

**PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF
SLUM REDEVELOPMENT. A CASE STUDY OF PUMWANI
HIGHRISE IN NAIROBI.**

By:

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**A Project Paper Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Award for the Masters of Arts
Degree in Development Studies.**

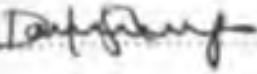


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October, 2009.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this project paper is my own work and effort and that it has not been submitted or presented either wholly or in part for the award of a Degree to any other University.

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DEDICATION

To my late parents Mzee Martin Onyango and Mama Joyce Achola who both never lived long enough to see the fruits of their love for education, advice, commitment and hope. Without them I would have not gone this far with my education. Last but importantly, to baby Fileen, my hope and inspiration.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

UN	United Nations
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
LATF	Local Authority Transfer Fund
LASDAP	Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan
KENSUP	Kenya Slum Upgrading Program
KSHS	Kenya shillings
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
DFID	Department for International Development
GIZ	German Technical Cooperation
NCC	Nairobi City Council
CDD	Community Driven Development
CAMESA	Caracas Slum Upgrading Programmes
NHC	National Housing Corporation
HFCCK	Housing Finance Corporation of Kenya
CHB	Central Housing Board
PPA	Participatory Planning Appraisal
PLA	Participatory Learning and Action
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PPAs	Participatory Poverty Assessments
COHRE	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions

ABSTRACT

The focus of this study was to inquire the levels of participation of Pumwani community members during Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment scheme and whether the issues that emerged thereof were influenced by participation. This paper therefore presents a research on the redevelopment process in slums and whether it promotes effective participation so as to achieve desirable results. Levels and forms of participation were analysed by the study during the conception, planning and implementation stages of the programme. The NHC which was the developer of the scheme targeted the slum dwellers in Majengo area with an aim of constructing decent and affordable housing for them without demolition of the existing structures before the project was completed and ready for occupation. Motivated by Sectional Properties Act of 1987, NHC adopted High-rise type of housing development to bridge the gap of inadequate decent and affordable housing for low-income households.

For effective analysis of the people's involvement in the project, various socio-economic characteristics of the residents were considered. The study found out that Majengo area has a long history of commercial sex workers, a trade that has continuously attracted women to the area. Levels of Education of the residents were also analysed *visa viz* community participation. Further, age, marital status, religion, occupation and skills of the respondents were also analysed accordingly.

The findings herein reveal that the community's level of participation remained minimal at various redevelopment stages where those privileged to participate did so either as individuals, group or both. The limited Community participation was in the forms of; interviews, public barazas and committee meetings. However, rivalry, mistrust and rigidity among various stakeholders undermined the process and principles of participation. Other challenges that faced the programme include; generally low literacy levels, large families, family disputes and unreliable sources of income amongst the Pumwani residents.

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Overview.

This study examined the effect of citizen participation in community development projects with specific focus on planning and implementation during Pumwani-Majengo slum redevelopment scheme. Over the past two decades, the participation of the poor and marginalized people in development initiatives intended to benefit them has been acknowledged as an important approach in achieving sustainable development (Long; 2001). Contemporarily, the accepted best practice for housing interventions in developing countries remains participatory slum improvement which has only been adopted to a limited scale or through demonstrations. To ensure that communities are adequately involved, civil society organizations and governments have adopted different forms of citizen participation in community development projects in the world.

In Kenya, participatory development initiatives that involve the local population include *Harambee*¹; self help groups, cooperatives, provincial/regional and district level development committees. In the recent times, Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASIDAP) has also been adopted as a participatory mechanism. Such methods have been used to harness resources from both within and outside the community. However, it must be noted that not every person especially the poor are accorded equal opportunity to participate in development projects that directly or indirectly benefit them and as a result there exist variations on the outcome of such community involvements.

Shelter and housing are basic needs for human survival, both for social and economic good. The former provides dignity, privacy, and security to individual, family, and community, while the latter provides capital formation, improvement of health and employment creation. However, urban housing remains a challenge facing the government of Kenya partly due to continued proliferation of informal settlements

¹ Harambee is a mobilizing principle where resources are pulled together for collective self reliance at local, regional and national level.

and due to the inability to meet the expected housing demand occasioned by the ever increasing urban population.

The global phenomenon of rapid urbanization has brought about many challenges one of which is the continued deterioration of the living standards of majority of urban dwellers. This challenge has been recognized by the United Nations and falls among the 18-millennium development targets. Target 11 of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in particular aims at improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by 2020. This implies that any housing reform that targets the low income groups must endeavour to attain this particular millennium target.

The study acknowledged that the Millennium Development Goals in the world slums is unlikely to be attained if upgrading policies do not recognize community participation as a core and critical component of slum redevelopment. In this regard, slum redevelopment provides a solid foundation upon which this particular right can be realized (UN- Habitat: 1996). Any redevelopment of slums undertaken thereof must also demonstrate a high level of dignity of the targeted group by ensuring that it is undertaken in a humane manner so as to avoid more housing problems.

Slum redevelopment has been necessitated by the existence and continued emergence of slums and informal settlements both in Kenya and elsewhere in the world. Informal settlements have been a common feature of most contemporary cities of developing countries that experience population surge (Bantel: 2001). The appearance of such settlements has been a consequence of the intense urban population growth causing a very high pressure on urban services including housing. As a result of population pressure in the slum areas, there have been poor services as well as deteriorating housing conditions.

UN-Habitat (2003) in its report on the challenges of slums, states that almost one billion people or 32% of the world's urban population live in the slums with the majority living in the developing countries. While the representation of slum dwellers varies across countries and regions, its prevalence is a daunting task. According to Kenya/UN-Habitat (2001), as many as 1200 people live on one square hectare of land which is even worse in areas where they occupy shacks of 10 by 10 feet. Even though the government of Kenya in conjunction with UN HABITAT/ World Bank and Cities

Alliance has initiated the Kenya slum upgrading programme (KENSUP) which seeks to improve the lives of people living in informal settlements, the main focus should be on how such initiative contributes to poverty reduction through effective participation of local communities.

Slum redevelopment requires a robust policy that allows local community to consult through a development discussion where they are given a chance to give approval or disapproval to development activities that are planned within their areas. Moreover, there is an emerging global consensus that the implementation of sustainable development should be based on local level solutions and community participation (Boateng: 2007) as opposed to development agencies assuming to know the community's problems and hence can provide sustainable solutions.

Pumwani-Majengo as one of urban slums that has been undergoing redevelopment in Kenya was established in the 1920s when Africans were moved from Pangani area to facilitate settlement of the Asian community. Unlike other slum areas in Nairobi, it was originally well planned with properly laid mud and wattle structures. It was well serviced with water, sanitation and electricity. However, being one of the oldest settlements in Nairobi it is characterised by conditions of poor services, high population density and dilapidated housing. Since 1983 when the idea of redevelopment was mooted, there have been attempts to improve the housing situation in the area.

Participation by the locals has proved to be a viable option in a number of projects. According to Lisk (1985), participatory processes can assist in the project planning through determining the problems experienced by the community and consequently set out priorities based on the discussions with the relevant stakeholders instead of doing the same in closed doors in the absence of the targeted community. Stiglitz (2002) argues that participation has been broadly used to encompass transparency, openness and voice in both public and corporate settings. In this regard, participatory processes must entail open dialogue, inclusive active civic engagement and calls for individuals to have a voice in various decisions that affect them. Furthermore, participation inculcates a sense of commitment that is important for project sustainability (ibid).

Inclusive consultations and deliberations provides the community with the opportunity to be aware of the problems within their environment and hence accords them chance to forge for a common workable solution to unique or shared challenges. Participation considers the needs of the beneficiaries involved, implying that the project could be more successful and sustainable (Skinner, et al: 1987). Hales (1995) argues that choices of solution should come from the people benefiting and ought to have their support. The local Community needs deserve to be heard since the aim of such a project is to actually improve their living conditions (Salmen: 1987). While the community may be aware of their wanting living conditions, some members might not see the need for improvement hence their views ought to be sought before any action is taken. The developers' views of the locals though welcomed sometimes may be distorted and presented in bad taste. To avoid any distortion(s), targeted community members ought to be listened to without any preconceptions and prejudices (Chambers: 1983). To this level, the development agencies ought to create enabling policies that would bring awareness of the need to involve the local community. Such awareness should not only target construction aspects of slum redevelopment but also the design processes that determine priorities of action in the project cycle.

Even though participation as a concept has received accolades from various authors as well as development agencies, there are still participatory challenges within development realm. Whether it makes slum redevelopment projects more pro poor is essentially a question of research and hence in order to understand the relationship of participation and project planning and implementation better, comprehensive empirical evidence is required on impacts participatory methods have had on slum redevelopment in the context of specific projects. In summary, this study sought to assess the level of participation in Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment programme.

1.1. Problem Statement.

Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment scheme was initiated in the late 1980s by National Housing Corporation (NHK) to redevelop one of the slum areas of Nairobi

city known as Pumwani- Majengo. The project intended to exclusively resettle the local residents through a tenant purchase scheme whereby the beneficiaries are allocated two bed roomed units and are bound by an agreement to remit a monthly rent to NHC over a given period. The scheme targeted and dully completed 160 housing units in 2006. One hundred and fifty five (155) units have since been occupied in spite of the conflicts that ensued during the upgrading between the beneficiaries and NHC.

The issues that emerged upon the completion of Pumwani High-Rise flats in 2006 between the targeted beneficiaries and the National housing corporation call for an investigation into the extent to which the community participated in the project. Some of the targeted tenants even though signed the relevant lease agreements, have complained that the developer's purchase price of Kshs. 11,000 per month on the new flats is too high. The disgruntled tenants took the National Housing Corporation to court, a case, which was later, dismissed. The study therefore seeks to determine whether the disputes that emerged during the redevelopment were influenced by lack of participation of the local community in the project planning and implementation.

The upgraded flats that measure fifty square metres were initially priced at Kshs. 1,600,000 until the government through the Ministry of Housing intervened after a standoff between the beneficiaries and the NHC over the initial price and reduced the price to Kshs. 1,100,000. Even though initial tenants were to rent out some rooms to other households so as to facilitate a monthly mortgage payment of Kshs. 12,000 spread for a period of 18 years, the readjustment of the figure to Kshs. 11,000 per month spread over a period of 25 years still did not appeal to the allottees who felt that it was still on the higher side and needed more downward adjustment. Despite the redevelopment efforts the government of Kenya has made to address the housing problem in Pumwani, the participation of the targeted beneficiaries both at the planning and implementation stages of slum redevelopment remain unsatisfactory. In an attempt to investigate the extent to which the community was involved in the redevelopment scheme, this study sought to provide answers to the following research questions.

1.2. Research Questions.

1. To what extent did the slum dwellers participate in the planning of Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment?
2. What are the benefits of local participation in the slum redevelopment process?
3. What are the causes of conflicts in slum redevelopment?

1.3. Objective of the Study.

The central purpose of this study was to assess the participation of slum dwellers' in the Pumwani-Majengo slum redevelopment. The specific objectives were:

1. To establish the level and extent of local participation in the Pumwani Highrise slum redevelopment.
2. To assess the benefits of local participation in slum redevelopment schemes.
3. To assess the causes of conflicts in slum redevelopment.

1.4. Justification of the Study.

The study was necessary because of various reasons with the major one being that the findings will provide more information to the already existing data on slum redevelopment. The study was also relevant to the ongoing Kenya slum-upgrading programme (KENSUP) which covers selected slums in Nairobi, Kisumu and Mavoko areas. Since the study was in line with the stakeholders and participatory approaches as embraced in various National policy frameworks like the Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP) which defines how Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF) should be implemented, the study findings provide relevant information to policies aimed at effective community participation. Though the study focused only on Pumwani Area, the findings would also be useful to projects with similar characteristics.

CHAPTER TWO:

2.0. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Literature Review

2.1.1. Housing policy in Kenya.

Throughout history, urbanization has had a number of negative socio-economic impacts among which is the housing problem, which largely affects the low income groups in the developing countries where it is quite inadequate in relation to both supply and quality (Mitullah: 1984). Urbanization in developing countries often occurs without commensurate economic development and as a result, a dramatic shortfall in urban employment coupled with deteriorating infrastructure, and poor services have been common phenomena.

In an attempt to mitigate against the challenges facing urban housing, the Government of Kenya has tried various interventions and strategies. The self help strategy in towns and trading centres of 1950 where the Government granted leases for people to build their own houses, the site and service where the Government provides land and basic infrastructure while households build houses, the National strategy for shelter to the year 2,000, the implementation of the Habitat Agenda and the National Plan of Action on Shelter and Human Settlements to the year 2020 have been advocated.

The current Housing Policy explores three strategies namely: Development and facilitation of urban Middle income and low income housing; upgrading of slums and informal settlements; and encouraging construction of rental housing. Slum upgrading has been a worthwhile policy route towards the enhancement of decent and affordable housing for the informal settlements that are typical scenes in most cities of developing countries. It is within this policy that the government in collaboration with the private sector and other development partners has initiated various projects to address prevailing housing challenges.

The desire to address housing requirements in Kenya has been demonstrated in various policy documents since independence. Following an investigation into the housing needs in Kenya by UN mission on behalf of the government, the first

comprehensive Housing Policy through Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1966/67 was developed as a basis of development and implementation of housing plans. The above mission made recommendations on the policies to be carried out in the framework of Kenya's social and economic development. The principles that were to guide the development and control of housing Policy and finance for housing were outlined under urban and rural housing policy; finance for housing; administrative organization housing programme, research and education. This appeared to be a viable idea but cases of high population increase, rapid urbanization, widespread poverty and escalating costs of housing provision have been major impediments. Sessional paper No. 5 laid more emphasis on the need to increase financing for housing development. Government agencies, notably NHC and Local Authorities were expected to offer financial support to housing development while the deficit was to be sourced externally.

The National Housing Corporation (NHC), which until 1967 was called Central Housing Board (CHB), is a statutory organization, set up by an act of parliament CAP 177 of 1953 to spearhead housing development in Kenya. NHC Act received Amendments in 1967 and 1968 to remain relevant within the independent state (Owuoche: 1997). NHC's main objective as a government agency is to ensure effective implementation of housing policies and programmes through provision of low cost housing units, provision of technical assistance and above all, it participates in housing research

In terms of housing development, the government of Kenya in the National Development Plan of 1970-74, committed itself to provide a decent home whether privately or state sponsored with basic standards of health, privacy and security to every family. To implement the objective of the policy above, Housing Finance Corporation of Kenya (HFC) was required to provide loans to home owners of middle and high income dwelling units while NHC was to concentrate in low income housing (Owuoche :1997).

At independence, the Government of Kenya showed the wish to provide all its citizens with decent houses. However, the idea was contradicted by the 1966 housing policy that advocated for the demolition of informal housing and slums. Its

implementation especially by the Local Authorities led to demolition of more houses than the numbers that were built hence intensifying the housing problem. This action created a housing deficit thereby calling for a policy shift that would provide a corrective measure.

In view of the above, a policy departure was stipulated in the 1974/78 Development Plan. It stopped the demolition of informal settlements and slums and focused mainly on the provision of alternative accommodation and slum improvement. The government made a commitment that in areas where the policy was to be implemented then alternative shelter would be provided. This period according to Mitullah (2004) marked the development of sites and service and upgrading schemes. The promotion of sites and services schemes paved way for slum upgrading based on the premise that it was cheaper and easier to provide people with basic services than move them against their will (Beall:2000). Site and service schemes ensured that there was sufficient supply of land with necessary infrastructure like roads, water and electricity so as to increase demand of property developers including individual households.

Under equity and social economic agenda, the government of Kenya through the Economic Recovery Strategy for wealth and Employment creation envisioned a national housing policy that comprehensively tackles the housing problems including informal settlements (Kenya: 2003). In its commitment to improve the housing situation, the Government introduced a National Housing Policy that would boost the realization of the above vision.

The Sessional Paper No. 3 of 2004 on National Housing Policy was an attempt to address the deteriorating housing conditions countrywide and to reduce the shortfall of housing stock arising from the in-equilibrium between the demand and supply. The policy aims at enabling the poor to access housing and basic services and infrastructure; Encouraging integrated participatory approaches to slum upgrading; income generation to combat poverty; promoting and funding research on the development of low cost building materials and construction techniques; harmonizing existing laws governing urban development; to facilitate increased investment by both

the public and private sector in the production of housing for low and middle income urban dwellers.

In the above Policy, decent housing has been defined as a habitable house that meets the necessary requirements of security, health and privacy. Under the category of urban low income bracket, decent housing comprises of a minimum of two habitable rooms, cooking area, sanitary facilities and covering a gross area of not less than thirty six (36) square metres per a household. In addition, it should also have a physical infrastructure and services of standards not lower than those stipulated in the revised adoptive by-laws in force (Kenya: 2004).

In the current Kenya National Development blueprint, Vision 2030, the government outlines Housing and Urbanisation as fundamental pillars of social strategy necessary to transform the country into newly industrialising, middle income economy that provides a high quality of life to all its citizens. Improvement of citizen's quality of life cannot be achieved if majority of the population are inadequately housed. The government has therefore proposed a housing development initiative that calls for an increase in annual productivity and adequate housing, emphasizing on equity in access starting with low income housing. In this current long term national planning strategy, the government envisions an adequately and decently housed nation in a sustainable environment. The government further recognizes the key role that housing sector plays in the overall national development.

Housing construction is a labour intensive undertaking that is expected to create job opportunities for the youth and the unemployed. Construction also provides market to other industrial products such as cement, iron sheets, timber, steel, nails and paints. Investment in housing and related infrastructure and services triggers forward and backward linkages through additional investments in manufacturing of building materials, transport and marketing (Kenya: 2007). Such linkages can bring about economic growth in Kenya.

The principal goal of the above long term development policy on the housing sector is to increase the annual production of housing units from the current 35,000 annually to above 200,000 by 2012 in the short run and a projection of over 12 million quality

housing units to a projected population of 60 million by the year 2030. This would be achieved through better development of and access to affordable and adequate housing; enhanced access to adequate finance for developers and buyers, and pursue targeted key reforms to unlock the potential of the housing sector (ibid). To ensure equity in access, the vision 2030 provides for the establishment of secondary mortgage Finance Corporation as well as a national housing fund while also introducing housing and infrastructure bonds. Further, to achieve housing and urbanisation targets by 2012 there is a projected increase of access to finance by 30% for both low income households and to developers.

An affordable alternative to wattle and daub slum rooming is difficult to create while adhering to the current Kenyan government's minimum standard of two habitable rooms, as market pressures do not permit a poor family to inhabit two rooms. Pumwani Slum redevelopment attempts to create home ownership of two bed-roomed units for former slum dwellers, and then encourage them to let two rooms while occupying the third themselves thereby circumventing the official standards of habitability. Having to share such a unit with two other households may even be less desirable than what is locally readily available in the unregulated multi-storey housing market for the same price.

Affordability of the upgraded housing units is a key to the development of informal settlements. Due to low incomes, most people living in informal settlements can hardly afford a standard decent house. Affordability in upgrading ensures cost recovery that remains a key concern of the financiers who advance loans to various implementing agencies. At the same time if upgrading fails to effectively integrate the ability of the beneficiaries to pay into its planning and market forces of supply and demand allowed to prevail, then the poor may be locked out of the upgraded houses. Nonetheless, successive shelter enabling strategies have failed to keep pace with the prevailing housing demand in Kenya and this has resulted in inflated costs making shelter not affordable to the urban poor.

2.1.2. Urban housing requirement in Kenya.

Housing provision for all in any country in the world is very crucial because it ensures socio-economic stability and at the same time promotes national development. In Kenya, the prevailing urban housing requirements is estimated at 150,000 units per year yet only a paltry 20,000-30,000 units are produced annually leading to a deficit of over 120,000 units per annum (Kenya: 2004). Such a huge shortfall has led to continued proliferation of informal settlements and perpetual overcrowding. Slum and informal housing thus fill the deficit of more than 120,000 housing units. According to the Ministry of Housing, 60% of urban population live in informal settlements where unsanctioned housing units are erected in total disregard of the quality of building materials and standards as stipulated in the building codes. To respond to this problem, the Kenya Government in collaboration with the private sector and other development partners has directly and indirectly made commitments to systematically upgrade slums in urban areas. Directly it has initiated housing development through its lead agency of National Housing corporation and indirectly through policy formulations to create enabling environment towards this course.

The provision of adequate, decent and affordable housing for the urban populations has remained a major concern to various governments and Kenya is no exception. NCC which like any other local authority in Kenya is mandated by the local government Act Cap 265 of Kenyan Laws to provide and manage services within its jurisdiction is faced with a number of challenges relating to service provision and more so the provision of housing to city residents. Most households live within slums and informal settlements which lack basic essential services. In such areas sanitation is normally very poor causing environmentally linked ailments (Mitullah: 1993).

To boost decent housing quantities, the National Housing Corporation has made a commitment in its current strategic plan (2005-2009) to develop at least 21,461 housing units (NHIC: 2005). In Pumwani-Majengo NHIC had a specific objective of providing better and affordable shelter relevant to the living styles of the locals within a framework of tenant purchase scheme. The redevelopment was to be carried within the existing pockets of open spaces in the area hence avoiding the disruption of the lives of the residents through evictions and demolitions.

2.1.3. Slum upgrading in Kenya.

Scholars, governments and organisations alike have in the recent times developed interests in slum upgrading due to the persistence and emergence of poor housing mostly in the developing countries. Slum upgrading ought to imply careful analysis of the local settlement situation and subsequent adaptation to its unique circumstances. As a linchpin of urban poverty strategy, slum upgrading is supposed to improve existing stock and ensure that reliance is not placed solely upon new investment in low income housing (World Bank: 99).

From a housing rights perspective, slum upgrading can play an important role in improving existing housing stock and ensuring that reliance is not placed solely on new development in low income housing which might otherwise not fulfil the prevailing needs. To mitigate against the emergence of new slums and to upgrade the already existing ones, an essential element in the development of effective shelter strategies requires full involvement of people in the planning and implementation of low-income shelter programmes (COHRE: 2006)

Kenya is one of the countries that made a commitment to the Habitat Agenda, which among others, committed national governments to full and progressive realisation of the rights to shelter, during the City Summit held in Istanbul, Turkey, in 1996. As a consequence of the above, the government of Kenya acknowledges that shelter and housing are basic needs for human existence and are important for the advancement of well being of her people. The realisation of affordable and adequate housing continues to be a dream for many urban and rural poor families in Kenya. However, through the national agency, NHC whose Principal roles are "inter alia" the development of decent and affordable urban housing has embarked on both slum upgrading and housing mortgage programmes.

UN-Habitat (2003) in its global report on human settlements acknowledges the importance of slum upgrading as a workable strategy for tackling the current slum situation of the world. The report further notes that upgrading should be done as part of a city-wide strategy with the full involvement of the local people in the planning and possibly in the implementation phases. While governments indulge in slum

upgrading, subsidies to basic services like water and electricity for the poor should be considered (ibid). According to the World Bank, many countries including Venezuela, Ghana, Philippines and Brazil already recognize the slum upgrading programmes as a successful phenomenon, which contributes to the betterment of the living standards of the urban poor (World Bank: 2001).

Syagga et al (2001), note that upgrading was among the main strategies applied in Kenya in the 1970s and 1980s pursued under the public supported self help home ownership housing programmes. Other forms included site and service schemes, tenant purchase and mortgage schemes. World Bank supported Kenya to realise the objective of upgrading slums. The first World Bank / Kenya corporation to achieve this objective was carried out under the second urban development programme where the government proposed to upgrade Baha Dogo, Mathare Valley, and Riruta in Nairobi; Mikindani and Chaani in Mombasa and Manyatta and Nyalenda Pandpieri in Kisumu. Though the stock of decent housing in the three cities improved under this phase, the impact for the poor was insufficient to influence house prices and rents (ibid).

The third urban development programme was to follow thereafter with recommendations to upgrade slums in other towns such as Nakuru, Eldoret, Thika, Nyeri and Kitale. Bondeni in Nakuru where the third programme was implemented, leaders and beneficiaries alike complained of the poor quality of infrastructure and other services. During both programmes, there was general weakness of inability to provide adequate opportunities for community participation and consultation (Syagga et al: 1989).

There have been successes and failures in the upgrading projects in Kenya. If the housing shortfall in Kenya is taken under consideration, then upgrading is a success. The National Housing Corporation alone has produced housing stock of 42,767 units since its establishment and is currently undertaking an ambitious development of 21,461 units in its strategic plan (NHC: 2004). However if the focus is to improve the conditions of the urban poor living in informal settlements, the level of success has been dismal. For instance, Mitullah (1984) observed that the poor are driven out of the

project site due to increased rents. A further challenge of upgrading is provided in the Mathare 4A case.

Mathare 4A slum upgrading was done by the Catholic Church in collaboration with the Government of Kenya. The project which was funded by the German Bank was to address the shelter and sanitation needs of the residents. Upon completion the residents were to pay rent to the project at the same level as before and the rent would maintain the less permanent structures as well as maintenance of infrastructure developed while any surplus is used for further housing development. Since the development targeted rental-housing scheme at the expense of owner occupation, the project met mixed reaction especially from structure owners who were of the feeling that they were deliberately excluded from the benefits.

In the post independence era, slum clearance through evictions and structure demolition was a widespread practice. This phenomenon led to proliferation of slums in major urban areas. In order to maximize housing production within a limited urban space, National Housing Corporation has adopted a vertical housing development called high-rise instead of the horizontal one. The preference for high rise housing developments have been strengthened by the Sectional Property Act (SPA) of 1987 that allows tenants of flats to own title deeds hence providing a solution to ownership. This Act allowed the developer to effectively maximize the limited land while at the same time spreading the cost among the targeted beneficiaries. Owuoché (1997) posits that sharing of a plot of land by many households have a resultant effect of making the units more affordable to the low income groups.

Pumwani which is the focus of this study has undergone two phases of slum upgrading. Pumwani phase 1 slum redevelopment scheme began in the late 1960s after a period of 20 years of indecision caused by unavailability of funds and bureaucratic procedures. The project was meant to upgrade the old Pumwani settlement that was established by the British colonial government (Shihembetsa: 1995). The houses once completed were sold to the residents thereby providing housing to a quarter of the households of old Pumwani. A basic sale unit included the ground floor flat and all the flats directly above it since the SPA was not yet in place

then. It is fundamental to note that the rents of the redeveloped flats were higher than the residents paid in the old estate. This led to dispersal of poor people elsewhere.

After settling the beneficiaries of the first phase, clearance continued to pave way for the second phase of the project. Since the NCC which was supposed to execute the project lacked funds to do so, the government through NHC took up the project and designed and developed low cost flats for old Pumwani residents. The phase II that is the focus of this study maintained the concept of independent access to each room from a common lobby to allow for sub tenancies. The toilet cubicle has been separated from the shower cubicle unlike in phase I where the two were combined.

2.1.4. Participation in Slum Upgrading.

Pro-poor development initiatives require participation by poor women and men to make priority decisions and strategy identification with an aim of bringing about change. Participatory methods can also be cost effective by producing a better basis for targeting (Mayoux and Chambers: 2005). Participation of the locals who are also supposed to be the beneficiaries aims at facilitating ownership and increasing their understanding of the project. The assumption here is that, to be successful, decisions that relates to investment of resources in domestic economic, social; and physical development have to be taken at the ground (community) level.

Syagga et al (2001:161) point out that urban development planning has been characterized by what has been described as the 'spread-and -take-up programmes' or 'at the table projects' where services are pushed out from the centre and are taken up by the periphery. Within this context the elites and experts often make major decisions regarding what is desirable while community participation is normally seen as a mere rubber stamp to what has already been decided upon.

While the Government of Kenya has made a commitment in the 2004 Housing Policy to facilitate slum upgrading through integrated institutional framework that accommodates participatory approaches, the current Housing Act Cap 117 of the Laws of Kenya concentrates on the operations of the National Housing Corporation

and fails to adequately recognize the need for the effective participation of the targeted beneficiaries.

To ensure its sustainability and replicability, slum upgrading should be undertaken within a framework that is inclusive and responsive to local conditions while involving considerable energy of the slum dwellers and their representative organisations. Furthermore it ought to be broad and be included in the city and national plan (ibid). Participatory planning process ought to range from sharing information, consultation and collaboration to empowerment (Rietbergen-McCracken and Narayan: 1998).

UN-Habitat (2003) notes that the best practice for addressing the challenges of slums in developing countries is participatory slum improvement. This practice however has only been adopted either on a limited scale or at the level of demonstration projects. The best examples according to the UN-Habitat are holistic approaches to neighbourhood improvement, taking into account health, education, housing, livelihood and gender. Here the government is expected to adopt a facilitative role in setting enabling environment. Consequently, slum upgrading ought to be conducted not as a technical activity but as a political, social and organisational plan.

Shihembetsa (1995) and Lawrence (1987) argue that barring the poor from defining their needs in whatever way and capacity may jeopardize a project success and that by incorporating the users in the design process, the designer can acquire information that is pertinent to the layout and fabric of the building. Shihembetsa (ibid) notes that there exists user needs gap not only between the authority and the designer. The decision maker in the public low income housing is always the state Agency like the housing authority acting on behalf of the government. He further emphasizes that the designer is cut off from the user not by choice but by the decision maker who often assumes the position of the user. This usually leads to misconception of the user's perceived housing needs.

Shihembetsa (1986) examined public participation in the Dandora project and found that the project was planned by technical staff of the housing development department without a survey to determine the felt-needs of the people. The applications were

solicited through the press when the actual planning work had been completed. The subsequent successful applicants were forced into the pre-determined conditions with no options. MacInnes (1987) in evaluating Dandora Phase II observes that the project technical staff was aware in advance where the target population currently lives within town that would take up the projects. Unlike in the Dandora project, all the potential beneficiaries of the Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment hailed from within and according to NHC all the residents had equal opportunity to benefit from the programme.

A study by Muthoka (2005) on participation in Mathare 4A Slum Upgrading Project, found out that there was only partial community involvement and that most of it only appeared on paper hence was hardly implemented. Furthermore, Muthoka observed that ineffective community participation and competing interests led to partial achievement of the initial goals and objectives of the project. Poor community participation coupled with competing interests was the major deterrents to the implementation process of the project.

2.2.0. Theoretical Approaches.

This study explores the extent to which the Pumwani Majengo slum dwellers were involved at different stages in the Pumwani phase II redevelopment scheme. The survey aimed at finding out the role of participation in achieving the desired objectives of slum redevelopment scheme with slum dwellers as the principal stakeholders.

2.2.1. Participatory approaches.

Participation as one of the contemporary ideas shaping Development Corporation thinking and practice has been the focus of intense international discourse in recent past. For more than 20 years, the participation of the poor and marginalized people in developing initiatives intended to benefit them has been acknowledged as important in achieving sustainable development (Long: 2001). Various organizations have incorporated participatory approaches in their programmes. In 1981, for instance, Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) was among the pioneer donor institutions to launch formal efforts to engage the poor and marginalized through its

strategy for rural development (ibid). Popular participation was not only seen as an objective itself but also as a fundamental democratic right to be promoted in all development projects (Rudqvist: 1992). Later, in 1990, the World Bank created a learning Group on popular participation to study and understand participation with a view to incorporating it into its operations. Other Donor agencies such as United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Department for International Development (DFID), and German Technical Corporation (GTZ) have since adopted participation approaches in their development projects.

Community participation has become an integral theme in planning and implementation theory and practice. While project planning and implementation have traditionally been highly centralized and bureaucratic activities carried out by technical experts, recent trends signal a paradigm shift toward a more inclusive participatory model. In more democratic states like the United States of America, citizens and political class alike both clamour for more community input into development projects as well as local control over decisions affecting them (Pitkin: 1997).

In a case study in Bangladesh, Mukherjee (1998) argues that community participation is crucial in problem identification and stating the probable solutions to such problems like housing. While participatory process implies the actual ability of the people specifically the disadvantaged groups of society to influence the decision making process towards the improvement of their quality of life through meeting of their needs (Carazzai: 2002), such process must endeavour to understand the needs of the local community and effectively involve them in the project. In Venezuela, the Caracas slum upgrading project (CAMESA) whose main objective was to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants of a selected number of slums in the metropolitan area of the city through a Community Driven Development (CDD) registered a huge success due to thorough community participation strategy (World Bank: 2002).

Mamuji (1982) in a study carried out on squatter upgrading argues that community participation should be encouraged from the very onset in the formulation of policies and decisions which have a direct bearing on their lives. However, such an approach

would remain undermined in a society where decision-making process is largely dominated by a few individuals who only thrive to push for their individual agenda instead of collective agenda.

Organizational and institutional researchers argue that individual participation decisions are constrained by programme rules, requirements structures and front line practices that influence immediate access to benefit and, by shaping individuals expectations, may influence future take up decisions (Meyers and Dillon: 1999). This line of research helps to explain both low levels of participation among apparently eligible individuals, systematic income, and other biases in services receipt.

In terms of institutional capacity building, participation helps the community to not only positively receive various programmes among the targeted population but also yields to the project ownership. It is also imperative to note that physical projects like construction of houses contribute to securing families' livelihoods through the much sought for urban employment to both men and women which in turn improves households' wellbeing through economic empowerment.

Participation can also bring about community empowerment which according to Gajanayake and Gajanayake (1993) is the ability to stand independently, think progressively, plan and implement changes systematically and accept outcome rationally. In many projects, community involvement has been restricted to the implementation phase of an upgrading programme (Phnuyal: 1998). This has often led the community to feel that decisions made from the top are imposed on them

In a research carried out in Recife town of Brazil, participatory approach in informal settlements upgrading programmes showed that the inclusion of community members in the process brings a greater understanding between the planners and implementers of projects and the community (Carazzai: 2002). Overall, participation brings out the much needed project value addition in slum upgrading and seeks to target the improvement of lives of a considerable number of the poor urban populations in slums.

Local participation as defined in East Africa in the early 1970s was both top-down through development committees and block grants, and in the form of innumerable self-help projects (Chambers: 2005). While development committees involve the

participation of local level staff and political leaders in discussing local development matters, block grants concerns the right balance between the sums involved, the discretion devolved, the level to which devolution takes place and the capability that exists at that level. Participation can also give rise to inequity more so when few local elites liaise with civil servants to approve development projects

Self-help projects are often intended by the local people with hope of government support. Such projects remain the most predominant bottom up approach of participation in Kenya with several examples including the *mabati* women's groups who work together to put up iron roofs for the members. Self help projects spring up as a result of a failed government and weak parties in representing and giving meaning to the aspirations of the local communities. It is also imperative to note that the vigour, nature and geographical densities of self help groups are varied between and within countries (ibid).

This study is guided by four participatory theoretical underpinnings which take into cognizance the socio-economic and rights dimensions of community participation. It is however, imperative to discuss all the four approaches in order to bring out their strengths within the context of community participation in slum redevelopment. This study considered the approaches discussed herebelow.

2.2.2. Participatory Planning Appraisal (PPA): An approach of participation

Through PPA different stakeholders are involved in the affairs of a particular town/city (Westendorff and Eade:2002).The PPA explores local concepts of poverty and vulnerability, livelihood strategies, poor people's perceived priorities, local views on programme and policy implementation. The people's involvement can also be spearheaded through Participatory Planning Appraisal where local concepts of poverty, vulnerability/ livelihood strategies, perceived priorities and local views on programme and policy implementation are explored (ibid). The above approach is used in the study to find out the peoples perceived priorities as well as their views on the programme implementation.

2.2.3. Participatory Learning and Action (PLA),

This is a participatory approach, which involves enterprise development through power relations and partnerships between development agencies, experts and poor people. As an approach, it has been used interchangeably with participatory rural appraisal (PRA). This is an approach that facilitates negotiations between different stakeholders in projects and policy dialogue through prioritizing the realities of the poor and the disadvantaged, sustainable learning, relating learning to action and grass root empowerment. Further, Chambers (2002) argues that PLA not only empowers but is also a process of appraisal, analysis and action by the local people themselves.

Chambers (2005) posits that since 1995, the spread of PRA/PLA has continued to be versatile in scaling out to many applications and exponential in scaling up by large organizations. PLA/PRA spread fast because it was seen to supply a demand for participation, met a need felt by practitioners, and was promoted by networks and enthusiasts. Chambers goes further to state that PLA/PRA has scaled out from appraisal and planning to implementation and participatory monitoring and evaluation, and from rural applications to many others including urban. In terms of scaling up, big organizations have tried to apply PRA/PLA and participatory methodologies in their projects. In Kenya for example, early starts were made by the department of soil and water management facilitated by the International Institute for Environment and development to involve farm families in participatory planning in catchments.

This approach was relevant to the study in that its application helped to find out how the developer related with the Pumwani Majengo slum residents throughout the period Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment. More importantly, the approach contributed to the analysis of the role(s) the stakeholders played during the period under study.

2.2.4. Participatory poverty assessments (PPAs).

In his book *Ideas for Development*, Chambers says that this approach was designed to enable, poor people analyze and express their realities and priorities so as to influence

policy. It has been conducted at both national and sub national levels in Africa, Asia and Latin America. PPAs give significant insights on specs of poverty including seasonality of deprivation and vulnerability, physical isolation as key factor in access to services and markets, decline to traditional safety nets, and hunger and dietary deficiency as a dimension of deprivation. PPAs can also create new relationships and understanding within policy and budgetary processes at different levels as well as stimulating collective action at the community level.

This theory informs the study in line with the fundamentally accepted sustainable development strategies of participation as a pillar of international best practice to deal with poverty and the provision of low income housing.

2.2.5. Participatory Rights Assessments

This is a human rights and rights-based approach which identifies principles of participation, inclusion and obligation. Participatory rights assessments seek to involve the poor and marginalised people in appraisal and analysis (just like in PPAs above) and to promote the realisation of human rights. Chambers (2005) posits that its use has been proposed so as to link participation and institutional change.

This approach is applied in this study in an attempt to understand how citizens participate to safeguard their interests in relation to right to clean water and sanitation as well as housing right. The Pumwani-Majengo residents consciously assess and make preference for housing facilities. Adequate housing is important to survival and to living a dignified life with security. The right to participation is part of international human rights law and hence to realize any meaningful housing development, genuine consultations with, and participation by the slum dwellers should be embraced.

Chambers posits that local participation involve two streams of initiatives of communication and resources which either originate from the government penetrating towards the people (top-down) or those which emanate among the people and directed upwards into government (bottom-up). Still, for purposes of analysis, local participation can be looked at in three folds i.e. who participates, what institutions are involved and the objectives and functions of participation (ibid). However, Chambers

acknowledges that political leaders have frequently applied phrases like self reliance, participatory democracy as well as local participation as rhetoric to woo public support.

In this respect, therefore popular participation of the slum dwellers in Pumwani through the above tested approaches would not only enhance their decisions but also limit the conflicts over tenancy of Pumwani Highrise housing project. Such an approach builds consensus between the project initiators and the local community since they feel to own the means and end of the project. Effective Participation is not only a means to improving project sustainability but also enhancing people's capabilities through an integrated consensus building.

The above approaches are closely related to each other. For purposes of this study, Participatory Planning Appraisal will be the main one since it advocates for the people's involvements at both planning and implementation stages of development. However others (PIA, PPAs and PRAs) will be applied too.

2.2.6. Independent variables:

The level of participation will be influenced by; level of education, marital status, training, gender, age, leadership, and family size.

Level of education

The level of education was considered as an independent variable. Education was taken to be the exact formal levels the residents had attained from basic through to the university. This variable was considered important because it raises the capacity of community to participate.

Gender

Gender is considered an independent variable. The role of different groups in particular men and women during the redevelopment of Pumwani Majengo slums.

Leadership positions.

Leadership across the stakeholders determines the levels of participation. This is so especially in the case of representative participation.

Age

Age of the respondents was taken as an independent variable during this study. Age was measured in terms of how long a respondent had lived. Age differentials can influence the level of participation hence was important in the study.

Family size

Family size falls within the household which is the unit of analysis of this study. This variable becomes even more important especially when looking at the sizes and capacity of the housing units.

Occupation

Occupation was considered as an important independent variable in this study because it determines one's economic engagement which has a direct relationship with an individual's source of income. Household's amount of income influences its ability to pay for the new flats.

2.2.7. Dependent variable:

Participation

In this study, participation in slum redevelopment is considered a dependent variable. It implies the direct involvement of stakeholders in community development particularly the slum dwellers in various stages of the Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment. However, it can also mean representation through a recognised properly constituted group. The extent of participation was measured by the specific roles the community played from conception, planning and implementation stages. The effectiveness of participation did not only rely on the role played but was also measured by the crucial decisions arrived at during the entire period of redevelopment.

2.3.0. Definitions of key Concepts.

This study has applied a number of concepts which require operationalization.

2.3.1. Slum

The term slum in this study implies an area that combines: inadequate access to safe water; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; poor structural quality of housing; overcrowding and insecure residential status (UN-Habitat: 2003). Obudho (1986:66) points out that the term slum is an evaluative concept rather than an analytical one and hence the definition must be viewed in light of socio-cultural, political, economical, geographical and psychological factors which make up the residential environment in question. This implies that what is considered a slum in one culture might be an adequate shelter in a different culture. During this study, it was apparent that Pumwani –Majengo qualified as a slum area partly because of the quality of the structures but much more due to the poor drainage system, insecurity, overcrowding within households and poor sanitation.

As a matter of fact, residents confided in the author that they used to bathe and wash their clothes in the communal taps. As a result adults could only bathe at dawn or late in the night. Furthermore, there were a number of illegal water and electricity connections amongst various households. At times those caught by the Authorities bribed the city council and Kenya power and lighting company officials to avoid possible prosecution. Inadequate toilets forced most members of the Majengo community to defecate in open fields especially along the roads and garbage dumping sites which exposed the residents and particularly children to diseases like cholera. In addition, inappropriate locations for dump sites were a major problem in Pumwani-Majengo.

2.3.2. Informal settlement.

This refers to illegal urbanisation process or unsanctioned subdivisions of land at the urban periphery where land invasion has taken place often by squatters who erect housing units without any formal permission of the land owners and often with materials and building standards that are not in line with the criteria of the local building code which provides for regulatory framework (ibid). The building code

concerns the construction and design measures that must be adhered to during construction and the developer is liable to prosecution if the code is disregarded. In Kenya the building codes includes measures relating to fire exits, outside staircase for high buildings, installation of fire fighting equipment and use of fireproof materials in the construction process. In this study, the term informal settlement was used to describe the residential extensions and other structures which the residents constructed without any authority from the Nairobi city council. Such structures served as rental units of relatively lower costs to the poor slum dwellers.

2.3.3. Slum upgrading

It has been identified by Cities Alliance (1999) and World Bank (2001) as consisting of physical, social, economic, organizational as well as environmental improvements undertaken jointly and locally among citizens, community groups, businesses and local authorities. Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) (2005) argues that slum upgrading implies careful analysis of the local situation and subsequent adaptation to its unique circumstances.

Slum redevelopment in Kenya is undertaken within the framework of slum upgrading programme and it involves increasing of the supply of housing through reconstruction in areas where prime urban land is underutilized as well as densification through building of multifamily dwelling units to accommodate as many families as possible on relatively small units of land. Under this programme, dilapidated and degenerated residential estates are demolished then redeveloped into modern decent units. This was the case in Pumwani phase 11 slum redevelopment scheme.

2.3.4. Participation

The World Bank has defined it as a process in which people, and especially the disadvantaged, influence resource allocation and the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes and are involved at different levels and degrees of intensity in the identification, training, design, implementation, evaluation and post evaluation stage of development projects (world bank:2003). This study considers participation as an elaborate exercise where the community as primary stakeholder is effectively involved at all stages of the programme.

Community participation as a strategy presents an excellent opportunity for realizing effective and lasting slum redevelopment. Community involvement in development programmes varies with each case since it is often a reflection of social dynamics which are influenced by socio-cultural economics and political structures.

It is important to note that there is no single universal operational definition of the term participation that is acceptable to all. In this study, community participation implied a process by which the efforts of potential beneficiaries of Pumwani phase II redevelopment scheme were mobilized and harnessed with those of government and National Housing Corporation to improve the housing situation of the people.

Participation is a popular practice in contemporary societies that uphold the importance of stakeholder inclusion in various activities that directly or indirectly affect their wellbeing. It aims at the improvement of service quality within the preferred description of the stakeholders hence guarantees their maintenance. According to Skinner (1987), participation ensures that the needs of beneficiaries are incorporated into the project hence its overall success.

Popular participation as used in this study implies active involvement of people at the grassroots in the choice, execution and evaluation of the programmes designed to improve their living standards. The local community is given an opportunity to contribute throughout the project life in a bottom-up orientation. Participation involves awareness and confidence creation through a process of sharing and reflection (Omiya: 2000). The culture and knowledge of the local people must not be ignored. Issues and problems that affect the community should be identified and analysed through a popular programme to tackle their felt needs.

CHAPTER THREE:

3.0. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Study site selection and description.

The study was carried out in Pumwani- Majengo area of Nairobi. Pumwani is one of the divisions in Nairobi Province. It is located in the northern side of Nairobi River, 2.5 km from the central business district of Nairobi city. It is one of the oldest African settlements in Nairobi. In 1919, a parcel of crown land measuring approximately 40 acres was identified as the most suitable site and a 99-year lease was obtained from the colonial government by the municipal council (now Nairobi City Council) (Majale: 1985). Between 1922 and 1923, constructions of houses by the allottees had started and thus Nairobi's first site and service scheme came into being in 1923 when Pumwani was declared an official African location.

Unlike most of the slum settlements in Nairobi, the Pumwani –Majengo area was originally well planned and quite orderly. The mud and wattle structures with tin roofs were well done and fitted with communal bathrooms and toilets. However the continued influx of people from the rural areas turned the place into a slum. The 40 acre parcel of land on which Pumwani-majengo area stands was subdivided into plots of 1,500 square feet and thereafter distributed to the residents. The Nairobi City Council (NCC) having zoned the area into a residential area controls the developments in Pumwani-Majengo. Notably, NCC restricts storey houses to only four floors. Pumwani-Majengo area was therefore chosen due to its long history of urban settlement and subsequent redevelopment scheme that has been undertaken therein.

3.2. *Sampling Design and Procedure.*

Using a systematic random sampling, a sample of 31 targeted beneficiaries was drawn by selecting every fifth case of the one hundred and fifty five beneficiaries of the occupied flats. The main questionnaire for beneficiaries was administered to the household heads. Key informants were purposively selected from the local Provincial Administration office comprising of area District Officer and chief's office; National Housing Corporation (NHC); Pumwani Welfare Association and Nairobi city council

respectively for interviews and discussions. The local Provincial Administration assisted in the identification of the targeted beneficiaries. NHC in particular provided the study with the full list of 155 beneficiaries who had moved into the new flats

3.3. Sources of Data.

Data for this study was obtained from both primary and secondary sources. Desk reviews of secondary data on participation in slum upgrading programmes provided the background and the literature of the study. NHC evaluation reports, UN-Habitat documents and scholarly works on housing in general and slum upgrading in specific were reviewed. Primary data was obtained from both key informants as well as from the 31 sampled targeted beneficiaries.

3.4. Data Collection.

Pumwani phase 11 constitutes a whole study universe. Both structured and semi structured questionnaires were used to conduct interviews to the sampled beneficiaries and key informants. The respondents were allowed to choose between self administered and researcher administered questionnaires. Interviews were carried out with the study population so as to collect information such as: the socioeconomic characteristics of the respondents; the understanding of the participatory process by the community; understanding the roles of various stakeholders in slum redevelopment process and challenges therein; understanding the history of Pumwani Majengo area and the benefits of community participation. Photography was also applied to show visual comparative state of Pumwani Majengo slum and the phase 11 Highrise.

3.5. Data analysis.

The process of data analysis included editing and coding of the completed questionnaires. Once structured and unstructured questionnaires had been coded, data was processed through Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Coding of data was done so as to enhance processing and tabulation. Descriptive and inferential statistics was generated from the data. Frequency distributions and correlation between variables were used to explain the findings.

CHAPTER FOUR:

4.0. DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter presents empirical findings of a research carried out on the participation of Pumwani Majengo community during Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment scheme and the analysis of responses from sampled population as well as key informants. At the end of the analysis, this study gives various recommendations for any future redevelopment plan with similar or close characteristics as the area under study.

4.1. Background of Pumwani-Majengo.

On my first day of data collection in the company of the area chief Mr. Romano Mukigo and Mr. Okwemba the village elder, I encountered three distinct scenarios; the original pumwani-majengo area with dilapidated structures, the open space which I was informed to be the site where the beneficiaries' houses used to be and the completed new flats of phase II redevelopment. Unlike other slum settlements in Nairobi, the Pumwani Majengo area appeared to have been a well planned and quite orderly settlement. According to the community chairman Mr. Daud Mponda¹, the mud and wattle slum enjoyed basic facilities like communal toilets and bathrooms until it was overstretched by the increased population. Overcrowding became a common feature and was characterised with low space per person, high occupancy rates, cohabiting by different families and a high number of single room units. The existing houses were in such bad conditions to the extent that they were condemned by the Nairobi City Council. As a result the tenants were henceforth exempted from monthly rent payments.

The exemption from monthly rent was a big sigh of relief to the residents most of whom had huge arrears. The quality of the houses notwithstanding, most of the tenants decided to sublet some rooms and construct illegal extensions so as to augment their meagre incomes. After some time, the structures became so dilapidated that an urgent intervention was required to correct the situation. Figure 1 shows a

¹ Daud Mponda was the chairman of Pumwani Highrise committee during the redevelopment of Pumwani phase II he gave his views during an interview conducted on 17th September, 2009 in Pumwani Majengo area

section of dilapidated houses in pumwani-majengo.

Figure 1: A section of Pumwani -Majengo



Source: field photo 2007

Slum redevelopment by National Housing Corporation (NHC) was therefore considered not only as a viable mitigation but also an idea mooted at the right time. As a statutory state corporation under the Ministry of Housing, NHC was within its mandate to spearhead this programme. Having transformed from the Central Housing Board in 1967, NHC had its role clearly spelt out as a body corporate specialising in housing development and more independent of the Ministry of Housing. Since then its core business has been to direct housing development (*as in Pumwani Majengo case*) as well as facilitating the provision of housing.

4.2. APPROACH TO THE REDEVELOPMENT.

The initial approach by the developer was to let the local provincial administration office work closely together with Pumwani community so as to identify the genuine residents of Pumwani-majengo who would benefit from the redevelopment programme. Since the dilapidated houses in Majengo belonged to the Nairobi City Council (NCC) as a key stakeholder was also required by the developer to provide a list of genuine tenants. The initial identification was carried out by NCC in liaison with the local provincial administration. This task however proved difficult as a result of insincerity by the resident population and alleged interference by the concerned authorities. While the residents accused the local provincial administrators of sidelining the real members of Majengo slums, the government blamed the households of forwarding more than one name for allotment considerations. The developer then took up the process of identification through a household survey, an undertaking confirmed by all the sampled respondents as having taken place.

To intervene, the NHC conducted a socio-economic survey of the entire Pumwani - Majengo slum in 1987 with the aim of redeveloping it. As a result of that particular census, a comprehensive register of the residents was generated as a basic reference point for the allocation and also as data base for potential allottees. The objective of redeveloping Pumwani-Majengo according to the developer was to provide the poor residents with decent and affordable housing; improve the welfare of households living in Pumwani-Majengo slums through construction of quality buildings; and provide a cleaner and safer environment. The scheme targeted low income earners living within the slum.

Unlike in other upgrading schemes where structures were demolished before the actual construction was undertaken, the redevelopment of Pumwani-majengo slum took place without any displacements of the local community. Demolition of structures before upgrading is considered a repressive method of mitigating housing challenges (UN-Habitat: 2003). Muthoka (2005) for instance points out that during the upgrading of Mathare 4A in Nairobi, housing structures were demolished by the developer before project implementation took place. Tenants were not accorded any alternative houses as demolition went on. The demolition thereof displaced the

targeted residents and worsened their living conditions as they waited for the upgraded units to be completed.

Contrary to the Mathare 4A case, Pumwani phase II, there was an empty space within the slum area which was effectively used as the redevelopment site. This assured the residents that their structures could only be brought down once the new flats were ready for occupation. This strategy was also found to be consistent with government's policy of non displacement of communities during upgrading as highlighted in 1974/78 development plan which focussed more on provision of alternative accommodation and slum improvement as opposed to demolition of informal settlements and slums.

However, some residents still showed desire to keep their slum structures to either serve as rentals to boost the households' incomes or for the accommodation of extended family members. Such an attempt was thwarted by the developer who insisted that only those prospective allottees whose shanties were brought down would access the new flats. As a consequence, the NHC effectively managed to demolish the structures whose owners benefited from the redeveloped flats. Further, the developer ensured that not more than one person benefited from a single household.

Because of the shortage of land in urban areas, NHC has shifted from horizontal development to a vertical development otherwise referred herein as High-rise. Figure 2 shows the exterior look of the Pumwani phase II Highrise. This housing development still contributes towards making housing units more affordable through the use of appropriate technology. Just like in the phase I of the scheme, NHC showed preference to High-rise so as to accommodate as many people as possible within a limited area and also have the beneficiaries sharing the cost of some essential services like water, garbage collection, security and sewerage. These common user services have also helped to reduce the costs of such utilities. Furthermore, vertical development of houses has also helped the developer to cut down on the cost of land which would otherwise been transferred to the beneficiaries.

The operationalization of the SPA of 1987 which allows every flat owner to acquire a title deed also bolstered the above preference. This particular Act is a revolutionary step from the traditional approach where in Highrise flats; one could only own a house and not have a title deed. Under this Act, the Pumwani phase 11 allottees would be awarded certificates of title by the National Housing Corporation once they complete payment for the flats. The titles would then provide long term security to the purchased housing units. The beneficiaries with titles would in the future be able to use it as a collateral to access loans should there be need to do so.

Figure 2: Pumwani phase 11 Iligbrise



Source: field photo 2007

According to NHC estates officer Mr. Ong'onge, the design concept was largely influenced by user reactions from phase I to achieve better housing units in the second phase. The original concept of independent access to each room from a common lobby was maintained to allow sub tenancies for households who could not raise the required monthly rents. Unlike in phase I where the toilet cubicle and the shower cubicle were combined, the two have been separated in the second phase. Each unit has two bedrooms with enlarged entrance lobbies for better ventilation. The number of units in a block was reduced to sixteen to allow for easier communal management of common spaces.

During the interview with Mr. Ong'onge, it emerged that a census survey was conducted by the NHC in 1987 to ascertain the real residents of Pumwani –Majengo. However, while the chairman of Pumwani Highrise committee Mr. Daud Mponda concurred that the census survey actually took place, he says very little input from the community was incorporated because the programme seemed to have adopted a top down approach. To Mponda, the survey exercise was precisely an enumeration process. Design and location of the houses were predetermined by the developer way before the survey. In other words residents did not have the opportunity to define both their felt needs and priorities and hence the product was largely in favour of the developer. For instance, families who were living in extension were neither included in the survey nor considered for the new flats.

4.3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESIDENTS OF MAJENGO-PUMWANI.

Characteristics of the respondents were gathered for necessary analysis. Marital status, ages, levels of education, gender, religious affiliation and occupations of the sampled respondents were critically analysed for purposes of this study. The above characteristics were considered by this study as variables likely to influence participation of the target community.

4.3.1. Sex of the respondents.

Sex as a variable was used in this study as a unit of analysis to depict the participation threats and opportunities men and women encounter in community development projects. This variable shows the degree of inclusivity and exclusivity and also brings forth any gender induced inequalities. Shelter and infrastructure projects have a direct impact on the quality of life of the whole population, but they certainly have a particular impact on the lives of women (World Bank: 2003). Such projects reduce the female work load as well as material poverty and health risks to which women are subjected to a greater extent than men. Due to the above factors, the level of interest of women in slum redevelopment is high as shown by their higher degree of participation during the study.

From the study, 52 per cent of the respondents were women while 48 per cent were men. The high number of women in Majengo area is also quite historical. According to Luse White (1990), as early as 1930s, the Majengo neighbourhood of Pumwani came to be associated with highly competitive practice of commercial sex. Young women turned commercial sex workers migrated to ply in this 'illicit'¹ trade. Majengo was more attractive due to the cheap affordable rental units. The influx of women in this area has also led to the increased number of women tenants within Majengo.

4.3.2. Age.

Age is an important variable in community participation analysis. It shows whether a respondent is old enough to; participate effectively in community development; dependent on other people for survival and whether one has ability to participate in income generating activities. Children and the elderly are unlikely to be included in the productive activities hence are highly dependent on other members of the family for their survival. Furthermore, this variable determines whether a respondent is of reasonable age to participate effectively in the interview. Table 2 below shows the ages of the respondents.

¹ Illicit because living on the proceeds from prostitution is illegal in Kenya if proven.

Table 1: Age of respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage
26-30 Years	2	6.5
31-35 Years	1	3.2
36-40 Years	3	9.7
41-45 Years	3	9.7
46-50 Years	5	16.1
51 Years and Above	17	54.8
Total	31	100.0

Source: Field Data 2007

The survey revealed that 54.8 per cent of the beneficiaries interviewed were 51 and above years old. This shows that by the time NHC carried a survey on the Pumwani – Majengo population in 1987; most people were within the productive age 30 years and above. At 31 years, the slum dwellers could therefore participate in the redevelopment programme if they were given the opportunity to do so by the developers. However those who are currently aged between 26 and 40 years were probable not old enough to participate effectively when the scheme started in 1987 but can now be quite vital particularly in the improving the income of their respective households.

4.3.3. Levels of Education.

The respondents were interviewed on their levels of education. Education is one of the most important aspects for human resource development in a community. It is a key ingredient for peoples' empowerment. According to Pandey (2006) it is a priority

among measures taken to improve the community status. Education levels of a community show how literate and informed it is about its environment. Education therefore provides the base on which livelihood oriented human capital assets are built. Higher levels of education is assumed to imply that people are both informed and possess the ability to grasp and absorb new ideas better than those with low or no education at all. An educated population is assumed to effectively comprehend policy designs and are able to effectively engage in local development. Education can also be perceived to be fundamental to broader notion of expanded human capabilities that defines development.

However, the results from the study indicated that there was no direct relationship between levels of education and community participation process in Pumwani. Every allottee whether highly or lowly educated were excluded from any specific role in the redevelopment. Their knowledge of the programme was limited to the household survey and not linked to any specific role as shown below.

Table 2 : Crosstabulation of education and role at the conception stage of the redevelopment.

Level of education	Any specific role at the conception stage		Total
	NO	Yes	
None	7	1	8
Madrassa	0	1	1
Primary	2	4	6
Some Primary	3	1	4
Secondary	6	2	8
Some Secondary	3	1	4
Total	21	10	31

Source: Field Data 2007

Level of Education therefore becomes almost irrelevant in an environment where participation of the locals is not adequately enhanced. In terms of community participation at conception, planning and implementation, Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment scheme was an example of opportunity denied to all irrespective of one's level of education.

4.3.4. Marital Status

Marital status of the sampled respondents was sought due to its importance in the responsibilities strategies of household heads. In particular, this variable has a bearing on the socioeconomic strength of a household. When they are economically engaged, married couples can pull their resources together towards a particular course, however meagre the resources could be. The pulling of resources together does not apply to Single and widowed people who on the other hand are disadvantaged since the economic strength of their families mostly rely on an individual. In terms of participation, the study revealed that whenever representation is required per household, couples can always stand in for one another and therefore marital status increases household's opportunities to participate in community developments.

Table 3 : Marital Status the respondents

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	8	25.8
Married	22	71
Widowed	1	3.2
Total	31	100

Source: Field Data 2007

As shown in table 3, majority (71 per cent) were married followed by single (25.8 per cent) and widowed (3.2 per cent). The study indicated that marital status influenced the flat occupancy process. The married category of the respondents cited the need for

improved privacy as one of the reasons that influenced their eagerness to occupy the new flats. However, privacy has remained elusive because some family members are still forced to share rooms. Rooms are divided by curtains with one side serving as couples bedside while the other side serves as dining room during the day and sleeping place for the rest of family members during the night. Couples have to contend with sharing rooms with their grown up children and relatives thereby eroding their dignity and self respect.

Though this is not a new phenomenon because the same situation characterised Majengo slums, it was the expectation of residents to have improved privacy in the redeveloped flats. Because the residents did not participate in the design of the flats, lack of privacy has really worsened the habitability of the flats. Access to basic facilities among the household is poor characterised by high levels of sharing of the bathroom, toilet and kitchen facilities as confirmed by one of the respondents Mrs. Hilda Walthera who said and I quote 'sometimes we have to either book in advance or literally queue up to access these services. The situation is even worse on days when I have visiting friends or relatives'⁴

4.3.5. FAMILY SIZE.

Overcrowding still remains a major problem as majority of the respondents (51.6 per cent) had 6-10 people per household as indicated in the table below. It is noteworthy to mention that such overcrowding contravenes the principle of decent housing as stipulated in the Sessional paper No. 3 of 2004 on housing (Kenya: 2004).

⁴ Walthera's household consist of eleven members and has to share the bathroom, toilet and kitchen with other households with whom they are sharing the same flat. She was interviewed on 21.09.07 at Pumwani.

Table 4: number of people per household

No. of persons per household	Frequency	Percentage
5 and below	9	29.0
6-10	16	51.6
11-15	2	6.5
16-20	4	12.9
Total	31	100

Source: field data 2007

Extended families are a common feature with father, mother, children and the grandchildren occupying a single room. The number of people per household determines how resources are distributed. The size of family determines how much food is consumed and shelter space for a particular family. It is so difficult for household heads to fit in every family member within a limited space especially during meals and sleeping time. This has forced some members to seek extra accommodation from friends and relatives. To avail adequate space especially at night, some family members have resorted to nocturnal jobs like night watchmen and bar attendants. Overcrowding has led to over-usage of some services particularly the toilets and kitchen which appear quite worn-out. The researcher also found that Households with Large families encounter difficulty in paying rent to the NHC. This is partly due to other pressing basic demands like the provision of food and clothing to the family. To such large families, the study learned that it is even difficult to secure three meals a day even though the bulk of their meagre income is spent on food.

4.3.6. Occupation.

Occupation of an individual explains what kind of economic engagement one is involved in. Consequently, the study sought to know the occupations of the respondents so as to determine their sources of income. From the responses, it was found out that the beneficiaries of Pumwani phase II were engaged in different occupations which are herein categorised as either formal or informal as shown in table 5.

Table 5: Occupation of the beneficiaries

Type occupation	Frequency	Percent
Formal	5	16.1
Informal	26	83.9
Total	31	100.0

Source: Field Data 2007

From the table above, it can be deduced that most of the beneficiaries of Pumwani Phase II scheme are operating within the informal economy (83.9 per cent) while only a paltry 2.8 per cent are formally employed. This finding is in line with II.O (1972) finding that a majority of urban residents operate within the informal sector where incomes are irregular and not easily quantifiable. Many of those in the informal employment are engaged in hawking of second hand clothes (*mitumba*) in the neighbouring Gikomba open air market. In addition to hawking of *mitumba* clothes, shoe repair and hair plaiting were common income generating activities of the sampled respondents

The above informal engagements have direct bearing on the stability of source of income of families to enable them afford the required monthly rents. However, this does not imply that those formally employed can comfortably afford the rents. The

study further established that the few people on formal employment were not only paid low salaries but like most of the residents had many dependants to support hence could not effectively meet their basic needs including consistency in rent payment. Those in formal employments though few in number, also mentioned that scheduling of meetings especially during working days (Monday-Friday) during the redevelopment coincided with their working hours and therefore compromised their availability to participate.

4.3.7. Religion

Religion of a community defines where the faith of that particular society lies. It thrives on specific doctrines and sanctions which together shape the behaviour of a people. Religion is not a panacea for community participation but can complement as well as influence it. For instance, ones faith can also serve as a basis of social capital where members of a given religious affiliation subscribe to a given norm. Religion can also hinder or undermine participation.

The study found that 25.8 per cent of the sampled population were Catholics, 16.1 per cent were Protestants while Muslims were the majority with 58.1 per cent. The high number of Muslims is also attributed to the history of Pumwani Majengo itself. The original inhabitants of this area were Islamic adherents and converted many more thereafter. In Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment, religion according to the residents somehow affected the participation of the people. The scheduling and subsequent attendances of meetings were determined by ones day of worship. Muslims for instance would not participate in any meeting scheduled for Friday while the Catholics would also find it difficult to attend Sunday meetings.

4.4.0 Community participation in Pumwani.

Community participation has received much focus in global and national policy in the recent past. Skinner (1987) posits that participation ensures project success by considering the needs of beneficiaries involved. To the World Bank (2003), it is a process in which people influence resource allocation and the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes. Mitullah et al (2005) links community participation with the emergence of the democratisation process of the 1990s which ushered decentralisation and people's participation as a dominant development feature. According to Chambers (1997), participatory development faces challenges particularly in ensuring that the poor are genuinely and equitably prioritized rather than passive engagement. Although Nairobi City Council which issued the developer with the land for redevelopment did not play a major role in design and execution of the programme, Mr. Jalrus Kimani⁷ the chief housing officer informed the study that NCC encourages community participation through a framework of Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP). Mr. Kimani went further to say that through LASDAP community members are accorded the opportunity to identify, specify and prioritize their needs. Kimani cited strict control by the Ministry of Local Government and limited resources as key challenges to service provision and community participation.

However, Mitullah et al (ibid) in their study on the management of resources by local authorities found out that there is lack of clear procedures and guidelines on how Local Authorities can involve communities in programmes intended for them. In spite of Kenya's 2002-2008 National Development plan's emphasis on decentralization and empowerment of local authorities for enhanced service delivery and citizen participation LASDAP has been quite inadequate in realising that aim. So far participation through LASDAP is restricted to satisfying the requirements of Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF). It is a representative participation which assumes that the views of the representatives reflect those they represent and give feedbacks. Effective participation demands that representatives consult with those they represent in order to get their inputs and provide necessary feedback.

⁷ Jalrus Kimani is the chief housing officer at the Nairobi City Council. He gave his views about framework for community participation during an interview conducted on 05.10.2007 at Nairobi city hall. In particular he singled out LASDAP as a participatory tool which stipulates the direct involvement of the community members in projects within their localities

Ideally, Community participation should accord both men and women the opportunity to participate in decision-making and ought to go beyond enumeration of the residents. It should also take into consideration awareness creation, community organisation and planning surveys. In the case of Pumwani phase II, the study found out that both men and women complained about what they considered a deliberate attempt by the developers to exclude them in major deliberations that yielded decisions that affect their lives. Of great concern was their perceived neglect of their opinion on both the purchase price and the monthly rent payable to NHC. They also accused the developer of not empowering them during the programme through capacity building. For instance, the respondents felt that the participation of the locals in the construction work would have boosted the income of several households within the slum area.

4.4.1. Participation stages

For purposes of participation analysis, this study considered three stages of Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment schemes. The stages were conception, planning and implementation. During conception stage, an idea regarding a required intervention in a specific area to tackle an identified problem is developed (Kosura: 2000). The idea is usually hatched by specialists and local leaders in a community through a discussion. This stage recognises the community in which the project is to be implemented as a key stakeholder. From the survey, it was revealed that only 3.2 per cent of the community participated during the conceptualisation stage implying that the redevelopment of Pumwani phase II adopted the top down approach of development. The people were not properly sensitized on the scheme hence the agenda of the scheme was not known by the majority of the people. Worse still, as stated earlier, the plan and design of the flats were solely developed by the developer.

Kosura (ibid) posits that the exercise of planning is conducted at the level of the project and involves the implementers, the beneficiaries and the funding agency or all stakeholders. At this stage, the management is allowed to address key issues including the realism of project objectives, scope, financial arrangements and implementation schedule, given the overall resource structure of the project and the working environment. From the study, it was found that at the planning stage of the

programme, 74 per cent of the community participated though with limited role. The peoples' participation was limited to the census survey of 1987 whose main objective was to identify the allottees from a comprehensive register of the residents. More worrying still was the smaller percentage of 3.2 per cent of respondents that participated at the implementation stage. With minimal participation at the programme conception, planning stages and limited roles at the implementation stage, the study found out that there were no specific roles for the community members of Pumwani Majengo slums. Knowledge of the programme was limited to when it started and who carried out the redevelopment.

Decision making at the lowest level is more likely to ensure that residents are satisfied to the highest degree with what is planned and implemented. Unless people are given opportunity not just to voice their concerns but also to be involved directly in decision making, there can often be high levels of disquiet and conflict even when security and better services are promised.

According to the developer, the residents were dully represented at various stages of the redevelopment of Pumwani Majengo slums. This position was however contested by the beneficiaries who considered such representation non consensual since the mandate did not come from the community as expected. The individuals who claimed to represent the slum dwellers were just handpicked by the authorities hence were neither answerable to the residents nor did they articulate their general feelings. Commitment to the targeted population and the enhancement of their capacities requires inspirational leadership that works towards a common objective (Ross: 1998). Personal attributes skills and associational networks when properly mobilized can bring forth the necessary strength required in community development. Any intended representation ought to be done in a generally accepted manner where the targeted group is adequately involved.

The Pumwani Highrise committee chairman informed this researcher that the fora (*in form of public barazas*) convened by the Provincial Administration which were meant to discuss the redevelopment were quite nonparticipatory and were characterized by monologues by the government officials. There was limited room for free discussion between the stakeholders. Being an urban community, the time and dates of such fora

was also crucial to effective participation. Meetings scheduled between Monday and Friday registered poor attendance by the residents since they were engaged in other activities. The setting of meetings without consultation was construed by the residents as a deliberate attempt to lock them out of the process.

The developer did not empower the community during the programme through capacity building. The residents felt that if they were trained in painting, masonry, welding and plumbing then they would have been able to sustain the flats without any outsourcing. Since the developer is supposed to maintain the flats until the beneficiaries pay all the cost, it was accused by the residents of hiring painters, plumbers and masons from outside the community, consequently denying the residents opportunities to improve on their livelihoods. The study found that the participation of the community in the construction work would have boosted the income of several households within the slum area. However, the developer exonerated itself from blame saying that it tried to recruit plumbers, masons, carpenters and electricians and did not get suitable candidates from the community. In other words the developer accused the community members for lack of adequate education and technical skills to allow them work in the project. However, according to the residents, if they had adequately participated, the issue of capacity building would have been raised and possibly incorporated in the scheme.

This position is supported by the findings on the respondents' type of training as indicated in table 6. The table shows that 3.2 per cent of the sampled responses had computer training, 6.5 per cent trained in engineering, 3.2 per cent in driving and another 3.2 per cent were trained in midwifery. The developer argued that training technical workers would not only have delayed the redevelopment programme but would also have been an expensive undertaking.

Table 6: type of training

Type of training	Frequency	Percentage
Computer	1	3.2
Engineering	2	6.5
Driving	1	3.2
Midwifery	1	3.2
No training	26	83.9
Total	31	100

Source: Field Data 2007

Many respondents also felt that lack of participation had a negative impact on the livelihood of the residents. A number of them had micro-businesses within the extensions of their former houses in Majengo. Mwonjoria Maina who is a green grocer claimed that she is now forced to rent a kiosk to sell vegetables yet before she had a free extension that served as a kiosk. Before she acquired her present kiosk, she claims that she and others had tried in vain to convince the developer to construct some stalls within the residential area to provide employment and business opportunities.

Further, due to lack of communication and misunderstanding as a result of not participating, the residents who constructed stalls within phase II area had their stalls pulled down by the NHC officials who argued that condoning the development of such structures would compromise the purpose of the redevelopment. Once permitted there would be uncontrolled emergence of informal structures within the redeveloped area. The demolition of stalls forced a number of residents interested in business to rent stalls along the road at market rates. Those who could not afford to rent the stalls are rendered jobless. Furthermore, even the available premises are not enough to cater for the high demand. To Mwonjoria, paying rent for the kiosk has reduced her income levels thereby compromising her ability to pay the monthly remittance to NHIC. Just as was provided for in Mathare 4A (Muthoka: 2005), She recommends that business premises be built within the phase II area especially along the road to respond to this need. She concluded by asking this question: how can a widowed poor woman like

me afford to rent a stall and manage to submit eleven thousand shillings to NHC monthly?

However, Sabina Mukeli Makau⁶ who vends ice cream within her house said that unlike other businesses which require big spaces, ice cream vending can be done within a minimal space hence the decision to do it in her flat. By so doing she has also avoided renting a stall. This notwithstanding, Sarah has to contend with continued harassment by city council over unlicensed business premise and went ahead to concur with Mwonjoria's position that stalls should have been provided for by the developer. Overall, the Pumwani residents were quite dissatisfied with their levels of participation during the entire redevelopment period.

4.4.2. Forms of participation.

Participation is manifested in various forms and in this study it emerged that participation in Pumwani redevelopment scheme was in the forms of individual and group. While individual participation implies direct involvement in the redevelopment programme, group participation is through an organised entity with a proper institutional structure. In a well structured institution, participation is normally through representation where only a few elected people represent the entire group.

During the redevelopment programme, individual participation was mainly witnessed during planning though that was limited to the household survey of 1987 whose main objective was to identify the allottees from a comprehensive register of the residents. Table 7 shows the nature of individual participation. As individuals, 25.8 per cent of the sampled respondents participated in household survey while only 9.7 per cent participated in administrative barazas.

⁶ Sabina mukeli was interviewed on 04.10.09 in her flat at Pumwani. She is one of the beneficiaries of Pumwani phase 11 who have ventured in micro enterprise to improve their family income.

Table 7: Individual participation

Individual participation	Frequency	Percent
household survey	8	25.8
Attended administrative baraza	3	9.7
Did not participate	20	64.5
Total	31	100.0

Source: field Data 2007

During implementation stage, an ad hoc group was formed with the assistance of the provincial Administration. The group was called Pumwani Highrise committee whose leadership according to the residents, was undemocratically constituted since the community did not fully participate in its establishment. This group had a limited mandate of assisting the developer verify the true list of beneficiaries as per the 1987 survey as indicated in the Table 8.

The group according to members was weak in structure and therefore failed to shape and define its organizational path. The group was characterised by; unclear chains of command, lack of funding to run its activities, poor decision making process, ineffective communication and lack of accountability from members. According to the group's chairman, some members did not make the group a high priority in their schedule and as a result there was consistent lack of commitment. Absence at meetings led to unfinished tasks and issues unresolved. In addition, leadership wrangles made it difficult for members to collaborate to achieve the common goal of the group. Due to the group's weak structures, it was often manipulated by both the provincial administration officers and the developer. Lacking a clear mandate, the group was unable to effectively meet the community's expectation.

Table 8: group nature of participation

Group participation		Frequency	Percent
Valid	verification of list of beneficiaries	10	32.3
	represents residents	3	9.7
	n/a	17	54.8
	link between authorities and community	1	3.2
	Total	31	100.0

Source: field Data 2007

As shown in the table above, 32.3 per cent of the sampled beneficiaries who participated as a group identify verification of list of beneficiaries is the main nature of their participation. Another 9.7 per cent said that the group represented the residents while only 3.2 per cent mentioned the group as a link between the community and the authorities. From the foregoing it can be concluded that while resident status of participation at the planning stage had no bearing on their perception on the existence of conflicts, the status of their participation at the implementation stage of the project had an influence on the existence of conflicts between them and the programme implementers. This deduction is consistent with the expectation that the implementation stage encompasses major decisions like pricing and rent cost fixing, which are two critical decisions whose deliberations should involve key stakeholders like potential project beneficiaries. Non-participation by a majority of the residents would be one definite cause of conflicts.

Whether the Pumwani residents participated as individuals or as a group, the participation was hardly effective. For instance, the cost and mode of payment could not have been a bone of contention if it were consensually agreed on. The survey indicates that all the allottees claimed that they were never consulted when the kshs 11,000 was set by NHC as the monthly payment. The service charge of kshs1, 000 which is part of the monthly contribution payable to NHC is also quite controversial. Though the residents felt that the fee is too high, most of them would not mind much if it were properly used. The study found out that the response by the developer to

maintenance needs of the allottees is always delayed and at times deliberately ignored. Evidently, some of the staircases are already worn-out and are yet to be repaired. According to NHC the collected service charge has been put into good use but blames defaulters for the slow service delivery. However, the group realised that participation does not always influence the decision making process. As it found out sometimes what the stakeholders agree on is not what is implemented. The chairman of the group cited a case where the community and the developer agreed to draw manual labour locally but NHC still went ahead to hire labourers from other places.

The exclusion of the residents also resulted into their ignorance of the criteria applied in the allocation of the houses. All the beneficiaries interviewed confirmed that they were neither aware of the criteria used nor satisfied with criteria used. The physically challenged and old persons were most hit since they were not given the opportunity to choose which houses were preferable to their status. This action of exclusion of the targeted groups is inconsistent with GOK (2004) policy which intended to off-set the negative effects and impacts to the vulnerable groups of Kenyan society caused by reforms and programmes in the economy. The handicapped and elderly are therein classified as vulnerable groups. The government recognizes and appreciates the fact that housing programmes are much more effective when they take into account the different roles and needs of their targeted population. This category of respondents argued that if accorded a chance to select flats then they would go for flats on the ground floor which would spare them the agony of climbing the stairs.

4.5.1. CONFLICTS DURING REDEVELOPMENT.

A conflict can simply be termed as a disagreement between people or groups over a particular issue. Steers (1991) defines conflict as a process in which individuals or groups feel that other individuals or groups have frustrated, or are about to frustrate their plans, goals, beliefs or activities. In projects just like in organizations some conflict is inevitable. Making a decision to do A instead of B often alienates the supporters of B despite the soundness of the reasons behind the decision (Okumbe: 2001). When this happens there ought to be mechanisms in place to resolve them so as to avoid the consequences which could be quite costly. The commonly applied

techniques in conflict resolution are arbitration and mediation where a third party is involved.

The appalling living conditions prevailing in the slums would make one assume that the slum dwellers would take up the new houses without any hesitation whatsoever. This was however not applied in the case under study. There emerged conflicts upon completion of Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment. As indicated in the table below 83.9 per cent of the sampled beneficiaries confirmed the existence of conflicts during the programme and went further to indicate the causes. These causes range from lack of community participation (9.8 per cent), corruption (12.2 per cent), lack of accountability (4.9 per cent), high flat prices (43.9 per cent), lack of consultation by developer (7.3 per cent), omission of names (12.2 per cent), unaffordable instalment (4.9 per cent) while high rent and meddling with the list of beneficiaries by the developer scored 2.4 per cent a piece. In terms of ranking, high prices were the major cause.

Table 9: conflicts during the programme

Were there conflicts during the programme	Frequency	Percent
Yes	26	83.9
No	5	16.1
Total	31	100.0

Source: Field Data 2007

As shown in the cross tabulation below, there is a relationship between participation and emergence of conflicts during the redevelopment programme of Pumwani phase II. All the respondents who were unsatisfied with their levels of participation during the slum redevelopment confirmed existence of conflicts during the programme.

Table 10: participation at implementation and conflicts cross tabulation

		According to you, were there any conflicts during the programme		Total
		Yes	No	
Did you play specific role at the implementation stage	Yes	2 66.7%	1 33.3%	3 100%
	No	24 85.7%	4 14.3%	28 100%
	Total	26	5	31

Source: Field Data 2007

Furthermore the existence of conflicts during the implementation of the Pumwani phase II programme was directly linked to non involvement of the community members during this particular stage as shown in the cross tabulation. 85.7 per cent of the respondents who did not play any specific role during the implementation stage also confirmed that there were conflicts during the programme. The study therefore found out that there was a relationship between lack of participation at the implementation stage and the existence of conflicts. This deduction is backed by the Table 10 above which shows a higher proportion of residents who did not participate in the implementation stage also indicating existence of conflicts.

The above information is also consistent with the beneficiaries' levels of satisfaction and occurrence of conflicts. The study revealed that there was a direct relationship between satisfaction with levels of participation and occurrence of conflicts. 85.5 per cent of those not satisfied said that there occurred conflicts during the redevelopment programme.

4.5.2. Cost of construction

Purchase price of the completed flats is linked to the cost of production which is not only prohibitive towards reduction of housing deficit but also determines the final prices of final products. The developer considers the cost of construction as one of the challenges to developing low cost housing. Raw materials including inputs like cement if not subsidised then there is a basic rent below which they cannot offer the flats. One of the fundamental issues in housing development has been the high cost of decent housing, which the majority of the population cannot afford. Apart from the high cost of land, it is estimated that construction including building materials, particularly for low cost housing takes as much as 75 per cent of the cost of development (NHC: 2005). Further, to reduce exclusion and marginalization of the poor NHIC requires improved funding. More often market oriented approaches tend to exacerbate the problems that slum redevelopment is meant to address.

The construction industry in Kenya is mostly dominated by a well-developed formal network of private contractors who mostly meet the needs of a minority of the middle-income and high-income urban population. The needs of the majority of the urban poor on the other hand are met by informal "jua kali" sector builders and developers. The informal "jua kali" construction industry has however not been well supported and has limited access to finance services and inputs, such as materials, plants, equipment and professional support services. There is need to explore management contracting where various components of the building are tendered separately to bring down the cost of construction (ibid).

Unless the cost of production is purposively re-examined and where necessary reduced, then the developers who are mainly focused on profit making will set purchase price that would sustain their businesses and fails to factor in the consumers ability to pay. In other words cost of production directly affects the affordability of completed housing units. However, a financial legal framework should be put in place to help the slum dwellers. Such frameworks have succeeded elsewhere in the world. In the Philippines for instance, a national financial community mortgage programme (CPM) has made subsidised loan finance to regulate and improve low income squatter settlements (www.urbantimeline.org). The lack of access to finance is critical to

housing provision to the poor. Conventional housing finance in most cases is usually available to the high and middle income groups thereby locking out the poor particularly in the urban areas.

4.5.3. Affordability.

The lack of sufficient affordable housing for low-income households results from a complex set of interrelated factors that should be understood as a whole system in order to find possible solutions. Even as such solutions are sought, it should be noted that there is no single or simple solution to this problem. Shelter is one of the most basic human needs and for many families affordability is a real barrier to satisfying this need. Housing affordability involves the capacity of households to consume housing services which matches their aspirations. Affordability of housing for low-income families is a function of relationship between their available income and cost of the house. According to Arthur et al (2002), affordability relates to household incomes and housing prices and rents. However, to balance the two factors is never an easy task considering that the main motive of the developer as an investor is profit making. The implication of this investor motive is therefore not to sell below certain prices where profits are compromised.

The study found out that only 3.2 per cent of the respondents opined that the monthly payment to NHC was affordable. This particular respondent was one of the five beneficiaries with formal permanent employment where she attracts a monthly house allowance and hence can comfortably raise the required rent. Apart from that, her husband also works and they have a small family to support hence their ability to make savings from a consolidated family income. When asked why she felt the monthly payment was affordable she responded by saying, 'apart from having a small family of three, I qualify for a monthly house allowance from my employer and my husband is economically engaged as well. These factors combined make the rent affordable. she concluded¹⁴.

Affordability of upgraded or redeveloped slums is a major challenge for the poor. As in site and service schemes, it ought to be determined before actual development

¹⁴ An interview with a beneficiary of Pumwani phase II on affordability of the rents.

commences so as to avoid any misunderstandings thereafter. The rents/prices should be determined by the ability of the targeted group based on their levels of income and not just pegged on the cost of construction per se. To ensure that this is done, target communities should be allowed to participate in the price determination. When the market is allowed to determine housing costs then the poor may not at all access decent housing due to their meagre incomes. As was mentioned earlier, Sectional Properties Act of 1987 somehow addressed affordability problem. Through it, NHC was able to maximise land use and at the same time distributed cost of services among the beneficiaries. In Kibera, as Owuoché (1997) found out, apart from the application of Sectional Properties Act, NHC also lowered the construction standards by not plastering the walls so as to reduce the costs of the housing units.

Housing must be made affordable for everyone and one of the key challenges in slum redevelopment is ensuring that it does not lead to increased housing costs. Developers should ensure that the targeted groups participate fully during the stages of the programme in order to peg the costs to the prevailing income levels. When the NHC decided that the prices would be determined by the cost of production then the whole programme ceased to address its main objective of providing decent and affordable housing to the poor. It even causes more concern when the price paid by Phase II residents is compared with what their neighbours in Phase I pay. With almost homogenous socio-economic and historical characteristics the price differential is unjustifiable. To ensure successful implementation, the allottees should have been considered for loan incentives as was in the case of Dandora site and service project where loan facilities by both the World Bank and the Housing Finance Corporation of Kenya (HFCK) were advanced to the allottees (ibid).

Most of the conflicts encountered in Pumwani phase II were cost related. Most people cannot afford the kshs 11,000 demanded by the NHC as monthly charges. The sampled population interviewed gave various reasons as to why they could not afford to pay the required prices. Compared to the kshs 1,700 the allottees in phase I pay a month towards the purchase of the flats, the amount phase beneficiaries are paying is quite high. With 3 roomed units, phase I allottees are able to sublet 2 rooms at a cost of kshs.3, 500 per month, pay the required monthly remittance to the NHC and have some surplus for upkeep. Contrary, if phase II allottees decide to sublet 2 rooms at

similar amount, they still need to top up Kshs.4, 000 to NHC. According to the developer, the prices it has set for the flats are much lower than what the market offers. To justify the prices as fair, the NIIC estates officer gave reference to what tenants in the neighbouring California and Eastleigh estates pay for flats of similar qualities. According to him, two bedroomed houses in the aforesaid adjacent estates attract a monthly rent of between 15,000-18,000 shillings per month.

Pumwani phase 11 residents are faced with high standards of housing, infrastructure and service provision. Even if the NHC feels that the standards are lower than what the market offers, they are still beyond the means of the poor for which they are intended. The new flats are completely serviced by water and power supplies from Nairobi sewerage and Water Company and Kenya power and lighting company respectively. This implies that apart from the monthly purchase instalments they contribute, they still have to clear their water and electricity bills.

According to the residents, the overall cost of living in the new flats has been beyond their reach. Some of them find it quite difficult to service their water bills which they evaded before due to their illegal connections. Nairobi city council is pleased with the new flats because it is now able to bill every flat effectively. To this effect it has broadened its revenue base from payments of water bills. Both water and electricity bills are met by individual households separate from monthly rent instalments. More still, some of the households complain that it has been difficult to control the water/power consumption rates of subtenants. In some months, the bills are beyond their abilities to pay hence power disconnections.

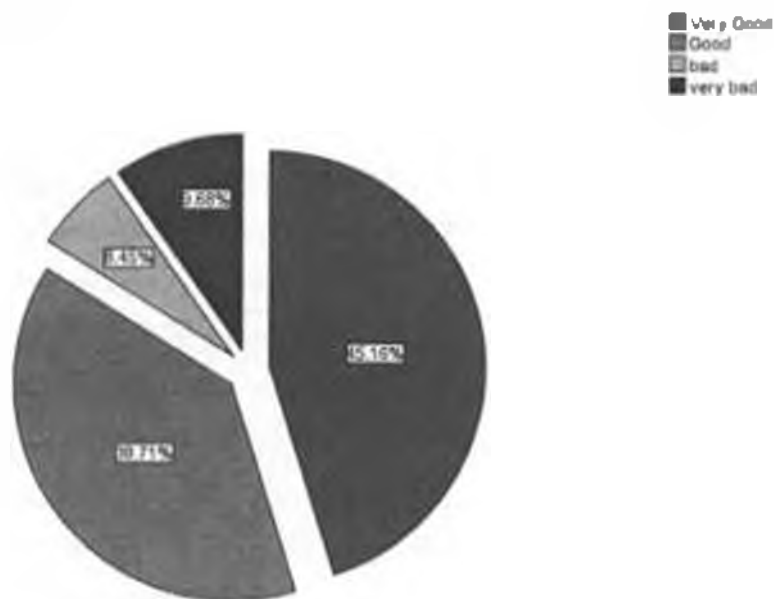
With 51.6 per cent of the households interviewed having a population of 6-10 people, the single room they are expected to occupy while subletting, and the other two is quite inadequate. Such families have to squeeze themselves into the limited space. Since the repayment period is spread within 25 years, such a congestion problem is only expected to escalate due to high fertility rates. Juma Mohamed whose family comprises of sixteen members actually confided in the author that some of its members are forced to sleep on the corridor which is not only an embarrassment but also exposes the members to pneumonia. In cases where there are more than 11 people in household, families have occupied all the rooms thereby forcing them to

look for alternative sources of income so as to maintain the repayment to the NHC. Due to the limited space within the flats, some beneficiaries resisted the demolition of their previous dwellings in Majengo so as to provide accommodation for other family members.

4.5.4. Rating of the new flats.

This relates to the interior and exterior quality of the Pumwani phase II flats as rated by the beneficiaries themselves. It also involves the socioeconomic and environmental expectation viz a viz the reality according to the residents. Finally it attempts to answer the question whether the project achieved its objectives of providing a decent, affordable housing and embetterment of community's welfare with cleaner and safer environment to low income group in Pumwani. To assess the quality, residents gave their views as indicated in figure 3.

Figure 3: rating of the new flats by respondents



Source: Field Data 2007

From the figure above, 45.2 % of the respondents rate the new flats as very good. Another 38.7 per cent of responses rated the new flats as good. This shows appreciation of their present environment which they recognise as cleaner and securer compared to where they lived before. Previously in the Majengo slums, public utilities like toilets and bathrooms exposed the residents to serious health hazards due to their filth. In a report entitled Nairobi situation analysis, Syagga et al (2001) found out that besides eroding the dignity and self respect of residents the sharing of one toilet by so many people is the cause of many health and environmental problems in the slums. The toilets were only occasionally cleaned by the Nairobi City Council workers.

The residents pay a service charge of kshs 1000 per month to cater for among others garbage collection and maintenance of the flats. Importantly the flats have a modern motor vehicle parking lot which the allottees claim to be of no direct benefit to them since most of them do not own vehicles. However, the allottees who have sublet the flats acknowledge that the availability of parking facility increases the value of the flats and as a result attracts a variety of tenants including those with personal vehicles. With enhanced value, demand for the flats is also ultimately raised. The whole compound has also been fenced and has a gate manned by security guard to ward off any trespassers as well as potential thieves.

As stated earlier in chapter two, slum redevelopment is one of the strategies that can be used to attempt to achieve Millennium Development Goals. By providing safe drinking water and basic sanitation, Pumwani phase II programme has addressed target number ten (10) of Millennium Development Goals on halving by 2015 the proportion of people without sustainable access to clean drinking water and basic sanitation (World Bank :2003). The deplorable sanitation and leaking roofs that characterized the slums before the redevelopment are forgone concerns. All the flats have flush toilets with well constructed sewerage systems and are well supplied with clean water. The number of people sharing one toilet has also been significantly reduced to fewer people compared to the 300 people Pumwani Majengo slum.

However, the 6.5 per cent and 9.7 per cent ratings of bad and very bad have their justifications. The responses in the latter categories (bad and very bad) revealed the concerns raised by the sampled respondents notably on the maintenance of the sewer

lines, uncollected garbage (see figure 4) and overstretched flat capacities. The sustainability of the good sewerage system presents a major challenge according to the residents who accuse the developer of being sluggish whenever there is need to unclog the system.

Figure 4: pile of garbage within the redeveloped area.



Source: field photo 2007

4.5.5. Flat allocation and participation

Whereas the beneficiaries of Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment scheme acknowledge that the new flats are of superior quality and standards than where they lived before, 71 per cent of those interviewed believe that they were not allocated flats of their preference because they did not participate in the allocation process. The lack of participation during the allocations not only interfered with their freedom of choice but also broke their social networks within the community.

According to the residents, the arbitrary allocation that ignored community participation has split the initially strong next door neighbour associations and networks hence interfering with the social capital sustained over a long period of time. As was evident in the study the beneficiaries have quite long history in Pumwani where 45.2 per cent have lived in Pumwani for between 45-59 years, 29.0 per cent for between 30-44 years, 22.6 per cent for 60 and above years while only 3.2 per cent for less than 30 years (see table 11).

Table: 11. Number of years one has lived in Pumwani.

Years	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid				
15-29 Years	1	3.2	3.2	3.2
30-44 Years	9	29.0	29.0	32.3
45-59 Years	14	45.2	45.2	77.4
60 and above	7	22.6	22.6	100.0
Total	31	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Data 2007

The residents claim that the scenario is like moving into a totally new neighbourhood. Moreover, it has made it quite difficult for most of them to freely borrow small essential household items like salt and sugar. Residents prefer to maintain their previous neighbours as was in Majengo than to start new acquaintances. This position is supported by Ross (1998) who posits that social capital is a key determinant in predicting neighbourhood stability and those neighbourhoods with relatively large amounts of social capital are less likely to fail. In other words, the attachments and loyalty among residents are important ingredients in community development and wellbeing. When social networks are deliberately interfered with, community members may fail to access some services and commodities as revealed during the survey.

More worrying revelation from the study is that some antidevelopment phenomenon like corruption by the authorities featured during the flat allocation. Some illegitimate and undeserving people were allocated the new flats due to corruption. According to the residents, the officials who were charged with the duty to ensure fairness and transparency in the allocations were somehow compromised and therefore mismanaged the whole process. While some families were allocated more than one flat, the provincial Administration officials and NHC officers meddled with the final list to include their friends and relatives. The residents accused the authorities of openly favouring some people during the allocation. Such actions sparked series of protests from the community and also strained the residents' relations with the developer. Concerns on these anomalies in flat allocation were pointed out in one of the allocation committee meetings¹. In the District Officer's validated list, 65 names were not in the 1987 census list, some rooms had been double allocated, the list showed more rooms in plots which had fewer rooms in the original list and the Identification details of some of the applicants differed from those in the original list. The group was represented by Mr Mohammed Mponda who insisted on proper list validation. It was then that the meeting resolved a list of tenants from NCC and compare it with the 1987 one and those who appear in both to be considered for allocation.

¹ The meeting was held on 22nd February 2005 at the NHC board room and was chaired by Arch. B.Ogolla and attended by the Pumwani District Officer.

4.5.6. Community and NHC Relationship

From the study it emerged that while 83.9 per cent of the respondents acknowledged that conflicts really occurred during the slum redevelopment, only 16.1 per cent denied this position. This preposition is also consistent with the relationship between the developers and the community during the redevelopment where many of them considered such relationship to be bad. It would be misleading to state that lack of participation was the sole causal factor to the conflicts during Pumwani phase II redevelopment programme. There were other subtle factors too, though lack of participation remained a dominant factor.

Due to the conflicts encountered during the redevelopment, the relationship between the NHC and the residents was affected a great deal. The environment upon which participation should take place is very important in any community development programme (Kretzmann and Macnight: 1993). Whereas Pumwani-Majengo residents were key stakeholders in the Pumwani phase II scheme, their perception on the relationship between the developer viz-a-vis the community during the redevelopment stands at: 71 per cent bad, 12.9 per cent very bad, 6.5 per cent very good and 9.7 per cent good as shown in the table 12.

Table 12: relationship of the developers and the community after the redevelopment

Relationship	Frequency	Percentage
Very good	2	6.5
Good	3	9.7
Bad	22	71.0
Very Bad	4	12.9
Total	31	100.0

Source: Field Data 2007

The residents attributed the bad relationship to the failure by the Authorities to effectively incorporate them at crucial areas that affect them both directly and indirectly. Of much concern was lack of commitment by the developer to seriously consider their views especially on the cost of completed flats as well as the mode of payment.

The survey also realized that corruption does not only hinder participation of the poor slum dwellers but also to a greater extent undermines the very objectives of slum redevelopment. For instance when kins/friends of either NHC officials or provincial Administration officers were considered for allocation, residents felt their views were being ignored. This move by the authorities led to a vicious disagreement between various stakeholders. Corruption was also witnessed when some flats were marked by NIIC as empty yet they were occupied by people whose names did not appear in the official register. This action led to continued protests from the residents. To intervene, Pumwani Highrise committee, led by the chairman Mr. Mponda led a delegation to both the government and the NIIC to protest what the group considered mismanagement of Pumwani phase I. However, according to the chairman there were a number of challenges that the group faced. The challenges included; intra-family disagreements especially where the allottee is deceased, constant threats from those who missed out in the allocation, threat to members by NIIC over repossession of flats from those who default payments.

The few respondents who acknowledged good relationship cited the demonstrated intention and commitment by NIIC to redevelop Pumwani Majengo slums. This gesture was not only received positively by the residents but also provided a ray of hope to better housing with basic facilities like water and electricity. The expectation of the community was that the residents would enjoy improved privacy and better life as compared to the conditions in Majengo. The possibility of owning a house in the long run also became more certain and hence the good relationship between the developer and the community.

4.5.7. Benefits of community participation

Community participation has been praised as a fundamental ingredient in any contemporary development particularly those targeting the poor communities

(Mayoux and Chambers: 2005). Though beneficial, Muthoka (2005) observed that ineffective community participation coupled with competing interests can lead to partial achievement of goals and objectives of a project. In this regard, the study found out that ineffective individual participation in Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment had a negative impact on the success of the project. As was discovered in this study, the effectiveness of community participation lies on the level of members' contribution on various issues at every project stage. The quorum may not matter much if members are largely passive as was the case of public *barazas* where leaders monopolised meetings.

Table 13: Individual contribution to the redevelopment objectives

Did you contribute to the objectives of redevelopment	Frequency	Percent
Valid Yes	10	32.3
No	20	64.5
Not sure	1	3.2
Total	31	100.0

Source: Field Data 2007

From table 13 above 64.5 per cent of those who participated in the programme as individuals indicated that their actions did not contribute to the redevelopment objectives because their participation was limited to census survey. This was despite the fact that most of them recognised community participation as an important development strategy. According to responses of various stakeholders interviewed, participation featured as an important component to any meaningful slum redevelopment. 96.8 per cent of the sampled beneficiaries positively rated participation as beneficial to slum redevelopment. The overwhelming recognition of benefits of participation in slum redevelopment was strongly supported by specific benefits which are listed in Table 14.

Table 14: benefits of participation in slum redevelopment

Benefits of participation in slum redevelopment	Frequency	Percentage
Minimizes conflicts	19	22.4
Considers every stakeholder's input	4	4.7
Builds staff skills	4	4.7
Incorporates community felt needs	3	3.5
Improves local capacities	2	2.4
Promotes negotiations	2	2.4
Decentralizes power and responsibilities	3	3.5
Ensures community ownership	10	11.8
Builds trust and understanding	4	4.7
Allows community to air views	2	2.4
Ensures programme sustainability	8	9.4
Inculcates mutual understanding	7	8.2
Builds consensus	1	1.2
Allows the poor to express their priorities	1	1.2
Creates harmony	3	3.5
Helps create an inclusive society	3	3.5
Ensures popular decisions	7	8.2
Provides solutions to problems	1	1.2
Brings in new ideas	1	1.2
TOTAL	85	100

Source: Field Data 2007 from multiple responses.

From the table 22.4 per cent of the responses perceived participation to minimize conflicts. 11.8 per cent of the responses recognised that participation ensures community ownership of the scheme. Another 9.4 per cent of the responses viewed participation as a component that would lead to programme sustainability. In fact this response is in line with Stiglitz's argument which considers participation as important both as an end in itself as well as a means to the achievement of sustainable

development and poverty alleviation (Stiglitz : 1997). Furthermore, sustainability of the programme takes care of intergenerational equity as far as the utility of the services rendered is concerned. With the involvement of the locals particularly in capacity building, maintenance of the drainage systems, painting of the flats and provision of community policing are achievable at affordable costs. The programme should lead a normal life if not better after the developer winds up its operations.

A further 8.2 per cent of the sampled respondents cited participation as an important tool in inculcating mutual understanding between the authorities and the community. Other benefits of community participation as considered by the sampled population also rated as follows; consideration of every stakeholder's input (4.7 per cent), building of staff skills (4.7 per cent), building trust and understanding (4.7 per cent), incorporating community felt needs (3.5 per cent), decentralization of power and responsibilities (3.5 per cent), while improvement of local capacities, promotion of negotiations and opportunity for community to air views were ranked 2.4 per cent respectively.

Surprisingly, even the National Housing Corporation that ought to have spearheaded the process recognise that better results were achievable with broad based all inclusive participation. With participation, the trust and the much needed support of the community is almost guaranteed. NHIC also confirmed that when there is mutual understanding between the developer and the targeted community, then the project can avoid some unnecessary delays occasioned by days or even months of dispute resolutions. Court cases and other forms of arbitration at times interfere with the projects critical path and overall implementation schedule.

When government agencies include diverse groups in certain decision making and service delivery, the targeted community benefit from first hand understanding of issues. This improves the local capacities and in the long run can help solve complex social, political, economic and environmental problems. By encouraging active relationships with the local community, the government agencies can minimize conflicts. According to Reid (2000), people develop confidence in agencies that invite and genuinely listen to them. This necessitates an environment of trust that is valuable particularly in situations of tough decisions. Further, community participation can

help create an enabling environment in which stakeholders can solve their own problems and encourage self reliance and innovation.

CHAPTER FIVE:

5.0. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

5.1. Summary

In summary, this study assessed the participation of the Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment scheme. In particular, the study looked at the possible relationship between lack of community participation and conflicts in slum redevelopment. This paper therefore presents a research on the redevelopment process in slums and whether it promotes effective participation so as to achieve desirable results. Levels and forms of participation were analysed by the study during the conception, planning and implementation stages of the programme.

The scheme was a follow up to the first phase of Pumwani slum redevelopment and targeted those who did not benefit from the phase I programme and were still residing within Pumwani-majengo slums. The NHC which was the developer of the scheme targeted the slum dwellers in Majengo area with an aim of constructing decent and affordable housing for them without demolition of the existing structures before the project was completed and ready for occupation. The study finding shows that the decision to redevelop Pumwani was a top down approach where the project was conceived and mainly planned by the developer. Guided by Sectional Properties Act of 1987, NHC adopted High-rise type of housing development.

The study also revealed that the community's level of participation remained minimal at various redevelopment stages where those privileged to participate did so either as individuals, group or both. The household survey was the only major opportunity for their participation. The curtailed participation strained the relationship between the developer and the targeted population. The few who participated at various stages of redevelopment either as individuals or group were mainly motivated by the desire to occupy affordable and decent housing. Decent housing includes and not limited to quality infrastructure and better environment.

The limited Community participation was also realized through; interviews, chiefs and District Officer's public *barazas* and committee meetings. However, rivalry, mistrust and rigidity among various stakeholders undermined the process and

principles of participation. Other challenges that dogged the programme include; generally low literacy levels, large families, family disputes and unreliable sources of income amongst the Pumwani residents.

For effective analysis of the people's involvement in the project, various socio-economic characteristics of the residents were considered. Notably, on the issue of sex of the respondents, the study found out that there were more women than men mainly due to historical factor. Majengo area has a long history of commercial sex workers, a trade that has continuously attracted women. Education which is a key ingredient for peoples' empowerment did not play the expected role in community participation because the exclusion cut across both the educated and the uneducated alike. Furthermore, lack of relevant skills hindered the ability of the residents to effectively participate in the programme. 83.9 per cent of the respondents had no training at all.

To comfortably pay for the new flats which 45.2 per cent and 38.7 per cent of the respondents rated as very good and good respectively, the study revealed that a reliable economic engagement was necessary. In this regard, the study found out that majority of the residents was within the informal occupation where household income remained unpredictable thereby compromising their ability to pay for the houses. Family size was also found to be a determinant on a household savings. The bigger the size the lower the savings hence the higher likelihood for payment default. Lack of financial assistance in terms of mortgages to the beneficiaries also hampered the payment schedule for the flats. The study also found out that overcrowding, sharing of rooms, uncollected garbage and poor maintenance of the sewer lines as the main causes of the low rating of the flats by some of the residents.

Generally, the residents overwhelmingly (96.77 per cent) recognised participation as beneficial to slum redevelopment programmes and if effectively applied can achieve better results. Majority of them were of the view that participation would minimize any emerging conflicts during the redevelopment and ensure community ownership of the projects.

5.2. Conclusions

Globally, there is increasing emphasis on the importance of slum upgrading and in particular slum redevelopment as a way of tackling the daunting problems of slum proliferations. Slum redevelopment programmes are used by national, local authorities, domestic and international organisations in many countries to uplift the welfare of the households living in the slums and informal settlements. Typically such undertaking incorporates a number of improvements including infrastructure, environment, land tenure and building quality. Today, participatory slum improvement has been generally accepted as best practice in housing intervention though largely demonstrated on a limited scale.

The study revealed that participatory process in Pumwani Phase II slum redevelopment adopted minimum levels of community involvement and hence there was greater need to bring together views of all the stakeholders especially the local community and the developer so as to improve the success of the scheme. The failure by the developer to fully involve the pumwani community in the process of redevelopment led to a strained relationship during and after the project.

Further, the study found out that inclusion of pumwani community members could bring a greater understanding and success to the scheme. This, in a way, could have led to implementation of actions that reflected the needs of the people. Importantly, it would have limited any possible conflicts amongst stakeholders. In other words, participating communities tend to succeed better than those that ignore it and sit by passively.

The effectiveness of participatory process in slum redevelopment is also very much dependent on the intra-community participation. The way the individuals contribute to the formation of community organization and decision making process is a crucial aspect towards the achievement of a mutually accepted view. When slum dwellers are directly involved in the selection of representatives then the negotiations that are arrived at become more acceptable and authoritative.

Curtailed community participation in slum redevelopment not only fails to guarantee community's priorities but also reduces programme acceptability. Developers therefore must endeavor to extensively consult the community members at all stages of the redevelopment. This implies that the involvement of the people only in the census survey does not lead to greater possibility of any agreement. Further, the developer should ensure that the vulnerable members of the community are represented in the participation forums.

Non-participatory approaches may result into conflicts that may worsen the conditions of slum dwellers. Policies and programmes that aim to upgrade or redevelop slums without involvement of the slum dwellers may not be sustainable. The targeted community must be included so as to address conflicting issues in advance; create the awareness on the need for redevelopment, enhance the acceptance of the programme by the people, and facilitate implementation and increased sense of ownership.

Pumwani phase II illustrates the danger of community exclusion during slum redevelopment. Much of the conflicts experienced during the scheme redevelopment were mainly due to inadequate participation strategies. Involvement of the people at various stages of redevelopment represents a win-win situation for such programmes for both the developers and the community hence ought to be encouraged. However, community participation alone as was evident during this study is not enough to ensure affordable housing to the slum dwellers. Other factors such as the ability of the beneficiaries to pay and family sizes if not given the necessary consideration during the redevelopment could affect the objectives of such programme. In addition, complementary efforts from other players in the housing sector should be encouraged. NHC alone cannot deliver the deficit of decent and affordable housing to the poor. A concerted effort in terms of innovative techniques and policy changes ought to be enhanced to attract more players especially from the private sector. Subsidies and market based incentives for developing affordable houses should be adopted.

5.3. Recommendations.

With the prevailing and continued formation of slums in Kenya, the Government's commitment to improve the supply of decent and affordable housing in line with the global improvement of 100 million lives of slum dwellers by 2020, the following recommendations were considered by this study to be helpful towards the attainment of the above goal.

The key to sustainable provision of affordable housing to the urban poor who are currently in slum settlements is their proper and timely inclusion in the process by the developers. Any future slum redevelopments by the NHC or any other developer ought to engage the slum dwellers at every stage to ensure that the motivation of the communities to continue taking part in the process is not put at risk. Participation should cut across all the social groups including the old and disabled. When this happens, a sense of ownership and belonging is created within the community where implementation of redevelopment takes place. As was realized during this research, participation of the target beneficiaries at all levels and stages of the redevelopment also contribute positively towards minimization of possible disputes between the developer and the community. Furthermore, only when an appropriate enabling environment is created by the housing development authorities shall the potentials that prevail within low income communities be adequately mobilized and realized.

Awareness and capacity building within the stakeholders' fraternity should be effectively spearheaded by the developer so as to not only build the necessary confidence but also reduce suspicions and conflicts in the programme. Awareness creates the necessary knowledge of the programme by the stakeholders by providing them with the important information about the goals and objectives of the programme. Capacity building on the other hand, equips the community members with the relevant skills required to run the programme. The skills once imparted on the people, can help sustain the programme particularly during the post implementation period after the developer winds up its activities.

Income levels of the community where the redevelopment takes place ought to be boosted by incorporating the available human resource. It may prove difficult to

recruit locally especially when the required expertise is not available locally, but for unskilled labour is mutually beneficial when sourced from within the community. To the developer, the benefit is that the unskilled labourers (otherwise referred to as casuals) provide cheap labour and can with time graduate to semi-skilled. Local workforce should be utilized so as to improve the income of the slum dwellers. With high levels of dependencies within the households, engagements in either casual or contractual work would boost the living standards of the people however little it may be.

From the study, it emerged that there still exists a huge gap between incomes of the poor and housing supply costs. In line with this, the study recommends the removal of regulatory impediments that raises the cost of housing supply and put more focus on the micro financing of the needs of the urban poor people. Strong demand for housing units that are affordable to low- income households calls for an increased supply of such units. Indeed, to the extent that construction and related costs can be reduced through innovative techniques or policy changes, these efficiencies will serve to maximize the impact of future subsidies or market-based incentives for developing affordable housing. In order for the government and other housing development agencies to adequately house the urban poor, solutions to overcome these and other barriers to affordable housing must be found.

Where costs are set beyond the abilities of the allottees, this study recommends that the government offers necessary and targeted subsidies on the construction inputs. Alternatively, low cost housing developers can receive incentives such as tax relief, lower land premium and faster approval by the relevant local authorities. The above measures would help reduce the production costs and increase accessibility to decent and affordable housing. This would ultimately cushion both the developer and the targeted poor.

For better development of and access to affordable and adequate housing, there ought to be a deliberate effort to enhance access to adequate finance to developers. To increase interest and the number of players in this sector of low cost housing targeting the poor, the government should spearhead tax exemptions on specific building inputs

such as cement, steel and roofing materials. This would not only unlock the potentials of the sector but also reduce the purchase prices of the finished products.

Lastly, on community welfare associations, the study having found that weak associations are subject to manipulations by authorities hereby recommends that the government facilitates their proper registration and that they should meet the required standards before any formal registration takes place. They should have a properly constituted officials and list of membership. Once operational they should remain relevant by sticking to their mandates and remain responsive to the needs of the members. For the welfare associations to serve members effectively, their objectives ought to include the assistance of members in realize to respond to challenges facing them.

5.4. Further Research.

This study does not exhaust all issues in slum redevelopment and community participation and to suggest otherwise would be misleading. More research is still required especially on how those representing the community are elected and the effectiveness of representative democracy. Further research ought to be carried out also on how best disputes and conflicts emanating from redevelopment schemes between the developer and targeted community can be resolved.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR BENEFICIARIES OF THE PUMWANI PHASE II SLUM REDEVELOPMENT SCHEME.

My name is Otieno Danish. I am a postgraduate student at the Institute for Development Studies (IDS), University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a study on the participation of slum dwellers in the Pumwani Phase II redevelopment scheme. You are among the households sampled for the study. The information you give will be treated with utmost confidence and shall only be used for academic purpose.

Questionnaire _____

No: _____

Date of interview: _____

SECTION ONE:

Personal information:

Name _____ of
respondent _____

1. Sex

- a) Male
- b) Female

2. Age(years)

- a) 20 and below
- b) 21-25
- c) 26-30
- d) 31-35
- e) 36-40
- f) 41-45
- g) 46-50
- h) 51 and above

3. Occupation

- a) Formal(specify) _____
- b) Informal(specify) _____

4. Marital status

- a) Single
- b) Married
- c) Separated
- d) Divorced
- e) Widowed

5. Religion

- a) Catholic
- b) Protestant
- c) Muslim
- d)

Other

(specify) _____

6. Level of education (tick where appropriate)

- a) None
- b) Madrasa
- c) Pre-primary
- d) Primary
- e) Primary incomplete
- f) Secondary
- g) Secondary incomplete
- h) A level
- i) University

7. Have you had any training?

- a) Yes
- b) No

8a. Duration of training

8b. Type of training.

SECTION TWO:

Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment schemes:

9. How long have you been living in this community?

- a) 0-14
- b) 15-29
- c) 30-44
- d) 45-59
- e) 60 and above

10. Do you know anything about Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment?

- a) Yes
- b) No

11. If yes, when did it start? _____

12. Who were the scheme developers?

- a) NHC
- b) Ministry of Housing
- c) Nairobi City Council
- d) Other (specify)

13. Were you allocated the new flats?

- a) Yes

b) No

14. If yes, have you collected keys to your allocated flat?

a) Yes

b) No

15. Have you moved into the new flat?

a) Yes

b) No

16. If no, what is the reason?

a) Have rented out all the rooms

b) Family dispute

c) Dispute with the developer

d) Other (specify) _____

17. If no in 15 above, then what are your reasons?

a) The price not affordable

b) Multiple allocation

c) There is a family dispute

d) Any other reason (specify) _____

18. Were you consulted when the redevelopment scheme was being planned?

a) Yes

b) No

19. If yes, then by whom?

a) NHC

b) NCC

c) Ministry of Housing

d) Other (specify) _____

20. At what stage of the scheme were you consulted?

a) Conception stage

b) Planning stage

c) Implementation stage

d) not consulted

21. Did you play any specific role at the conception stage?

a) Yes

b) No

22. If yes, please elaborate. _____

23. Did you play any specific role at the planning stage?

a) Yes

b) No

24. If yes, please elaborate. _____

25. Did you play any specific role at the implementation stage?

a) Yes

b) No

26. If yes, please elaborate. _____

27. Were you satisfied with your level of participation?

- a) Very satisfied
- b) Satisfied
- c) Not satisfied

28. How many people live in this household?

- a) 5 and below
- b) 6-10
- c) 11-15
- d) 16-20
- e) 20 and above

29. Where were you living before?

- a) Majengo slums
- b)

Other

(specify) _____

30. Compared with majengo, how do you rate this flat. (Tick one)

- a) Very good
- b) Good
- c) Average
- d) Bad

31. Please elaborate on your answer above.

32. Were you allocated a flat of your preference?

- a) Yes
- b) No

33. Did you know the criteria used for allocation?

- a) Yes
- b) No

34. If yes, were you satisfied with criteria of allocation?

- a) Very satisfied
- b) Satisfied
- c) Not satisfied

35. In your opinion, were other allottees satisfied with the allocation?

- a) Very satisfied
- b) Satisfied
- c) Not satisfied

Purchasing price for the flats.

36. Who determined the purchase price of the flats?

- a) NHC
- b) The Government
- c) The allottees
- d) All the stakeholders
- e) Other (specify) _____

37. Did you participate in the determination of the purchase price charged by NHC?

- a) Yes

b) No

38. In your opinion, is the purchase price of the flats affordable to the allottees?

- a) Very affordable
- b) Affordable
- c) Not affordable

39. Did you participate in the determination of the monthly instalments to NHC?

- a) Yes
- b) No

40. In your opinion, is the monthly instalment to NHC affordable?

- a) Very affordable
- b) Affordable
- c) Not affordable

SECTION THREE: Community Participation:

41. Did you participate in the redevelopment scheme as an individual or as a group?

- a) Individual
- b) Group
- c) Both
- d) None

42. If you were in a group, specify the group name? _____

43. What were the objectives of the group? _____

44. When was the group formed? _____

45. Specify the nature of participation of both individual and the group?

	Nature of participation
a) Individual	
b) Group	

46. Did the group contribute towards the achievement of slum redevelopment objectives as desired by the group members?

- a) Yes
- b) No

47. Please elaborate your answer.

- a) Yes
- _____

- b) No
- _____

48. What challenges did the group face during the redevelopment?

49. Does the group still exist?

- a) Yes
b) No

50. If yes, what is its present role?

51. If you acted as an individual, did your actions contribute to the achievement of the redevelopment objectives?

- a) No
b) Yes
c) Not sure

52. Did you face any challenges while participating in the scheme?

- a) Yes
b) No

53. If yes, please specify the challenges.

55. Can you state the role of each of the following stakeholders in the redevelopment scheme?

Stakeholder	Role
a. Resident community	
b. Government	
c. N.C.C	
d. NIIC	
e. Religious groups	
f. NGOs	
g. Other Actors (specify)	

55. Did you encounter any problem with any stakeholder during the redevelopment?

- a) Yes
b) No

56. If yes, please explain.

57. How would you rate the relationship between the developers and the community during the redevelopment?

- a) very good
- b) good
- c) bad
- d) very bad

58. Please explain your answer.

59. How would you rate the relationship between the developers and the community after the redevelopment?

- a) very good
- b) good
- c) bad
- d) very bad

60. Please explain your answer.

61. Is participation beneficial to slum redevelopment?

- a) Yes
- b) No

62. If yes, what are the benefits? _____

SECTION FOUR:

Conflicts during the redevelopment.

63. According to you, were there any conflicts during the life of the programme?

- a) Yes
- b) No

64. If yes, please state the nature and cause of the conflict.

- a) Nature
- b) cause

65. How were the conflicts resolved?

66. Did you play any part in conflict resolution?

- a) Yes
- b) No

67. If yes, what part did you play?

68. Are you aware of the reasons why some beneficiaries failed take up their allocated flats?

- a) Yes
- b) No

69. If yes, what were the reasons?

- a) Court case
 - b) Purchase price not affordable
 - c) Monthly remittance not affordable
 - d) Family dispute
 - e) Multiple allocation
 - f) Other (specify) _____
-
-

71. What are your recommendations for future upgrading programmes?

APPENDIX 2

CHECKLIST OF ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE NHC'S KEY INFORMANT.

Date of interview _____

Name of respondent _____

Organisation _____

Designation _____

Role in the programme _____

Level of Education _____

Marital status _____

Sex

a) Male

b) Female

Age _____

1. History of pumwani phase II Slum redevelopment Programme.
2. Objectives and achievements of the programme.
3. Slum upgrading policies.
4. Role of NHC in Pumwani Phase II redevelopment Programme.
5. How was the site acquired?
6. Environmental Impact Assessment.
7. Preference of flats to stand alone houses.
8. Relationship with other stakeholders.
9. Purchase price and monthly contribution.
10. Participation of the residents.
11. Procedure of identifying the beneficiaries and allocating the houses.
12. Payment of monthly contributions by the beneficiaries.
13. Conflicts during the redevelopment.
14. How are you addressing the problem of the Allottees who have not collected the keys to the new flats?
15. What is your general assessment of Pumwani Phase II Slum redevelopment Programme?
16. What are your recommendations for future upgrading programmes?

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE: GUIDELINE FOR LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

Date of interview _____

Name of respondent _____

Organisation _____

Designation _____

Role in the programme _____

Level of Education _____

Marital status _____

Sex

- a) Male
- b) Female

Age _____

1. Briefly comment on Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment scheme?
2. What part did you play in the programme?
3. Were the residents adequately involved in the programme?
4. Have there been any conflicts between the residents and the developer?
5. If yes, then how have you addressed the conflicts?
6. What are some of the challenges facing community participation in slum redevelopment?
7. Can you comment on the success of Pumwani Phase II Slum redevelopment programme?
8. What are your recommendations for future upgrading programmes?

APPENDIX 4

DISCUSSION GUIDELINE FOR NAIROBI CITY COUNCIL.

Date of interview _____

Name of respondent _____

Organisation _____

Designation _____

Role in the programme _____

Level of Education _____

Marital status _____

Sex

a) Male

b) Female

Age _____

1. What do you know about Pumwani phase II slum redevelopment scheme?
2. What was your role in the scheme?
3. Do you have specific policies that guide slum upgrading in Nairobi?
4. Do such policies guarantee community participation?
5. Did NHC comply with the participatory guideline during the life of the scheme?
6. According to you what are some of the benefits of community participation?
7. How did you relate with other stakeholders during the programme?
8. What is your general opinion on slum upgrading?
9. What are your recommendations for future upgrading programmes?

APPENDIX 5

DISCUSSION GUIDELINE FOR PUMWANI HIGHRISE COMMITTEE:

Date of interview _____

Name of respondent _____

Organisation _____

Designation _____

Role in the programme _____

Level of Education _____

Marital status _____

Sex _____

- a) Male
- b) Female

Age _____

1. When was the committee formed?
2. What is its name and purpose?
3. What was its role in the redevelopment Programme?
4. How many members constitute the committee?
5. How was the committee formed?
6. Which were the main challenges faced by the committee during the redevelopment?
7. What action did the association take to resolve the problems?
8. In the committee point of view does the participatory process influence the final decision making process?
9. Was the committee satisfied with the part it played during the redevelopment?
10. What benefits did the association accrue from participating in the programme?
11. What are your recommendations for future upgrading programmes?