Residents' Participation in Neighbourhood Management and Maintenance:
Experiences and Lessons from Nairobi, Kenya

Washington H.A. Olima
Associate Professor,
University of Nairobi
wolima@uonbi.ac.ke

- Abstract

Kenya has been faced with challenges of planning, development and management of its urban residential neighbourhoods. Any residential neighbourhood should have a well-defined spatial and social entity so as to give meaning to urban environment. In Nairobi, for instance, the largest part of urban land is zoned for residential areas, giving the city its image and identity. Of the total residential land in Nairobi, 5 percent comprises of informal settlements accommodating about 70 percent of Nairobi's over 3 million population. The rest of the land, representing 95 percent is home to about 30 percent of the urban population, is developed with housing of different design and categories.

The rot in Nairobi as in other towns in Kenya is clearly a case of ineptitude and negligence of local authorities entrusted with responsibilities of ensuring order. Due to the failure by the local authorities and other relevant government agencies, residents have taken it upon themselves to participate in the neighbourhood planning, development and management. The change of land uses is also causing the city to sprawl and expand in its periphery leading to the emergence of more suburban residential areas.

The paper adopted a case study methodological approach by focusing on selected residential neighbourhood within the City of Nairobi to undertake an in-depth analysis. The main objective of this paper is to assess the response and nature of participation of neighbourhood residents in the activities that are geared towards improving the quality of the neighbourhoods. The issues of revitalization of decayed neighbourhoods are highlighted. The findings form a sound basis for policy intervention by examining the different intervention strategies.

1.   Introduction

Kenya has been faced with challenges of planning, development, and management of its residential neighbourhoods. In Nairobi, for instance, the largest part of urban land is zoned for residential areas, giving the city its image and identity. Of the total residential land in Nairobi, 5 percent comprises of informal settlements accommodating about 70 percent of Nairobi's over 3 million people. The rest of the land, representing 95 percent is home to about 30 percent of the urban population, is developed with housing of different design and categories. The emergence of land buying companies (LBCs) in the 1980s have attempted to radically change Nairobi's residential landscape. This has been a completely new phenomenon of residential neighbourhood planning and development and involves the purchase of land parcels, sub-division of plots and carrying out approved residential developments on the site (Rukwaro and Olima, 2003).

2.   Nairobi in context

Nairobi is the capital city of Kenya (see figure 1). It is also both the administrative and financial headquarters.
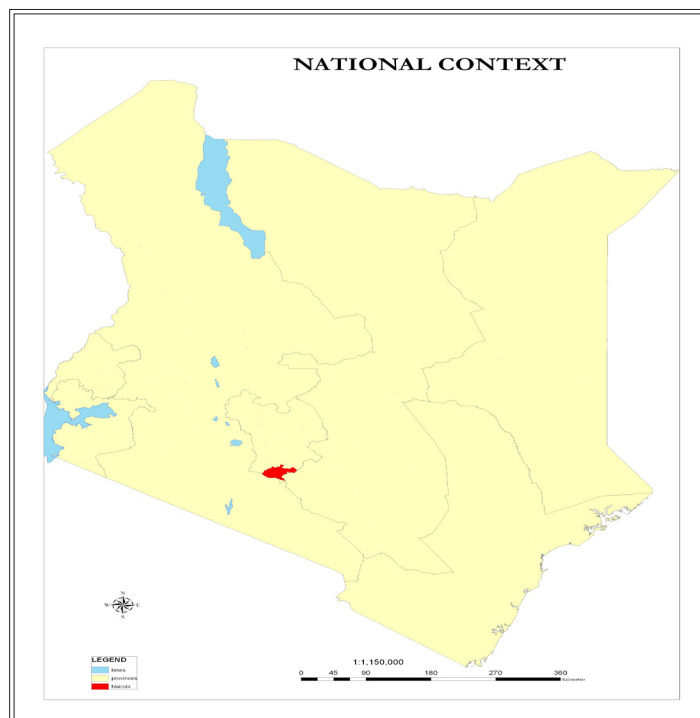

Figure 1   Showing Nairobi in the national (Kenya) context   Source: Ministry of Lands GIS section 2006

Nairobi is in many ways an archetype of the African colonial city, having purely colonial origins, which shaped its structure and management at the time of Kenya's transition to independence. The different residential locations in Nairobi still depict the segregation based on race and ethnicity brought about by the spatial organization in the early stages of the development of the city.

The city's population has increased considerably from 509,286 in 1969 to 2,143,254 persons in 1999 (GoK Population and Housing Census, 1969 and 1999). It is projected that the city's current population is about 3 million. However, the delivery of services to its residents has greatly deteriorated. The delivery of services has been and continues to be a main governance problem facing the city of Nairobi. It continues to experience the problems of blocked drainage systems, pot-holed roads and paths, poor lighting or none, large amounts of uncollected garbage, problems of parking and uncleared vacant fields. These are both indications and a glaring evidence of neglect and have greatly affected the attractiveness of most Nairobi neighbourhoods, and consequently the value of such residential areas. The lack of enforcement of law and order as is the characteristic of Nairobi urban set up and sheer abdication of responsibilities by the Nairobi City Council (NCC) is a serious drawback to ensuring a harmonious environmental dispensation.

Nairobi's growth in terms of acreage and population over the past decades has been subject to the drastic urbanization process. Its growth and expansion owes much to natural growth, rural-urban migration, influx of refugees from the neighbouring war-torn countries, and influx of expatriates into the country for various and varied international assignments. Subsequently, Nairobi has become a centre for human conflict where poverty is pervasive and economic imbalance and social injustice are the order of the day. It is city that stands distinct with a trademark of 'development with impunity'.

3.   The neighbourhood concept

Neighbourhoods can be defined as physical places and a social community, having some discrete feature by which it can be noticed from the rest. They are a limited territory within a larger urban area where people inhabit dwellings and interact socially. On the other hand, Neighbourhood Associations (NAs) are local organisations through which many developing countries meet their collective and individual need especially when the state is unable to meet its social and political obligations.

Neighbourhood Associations are viewed as individuals in a given situation who mutually agree to work together to attain certain objectives (Warren, 1955; Wileden, 1970). Sometimes the associations are also termed as interest groups, citizen self-help, people's community or neighbourhood organizations. Their mandate encompasses dealing with special or a group of problems that affect their members in a community. Success of the organizations depends on their performance. This in turn depends on the extent to which members participate in their affairs.

4.   Emergence of Neighbourhood Associations in Nairobi

Neighbourhood Association movements have their root in the human frustration, in the feeling of dissatisfaction and the no likely sign of these wants being fulfilled under the existing circumstances. In the eyes of profit-driven private developers, thanks to their financial endowment, political connectivity (both locally and internationally), the government (whose sole mandate is to execute law and order) has taken a backseat and watch as their mutual social responsibility is dumped in the bins.

Formation of residents' neighbourhood association is not a recent phenomenon in Kenya. Their emergence in some residential estates is as old as the residential estates themselves whereas in other places it is a process, taking place as the concept of community policing becomes popular and also as lack of confidence in the government machinery (mainly the police) to fight crime in the neighbourhoods continues to increase.

The neighbourhood associations in Nairobi have all sorts of names most of them reflecting the reasons behind their formation: residents associations, security associations, neighbourhood associations, welfare

associations, security and social services associations, welfare development associations and "vigilante" groups to fight crime.

Nairobi residents are increasingly organizing themselves at the neighbourhood level to secure and manage their neighbourhoods. Such spatial organisations take the form of neighbourhood associations. The dynamics of these community initiatives need to be explored – organizational, spatial, social, political and economic. Such community initiatives, all under the umbrella of neighbourhood association have arisen for both the poor and the affluent, and in almost all geographically distinct parts of the city, such as the city centre, suburban neighbourhoods and informal settlements. These initiatives have arisen in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy.

Both the state and market systems have been unable to satisfy the ever-increasing social needs of the population. Nairobi has witnessed increasing residential decay resulting from either neglect or ignorance of responsibilities on the parts of the local authority. This has seen the deterioration of the surrounding buildings and services owing to lack of maintenance, residents indifference and unattended normal wear and tear. The state of the physical environment, the state of the road networks, and the physical appearance of the buildings in terms of aesthetic value abhor. There is also the issue of limited supply of land and less enthusiasm by the local authorities to enhance and adopt the urban renewal strategies as well as dismal service provision from both the central government in terms of security and local authorities in terms of solid waste management. This calls for the intervention of local initiatives.

5. **Methodology**

This study adopted a case study methodological approach. This was necessary because of the indepth nature of research. The issue of residential neighbourhood associations in Nairobi was examined by focussing on Nairobi's residential areas as stratified by income levels namely; low-income housing areas, middle-income housing areas, and high-income housing.
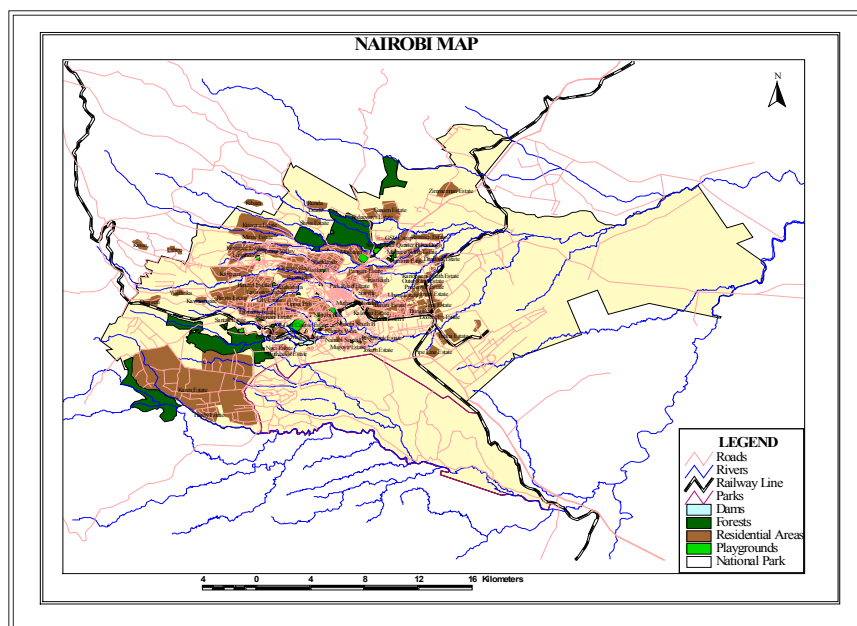

Figure 2   Showing Nairobi's residential neighbourhoods   Source: Ministry of Lands GIS section 2006

In each category, at least two associations were identified and visited for purposes of collecting data for this study.

In all the cases, interviews and discussions were held with the officials of the neighbourhood associations. The interviews focussed on the reasons for the formation, membership, organization structure, areas of operation and challenges as well as prospects. In addition, observations were carried out within the neighbourhoods, particularly in both the medium and high-income housing areas on how the activities and operations were being carried out. During the period of the survey, interviews were also conducted with a few randomly selected respondents to gauge both their views and level of satisfaction with the services provided by the neighbourhood associations.

Apart from the surveys, this study also relied heavily on review of secondary data, particularly students research projects and both published and unpublished research papers. This was done with a view to capturing the experiences and lessons from Nairobi, by documenting the practices among the various neighbourhood associations.

6. Response and nature of participation of neighbourhood residents

This section presents a summary of the response and nature of participation of neighbourhood residents in the activities that are geared towards improving the quality of the neighbourhood. This was the main objective of this paper. The results from the field survey and review of research projects are presented under each category of the case study.

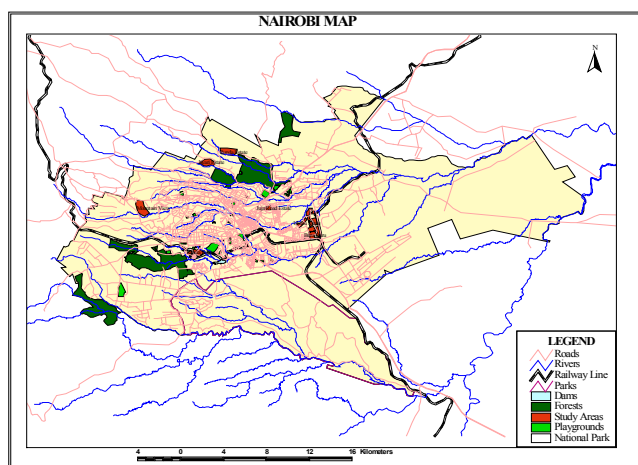The survey covered three distinct regions of Nairobi.

Figure 2   Showing the study areas   Source: Ministry of Lands GIS section 2006

These are low-income housing areas (Uhuru Estate and Kibera Informal Settlement), middle-income housing areas (Juja Road Estate and Buruburu Estate) and high-income housing areas (Nyari Estate, Mountain View Estate and Runda Estate). The three areas adequately represent the various types of community initiatives and also the different socio-economic and environmental status in Nairobi.

This study revealed that neighbourhood associations are formed mainly because of security reasons. All the associations sampled were formed to address, among other things, insecurity in and around the neighbourhood. Kenyans have had to come to grips with the fact that the government is unable to guarantee their security. Consequently, they have been taking their own steps to guarantee for themselves a measure of security from criminals (Gimode, 2001:311). For instance, driving or walking around the high-income residential estates – if the many barriers and checks allow you – gives one a feel of the insecurity situation in Nairobi. Characteristic in these neighbourhoods are high walls and electric fences, alarms, security guards from registered companies, surveillance security company vehicles, and barriers on major streets to the estates. Most neighbourhood associations in the high-income residential estates work closely with the police in terms of providing night patrol vehicles, petrol for police vehicles or putting up police posts (Owuor, 2005). In the medium-income residential estates, one is likely to witness less sophisticated crime prevention initiatives such as gated communities, use of informal security guards (i.e. watchmen) and use of one entry and exit, especially where the estate was designed with various courts. In the low-income residential estates, especially in the unplanned settlements vigilante groups are common phenomena where residents are not able to "gate" their neighbourhood. According to Anyumba (2003) a "vigilante" group can be described as group of people or individuals who subscribe to uncontrolled or unlawful action in order to further their collective security and safety of persons or property; socio-cultural ideals; and political objectives.

6.1   Neighbourhood Associations by residential income stratum

6.1.1   Low-income areas

A good example of a low-income area is Uhuru estate in Eastlands of Nairobi and Kibera informal settlement. This survey revealed that most of the Neighbourhood Associations formed in low income areas are for social events (i.e. funerals arrangements) and security. This has overwhelmed the residents since security of an area has a direct relationship with the factors mentioned above. In the case of Uhuru estate, many households have used iron sheets to secure their compounds.

Plate 1 Showing iron-sheets-cushioned compound   Source: Field survey 2006

Residents of Uhuru estate however denied having "vigilante" groups and insisted on getting security from police patrols and/or through individual arrangements of securing one's house.

In the case of Kibera informal settlement, vigilante grouping is a known case and their operations are acknowledged by every slum dweller. "Vigilantes" are never proscribed by law. The vigilante groups in Kibera have been in existence for more than 10 years. They are not formally registered, but they are mandated by the residents of a group of "villages" in Kibera slums to ensure that a number of things pertaining to their social, political and economic well being are addressed. Some of these issues are ensuring that landlords charge affordable rents, ensuring fair allocation of plots and security matters. Since a vigilante is voluntary in nature, they have no formal structure of organization. There is no membership fee, but the group leaders who "enforce law and order" survive on goodwill from the residents, fines and sometimes handouts from the politicians. During electioneering periods, the services of such vigilante groups become handy to politicians. They are used to mobilize the other residents to vote for a preferred candidate because of their good mobilization skills.

6.1.2   Middle-income areas

6.1.2.1 Juja Road Estate

One thing that comes out clear in the middle income areas is that many people in such settlements believe that neighbourhood decline is associated with lessening capacity to attract and hold the element necessary to the functioning of the neighbourhood system. That decline is the product of a "dissipation" or loss of a viable role of the neighbourhood.

They have a strong feeling that their neighbourhood standards are on the decline and so is the value and attractiveness of the estate. The service provider NCC is not sufficiently playing its role therefore it is incumbent upon the residents themselves to take the initiative to provide services and maintain their estate.

6.1.2.2   Court "E" Neighbourhood Association (CENA) in Buru Buru

Estate

CENA is one of the many neighbourhood associations in Buru Buru estate. This is found in the Eastlands area, Nairobi. It is occupied mostly by middle-income earners. It is a large residential estate comprising of Phase 1 to Phase 5. CENA was started in the late 1980s and like many associations it serves the court residents only. It has a committee comprising the chairman, secretary, and treasurer who have been given mandate to oversee all matters of mutual interest including security within the court. The residents have adopted the concept of "gated-communities" that defines their spatial belongingness.

Plate 2 Showing a common gate for the court's residents   Source: Field survey 2006

As long as you are a resident of the estate, you automatically become a member of the association. As a show of level of commitment, for instance, when it comes to security issue, each house in the court contributes KShs. 400 every month. They liaise with NCC to repair the streetlights and maintaining them by regularly replacing the dead bulbs. CENA voice is much heard through the larger umbrella body [i.e. Buruburu resident's welfare association]

6.1.3   High-income areas

6.1.3.1 Nyari Residents Welfare Society (NRWS)

The areas development is still underway. NRWS was registered in 1998. For Nyari the association's objective arose due to the insecurity and the shortcomings of NCC.They wanted to improve security within the estate, maintain the roads already constructed, install and maintain street lighting, improve the environment by cleaning up the streets and open spaces and by planting trees, development control and prevent land grabbing and illegal plot allocations. The association has three watchmen, a gardener, handy men and centrally located office (Nyari estate office) housing the radio-based station. Some of the achievements of this Neighbourhood Association include construction of a police post, control of land grabbing including the Nyari Dam, maintenance of common areas by use of a gardener and introduction of the barrier and control systems to beef up security and further protecting the area from the mushrooming of kiosks.

NRWS has a well-structured leadership who are elected during the Annual General Meeting (AGM). A term of office runs for one year and a leader is eligible for re-election. They have thematic committees like security committee, maintenance committee, social committee, environmental committee, legal committee and finance committee. The members are always kept abreast with the events within the neighbourhood by communication through newsletters and posters and journals.

6.1.3.2 Mountain View Residents Association [MVERA]

It is a formally registered Neighbourhood Association (NA), which is involved, in joint management of security within the estate, joint management of environmental matters, including garbage collection, sweeping streets and clearance of drainage as need arises, publishing of an estate newsletter, tree planting and street lighting. They have an annual fee of Kshs.12,000 payable quarterly, biannually or annually to cover all the services provided.

MVERA has an estate manager who co-ordinates MVERA'S activities. It has an executive committee that consists of the chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, deputy secretary, treasurer, assistant treasurer,

communications person [chairperson] amenities, court representatives and various committees [i.e. youth committee].

MVERA was formed to curb high and frequent incidences of insecurity [since they are bordering an informal settlement], environmental issues - garbage collection [they have one company that does the work for the whole estate] and social activities [for togetherness].

6.1.3.3 Runda Residential Association (RRA)

RRA's main priority areas include maintaining the private roads, provision of security for residents, maintaining the water treatment plant (already in place), improvement of the environment of the estate and control of the types of developments that are springing up. The Association focuses on the enhancement of environmental conservation of the public spaces and vegetation, legal advice and action against improper use and allocation of property within Runda estate.

It subcontracted the company, RUNDA WATER to do all employment of the neighbourhoods employees (watchmen, gardeners and even handymen), the main committee and security sub-committee to oversee other services.

To build community support, RRA has monthly newsletters. Membership to the RRA is automatic but there is an annual subscription fee payable as plots are connected to a central private water plant that distributes water to all the plots and bills them accordingly as per consumption.

Its leaders are elected annually through the Annual General Meeting (AGM). The RRA as a neighbourhold association is getting advanced more and more. Currently it's pushing for recognition at constituency ward level to act as a stronger force in lobbying.

6.2 Organisation of the Neighbourhood Associations

6.2.1 Registration of the associations

This is a mandate upon different government departments. It is apparent that there are no policy framework guiding the formation and operation of such associations. Whereas there are legal provisions for those that register as societies or associations, those that do so as self-help groups do not appear to be guided by a comprehensive set of rules and regulations. Si Kahn (1982) observes that effective recognition by the government should provide incorporation enabling an organization to become a legal entity and to conduct its business as an individual and hence its leaders and members are protected from victimization in case of poor performance.

6.2.2 Performance of the associations

Factors that influence performance of the associations are: their age in terms of the year they were formed, assets owned, external support, affiliation and networking. Most of the associations were formed between the late 1990s and 2000s and were registered as societies or self-help groups. Most of them have prepared constitutions that specify membership criteria, objectives and activities. Whereas their sizes vary from less than 10 to several thousand members, their main concerns are provision of services such as security, water, roads and garbage collection. Some of their strengths include cooperation and unity among the members, presence of some members who are professionals and ability of residents to contribute resources needed by the associations. Better performing associations tend to be positively influenced by type of registration, stability and networking.

Being a cosmopolitan urban centre, Nairobi has been faced with such questions of who owns what and to what proportion relative to aggregate. In a free market environment like ours, Nairobi residents have been subjected to forces of supply and demand. The wrath has not been spared sensitive sectors like housing, transport, water and sewerage, security and many others. As a result, residential stratification in terms of income (i.e. low, middle and high income residences) has come to the fore.

6.2.3   Challenges to the Associations

Even as neighbourhood associations strive to effectively serve their members, they are faced with a number of problems. Some of the main problems facing these associations are:

•   Non-payment or late payment of the monthly contribution by some members, making it difficult to pay the security guards.

•   Non-adherence to the laid down rules and regulations by some members.

•   Non-attendance of meetings by some members who end up being the first group of people to criticize the resolutions passed.

•   Arrogance on the part of some members.

These challenges to the smooth functioning of neighbourhood associations have to be addressed if the goals for their formation are to be realized.

7.   Recommendations

7.1   Legalizing status of the associations

There is need to harmonize the registration of the associations through one specified authority. The harmonization can be attained by entrusting the responsibility to the NGO Bureau if its mandate was broadened to cover community-based, peoples or self-help organizations such as resident associations. Since there are thousands of such community-based organizations throughout the country, their legal empowerment requires an enactment of an appropriate Act by Parliament.

7.2   Incorporation

There is also need to strengthen the legal rights of the associations so that they can be able to act as individuals under the law.

7.3   Performance of the associations

This is a major concern given that currently each and every neighbourhood in urban and rural areas has formed or is in the process of forming an association. The proliferation of the associations has largely been enabled by the on-going democratization trend that is opening up the eyes of residents and compelling them to take responsibility and question bad governance practices and to manage affairs of their neighbourhoods.

One question which can be posed here is: How can the performance of these associations be strengthened? That is, there is need to enhance their capacity in problem identification, planning, implementation

and monitoring and evaluation as well as in leadership, group dynamics and financial management. Training both members and leaders of the associations is a necessity and needs to be done continuously. Other ways of enhancing know-how and skills are through affiliation with umbrella organizations and networking with other unit organizations.

7.4 Formation of Umbrella Organizations

The main ones are the Kenya Alliance of Residents Associations (KARA) which is a national association and the We Can Do It (WCDI) which affiliates all associations in Nairobi. Experience from the U.S.A. that has been narrated by Biddle and Biddle (1965) shows that associations operating in larger neighbourhoods such as Karen-Langata and surrounding areas in Nairobi would come together to form an umbrella body in the form of a neighbourhood council. The council coordinates the efforts of the associations, facilitates networking, joint fundraising, joint planning and training activities and may also assist them to prepare proposals for submission to funding sources. The various neighbourhood councils join together into state and national federations. KARA is such a national federation and WCDI affiliates resident associations in the city of Nairobi. However, in certain neighbourhoods in Nairobi, there are resident associations that affiliate smaller ones. A case in point is the Buru Buru Resident Association that affiliates several associations from different phases of the estate and some from the various courts. There is need for strengthening neighbourhood-based umbrella organizations such as the Buru Buru one through training of their leaders and members and exposing them to relevant experiences.

7.5 Devolution of authority and finances

Efforts are currently underway to devolve authority relating to service delivery and finances to the constituencies and further down to the city wards. Constituency and ward committees are in the process of being formed. Local Authority Transfer Funds (LATF) are currently being allocated to projects identified by the ward committees although the councilors have more say in the identification. There is also a likelihood that Parliament will soon vote about Ksh20 million as development fund for each constituency. HIV/AIDS and road maintenance funds are also based in the constituencies. There is need for effective representation of Neighbourhood associations in the LATF, constituency, roads and HIV/AIDS committees as well as their being in a position to control the use of these funds.

8. Conclusion

It is clearly evident that privatization of space through the resident's neighbourhood association is one way that the residents of Nairobi organize themselves to fight against insecurity – perceived or real. In addition, neighbourhood associations, particularly in both middle and high-income housing areas are engaging in other activities such as revitalization of decayed neighbourhood that are geared towards improving the quality of the neighbourhoods. As much as neighbourhood associations provide mainly security to their members, they have in a way encouraged territorialism, segregation and exclusion.

- References

- Anyumba, Godfrey (2003) Planning for Crime Prevention: The Case of the City of Nairobi, Pretoria: Safer Africa.

- Gimode, Edwin A. (2001) "An Anatomy of Violent Crime and Insecurity in Kenya: The Case of Nairobi, 1985-1999", Africa Development XXVI (1&2): 295 – 335.

- Kenya, Government of (1969 and 1999). Population and Housing Census. Nairobi: Government Printer.

- Mwaura S. R. (2000); Emergence of Neighbourhood Associations in Nairobi city: Case of Juja & Huruma Estates, Faculty of ADD, University of Nairobi.

- Ngigi, C. M. (2003); Neighbourhood Associations: their Role in the Management of the Urban Commercial Built Environment: Case of Nairobi Central Business District (NCBDA) within the Nairobi Central Business District (CBD), Faculty of ADD, University of Nairobi.

- Olima, W.H.A. and Rukwaro, R.W. (2003) "Developer profits undermine residents' satisfaction in Nairobi's residential neighbourhood: Implications for local government in Kenya", Habitat International 27, Great Britain.

- Owuor, Samuel (2005) "Securing Our Neighbourhood": Community response to insecurity in Nairobi, Kenya. A paper presented at the "Workshop on Privatization of Security in Sub-Saharan African Cities: Urban dynamics and new forms of governance", Ibadan, 21-25 November.

- Si Kahn (1982). Organizing: A Guide for Grassroots Leaders. London: McGraw Hill Book Co.

- Warren, R. (1955). Studying Your Community. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

- Wileden, A.F. (1970). Community Development. New York: The Bedmister Press.

- Yahya, M. S. (2000); The Role of High Income Residence in the Management of Urban Environment services in Nairobi: Case of NYARI Residents Welfare Society and Runda Residents Association, Faculty of ADD, University of Nairobi.

مشاركة السكان في إدارة الحي السكني والحفاظ عليه
(تجارب ودروس من نيروبي - كينيا)

Washington H.A. Olima

- الملخص

واجهت كينيا العديد من التحديات في مجال التخطيط والتطوير وإدارة الأحياء السكنية في المدن.

يجب أن يتوفر في كل حي سكني حيز مكاني محدد المعالم إضافة إلى كيان اجتماعي يضفي معنى على البيئة المدنية، ففي نايروبي على سبيل المثال، يتم تصميم الجزء الأكبر من أرض المدينة ليكون مناطق سكنية معطياً بذلك للمدينة هويتها وصورتها الواقعية. إن خمسة بالمائة من مجمل الأراضي السكنية في نيروبي تشمل مستوطنات غير رسمية تؤوي (٧٠٪) من سكان نيروبي الذين يزيد عددهم عن ثلاثة ملايين نسمة. أما باقي الأراضي التي تشكل ٩٥٪ فهي أماكن سكن لحوالي ٣٠٪ من سكان المدن، ولقد تم تطويرها بإنشاء مساكن من مختلف التصاميم والفئات.

إن جذور المشكلة في نيروبي - كما هي الحال في مدن كينيا الأخرى - تكمن بأنها حالة من انعدام القدرة والإهمال الذي تمارسه السلطات المحلية المعهود إليها مهام تطبيق النظام، وبسبب فشل السلطات المحلية والمؤسسات الحكومية الأخرى المعنية فقد عهد السكان لأنفسهم مسؤولية المشاركة في التخطيط للأحياء السكنية وتطويرها وإدارتها. إن التغيير الذي طرأ على استعمال الأراضي أجبر سلطات المدينة على التوسّع ودفع حدودها الخارجية، الأمر الذي أدى إلى ظهور المزيد من المناطق السكنية في المدينة.

تعتمد هذه الدراسة أسلوب تحليل حالة واقعية وذلك بالتركيز على مناطق سكنية مختارة داخل مدينة نيروبي ومن ثم تجرى على المعطيات التي يتم جمعها دراسات تحليلية معمقة.

إن الهدف الرئيسي لهذه الدراسة هو تقييم استجابة وطبيعة مشاركة سكان الحي السكني في الأنشطة التي تهدف إلى تحسين جودة الحي السكني، وتسلط هذه الدراسة الضوء أيضاً على قضايا إعادة بث الحياة في الأحياء السكنية المتدهورة.

تشكل مستخلصات هذه الدراسة أساس سليم لسياسة وقائية وذلك عن طريق فحص مختلف استراتيجيات التدخل في مثل هذه الأمور.