-cut. This is because the AHT had not adequately prepared for it in the planning stages of the project.

The *Muongano* representatives form the group of leaders in the existing operational committees, that is, business, social and health committees. Another committee handles rent default cases and is made up of Area chief, two representatives from AHT, three representatives from Muungano and a community development officer.

### **5.7 Other reasons for participation**

Other factors that influenced community participation in the upgrading programme include family size, Christian faith (Catholic), issuance of kickbacks by AHT, and influence of former structure owners, friends and neighbours, as represented by 4% of the respondents in this study (see table 4).

#### **5.7.1 Family Sizes**

The size of the family determines distribution of resources available; food, clothing and shelter space for that particular family. The size of the family is measured in terms of the number of people in that particular family.

The size of the families in Mathare 4A, like in any other slum area is large by any standards. The size of families seems to be a pressing issue hence its influence on community participation. This survey found that the household size in Mathare 4A ranges from one-person households to fourteen persons households. Majority of the households in Mathare seem to have members ranging between two and six people as reflected on table 6 below.

**Table 6: Family size**

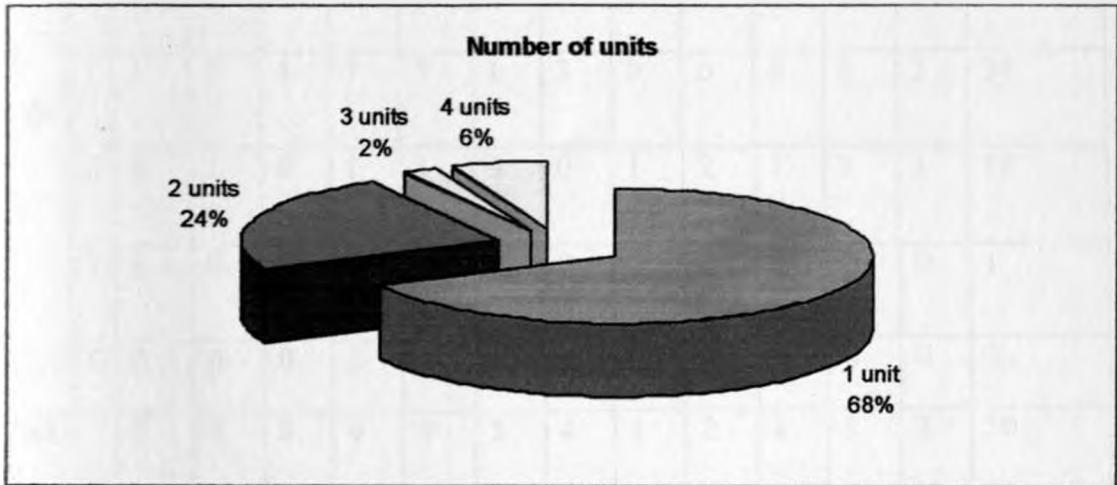
<b>Number of people per household</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	3	6
2	8	16
3	5	10
4	9	18
5	8	16
6	5	10
7	4	8
8	1	2
9	2	4
10	1	2
11	1	2
14	3	6
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Survey, 2004

The table above shows that majority (18%) of the respondent have four people living in a housing unit of one room. Households that have two people as well as those with five people follow with 16% each. The table also shows that households that have the highest number of people (14 people) make a total of 6%.

It was found that households in Mathare 4A occupy housing units ranging from one to four rooms. Figure 6 below shows the number of housing units of one room occupied by the households in relation to their sizes.

**Figure 6: Number of housing units per household**



Source: Field Survey, 2004.

The survey found out that majority (68%) of the households have one housing unit of one room. Among the respondents in this study, 24% are in households that live in housing units of two rooms. A minimum number of the households have either three (2%) or four (6%) housing units of one room as reflected in figure 6 above.

The average number of people in a household in Mathare 4A was 5.14 while the average number of housing units of one room per household was 1.46. The largest number of people in one household was fourteen while the lowest was a single person. This fourteen people household lives in two rooms while the single person household was found to be living in one room. This survey found that the large numbers of the household members were due to the tendency to have many children and extended families including grandchildren, orphans and rural migrants and other relatives in slums. The table below attests to this situation of number of people per household in relation to the housing units.

**Table 7: Cross tabulation on number of people in the households and number of housing units**

		How many people live in this unit (s)?												TOTAL
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	14	
How many units do you have?	1	3	7	4	7	7	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	34
	2	0	1	0	1	1	3	0	1	2	1	1	1	12
	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	4	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
TOTAL		3	8	5	9	8	5	4	1	2	1	1	3	50

$\chi^2 = 41.281$

Degree of freedom = 33

$p = 0.153$

Level of significance = 0.05

Source: Field Data, 2004

A Chi square test was conducted to test the association between the number of housing units and the number of people living in them. It was hypothesised that the number of housing units is associated with the number of people ( $H_1$ ) and the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) is: there is no significant association between the number of housing units and the number of people in the housing units. The hypothesis was tested at significance level of 0.05. The value of Chi-square was found to be 41.281 with a significance level of 0.153. This significance value is greater than the selected alpha level for the critical region being 0.05 hence we accept the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) and reject the alternate hypothesis ( $H_1$ ). The number of housing units of one room a household has is not depended on the number of people living in that household, but on other factors. Affordability by the breadwinner and availability of the rooms are some of these factors.

The cross tabulation table shows that majority of households have one housing unit of one room in which they are living in. The data also shows that the households that live in four housing units of one room have four, six and seven people. The table also shows that only three respondents are living alone in one household unit of one room. The size of the Mathare families was found by this survey to be large (average 5.14 people) compared to the Kenya average of 4.5 people per family. One household of fourteen people live in a housing unit of one room. Two households of fourteen people live in housing units of two rooms (each). This means that these three households are congested in their housing units.

The family size in this study therefore played a key role in influencing the community participation in upgrading. With too much pressure to get enough space for large family sizes, majority of Mathare 4A community members found themselves participating in the upgrading process.

### **5.7.2 Christianity**

Religious faith plays a key role in influencing the way people relate with each other. Christianity dominated Mathare 4A community, with majority being Catholics among other faiths. The project Sponsor is the Catholic Church and this factor had a lot to do with the residing community.

Participation of the community in Mathare 4A project is therefore determined by their faith, considering the fact that majority of them are Christians. Issues of upgrading the slum are discussed either as a 'by the way' or 'AOB agenda' as the church sermon is delivered. This has made many church goers to participate in the upgrading programme.

The faith of Mathare community was strengthened by presence of Fr. Klaus Braunreuter who was the Catholic Priest at Mathare 4A Catholic Church at that time. He is the one who was informing and influencing the community to support the project. The Mathare community took Fr. Klaus as the leader of the executing agency. This is one of the reasons why they supported the project at its inception stages. The Priest was the peoples'

voice and in most cases solved their problems when things went haywire. The shared Christian faith therefore became a regular forum of interaction among the community, hence their participation.

The Catholic Church has done a lot to be appreciated in Mathare 4A. The Church brought funds, the developing agency and unity among the cosmopolitan Mathare community. The church also brought forums that the community members could express their views. It is therefore prudent to give credit to the Catholic Church for the upgrading of Mathare 4A.

### **5.7.3 Issuance of Kickbacks**

Kickbacks are payments or any other type of compensation made in order to influence one's advantage or gain unearned benefit, or opportunity. Put different, it is the violation of public official's duty of faith towards his/ her community. Kickbacks are also looked at as offering something of value in exchange for a favourable decision. Essentially, kickbacks are bribes.

Many development agencies are known for issuing kickbacks to get community support. The survey found out that AHT did issue kickbacks though surreptitiously. Former structure owners formed groups to spearhead their grievances and lobby for their interests in the project. The issuance of kickbacks to some Mathare 4A community members as believed by many respondents was related to those groups, which were formed to oppose the grievances of the community against the project. The respondents alleged that the executing agency issued some funds as kickbacks to those people who were ready to fight for the agency's position in the upgrading scheme. The funds influenced those who disrupted the opposing group meetings.

From this perspective, this study argues that although the former structure owners were genuine in pushing for their grievances, the presence of malicious groups interfered with their noble participation hence the disagreements. Since kickbacks were issued in a skewed manner, betrayal and loss of faith on the receivers side was felt in Mathare 4A



which led eventually to open disruptions and ultimately to halting of the upgrading project.

#### **5.7.4 Influence of Former structure owners, friends and neighbours**

Communities or societies are easily influenced or swayed to bring about an effect, physical or moral by a gradual process. Robert Cialdini in his book *the psychology of persuasion* ([www.amazon.com](http://www.amazon.com)) argues that people can be easily swayed or induced to take a position.

Community participation in Mathare 4A as found out by this study was exerted to the former structure owners by friends and neighbours during the implementation period. Most respondents argued that the executing agency was not friendly and fair to the community and especially to the former structure owners. This made the community to come together with the goal of spearheading their grievances. This opinion was held by 4% of the respondents. Friends and neighbours in Mathare 4A would come up together to attend meetings and even address issues of upgrading. Neighbouring families/ households would call each other to go and attend meetings on matters of upgrading especially those affecting them directly and at that particular time.

Community participation in upgrading Mathare 4A can therefore be said to have been, to a certain extent a matter of mob psychology as witnessed during the skirmishes that led to the eventual stalling of the project. Many of the community members were actually involved in the battle exchange with the government security forces (the Police).

#### **5.8 Conclusion**

Analysis in this chapter has revealed that social and economic factors played a key role in community participation in Mathare 4A. This study found that the greatest impetus behind community participation was the project design that had tenets of improved housing and environment for Mathare 4A community. Other influencing factors seem to branch from this very important component in upgrading Mathare 4A. They include among others; search for employment and business opportunities, demand for

compensation by former structure owners, use of force by AHT and the representation of Mathare community. Other related factors that had a lot to do with community participation are family size, Christian faith especially the Catholic Church, issuance of kickbacks and most importantly, the influence of neighbours and friends (through mob psychology).

The community's participation in the project was not only limited to the construction of the structure but also to the maintenance of the structure. The community members were involved in the construction of the structure and also in the maintenance of the structure. The community members were also involved in the construction of the structure and also in the maintenance of the structure.

The community members were also involved in the construction of the structure and also in the maintenance of the structure. The community members were also involved in the construction of the structure and also in the maintenance of the structure.

### 3.1.1. Community Participation

The community members were also involved in the construction of the structure and also in the maintenance of the structure. The community members were also involved in the construction of the structure and also in the maintenance of the structure.

## **CHAPTER SIX: FACTORS HINDERING SLUM DWELLERS' PARTICIPATION**

### **6.1 Introduction**

Initiation and implementation of development programmes are key stages that are bound to face problems if unanticipated externalities are not well planned for. Most development projects stall at this stages. Many attempts at community participation fail because organizations promoting involvement are unclear about the level of participation on offer. Limited consultation, with few real options, which is presented as an opportunity for active participation is likely to produce disillusionment.

The Mathare 4A-upgrading programme experienced a number of problems that affected the implementation process. The problems were of socio-economic and political nature and included ethnicity, illiteracy levels, cultural beliefs and survival constraints, police harassment, fighting and arrests, evictions, closure and roof removal, relocation, and imposed leaders. This chapter discusses these problems in relation to effective community participation.

### **6.2 Socio-economic hindrances**

Mathare 4A residents were in different socio-economic status before the upgrading programme commenced. Those who were doing relatively well were the structure owners and business community compared to majority poor who were wallowing in abject poverty. The socio-economic situation of the residents started to improve during the implementation stage of the project. However, the anticipated improvement was not totally achieved due to several hindrances in Mathare 4A. The social factors include ethnicity, illiteracy, cultural traits and religious differences, mistrust and dwindling confidence. The economic hindrances include occupational constraints, poverty, and survival bottlenecks.

### 6.2.1 Ethnicity

Ethnic composition in Kenya is cosmopolitan in nature with over forty ethnic communities. These communities are not defined in secluded areas of stay but intermingle everywhere in the Kenyan territory. This intermingling of communities is illustrated well in the urban centres, especially in the slums where no specific communities are said to be secluded from the rest.

The ethnic composition of Mathare 4A was found by this survey to be heterogeneous with 50.8% Luo community forming the largest group; followed by 16.6% Kamba; 15.6% Kikuyu and then 10.3% Luhya. Other ethnic groups also live in Mathare 4A but are insignificant in number (R.o.K, October, 1995: 2).

Ethnic factor militated against meaningful participation in implementing the upgrading project. Majority of the former structure owners happened to be Kikuyu and the tenants happened to be other ethnic groups. The former tenants (now new tenants) in most cases refused the raising of rents without their direct involvement while the former structure owners were trying to adjust to their new position as tenants. The community in general was utterly perturbed by the new rents adjusted by the AHT.

Sections of Mathare 4A community were hostile to the officials of AHT and refused to cooperate in the formulation and execution of the upgrading project. This stirred confrontation on clash of interests. Such confrontations were either rent-related or over construction of new structures. The ethnic differences started to emerge bringing more open atrocities to the community. The whole community became ethnicised/ tribalised.

With the coming on of the Mathare 4A project, the tenancy situation was bound to change and this had a lot of implications on the community. The fact that everyone became a tenant to AHT made the former structure owners' equal to their former tenants. The strong divide that existed between the distinctive ethnic groups was expected by the developers to submerge in the upgrading process, but more ethnic tension became so clear when the communities started identifying themselves in seclusion. The Kikuyu

community (especially the formers structure owners) resented the programme for they turned out to be the 'losers' while other ethnic communities seemed to have won. This was clearly seen with the activities of the executing agency where the Luo and Kamba communities became the majority labourers in AHT. More still, the ethnic divide was clearly seen when the project was in the first phase. Majority of casual workers were the 'collaborating group' who happened to be of Kamba and of Luo communities. As the project was being implemented, and by the time it stalled in 2001, most of those who were working for the project were the 'collaborating' communities: the Luo, Kamba, Luhya and other minority ethnic groups. The Kikuyu community overly felt sidelined.

Harmonising different communal interests was not easy for the developing agency in Mathare. Most of various groups especially the former structure owners had fronted their grievances to AHT who could not handle them at once. The groups were also ethnicised, a thing that the AHT did not want to involve itself with. It was found that the more the agency tried to ease the differences among the communities, the more the differences surfaced. This has ultimately reduced the level of participation of the community in the upgrading programme.

It can be argued that ethnic differentiation in Mathare 4A has led to ethnic chauvinism where one community feels more superior to others. The study found that negative ethnicity is the problem of the mind, which has affected the attainment of the upgrading goals that AHT had set.

### **6.2.2 Illiteracy levels**

Education attainment of a population is one of the key indicators of development. During this survey, all the respondents were asked to state their levels of education, especially the period before the project implementation. It was found out that only 20% of the respondents had gone past-primary school level. This is the sum total of those who attended secondary [6% for secondary incomplete and 10% for secondary complete], and those who went up to 'A' level (2%) and polytechnic or college (2%). This means that majority of the slum dwellers were either illiterate (8%) or had very limited education.

This is reflected in the fact that 72% had only primary education. This educational status of the Mathare 4A residents made the AHT's declared intention to involve the community in matters of development, through the increased use of seminars and pamphlets a rather untimely and unrealistic strategy for participation.

When the project started (the pilot phase), the literacy levels were dismal. Illiteracy was most pronounced among the elderly members of Mathare community. Since majority of the participants in the implementation stage of the project were these elderly lot, their limited educational levels highly affected their participation. Very few community members were able to read and write before the project was implemented. This study found that majority of the community members are now able to read and write due to introduction of education programmes and infrastructures like schools in the project area. New occupants who were sublet in the project also boosted this literacy level as most of them had gone to school.

The slum dwellers' lack of informed knowledge in the initial stages of the project due to high rates of illiteracy and limited educational levels left the utilisation of the relevant policy and development design that the developers had planned, a lingering frustration. The community *per se* could not comprehend the development plans and could not focus their efforts towards this noble goal, and this therefore affected their levels of participation.

### **6.2.3 Culture and religion**

Culture is a people's way of life. Religion determines people's faith and affection towards a supreme being. The two are interrelated and have a lot to do with the way people associate and relate with each other.

Culture in this study includes the languages, norms, values, beliefs, and taboos that the Mathare 4A communities (ethnic) hold dear. Religion in Mathare 4A ranged from Christianity, to Islam, to traditional beliefs. Since Mathare 4A community was cosmopolitan in nature, different cultures that different ethnic groups in Mathare 4A hold

dearly brought more differences in the upgrading. All these cultural and religious affiliations were found by this study to have affected the participation of Mathare 4A community.

Most ethnic groups in Mathare 4A had their beliefs, values and norms that they hold dearly. For instance, most African communities ensure that their grown up boys have their own room or hut (*Simba* in Dholuo). This practice was not possible in the upgraded Mathare 4A since acquiring of rooms was determined by availability and affordability, and not on cultural demands. Initially, the communities were living in units depending on the number of family members and the cultural values they hold, since they could afford. The new set up brought by the project overhauled this scenario. Those communities who were highly affected due to their cultural demands resented the project hence their negative participation.

Another cultural constraint to community participation is the issue of distance and opportunity cost involved. A good example of difficulties in practicing the cultural believes is the Luo belief in traditional burials of the community members. Whenever a Luo died in Mathare 4A during upgrading, the participation of the Luo community members was exceedingly affected. The community had to organise for the burial of the deceased irrespective of the needs arising from the project. This interfered with the group dynamics and affected the participation of the individuals. This cultural practice also affected the payments of housing rents. This was because contributions had to be made for the preparation of the burial, especially for transportation of the coffin to the 'ancestral land'. The community also used too much of their time in burial preparation and therefore could not actively participate fully in the project activities.

Other economic activities that relate to cultural beliefs that the communities carried demanded economic input which majority of them had to struggle to attain. These activities involved money for marriage ceremonies and footing bills for family meetings. All these acted as constraints to community participation.

The issue of religion was paramount in Mathare 4A slum upgrading programme. Religious denominations in Mathare 4A are clearly dominated by Christian churches (GoK, 1995: 11). The involvement and engagement of the Catholic Church made other faithful such as Muslims (estimated to be less than 2% of the Mathare population), Musambwa, Mungiki, Akorino as well as the traditional believers to shy off. Their contributions to the project were conservative in nature because the Catholic Church had the overall control of the project. Although there was no open bias towards non-Christians in term of project benefits, they had to participate in a manner acceptable to the executing agency, which was predominantly Catholic. Free participation of the non-Christians was thus constrained by these religious affiliations, which needed to be accommodated by the developers if the project was to be a success.

#### **6.2.4 Mistrust and lack of confidence**

Development projects that involve community participation are more often than not faced with the challenge of harnessing trust and confidence of the involved community. Many problems in participation process develop because of inadequate preparation by the developing agencies. This creates mistrust and lack of confidence in the community (Simmons, 1997).

During the implementation period of Mathare 4A, the executing agency found itself in need of redesigning its objectives for it was deemed necessary by the feasibility studies done (GoK, 1995: 18). The participatory process in this upgrading project also yielded to a number of 'development principles' that needed redesigning of the project objectives. These unanticipated developments were understood as conditions for the successful achievements of the objectives. Unfortunately, the whole process of redesigning the project objectives was done without consultation or involvement of the community.

This redesigning of the project objectives brought a lot of mistrust and lack of confidence in the community towards AHT since it was not involved in the process. The community always believed that the project design was what was agreed upon between themselves and the executing agency before the implementation stage of the programme. When it



turned out that the project design with the principle aim of improving the housing conditions was going to be redesigned, the community became suspicious of the programme, and did not welcome this new development of events. In addition to this mistrust was the negative influence exerted to the community by the former structure owners who hauled insults and mimicked the developing agency.

Direct communication between AHT and the community was found by this study to have 'stopped' when the project 'stalled' in 2001. The re-establishment process is still on going (Dick, 2004: 6). The operation of the slum upgrading process through repairs and maintenance are supposed to be done by the maintenance department of the executing agency. These housing unit repairs and maintenance, as claimed by the community, are done on nepotism and favourism. Most of those who are favoured are those very close to the executing agency, or were working in the project. This number was estimated to be 30 percent of the household heads by a 1995 survey. The number has since reduced to 8% of the family household heads in the project area. The rest of the community thus resents the maintenance workers, especially those tenants who are often harassed due to rent defaults. More suspicion is directed towards the process of collecting rent and other charges that has been very rigid.

Lack of coordination with other stakeholders including NGOs and social groups within Mathare community was also found by this study to be hindering community participation. The community perceives the AHT as a rent and charges collector and service provider, and not as a coordinator of a social development process. The operation of AHT is seen to belong to the management workers with very little involvement of the community. Even with the programme's aim being effective involvement and participation of the target group, the community sees itself being pushed to the periphery of the project's management which is seen to be 'foreign' as the majority of them are not originally residents of Mathare 4A. All these perceptions have worked against achievement of goals and objectives set by the developing agency. This makes the community not to trust what the agency put forward.

Those community members whose housing units were not developed at all express more suspicion and resentments towards the developers. The survey found out that 14% of the respondents live in housing units that were not developed at all. This group also argues that the situation is pathetic in the sense that the room space is small and the situation becomes worse during rainy season when most of the housing units leak and their floors become muddy. Although AHT manages the whole of Mathare 4A area, it was found that the maintenance department of the AHT gets very little time to go and repair these undeveloped units. All this has made the community to feel secluded from the project and therefore have no business with it. The community also suspect that the developers are only interested in their rents and other related charges, and not in the community's affairs. This has constrained their participation especially towards further development of the project.

#### **6.2.5 Economic constraints**

Economic constraints in most cities, especially in their slum areas range from low entrepreneurial abilities of the residents, uneven wealth distribution, lack of occupational choices, lack or poor access to financial services for economic ventures, to harsh environments for economic growth. Majority of these constraints affect community's participation during slum upgrading process.

Majority of Mathare community members were found to be either in the informal sector or unemployed. This has made the community in Mathare 4A to belong to the poorest economic percentile in Kenya. For those who are in the informal sector, this study found that they were involved in different occupations. Their participation in the project affairs is therefore determined by their availability, especially those who are not on fulltime economic engagement. Since small-scale traders rely on the little they get from trading their merchandise, they give more preference to their business than to attend to project issues. The same applies to casual labourers who do what it takes to satisfy their family needs before engaging in other affairs. Others who are engaged in occupations like tailoring (8%); security provision (6%); health care provision (4%); small-scale farming (2%) and social work (2%), are in most cases too busy to get involved in the project.

Their participation in the upgrading project therefore depends on time availability and convenience. The unemployed (16%) in Mathare 4A are in most cases the youths, the housewives and the elderly. This group of people is mostly the one that attends matters of upgrading project, especially meetings.

Another economic constraint that affected community participation is large family sizes. Large family size in Mathare 4A is due to presence of children, grand children as well as other relatives. One incidence found by this study shows,

'A family of fourteen members; composed of the couple, their children, their grand children and relatives from the rural area'.

Source: Field survey; 2004

More family members, composed of majority young siblings meant that the caretakers were more involved in search for food, and so had limited time to participate in the upgrading programme. The case of Mathare 4A shows that, most of the family members are dependants, and so the large family size is not an asset but a liability.

Economic opportunities were found by this study to be scarce in Mathare 4A and when available, are 'grabbed' by the competing large population. This has led to the issue of nepotism, favourism and even rent-seeking behaviours especially in the management of the programme. Search for more economic opportunities by Mathare community members also affected their participation in the upgrading programme. It also limited the community's time for the project and their availability to contribute ideas and also labour.

Poverty levels in Mathare 4A are too high and many residents find it difficult to pay the rents. This study found the housing rents in Mathare 4A generally low ranging from ksh.200 for the un-developed housing units to ksh.400 for the developed housing units of one room per month. Reasons ranging from poverty to lack of jobs have caused a lot of rent defaults in Mathare 4A. At least 8% of the respondents in this study noted that they had difficulties in paying rent. In most cases, those who face this difficult are those who

have no avenues of generating income, either through employment or through social networks. This situation, as found by this study has made many of the residents to shy off the projects' affairs. Their participation therefore depends on whether they have paid rents or not.

This study therefore argues that community participation in Mathare 4A is a matter of weighing priorities among pressing issues. The community first considers the very basic need of sustenance before it embarks on other matters affecting them in the project.

### **6.3 Political hindrances**

Slum upgrading programmes are not carried out in isolation from politics of the day. This is because of the involvement of the government and other stakeholders and the way they relate with each other. More to politics are the allocation of resources and the process of attaining interests.

Due to the activities of the project in a politically sensitive slum area, the Mathare 4A project came into the immediate focus of the local politicians (Gitec consult, 1995: 13). At the start of the project, operations also coincided with the advent and introduction of the multi-party system in Kenya. The euphoria of democratic change was sweeping the whole country and was more pronounced in Mathare than in other similar areas.

This study found that, one of the main political arguments used against this upgrading project emphasised the fact that it apparently aimed to become a rental scheme whereas the government (along with other politicians) promoted house ownership or what the tenants call tenant- purchase scheme. In the original plan (project design), the residents of Mathare 4A were to be encouraged to become owners through a tenant-purchase scheme and the poor residents were to be given the opportunity to rent the new dwellings at affordable rates (Kamau and Ngari, 2002: 6). This plan was never executed. The developing agency through its reshaping of the objectives adopted a rental scheme. From this perspective, more political issues ranging from tenant-purchase scheme politics to rental scheme politics have come up in Mathare 4A, hence having negative impact on

slum dwellers' participation. The residents participate as tenants with no rightful ownership of the scheme.

More political hindrances including police harassments, evictions and arrest; housing unit closures and roof removal; relocation and imposed leaders affected and still affect effective community participation in the project.

### **6.3.1 Police harassment, fighting and arrests**

This study found that local political reactions to the project's concept were mixed, as some leaders in Mathare 4A choose to support the 'illegal' structure owners in a bid to get political mileage. When the project developers took over from the former structure owners on the issue of collecting rents, the community members especially in *Jumuhiya* turned out to be pressure groups demanding substantially reduced rents. *Jumuhiya* was the group formed by former structure owners to spearhead their grievances. The reason given for this community action is that the project was originally designed to upgrade the houses and make the project community-owned. Initial studies in the pilot area covering about 20,000 inhabitants showed that the construction of multi-storey houses would have led to massive subsidies (Ministry of Public Works and Housing, 1995). In addition to this, charging higher rents would have resulted in the poor residents being pushed to neighbouring slums and subsequent replacement by more affluent people (Kamau and Ngari, November 2002: 6). Nonetheless, the rents were regulated and this meant that some of the residents who paid less had to pay more. The increase of rents therefore became contentious hence the uproar of the *Jumuhiya* group and some unsatisfied residents.

The situation in Mathare 4A became 'volatile' in 1997 when the developers realised that the community was not ready to cooperate in the relocation process, getting one housing unit of one room per household, and paying the rents promptly. This precipitated calling the police to settle down the situation. The community went wild by throwing stones and protesting against the upgrading project. The media was drawn into the scene. Police arrests and fighting ensued. Some community members were beaten, arrested and others

detained in police custodies. With some of their members in police cells and jails, the community could not work with the executing agency without suspicion. All these acted as hindrance to 'constructive participation' by the Mathare 4A residents.

### **6.3.2 Evictions, closures and roof removal**

Upgrading programmes are faced with the challenge of first relocating the community before implementing the actual project structures. This relocation phase is in most cases done without will of the community upgraded. The community is unwilling to leave the place of stay unless it is assured without benefit of doubt that they are the one who will occupy the new structures. Where to relocate them is also subject to community's interest. These aspects have become more contentious when upgrading slum communities, and determine a lot especially the way communities participate in the upgrading process.

Community participation in Mathare 4A was found by this study to be constrained by some stringent measures taken by the developers (AHT). Before the developers initiated the project, they did a socio-economic survey of the community in 1992, and found it necessary to relocate some members to pave way for housing and infrastructure construction. This arrangement was going on so well at the beginning of the pilot phase where some community members were taken to the developed T area of Mathare 4A. Additional temporary housing in the Triangle area and associated extension of footpaths, water mains and sewers were to be developed during the fourth implementation stage (GoK, 1995: 7). But as time went by, there arose issues of relocation inconvenience emanating from eviction by the executing agency. Some of the community members were supposed to move to the assigned areas in T area but some found it 'unfit' to settle. Some were relocated without their consent while others were relocated in their absence. Those who refused to be relocated left the executing agency with the only option of evicting them.

As a way of evicting the occupants, the developers first started by closing the doors of the housing units with either new padlocks or use of timber bars to restrain entry to the housing units. This meant that the occupants had no access to their houses and could access their houses by getting permission from the executing agency. When this method failed to succeed, the executing agency went ahead and removed the roofing tiles of the housing units. This totally inconvenienced the occupants and made them comply; otherwise they were forced to relocate elsewhere or move out of the project area.

The executing agency also used the eviction method of unit closure and roofing tiles removal method in cases of rent defaults. This survey found out that there is only one registered trustee in Mathare 4A slum upgrading programme, the Amani Housing Trust (AHT). But incidences of subletting were identified by this study in Mathare 4A. These subletting arrangements are done without the knowledge of the executing agency.

Assessing the two groups, the 'fairly treated' and the 'unfairly treated' in terms of rent, this study found that the rents were based on the economic power of the residing community as stipulated in the project design (Matrix Development Consult, op. cit.). Considering the economic challenges facing the people of Mathare, the one-size-fit-all policy of charging the community equally for the developed units/rooms as well as those not developed has caused acrimony in Mathare 4A. The occupants of improved and non-improved housing unit areas in Mathare 4A end up paying same rents, and this has made the community to feel unfairly treated. This has reduced participation, especially of the ones who consider themselves as 'unfairly treated'.

### **6.3.3 Relocation inconveniences**

In upgrading programmes, there are those community members who are willing to be relocated and those who are unwilling. In the process of relocation, there are those who fell inconvenienced and are therefore unwilling to be moved. This means if the process of relocation has to continue, then these people have to be forced to comply.

Relocation of the Mathare 4A residents was done to pave way for construction of houses and infrastructure services. Such construction works were done on the riverbed, construction of river-defence, temporary housing and associated extension of footpaths, water sewer and the land reclaimed T area. All this meant that some community members had to be moved to other areas for the development of the project.

This study found that about 14% of the residing community in Mathare 4A were relocated from their original areas of residence while 72% were upgraded in their units they are living in. The study also found that, only 14% of the residents live in housing units that were not upgraded.

Although not everybody in Mathare 4A was relocated, more than half of the 14% of those who were relocated were inconvenienced. The inconveniences include: loss of property during relocation; absent relocation; change of lifestyle hence lack of necessary facilities; forced eviction; house demolitions; poor surrounding environment and higher housing rents; The table below attests to this.

**Table 8: Relocation inconveniences**

Inconvenience	Percentage
Lost property	16
Lack of necessary facilities (changed lifestyle)	12
Moved by force	10
Absent relocation	8
Demolished houses/ structures	8
Poor surrounding environment	6
Increase in rents	4
Multiple responses on inconvenience	36
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field Survey, 2004



Among those inconvenienced, 16% of them lost property while being relocated. Property lost included household goods and assets, as well as construction materials that were used in the structures.

In the upgrading process, 12% of the residents changed their lifestyle due to relocation. This group of residents lack necessary facilities that they enjoyed before upgrading commenced. Some of these facilities included toilets, verandas, as well as piped water connection. The residents argue that the upgrading programme has made their stay in the area more difficult than it was.

Another aggrieved population is the 10% residents who claim they were moved by force by the developers. Use of force meant that the residents were not willing to move, and also that they were not given an alternative. This infuriated the residents, hence affecting their participation.

Others who were inconvenienced were the people whose houses were demolished (8%) while occupying them. This survey found that there was a plan set to demolish structures within road or footpath reserve and for the wet cores. In the plan at fourth implementation stage, a total of 423 rooms were to be demolished for construction of roads (2,995 square meters) and wet cores (1,500 square meters). The fifth implementation stage required 4,822 square meters while the sixth stage required 4,745 square meters (GoK, 1995: 6). Although there was a demolition plan by the executing agency, the plan was not followed to the letter and demolition was done haphazardly, resulting to total disorientation of the community.

There are also those residents who lost their 'valued neighbours' in the process of being relocated. This comprises 6% of those relocated. This tremendously affected the social ties and relationship in Mathare 4A especially after the relocations, having spill over effects on their participation.

More inconveniences were caused by hiked rents. This study found that some slum dwellers were paying less rent for the occupancy of slum structures compared to what they are paying now in the project. Rents in the project range from between Ksh.200 to Ksh.400 a month for one unit depending on whether it was upgraded or not. This has acted as an inconvenience to 4% of the community members' participation in the upgrading process.

Majority (36%) of community members who were inconvenienced had multiple responses on the inconveniences they faced. Most of them (48.7%) argued that being moved by force had a lot of implications on peoples' property, loss of necessary facilities, demolished houses among others. The act of being moved by force affected both the former structure owners and their tenants. The former structure owners became tenants and started to pay rents like any other tenant in the project. Their moving by force also meant that they were to be relocated to other areas and become tenants. The tenants on their side also suffered by being forced to relocate. They lost the already developed relationship with their former structure owners and their neighbours. This movement also meant that they had to start their stay in the project area with new rules, new landlord and new neighbours.

As found out by this study, all sorts of inconveniences faced by Mathare 4A community meant that their participation in the upgrading programme was skewed towards coping with the inconveniences and trying to adjust, and not towards the attainment of the project goals and objectives.

#### **6.3.4 Imposed leaders**

Many development programmes are forced to use the representation system in gathering peoples' ideas, opinions, interest and suggestions. This is because it is often not possible to involve everyone in the programme due to large number of community members, limited financial resources, as well as issue of time frame given to the programme. Most programme use peoples' representatives to get information, consult, and make decisions, and act together on behalf of the community. What remains debatable is the way these

leaders are selected, and how representative they are, and their ability to facilitate backward and forward information flow.

The fact that Mathare 4A had groups and their representatives resulted to short falls that were felt in the upgrading programme. The *Muungano* (assembly of leaders) was composed of about 50 people-representing majority of Mathare community members. *Muungano* leaders form the groups of leaders who form the elected officials of the existing operational committees i.e. business, social and health committees. A fourth and independent committee exists, and handles rent default. It is made up of Area chief, two representatives from the implementing agency, three representatives from *Muungano* and a community development officer (Kamau and Ngari, 2004: 16). The *Muungano* leaders had the role of spearheading the members' views and opinions. Since the residents were expected to elect their leaders and representatives, true representation was not achieved because majority of the leaders were rigged in through disrupted elections marred with violence.

There were 12 areas in Mathare 4A with 5 zones. Each zone had 10 representatives (wet core leaders, neighbourhood group leaders, and area representatives). The residents themselves were expected to elect their leaders in these areas (AHT, Technical department, 2004). The community was allowed to choose their representatives and leaders especially through elections. What happened was on contrary since most of the leaders were also rigged in through disrupted elections.

The elections were most evident on selection of the area representatives and the wet core leaders. These elections were dominated by violence, rigging and disruptions. Most of them ended in deadlocks as they were disrupted in the process. Those elections that were concluded even with the disruptions ended up in leaders and representatives being rigged in through stolen ballot papers, or inflating the number of votes the candidate got.

As found out by this study, most leaders in Mathare 4A are unpopular to the community due to the way they were rigged in on people. The community argues that the leaders are not actually their representatives since AHT and the government machineries imposed them on people. The community argues that the leaders are compromised when it comes to issue that are thorny and directly affecting the community. This includes issues of water, rent, and even eviction procedures. Mathare people therefore felt muzzled and voiceless.

The peoples' views are thus said to dwindle on the whims of the 'elected'. This has made community members in Mathare 4A loose confidence of their leaders for they see them as representatives of the AHT hence sympathisers. The *Muungano wa wanavijiji* is also divided amongst its members. Some members are seen to be compromisers of the AHT and this has made the community to be suspicious of its leaders. This political set up has made the community feel gagged to speak out their views and fight for their rights.

Leadership problems in Mathare are not only emanating from the way they were elected (or is it selected?) but also range from their qualifications as leaders, understanding of the project's goals and objectives and how to attain them, to the way they relate with the resident community. All this has left a lot to be desired about the Mathare community leadership.

#### **6.4 Conclusion**

Analysis in this chapter has revealed that socio-economic and political hindrances played a crucial role in constraining community participation in Mathare 4A. The greatest barriers to community participation were economic hardships and the political upheavals in Mathare. Other related constraints: ethnicity, illiteracy, cultural beliefs, police harassments, fighting and evictions among others seem to have been influenced by these two.

**It is arguable that present development stalemate in Mathare 4A is a derivative of the fact that AHT was inadequately prepared to involve the community in the upgrading process. This initial lack of preparedness and eventual disregard of the community's role led to the conditions that constrained effective community participation in upgrading Mathare 4A.**

In the participation process, several competing interests, especially among the key stakeholders highly influenced community participation. These interests were driven by personal greed, especially among the politicians, and the local leaders. The slum dwellers had their interests vested in improving the sanitation situation, water connection, improved housing, development of social infrastructure and services, and provision of electricity (GoK, 1995: 3). The project-executing agency had its interests too. It had set its goal of improving the living conditions of the people of Mathare 4A including housing situation, infrastructure upgrading, community facilities and economic development (GoK, *ibid*). The Catholic Church being a strong member of the executing agency was very active in helping achieve these objectives. The former Structure owners (residents landlords and absentee landlords) were interested in gaining more economic returns from the project. The local Politicians' patronage was threatened due to the new tenure structure. The politicians initially used to dish out plots to the 'politically connected' elite who could garner support for them, especially during elections. This was to become a thing of the past in the new tenure arrangement.

Apart from the competing interests, there were other challenges in the community that affected their participation. These challenges included: dismal social status, low literacy levels, poor health and environmental conditions, occupational constraints, political upheavals, mistrust and suspicions, as well as ethnic cleavages. Poor community representation in the project was also a big challenge in the upgrading process. This was evidenced by elections marred with violence as leaders were rigged in or handpicked. The use of police force and security vigilante groups precipitated the chaos and eventually stalled the project. With all these factors at hand, the project stalled and made the attainment of the goals and objectives of the project a pipe dream.

## **7.2 Conclusions**

Community involvement in upgrading Mathare 4A was partial, and shrouded in competing interest alignments. Initially, there were plans on paper to involve the community in the upgrading of Mathare 4A. This was to be done by executing agency through consultation with stakeholders including slum dwellers. However, the

consultation was not effectively done to prepare the stakeholders, in particular the resident community. This shortcoming hindered the attainment of laid down goals and objectives resulting in stalling of the project.

The project goals and objectives in Mathare 4A were partially achieved. In the project, physical infrastructure (roads, pavements, sewerage system, and electricity) and housing were developed to a greater extent in the larger part of the area. However, some areas were not developed as they still have shanties and makeshift structures. The areas were not developed because some community members were driven by personal greed and hence became uncooperative. They even refused to be relocated to pave way for upgrading. Others were instigated upfront by local politicians to oppose the project. These political challenges eventually yielded to skirmishes that were witnessed in Mathare 4A in 2001 making the development of the area impossible, stalling the project midway.

There are a number of contentious issues in Mathare 4A. They range from ownership, allocations, rentals, and leadership wrangles to ineffective community involvement. The rental issues have been leading among these contentious issues. They revolve around rent defaults and evictions that are very prevalent. This always results in recurrent evictions and replacement of the housing unit renters. In those units where occupants are evicted, new unit occupants often replace them. The replaced households end up seeking accommodation in other housing units of their friends and relatives, or move to the neighbouring slums as a last resort. Solutions by the state to these problems have been sought through the provincial administration that views these problems as having internal security implications. Nonetheless, these attempts have largely been ad hoc and reactive, with little or no solutions being attained. This is attributed to less involvement of the community members in seeking lasting solutions.

The relationship between Mathare 4A community and the AHT has been unstable since the skirmishes of 2001. This is due to suspicions and mistrust of the developing agency by community members. Majority of Mathare 4A community don't trust the executing

agency and take its efforts in upgrading the area with suspicion. Those community members involved in the management of the project are few in number and are seen as sell outs by the rest of the community. This has resulted in strained relationships between them and the rest of the community.

Ineffective community involvement and competing interests are the main cause of the present development stalemate in Mathare 4A. This is due to minimal community involvement in the management of the programme, and the desire of each interest group to maximise gains in the project. This study argued that if effective community participation was considered in the initial stages of developing Mathare 4A, and sustained throughout the project stages, the situation would be different.

### **7.3 Recommendations**

There is no general recipe for slum upgrading Programmes in achieving their designated objectives. The great work done by AHT and the Catholic Church in Mathare 4A, is commendable. This is demonstrated by the selflessness of the individuals serving so well in this physically and environmentally challenging area. As indicated in the conclusion, several challenges were faced in upgrading the slum. These challenges include; poor community representation, biased composition of the housing trust, and competing interests that marred the implementation process. All these challenges faced in the upgrading process demand policy interventions and further research as outlined below.

#### **7.3.1 Policy recommendations**

The Kenyan government acknowledges existence of slums and informal settlements, as is committed to slum upgrading. The policy states that the government will undertake slum upgrading with minimal displacement. It further states that the government will facilitate slum upgrading through integrated institutional framework that accommodates participatory approaches involving relevant stakeholders, particularly the benefiting communities. Considering the challenges that were faced in upgrading Mathare 4A, a number of recommendations are made by this study.



The study recommends that community representatives be elected through democratic process that is fair and transparent without intimidation. Community representation in upgrading programmes needs to be done in a fair manner for the community's views to be channelled by genuine leaders. This will ensure proper working relationship between the developing agencies and other stakeholders.

Sensitisation and capacity building of the community before the actual work commences is key in all slum-upgrading programmes. This is because upgrading programmes need to build confidence of the community through inclusive participation of stakeholders and proper communication channels. This will also help reduce suspicion that most community members have on the upgrading programme.

This study further recommends that an institutional framework that allows effective participation of the entire community be put in place. The framework should ensure that representatives are popularly elected and provide both forward and backward information flow to the entire institutional framework of implementation. The institutional framework in Mathare did not effectively involve the community as key stakeholders of the project. Even with the people's representatives, the community views were in most cases not well integrated in decisions made.

Any institution established by a developing agency should have high community representation. Majority of the trust workers should actually be members of the community. The Trusts on themselves should be suitable institutions that are worthy to encourage the community in embracing development through effective participation.

On stakeholders' interests, this study recommends that the interests be identified and managed before implementation of an upgrading project. In Mathare 4A, there were different interests spearheaded by different stakeholders as found out by the feasibility studies carried out before implementation of the project. These interests were not effectively managed and affected the implementation of the project. It is therefore

important for any upgrading project to effectively identify, engage and manage the various interest groups.

Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) are very important assets that any development initiatives need to have as of necessity. Participatory M&E needs to be carried out before, during and after implementation of upgrading programmes. This will ensure that proper follow-ups and reviews are made to the programme on time. Effective involvement of the community in these feasibility surveys will help the community develop management skills and prepare them for challenges that might emerge in the upgrading process.

### **7.3.2 Further Research**

This study does not exhaust all pertinent issues in upgrading of slums and informal settlements. Most of the issues covered require more in depth research using larger samples. In particular, further research is necessary in the area of competing interests, conflict management and resolution in upgrading. The prevalence of complex issues including competing interests in upgrading justifies a comprehensive study focussing on these issues.

On the issue of stakeholders, further research aimed at understanding the participatory role of various stakeholders is necessary. This study further recommends research aimed at understanding monitoring and evaluation (M&E) process and how participatory these two key components are in upgrading programme.

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**APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX 1: MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE FOR UNIT OCCUPANTS IN MATHARE 4A PROJECT.**

Date of interview..... Questionnaire No \_\_\_\_\_

**SECTION ONE**

**1.0 BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

1.1 Name of respondent .....

1.2 Occupation 1) formal (specify).....

2) Informal (specify).....

1.3 Sex

a) Male [ ]

b) Female [ ]

1.4 Age

i) 20 years and below [ ]

ii) 21-25 years [ ]

iii) 26-30 years [ ]

iv) 31-35 years [ ]

v) 36-40 years [ ]

vi) 41-45 years [ ]

vii) 46-50 years [ ]

viii) 51 and above [ ]

1.5 Marital status (tick one)

i) Single

ii) Married

iii) Divorced/separated

iv) Widowed

**1.6 Highest level of education**

- i) None [ ]
- ii) Madarasa [ ]
- iii) Primary incomplete [ ]
- iv) Primary complete [ ]
- v) Secondary incomplete [ ]
- vi) Secondary complete [ ]
- vii) Completed a level [ ]
- viii) Polytechnic/college [ ]
- ix) University [ ]

**1.7 Have you had any training?**

- a) Yes [ ]
- b) No [ ]

If No skip to question 1.9

**1.8. If yes, specify the type and the length of the training(s) you have had**

Type of training	Length of time

**1.9. How many people live in this unit?** .....

.....

**1.10. Are you renting or owning the unit?**

Renting a) Yes [ ]      b) No [ ]

Owning a) yes [ ]      b) No [ ]

**1.11. Where were you living before moving to this unit?** .....

.....

1.12. What can you say about the quality of your previous housing in respect to the following:

- 1) Housing unit.....
- 2) Infrastructure.....
- 3) Services.....
- 4) Security.....
- 5) Surrounding environment.....
- 6) Other.....

1.13. Were you living within the project area before the project was implemented?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

1.14. If yes, were you renting or owning?

Renting a) Yes [ ] No [ ]

Owning a) Yes [ ] No [ ]

1.15. Did the relocation inconvenience you?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

Explain your answer

a) Yes [ ]

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

b) No [ ]

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

1.16. Did you participate in the decision relating to the relocation?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

1.17. If you were living within the project area, how did you cope in your house as the upgrading programme was going on? (List some positive and negative qualities of your upgraded house and your previous residence)

	Positive qualities	Negative qualities
1. Upgraded Residence		
2. Previous Residence		

## SECTION TWO

### 2.0. MATHARE 4A UPGRADING PROGRAMME

2.1. Were you consulted prior to the upgrading?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

2.2. If yes in 2.2 above, who consulted you?

.....  
.....

2.3. At what stage of the programme were you consulted?

a) Conception stage [ ]

b) Planning stage [ ]

c) Implementation stage [ ]

d) Monitoring and evaluation stage [ ]

2.4. What was your reaction when you heard about the upgrading project?

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

2.5. Did the developers seek your opinion in upgrading your house?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

Explain your answer

Yes .....

.....  
.....

No. ....

.....  
.....

2.6. What role did you play in the upgrading programme?

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

2.7. What did you contribute to the project?

a) In cash .....

b) In kind .....

c) Other .....

.....

2.8. Did you participate throughout the project cycle?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

2.9. If yes to the above, was it irregular or irregularly?

a) Irregularly [ ]

b) Regularly [ ]

### 3.0.COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

3.1. Were you involved in the upgrading programme as an individual or as a group?

a) As an individual [ ]

b) As a group [ ]

3.2 If you were in a group, what were the name and the main objectives?

Name .....

Main objectives .....

.....  
 .....

3.3 specify the background of your group (e.g.) traders).....

.....  
 .....

3.3 What were the roles of the individual and the group, and the nature of participation?

	Role	Nature of participation
1. Individual	a)	
	b)	
	c)	
	d)	
2. Group	Role	Nature of participation
	a)	
	b)	
	c)	
	d)	

3.4 How did the association/ group help you to achieve the objective of upgrading the slums? .....

.....  
 .....

3.5 Who is the leader of the association/group?

.....

3.6 Does the association/group still exist?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

3.7 If yes what is its current role?

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

3.8 What problems did you face as an association/group?

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

3.9 If you were acting as an individual, how did you help the project achieve its objectives?.....

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

3.10 What problems did you face while participating in the project? .....

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

3.11 Do you still participate in the project?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

3.12 If yes what do you do for the project?.....

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

**4.0 HOUSING UNITS**

4.1 Did you choose the specific unit you are living in?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

4.2 If yes, explain the basis of your choice.....

.....  
.....

4.3 If no, who chose the unit for you?.....

.....

4.4 What procedure was followed in choosing the units for you?.....

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

4.5 Did the same procedure apply to the rest of the beneficiaries?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

Please elaborate your answer.....

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

4.6 Were you involved in developing the procedure?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

Explain your answer

a) Yes .....

.....

b) No .....

.....

4.7 Who determined the size of the housing units?

.....



4.8 What determined the size of the housing units?

.....

4.9 Who provided the materials used in the upgrading programme

.....

Providers of materials	Type of materials
1.	
2.	
3.	
4	

4.10 Did you provide any construction materials?

a) Yes, Specify.....

.....

.....

b) No [ ]

4.11 Do you pay any rent for your housing unit?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

4.12 If yes, how much and when are they due?

a) Amount in Kshs.....

b) When

i) Daily [ ]

ii) Weekly [ ]

iii) Fortnight [ ]

iv) Monthly [ ]

v) Annually [ ]

4.13 Do you think these rents are fair?

a) Yes [ ] explain why

.....

b) No [ ] explain why

.....

**5.0 FACTORS INFLUENCING YOUR PARTICIPATION**

5.1 Explain what made you to participate in the upgrading programme?

(List them in order of importance)

- a)
- b)
- c)
- d)

5.2 What qualifications were required for inclusion in upgrading programme?

5.3 What motivated you to participate in the project?

.....  
.....

5.4 Were your neighbours an encouragement in the participation project?

a) Yes [ ] explain why

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

b) No [ ] explain why

.....  
.....

**6.0 PARTICIPATION PROCESS**

6.1 When did you start participating in this upgrading programme as an individual?

- i) Conceptualisation stage [ ]
- ii) Planning stage [ ]
- iii) Implementation stage [ ]
- iv) Monitoring and evaluation stage [ ]

6.2 When did you start participating in upgrading programme as a group?

- i) Conceptualisation stage [ ]
- ii) Planning stage [ ]

iii) Implementation stage [ ]

iv) Monitoring and evaluation stage [ ]

6.3 What was your nature of participation?

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

6.4 Were there open forums in the upgrading programmes for people/groups to participate/input the process?

People a) Yes [ ]  
No [ ]

Group a) Yes [ ]  
No [ ]

6.5 If yes did you or the group you belong to participate in any

Individual a) Yes [ ]  
b) No [ ]

Group a) Yes [ ]  
b) No [ ]

6.6 How were the forums organized?

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

6.7 What techniques were applied in giving your views (for example brains storm or nominal group technique, workshops)

.....  
.....

6.8 Did you or your group willingly get involved in the process?

Individual a) Yes [ ]  
b) No [ ]

Group a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

## 7.0 FACTORS FACILITATING PARTICIPATION

7.1 Do you remember any problems you or your group faced while participating and how did you cope with them?

Individual

Problems	Coping mechanism

Group

Problems	Coping mechanisms

7.2 Was improving your standards of living a reason for your participation?

a) Yes [ ] Explain why.....

.....

b) No [ ]. Explain why.....

.....

7.3 List other factors that encouraged you to participate

As an individual.....

As a group.....

7.4 Were there any social norms that hindered your participation?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

7.5 If yes, what social norms hindered your participation and how did you cope with them?

Individual

Social norms	Coping mechanism

Group

Social norms	Coping mechanism

7.6 How much time did you have for the project?.....  
 .....

7.7 Did your occupation (if any) constrain you in any way?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

Please, explain your answer.....  
 .....  
 .....

7.8 Was the possession of Title deed a requirement for your housing unit to be upgraded?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

7.9 What other requirements were needed before participation?.....  
 .....  
 .....

7.10 What was the role of each of the following stakeholders in the upgrading programme?

Participant	Role
1. Resident community	
2. Government	
3. Nairobi City Council	
4. The Catholic Church	
5. Amani Housing Trust	
6. Other Actors	

7.11 Did you face any resistance from any stakeholder in the upgrading process?

a) Yes [ ]

b) No [ ]

7.12 If yes, specify and comment.....

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

7.13 Who were the project developers?.....

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

7.14 Provide a brief comment on the project developers and their relationship with the community? .....

.....  
 .....

8.0 Generally, comment on upgrading Programmes in Kenya?.....

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

## APPENDIX 2

### IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR AMANI HOUSING TRUST

#### SECTION ONE: General Information

Name of the Interviewer:.....

Research site: .....

Department: .....

Date of interview:.....

1.) Name of respondent.....

2.) Occupation: .....

3.) Marital status:.....

4.) Approximate age:.....

5.) Male or female:.....

#### SECTION TWO

1. Briefly inform me about the history of Mathare 4A upgrading programme.
2. When and who started the project and why?
3. Who were involved in the conceptualising, planning and managing the project? Did you involve the slum dwellers in anyway?
4. What were the purpose and the main objectives of the programme?
5. What was, and is the role of Amani housing Trust in this upgrading programme?
6. What requirements were needed for you to upgrade the slum structures?
7. How was the site identified and who was involved?
8. Did you do any feasibility survey of the slum before implementation?  
Whom did you talk to and why?
9. Was there any EIA done in Mathare 4A? Who did it if any? Were the right procedures followed?
10. Who in particular participated and why?

11. Is there a working relationship between Amani Housing Trust, the slum dwellers/associations and Local authority? Briefly explain.
12. Did you discuss about the rent paying before the project was implemented?
13. Whose interests were and are you working for?
14. How did you solicit for public opinion to ensure active participation?
15. On cost recovery: who funded the project? Have you recovered the costs and how do you benefit?
16. What policy document exist that informed this upgrading programme?
17. What problems did you encounter when upgrading the slum?
18. In your own opinion, what needs to be done to improve the general participation of the people in slum upgrading?
19. What is your own opinion towards slum upgrading?



## APPENDIX 3

### STUDY CHECKLIST OF ISSUES FOR IN-DEPTH DISCUSSION WITH THE MINISTRY OF LANDS AND HOUSING.

#### SECTION ONE: General information

Date of interview: .....

1. Name of respondent: .....
2. Department: .....
3. Designation.....:.....
4. Marital status:.....
5. Male or female:.....:.....
6. Approximate age.....:.....

#### SECTION TWO

1. What was your role as a Ministry in upgrading Mathare 4A?
2. Who were the key stakeholders in Mathare 4A programme?
3. Does the housing policy draft incorporate stakeholders participation?
4. Does the housing policy draft incorporate stakeholders participation?
5. How did the government relate with the concerned NGO to upgrade the Mathare 4A?
6. How did the government ensure that the sum dwellers were involved/engaged in the upgrading programme? And not 'outsiders'?
7. Who were the key stakeholders in Mathare 4A project?
8. How was the site identified and who was involved?
9. What is the implication of upgrading Mathare 4A on the other slums?
10. Comment on the projects' replicability to other slums.
11. What challenges did the government face in this project?
12. In what ways can Kenyans who live in slums be empowered to get decent, affordable housing, bearing in mind the extreme poverty levels, poor economy and rising cost of living in the country.

13. Comment on challenges faced in realizing the government's goal of housing all Kenyans.
14. Comment on the government's future plans and position on the slums and especially on upgrading.

## APPENDIX 4

### QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDELINE FOR INFORMANTS-THE NAIROBI CITY COUNCIL (N.C.C)

#### SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION

Name of the interviewer.....

Research site: .....

Department: .....

Date of interview:.....

1. Name of respondent.....
2. Occupation: .....
3. Marital status:.....
4. Male or female:.....
5. Approximate age:.....

#### SECTION TWO:

1. Was the City Council of Nairobi aware of the Mathare 4A-upgrading programme?  
To what extent?
2. About how many organizations (NGOs) are licensed or authorized to carry out slum upgrading Programmes?
3. What policy document informs slum upgrading?
4. How is the council aware of the implications of slum upgrading on the general environment of the slum area?
5. What role did the City Council play in the Mathare 4A upgrading programme?
6. How did the council (dept. of housing and social services) ensure that the locals were involved in the upgrading programme?
7. Was there a working relationship between the slum dwellers, their group associations (if any), the upgrading developers and the city council?
8. What is the Council's future plans on slum upgrading and the involvement the slum dwellers?

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