

**EXAMINING THE OBSTACLES TO THE INTEGRATED APPROACH OF  
SLUM UPGRADING: THE CASE STUDY OF KISUMU, KENYA**

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Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in International  
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## ABSTRACT

### EXAMINING THE OBSTACLES TO THE INTEGRATED APPROACH OF SLUM UPGRADING: THE CASE STUDY OF KISUMU, KENYA

Kenya, in a similar fashion to the rest of the developing world, is experiencing rapid urbanization which is resulting in the formation of slum settlements on the outskirts of urban centres. Cities are growing at unprecedented rates, leaving the central government and local authorities to deal with the associated problems in a retrospective manner. Kisumu, the third largest municipality of Kenya, is one of nine African cities selected to undergo slum upgrading as part of the Cities Without Slums initiative. The initiative is positive as it engages a multiplicity of stakeholders in order to create ownership and increase sustainability. However, the CWS is in its infancy and is facing many obstacles in the early stages of execution. This researcher examines these obstacles and concludes that the integrated approach of slum upgrading, as is being promoted in the Kisumu context, is a viable urban management method despite the initial setbacks.

Dallas Johnson  
26<sup>th</sup> April 2006

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## ACRONYMS

AFD	French Agency for Development
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CBOs	Community-Based Organizations
CBD	Central Business District
CWS	Cities Without Slums
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
EPM	Environmental Planning and Management
FBOs	Faith-Based Organizations
FPE	Free Primary Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IFIs	International Finance Institutions
IFUP	International Forum on Urban Poverty
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISAC	Inter-Agency Support Committee
KANU	Kenya National African Union
KENSUP	Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme
KES	Kenyan Shilling
KIWASCO	Kisumu Water and Sewerage Company
KSDA	Kisumu Slum Dwellers Association



LASDAP	Local Authorities Service Delivery Action Plan
LDCs	Lesser Developed Countries
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
MCK	Municipal Council of Kisumu
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MSSG	Multi-Stakeholder Support Group
NAK	National Alliance of Kenya
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
PIU	Programme Implementation Unit
PSU	Programme Support Unit
SANA	Sustainable Aid in Africa
SCP	Sustainable Cities Programme
Sida	Swedish International Development Agency
SPIU	Site Project Implementation Unit
SUF	Slum Upgrading Facility
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollars
WHO	World Health Organization

## CHAPTER 1:

### INTRODUCTION

Rapid urban growth in developing countries has created major social, economic, and physical problems: an increasing evidence of urban poverty, inadequate access to shelter and urban basic services, social alienation, the proliferation of slums and squatter settlements, inadequate transportation systems, and poor urban infrastructure (Cheema, 1993, p. 1).

#### **1.1 Posing the Problem**

Rapid urbanization is a phenomenon that is prevalent throughout the world, perhaps most notably in developing countries—current surveys show that more than 80 percent of the world's 60 mega-cities are found in the South (Constantino-David, 2002). Relating to this global figure is the more serious datum that 923 million of current urban residents reside in poverty-stricken peripheral settlements—"shantytowns"—as slum dwellers. These peripheral communities contain the only affordable dwelling units available for new immigrants, regional migrants, as well as poverty stricken families who have left destitute rural areas in the attempt to find a better means of income in the city centre.

The World Bank and UN-HABITAT describe these peripheral communities, which they generally term 'slums', as "neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums range from high density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities" (2004, p.1). The latter half of this depiction, which encompasses the notion of *spontaneous settlements*, will be the focus of this thesis. The preliminary definition of these communities includes the characterization of having little or no access to basic social services, including minimal access to potable water, adequate sanitation, and solid waste management.

These slum communities represent the urbanization of poverty, in which the presence of poverty has changed rapidly from an historically rural phenomenon to an urban problem. The magnitude of poverty in slum settlements is only projected to worsen: The United Nations Population Fund estimates that by 2007, for the first time in history, the number of people residing in urban areas will outnumber those living in rural regions, placing great strain on urban infrastructure and urban services (UNPFA, 2004). Such projections have recently prompted the dedication of targets aimed at alleviating poverty and the ills of urbanization within the United Nations Millennium Declaration outlining the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Specifically, Target 11, which falls under Goal 7, aims to achieve “significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020” (UN-HABITAT, 2003, p. 1). This target, which was categorized along with other environmentally-sustainable objectives, will enable slum dwellers the opportunity to lead full and healthful lives, with the ultimate goal of realizing their full human potential.

Many international agencies have thus begun to implement programs aimed at Target 11. One of the largest promotions at present has been set forth through the collaboration of the World Bank and UN-HABITAT, in a unit entitled Cities Alliance. This coalition of cities and development partners was launched in May 1999 in order to “mobilize commitment and resources for city-wide or nation-wide programs to upgrade the squalid, unhealthy and often vulnerable living conditions of the urban poor living in slums and squatter settlements in cities of the developing world” (World Bank & UN-HABITAT,

2004, p. 12). The most actively promoted initiative is that of Cities Without Slums (CWS), which supports city-wide and nation-wide slum upgrading programs.

Taking into account Target 11 and the initiatives set forth through Cities Alliance, this thesis will assess and evaluate the Cities Without Slums initiative as is being implemented in the municipality of Kisumu, Kenya, the case study for this thesis.

## **1.2 Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of this study are threefold. First, the thesis serves to examine varying aspects of urbanization as well as definitions of urban growth to contextualize the impact of growing populations on urban planning techniques in Kenya. An examination of varying urban management methods are also examined in brief, with particular attention allocated to the integrated approach of slum upgrading. Second, the thesis investigates the history of urban planning policies in Kenya in specific regards to the formation of slum settlements. In this portion of the research, both the policy framework for the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) and the Cities Without Slums (CWS) initiative are examined in detail. The third and final objective of the thesis is to demonstrate the barriers to the integrated approach to slum upgrading from the perspectives of all stakeholders involved with the initiative. The overall aim of this thesis is to make generalized policy recommendations that will be of use to international donor agencies and Government departments currently in the process of implementing slum upgrading programmes.

### **1.3 Thesis Statement**

The central problematic which our research addresses is that of uncovering and evaluating the obstacles to the integrated approach to slum upgrading, using as our empirical focus the current situation in Kisumu, Kenya. Therefore, the thesis statement is as follows: “*Examining the Obstacles to the Integrated Approach of Slum Upgrading: The Case Study of Kisumu, Kenya*”.

### **1.4 Conceptual Framework**

In response to the failure of the widely implemented neo-liberal economic policies in the developing world, international and non-governmental organizations have begun promoting ‘development with a human face’ (UNDP, 1997). This people-centered initiative addresses the direct need to implement sustainable projects which adhere to the specific needs of the poor. There seems to be much interest in these human-centered initiatives although many academics are skeptical of their worth in the dominant framework of development as they do nothing to *change* the actual structural causes of poverty, but rather, simply enable the poor to *adapt* to the inequitable structures. Slum upgrading, which will be further explored in the following chapter, is clearly a means of assisting the poor in adapting to the rapid process of urbanization. Proponents of the approach are very critical of macroeconomic development programs that rely on the ‘trickledown effect’ in order to alleviate the needs of the poor. As such, it is argued that projects and programs need to be designed and implemented to meet the basic needs of the poor, even if these projects do nothing to change the overall structure. It is believed

that these projects will work more effectively by addressing basic human needs, thus improving the quality of life for those living on the margins of society as slum dwellers.

### **1.5 Summary of Methodology**

A variety of methods were employed in the research underlying this thesis. These included participant observation, focus groups, semi-structured interviews as well as data collection from the distribution of questionnaires. These qualitative research methods were selected to stimulate discussions with stakeholders in order to attain the perceptions of stakeholders on the obstacles they have faced thus far in the initiative. The combination of these methods allowed flexibility during data collection in the field which was complimented by library research which was performed in Canada to further triangulate the data.

Fieldwork was conducted in Kenya from September to December 2005. During this period, one month was spent in the town of Malindi performing participant observation while one month was spent in the municipality of Kisumu gathering data, performing semi-structured interviews, and distributing questionnaires. The remainder of the time in Kenya was spent collecting data from various sources and attending meetings in the nation's capital, Nairobi, to increase the contact base for further interviews.

To gain an understanding of the obstacles faced by all stakeholders involved with the slum upgrading project in Kisumu, interviews were conducted with a number of departments within the Municipal Council of Kisumu, including the Town Planning

Department and the Environment Department. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with an NGO (SANA), the private sector (KIWASCO), slum dwellers, and Community-Based Organizations (CBOs). Meetings were also carried out with government ministries such as The Ministry of Lands and Housing, The Ministry of Education, and The Ministry of Public Health. Interviews were also held in Nairobi with employees of the Slum Upgrading Facility in order to ascertain the policy frameworks and gain an understanding of the financing of slum upgrading projects. In total, nineteen semi-structured interviews were conducted<sup>1</sup>.

A focus group was also held with five residents of various slum communities, which was organized with the assistance of the Kisumu Slum Dwellers Association. The aim of the focus group was to determine the understanding from the viewpoint of slum dwellers as to what constitutes the slum upgrading initiative. During the month spent in Kisumu, questionnaires were distributed to slum dwellers and local authorities to understand the perceptions of the Millennium Development Target 11. In total, fifteen questionnaires were returned to the researcher before the time of departure.

The field research also involved ongoing participant observation in Malindi and Kisumu, Kenya. In Malindi, I became quite involved with the Kisumu Ndogo Solid Waste Management Project where I was able to partake in solid waste management activities such as collecting garbage and sorting compost. In Kisumu, I became quite involved with the NGO Sustainable Aid in Africa (SANA) and was able to join them on their field visits to slum communities to observe their ongoing projects as well as speak with slum

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<sup>1</sup> For a complete viewing of the interview questions and questionnaires, please refer to Appendix A.

dwellers that have been affected by their projects. These experiences enabled me to work with slum dwellers almost on a daily basis, thus viewing firsthand the obstacles and challenges they are faced with in everyday life.

Secondary data was also obtained during both the field visit to Kenya as well as during my studies in Canada. In Kenya, government reports, books, journals and newspapers were obtained through the Central Bureau of Statistics, UN-HABITAT, Municipal Council of Kisumu and the Government Printing Press. Library research was performed in Canada from January to April 2005 in order to structure the literature review. Resources stemmed from such sources as academic journals, books, and online publications from UN-HABITAT, The World Bank, and the Republic of Kenya.

### **1.6 Limitations of Research**

Two major limitations surfaced during the course of the field research which affected the time spent performing interviews. First, the political climate throughout Kenya was very tense due to a nation-wide referendum that was held in November 2005 to vote on a new constitution. The nation was polarized over the vote and violence ensued as the referendum date neared. In Kisumu particularly, four people were killed at a political rally. This instance clearly slowed down the field research process as it was unsafe to venture into communities as a student researcher.

A second limitation relates directly to the location of field research. Kisumu is the site of many ongoing international development projects and, as a result, continually hosts donor



agencies and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The municipality also hosted a set of Swedish graduate students, which I was able to meet while at the UN-HABITAT complex, prior to my arrival. Because of the presence of a wide variety of donor agencies and researchers, it was very difficult to establish myself as a valuable asset to the community. That being said, I am very grateful for the participation of all informants within the study, both at the municipal and community level.

### **1.7 Structure of the Document**

This thesis consists of five chapters and is organized as follows:

**Chapter 1**, as the introductory chapter, provides the objectives of the study, the thesis statement, the summary of methodology, and highlights the limitations of the research.

**Chapter 2** represents an overview of the literature regarding urbanization which will serve to define and distinguish the following terms: the urban area, urbanization, urban growth, the urbanization of poverty, slum and slum dweller. A contextualization of urban poverty, demonstrating the different methods to define poverty, is also established in the chapter. This section will also serve to highlight the various methods and theories of urban management including the Zero Growth Promotion, Sustainable Communities, Participatory Urban Planning, Slum Eradication, and Slum Upgrading. Special attention will be allocated to the Integrated Approach of Slum Upgrading as it is the foundation of this thesis. This chapter will conclude with an examination of land tenure issues in relation to the formation of informal slum settlements.

**Chapter 3** outlines the case study for the thesis. Kisumu, the third largest municipality of Kenya, serves as the case study due to the fact that it is one of nine African cities selected to undergo slum upgrading as part of the Cities Without Slums (CWS) initiative. However, before delving into the particulars of the CWS initiative, the Chapter will first explore the geographical, economical, political and social characteristics of both Kenya and Kisumu in order to contextualize the case study. Following this, the specifics of urbanization and slum upgrading in the Kisumu context will be examined with emphasis on the institutional framework of the CWS initiative to demonstrate the integrated nature of the approach.

**Chapter 4** not only discusses the obstacles and challenges that have surfaced during the inception and preparatory phases of the CWS initiative in Kisumu, but also discusses the potential for future challenges which may arise during the upcoming implementation phase. This Chapter also assesses the perspectives of both slum dwellers and local authorities on the potential achievement of the Millennium Development Goal 7, Target 11. The relationship of the empirical data of Chapter III will be used to shed light on the scope and validity of the literature reviewed in Chapter II.

**Chapter 5** is the summation chapter highlighting the major conclusions and recommendations. Recommendations brought forward include promoting urban agriculture, implementing site-specific upgrades, addressing misconceptions of slum upgrading, re-thinking methods of participation as well as supporting local policy frameworks. We conclude with our finding that the integrated approach to slum

upgrading, as is being promoted through the CWS initiative, is currently the most viable urban management method available.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The consequences of urbanization are at the forefront of discussion within the international community as urban centers within the developing world continue to grow at an unprecedented rate. This Chapter represents an overview of the literature regarding urbanization which will serve to define and distinguish the following terms: the urban area, urbanization and urban growth, and the urbanization of poverty. A contextualization of urban poverty, demonstrating the different methods to define urban poverty, will also be examined. This Chapter will also serve to highlight the various methods and theories of urban management with special attention allocated to the literature regarding the integrated approach to slum upgrading. This Chapter will conclude with an examination of land tenure in relation to the formation of informal settlements.

#### **2.1 Defining the Urban Area**

Undertaking a study on urbanization in the developing world can be a very daunting task as there is no global standard to define an ‘urban area’ (McGee, 1991). According to Prasad, the definition of urban “varies across time and space and is influenced by historical, political, cultural and administrative considerations” (2003, p. 62). As a result, definitions of the term are country-specific and researchers, as well as international organizations such as the United Nations, World Bank and International Monetary Fund, are forced to rely upon national statistical agencies for their urban data (Cohen, 2004). This clearly makes cross-country comparisons difficult as differing definitions of ‘urban’

will produce varying statistics which represent contrasting methods of calculating the urban area (Prasad, 2003). Cohen (2004) and Drakakis-Smith (1986) argue that this lack of universal agreement on the term 'urban area' is further complicated due to the fact that improvements in transportation networks and communications collapse time and space which makes the urban-rural dichotomy less distinctive and 'urban' even harder to define.

Despite the variation within the methods of defining the urban area, Cohen (2004) highlights three main techniques which are most often utilized: Firstly, through administrative boundaries; secondly, utilizing population size and/or population density; and thirdly, applying the combination of population size, density, and economic and/or social indicators. In the first method, the urban population is defined as those people living within certain *administrative boundaries* such as municipalities, town committees, and administrative centers (Cohen, 2004). Examples of countries which utilize administrative boundaries to define their urban areas include Iraq, El Salvador, and Bangladesh. Defining an urban area utilizing this method can be problematic due to the fact that the set boundaries often lag far behind the actual population growth (Rakodi, 2002). In the second method, the urban area is defined by its *population size and/or population density*. For example, in Canada, an area is designated a town when it reaches the population size of 2,000 inhabitants, while a larger area becomes designated a city at 10,000 inhabitants (Cohen, 2004). Other countries which employ this method include Benin, Argentina, and Ethiopia. The third technique in which to define an urban area rests in the *combination of* population size, density, and economic and/or social

indicators. For example, in Botswana, an urban area is defined as an ‘agglomeration’ of 5,000 or more inhabitants whom engage in non-agricultural activities 75 percent of the time (Cohen, 2004).

Within this third definition, the urban area is most often described as being in ‘opposition’ to the rural area, a notion that is referred to as the *rural-urban dichotomy*. This dichotomy serves to highlight the distinction between what is conceived as ‘urban’ and what is conceived as ‘rural’ (McGee, 1991; Sandbrook, 1982). This distinction can be made evident “in terms of population density, continuous built up areas and the economic and political functions carried out in those areas” (Hugo et. Al., 2001, 3). For example, urban areas, which are more densely populated, are commonly seen as ‘engines of economic growth’ in which a large percentage of the labor force participates in non-agricultural activities (Mcgee, 1991, p. 20). On the other hand, rural areas are seen predominantly as agricultural hinterlands in which the smaller populations of residents perform agricultural activities (Meikle, 2002, p. 38). While it is believed that “most urban areas, despite distinctive individual attributes, share similar economic, environmental, social and political characteristics”, urban areas *as a whole* are believed to be very dissimilar from rural areas, and thus can be defined in a dichotomous manner (Sandbrook, 1982, p. 19).

In recent years theorists have begun to critically analyze the traditional dichotomous nature of ‘rural’ and ‘urban’, and have brought forward the concept of a *rural-urban continuum* which highlights the linkages between the two areas instead of the differences

(Satterthwaite, 2005; Satterthwaite & Tacoli, 2002). As Satterthwaite states, “[w]e should stop seeing ‘rural and urban’ as in competition with each other and begin to acknowledge the multiple connections between them” (2005, p.12). This connotation is becoming increasingly important for policy makers attempting to alleviate urban poverty within the developing world as it recognizes the dynamic nature of urban areas: People are continuously moving between urban and rural areas for employment opportunities which clearly affects overall population bases (Satterthwaite & Tacoli, 2002, p. 54).

As is evident from these varying methods used to describe an urban area, populations can vary by *millions* depending on which definition is employed. It is important to note that the second method, which is based on the size of the city, is the most common way to define an urban area (Prasad, 2003). However, when undertaking this approach in comparative terms, it is important to clarify whether the designated population bases are referring to the central city or business district, the greater metropolitan area, or a wider planning region that may include subsidiary settlements (Cohen, 2004; Prasad, 2003). These designations are clearly important as they will each produce varying representations of the urban area.

## **2.2 Differentiating between Urbanization and Urban Growth**

Even though the terms urbanization and urban growth are often used interchangeably within the literature, they encompass distinct meanings which must be clarified in order to provide insight into the remainder of this thesis. It is important to distinguish between

the two terms as they serve to influence varying policy recommendations. It has been noted that:

In a policy context, perceptions of high rates of urban growth largely connected to high rates of natural population increase can lead to calls for population control, whereas high rates of urbanization can stimulate policies aimed at the decentralization of economic growth and rural development (Slater, 1986, p. 8).

Urbanization has been historically defined as the increased size of cities combined with the emergence of a ‘distinctively urban way of life’ (Binder, 1971). The *level* of urbanization for a particular nation can be “conventionally defined as the proportion of that nation’s population residing in urban areas” (Hugo, 1996, p. 133). Taking these two notions into account, urbanization can be measured in two dimensions: Firstly, in a *quantitative* dimension, focusing on the concentration and demographic determinants of a population; and secondly, in a *qualitative* dimension, denoting changes in lifestyles and values (Banks & Carr, 1974). According to Prasad, these dimensions “are useful in studying functional relationships among population distribution, social structural changes, and economic activities” (2002, p. 63).

In contrast to urbanization, the term urban growth refers to the actual *growth rate* of urban areas (Banks & Carr, 1974). As Slater states, “[i]ncreases of the urban population, whether viewed in isolation or together with smaller increases of the rural population, denote a process of urban growth” (1986, p. 8). As such, there are three main components of urban growth: natural population increase (i.e. excess of births over deaths), net in-migration, and the reclassification of peripheral land around the city, which becomes designated as ‘urban’— a process which has been termed annexation



(Rakodi, 2002; Slater, 1986). In examining the situation of developing countries, it is believed that although natural population growth acts as a major contributor to overall urban growth, rural-urban migration makes a much larger contribution to the actual urban growth rate (Gugler, 1996). As a result, it is important to keep in mind that urban growth can increase even in cases when overall population growth has declined (Gugler, 1996). However, the opposite has also been argued to be true, and as such, urban growth can increase when rural-urban migration declines. As Crump (1998) confirms, “[e]ven if migration from the rural areas in developing countries is halted, natural population growth will ensure that urbanization remains a major problem for decades to come” (p. 265).

When discussing rural-urban migration, it is also important to briefly mention the differences in urban sex ratios which are a direct result of the influx of young male workers seeking employment in the cities. As Gugler (1996) argues, even though some of these workers are only in the city temporarily, “the more common pattern is for these men to become long-term urban workers while leaving wives and children in their rural area of origin” (p. 5). This type of migration has resulted in what has been termed ‘male-dominated urban populations’ which serve to reinforce the linkages highlighted in Satterthwaites’ (2005) interpretation of the rural-urban continuum.

### **2.3 Urbanization in the Developing World**

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the United Nations Population Fund projects that the world’s urban population will exceed the world’s rural population for the first

time in history as early as 2007 (UNPFA, 2004). Looking at specific statistics, this projection becomes quite alarming: The number of urban residents will expand from three billion in 2003 to five billion in 2030, representing a change from 48 percent of the total population to 60 percent of the total population (UNPFA, 2004).

While it is imperative to examine urbanization in the global context, it is becoming more important to separately scrutinize the situation of urbanization in lesser developing countries (LDCs) due to its increasing magnitude. The rising rates of urbanization in LDCs have become quite astonishing when compared with the total population growth rates: The urban populations are deemed to be growing *twice as fast* as overall population growth (Yeung & Belisle, 1986). In examining the rate of urbanization in the cities of Dhaka, Kinshasa, and Lagos, it is astonishing to note that “each approximately are forty times larger [today] than they were in 1950” (Davis, 2006). As Yeung and Belisle (1986) highlight, this increasing rate of urbanization is an important factor in development as “more people now live in Third World cities than in the cities of developed countries” (p. 99). Dubbed the ‘Third World Explosion’, Kasarda and Crenshaw (1991) clarify its unique historical significance when they state:

The rise of urbanization in the aggregated Third World is broadly comparable to the same process experienced by the West over a century ago. What is unusual is the absolute increments of Third World urban populations, which clearly exceed any historical precedence (p. 469).

The rapid pace of urban growth in developing countries is also seen as a completely *new* phenomenon. This historical difference is further explained by Crump (1998):

Urbanization in the industrial world took many decades, allowing economic, social and political systems to evolve gradually to cope with associated problems. In the Third World today the process is far more rapid and is taking place against a backdrop of high population growth and low incomes (p. 264).

This unprecedented magnitude of urbanization, combined with the fact that developing countries are plagued by a lack of urban infrastructure, results in a situation in which “jobs fall short of supply, basic urban services are deficient and insufficient, poverty is widespread, and management is antiquated” (Yeung & Belisle, 1986, p.104).

### ***2.3.1 Urbanization in Africa***

Even though Africa has continued to represent one of the least urbanized regions in the world, it has become transformed by an urban growth rate over the last thirty years that is higher than any other region (Gugler, 1996b). This rapid urban growth has been largely attributed to two main factors: Firstly, large-scale rural-urban migration, which accelerated in most African countries post-independence; and secondly, Africa is projected to have the world’s highest rate of natural population increase resulting from improvements in health conditions that translated into higher fertility and declining mortality rates (Gugler, 1996b). According to Gugler (1996), Africa south of the Sahara is projected to have the most rapid urban growth in the coming decades, with most of its urban inhabitants residing in primary cities. What is perhaps most alarming about the situation in Africa, is not the rapid urbanization process in and of itself, but rather, the fact that African urbanization has not been directly linked to economic growth (Rakodi, 2002).

### **2.4 Urbanization of Poverty**

When examining the situation of urbanization in the developing world, the notion of ‘urbanization of poverty’ is often at the forefront of the discussion. This notion is seen as

a relatively recent occurrence as historically, extreme poverty was seen to be mainly a rural phenomenon, and urban sectors were viewed as 'islands of wealth' (Wratten, 1995). However, in recent decades, a complete shift has occurred, and the urbanization of poverty refers to the movement of poverty from the rural to the urban sector, resulting in increased concentrations of poverty within both large-scale and medium-sized urban districts (Tibaijuka, 2001).

Historically, the phenomenon of urbanization of poverty was attributed to the influx of rural residents to urban areas: Rural-urban migration was deemed to be representative of the rural poor who flooded into cities attracted to the 'lure of bright lights' and promises of a consumer society (Roy & Baspart, 1991). In fact, as late as 1976, a UNESCO Expert Meeting on Urban Problems discussed how 'families from rural areas are attracted to glitter' of cities and upon their arrival, act as 'parasites' on urban infrastructure (Wratten, 1995). However, in recent years, it has been demonstrated that the movement of the rural poor into the urban centres is not based on 'the lure of bright lights' but rather, is in response to the actual context: Urban areas are where the economic opportunities are concentrated and overall survival is more certain (Wratten, 1995). The movement of rural-urban migrants is thus based on careful, logical and rational judgments, and not on a whim decision (Wratten, 1995).

Despite these well-thought out decisions on behalf of migrants, the urbanization of poverty is a phenomenon which plagues most developing countries. Migrants, which have little monetary backing when they leave their rural home, are faced with extreme

hardships upon entering the urban area: Most administrations of rapidly growing city centres are unable to deal with the swift influx of migrants, which is especially true in peri-urban rural areas (Gugler, 1996b; Rakodi, 2002). As Gugler (1996b) states, “[u]rban services declined drastically as extremely poor countries, getting even poorer, proved unable to deal with rapid urban growth” (1996b, p. 225). In many countries, the urban economy is unable to provide jobs or self-employment opportunities in pace with the growing labour force (O’Conner, 1983).

The implementation of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) in the last decade has also further exacerbated the lack of urban infrastructure. These programs resulted in

large-scale lay-offs, especially in the public sector; abrupt abolition of subsidies that entailed large increases in the price of food, transport, and housing; readjustments of the foreign-exchange rate that, from one day to the next, multiplied the price of imported food, fuel and medical drugs (Gugler, 1996b, p. 224).

The urbanization of poverty is directly relevant to this thesis as poverty manifests itself in informal, peripheral settlements situated on the outskirts of the larger cities. According to the United Nations Information Service (2001), these typically occur throughout the developing world and are a direct result of increased rural-urban migration. These spontaneous housing communities are formed as new immigrants, regional migrants, and poverty stricken families leave destitute rural areas in the search of economic gain in urban centres. More often than not, these urban centres have little to offer, forcing people to appropriate land for mere survival. As Crump (1998) states, “new city dwellers are often forced to live in slums or shanty towns and they have little access to safe drinking water or proper sanitation facilities” (p. 265).

#### ***2.4.1 Effects of Poverty on the Environment:***

It has also been argued (Balisacan, 1994; Mueller, 1995; Keraita et al., 2003) that these neglected communities encompass large numbers of people living in dilapidated circumstances which threaten the local environment. The largest environmental problem in direct relation to the present study is the fact that the residents within these informal settlements lack access to basic infrastructure and social services including adequate sanitation, potable water, and proper garbage disposal systems. As of 2003, 2.4 billion people worldwide lacked access to basic sanitation, with the largest percentage stemming from Asia and Africa (Keraita et al., 2003). Furthermore, environmental pollution occurs as urban wastewater is left untreated and is improperly disposed into streets, affecting nearby stream water quality and polluting local watersheds. Inadequate disposal of garbage and human waste also threatens animal and plant species as their habitats become degraded (Acho-Chi, 1998).

This lack of access to basic services and improper disposal of urban wastewater is considered to stem from two interrelated factors: Evans (2001) attributes the lack of access to the rapid increase of urbanization which outpaces the development of adequate sanitation infrastructure; The World Bank and UN-HABITAT (2004) attribute the deficiency in services to the fact that these informal settlements lack legal recognition by nearby municipal governments. As a result of these two factors, it is argued that these settlements are completely marginalized and left out of municipal planning procedures (Evans, 2001). Recent innovation in urban management methods which aim at reducing

the environmental ills of urbanization, such as the Sustainable Cities Program (SCP), will be explored later on in this paper, in the section entitled *Managing Urban Growth*.

## **2.5 Conceptualizing Urban Poverty**

The notion of poverty has come to the forefront of discussion on the international scale due to the target within the Millennium Development Goals of reducing poverty by half before the year 2015 (Sachs, 2005). However, poverty in and of itself has been a term constantly debated by economists, international agencies, and national governments.

Poverty is most generally defined as a state of deprivation in extreme (also called absolute), moderate, or relative terms (Hanumappa, 1991; Sachs, 2005; Wratten, 1995).

In cases of extreme poverty, households are unable to meet their basic needs for survival (Sachs, 2005). According to Sachs (2005), the extreme poor are

chronically hungry, unable to access health care, lack the amenities of safe drinking water and sanitation, cannot afford education for some or all of the children, and perhaps lack rudimentary shelter—a roof to keep the rain out of the hut, a chimney to remove the smoke from the cook stove—and basic articles of clothing, such as shoes (p.20).

Crump (1998) highlights that the presence of absolute poverty is not necessarily due to a lack of adequate income, but rather, results from unequal distribution, social justice inequities, and a general lack of political will. In the middle of the spectrum is *moderate poverty* which refers to “conditions of life in which basic needs are met, but just barely” (Sachs, 2005, p. 20). In contrast to absolute and moderate poverty, *relative poverty* refers to the measurement of poverty in relation to the society in which s/he lives and is thus a general comparison of individual incomes with the national average income (Sachs, 2005; Taylor, 1994). As such, relative poverty will vary “depending on the social context and what is held to be an ‘acceptable’ standard of living” (Crump, 1998). Hence,

poverty in this context is defined as the *inability* to achieve a politically-acceptable standard of living (Mills & Pernia, 1994).

Adding to the basic connotations of absolute and relative poverty, Adelman (1986) further delineates the concept to incorporate the notion of *abject poverty*. Abject poverty refers to a level of poverty so severe that it functions to impede upon human potential (Adelman, 1986). This definition of poverty most often utilizes a *poverty line* to calculate the intensity of poverty (Adelman, 1986; The World Bank, 2005). A poverty line functions to measure poverty as specified in terms of the income level needed to purchase a nutritional level minimally required for caloric replacement at an average level of activity (The World Bank, 2005). Worldwide, the poverty line most often utilized was set forth by the World Bank and refers to an income equivalent to USD 1\$/day in purchasing power parity: Whomever is deemed to fall below this arbitrary poverty line is extremely 'poor' (Sachs, 2005; The World Bank, 2005). A second poverty line, which refers to an income between \$1-\$2 USD/day in purchasing power parity is often utilized to measure moderate poverty (Sachs, 2005). Such poverty lines are useful as they serve to act as a "guidepost for a government to adopt policies that enable its citizens to achieve living standards above that line, the basic reason for antipoverty policies is to enable people to live with some measure of comfort, security, and dignity" (Mills & Pernia, 1994, p. 3).

Despite the influence of poverty lines on nation-wide policy making, many agencies disagree with the arbitrary designation of these measures as they fail to take into



consideration the *social aspects* of poverty. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) therefore utilizes a Human Poverty Index (HPI), which was first introduced in the Human Development Report of 1997, as a more holistic measurement of poverty (Todaro, 2000). The HPI, instead of solely utilizing income measurements, calculates poverty in relation to three key deprivations: of life, of basic education, and of economic provisioning (UNDP, 1997). Distinguishing these three deprivations into more specific terms, they can be described as follows: the deprivation of life refers to the percentage of people unlikely to live beyond forty years of age; the deprivation of education is measured by the percentage of the adult population who are illiterate; the deprivation of economic provisioning is measured by the number of people who lack access to basic health services and safe water *combined with* the percentage of children under the age of five that are deemed to be underweight (Todaro, 2000). When the HPI was first utilized in 1997, a large disparity was uncovered between the World Bank's ranking of poverty utilizing poverty lines and the subsequent ranking of poverty through the HPI. It is therefore important to uncover which types of calculations are utilized when examining national statistics in order to understand if the calculations are incorporating the social aspects of poverty or solely focusing on the economic determinants of poverty.

Attempting to specifically address the notion of urban poverty is slightly more difficult than defining poverty in and of itself, and as a result, urban poverty is often defined as being *dichotomous* with rural poverty. For example, it is often generalized that the rural poor are involved in agricultural and subsistence activities while the urban poor are

involved with informal sector activities such as street hawking, trading, petty services and small-scale commerce (Todaro, 2000). Rural poverty is also believed to be concentrated upon the indigenous, women, and children, while urban poverty is believed to encapsulate adult working males due to the presence of male-dominated urban populations (Todaro, 2000; Gugler, 1996). Both urban and rural poverty are difficult to measure due to the fact that the poor move continually between rural and urban areas, therefore altering statistics. However, the presence of urban poverty is believed to be more easily calculated as a result of higher densities and greater rates of literacy (Mills & Pernia, 1994).

Despite the difficulties in isolating urban poverty from rural poverty, Wratten (1995) divides the term into three main categories of definitions: the *conventional economic definition*, the *participatory social definition*, and the *integrated development approach*.

In the conventional economic definition, urban poverty is calculated with a quantitative analysis and poverty is defined as having a lack of adequate income or consumption. This calculation is most often measured utilizing a poverty line in order to separate those who have adequate levels of welfare. Development projects utilizing this definition focus on methods of redistribution at the macroeconomic level such as attempts to increase urban productivity and personal incomes through job creation programs (Wratten, 1995).

The second conceptualization of urban poverty is the participatory social definition which describes urban poverty as multifaceted which means that definitions will vary between

individuals. As a result of this conceptualization, this approach uses a qualitative analysis in order to uncover how poverty specifically affects different groups such as women, children, and informal sector workers. A participatory approach to measurement is often undertaken through such activities as focus groups and wealth ranking. Development initiatives geared towards this approach focus upon community-level interventions and micro-level support (Wratten, 1995).

The third conceptualization of urban poverty utilizes *both* qualitative and quantitative methods in analyses, with an underlying assumption that the causes of poverty are interlinked, and thus must be tackled in a coordinated way. This approach clearly acknowledges linkages between national economic and social policies in urban areas, and attempts to measure such linkages with social indicators. Development projects which adopt the integrated development approach in defining urban poverty aim at amalgamating urban development programmes with poverty alleviation programmes (Wratten, 1995). The integrated development approach is supported by the African NGO Habitat II Caucus (1996) whom ascertain that when defining urban poverty,

the focus [must go] beyond concentration on the quantitative magnitude of poverty, with its consideration of the quality of life based on the degrees of access to housing, water, food, electricity, employment, education, health, and in infrastructure in poor neighbourhoods, in order to get concrete facts about the physical, economic, social and psychological problems and characteristics of being poor (p. 11).

While all three definitions of urban poverty focused on the intrinsic negative qualities the term encompasses, the positive dimensions of urban poverty are also important. As UN-HABITAT (1996) acknowledges, “urban poverty also means mobilizing and sharing aspirations, solutions, capacities, and solidarities particularly among women and youth

whose primary and often only source of social support is derived from the collective human potential of their community” (p.5). These positive attributes must be acknowledged in definitions of urban poverty as they can significantly increase the success of urban poverty alleviation policies and programmes.

## **2.6 Urban Poverty Alleviation**

Alleviating urban poverty has come to the forefront of discussion within the international community during the last few decades, perhaps most noticeably as the underlying framework of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UN-HABITAT, 2000). The MDGs represent “the world’s time-bound and quantified targets for addressing extreme poverty in its many dimensions—income poverty, hunger, disease, lack of adequate shelter, and exclusion” (UN Millennium Project, 2005, p. 1). In dealing with urban poverty specifically, Hjorth (2003) argues that it must be attacked through holistic and coordinated approaches due to the fact that urban poverty is a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon. According to Mosha (1999), “the thrust towards urban poverty alleviation should concentrate on a reduction of the people dependent on public and private handouts while broadening and strengthening the productive base of the city through industrialization” (p. 111). As such, urban poverty alleviation must take place at a multitude of levels: on the international scale, through the contribution of both national governments and local authorities, and finally, with the participation of the poor people themselves (Satterthwaite, 2003; UN-HABITAT, 1996).

At the international level, development institutions can contribute to urban poverty alleviation by “fostering greater North-South and South-South dialogue and exchange of experiences, overcoming perceived notions that are associated with the so-called modernity of the North and recognizing common problems and shared solutions which transcend geographical boundaries” (UN-HABITAT, 1996, p. 8). An example of such an institution is the International Forum on Urban Poverty (IFUP), which is a “partnership of local authorities, NGOs, CBOs, academic institutions, bilateral and multilateral agencies working for the eradication of poverty according to a strategy based on sound governance, partnership and the participation of people living in poverty” (UN-HABITAT, 2003a). The IFUP is integral to urban poverty alleviation as it brings together experts on urban poverty conceptualization in order to influence future policy guidelines of developing and lesser developed countries.

Also ranking high in importance at the international level of urban poverty alleviation is the presence of international donors. It is argued that without the availability of large-scale funding, development projects and alleviation programs would never get off the ground, thus failing to improve the lives of the urban poor (Kiyaga-Nsubuga et al., 2001). Therefore, there is a clear need for “international donors to help ensure funding and the capacity to develop the ‘big infrastructure’ that most cities and smaller urban centers need to ensure good provision for water, sanitation and drainage for all city inhabitants” (Kiyaga-Nsubuga et al., 2001, p. 151).

Despite the positive attributes of poverty alleviation at the international level, much criticism has developed due to the fact that this level represents a ‘top-down’ approach: Such approaches are deemed to be *too general* to deal with the specific context of a given situation (Satterthwaite, 2003). As Satterthwaite (2003) points out, “most experts lack the knowledge of the specifics of each city or neighbourhood, and lack engagement with the local population” (p. 182). Therefore it is vitally important to tackle poverty at the national and municipal levels by engaging the local authorities.

At the national level, governments themselves can facilitate “the integration of the urban poor, and particularly women, in labour markets, and increasing their access to urban services, urban land and social benefits” (UN-HABITAT, 1996, p.8). The national level is viewed as vitally important in poverty alleviation due to the fact that central governments are responsible for nation-wide policy making and the delegation of power (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995). However, the national level has lost significance in recent years as many governments of developing countries have pursued decentralization practices, allocating more power to local authorities (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995).

The local authorities (or municipal governments) of developing countries have begun to tackle urban poverty in recognition that the deprivations of poverty are *experienced* locally and therefore must be *addressed* locally (Satterthwaite, 2003). The backing for such programs rests on the notion that programs and policies which fail to take into account local specifications will never be able to reach the goal of transforming the lives of the urban poor (Parnwell, 2002). Local authorities must therefore “assume a central

role in poverty reduction, by articulating and coordinating the interests and capacities of diverse actors, with special attention to women, youth, and ethnic minorities” (UN-HABITAT, 1996). It is argued that the role of the local authorities must be reinforced with state policies (at the national level) in order to have a widespread impact (Carroll, 2001). As Carroll (2001) highlights, “the scaling up of community action is most successful when it is supported by state policies” (pp. 96-97). The role of local authorities in alleviating urban poverty is also an extremely important factor due to the responsibility of municipal governments for urban service delivery. According to Wegelin and Borgman (1995):

The municipal government level can play an important role because it is responsible for the provision of municipal services (and for their coordination), for facilitating community initiatives and for issuing building permits and related licenses for commercial and transport activities (p.132).

The final way of addressing urban poverty, is through local democratic processes that involve and build upon the capacities of the urban poor themselves (Satterthwaite, 2003). Such programs are “localized and contextually rooted, small in scale, flexible, culturally sensitive, democratic and participatory, and...centres on the empowerment of the poor” (Parnwell, 2002, p.115). This notion specifies that in order to address urban poverty, participation must be part of the entire process of development, from conceptualizing the problem, to implementation, and finally, with regards to evaluation (Parnwell, 2002). Methods of involving the urban poor through such initiatives include participatory poverty assessments and capacity building initiatives (Jones, 1999). Whilst participation acts to benefit those that are engaging in the development process, it is argued that it can also act as a detriment due to the fact that it requires lengthy time commitments from

both the urban poor and project leaders in order to find a solution that is acceptable to all parties (Meyer & Singh, 1997).

An example of a successful method to alleviate urban poverty that involves the urban poor is the ever-popular microfinance initiative (Pankhurst & Johnston, 1999).

Microfinancing, also termed ‘micro-credit’ or ‘credit schemes’, refers to the loans, savings, insurance, and transfer services which are provided in a pro-poor fashion to low-income clients (Asian Development Bank, 2005). The positive aspect of microfinance in relation to urban poverty alleviation is that it is “particularly suited to urban areas because of the visibility of the informal sector and the proximity to markets. At the same time, the density of habitation means that schemes have a greater chance of success, as groups can be formed and can meet more easily” (Pankhurst & Johnston, 1999, p. 99).

Participation of the urban poor is clearly seen as a positive aspect within microfinance initiatives.

A synthesis of the *strengths* of each level (international, national, municipal and the participation of the urban poor themselves), will enable more effective programs, thus improving the living conditions for the urban poor. Nelson (1999) further elaborates on this synthesis as he concludes:

Governments need to pursue their macro-level policies in the interests of a stronger economy while consulting those at the grassroots who are informed about the complex and often contradictory impacts of these policies on the lives of the most vulnerable. Micro-level workers must consult, be consulted and articulate with the structures of government (p.8).



This synthesis of strengths is clearly based on the notion of *partnerships* between the various stakeholders within urban poverty alleviation and is clearly coming to the forefront in development discussions. As Devas (1991) highlights:

Conventional distinctions about the appropriate roles of the public sector, the private sector and the community are breaking down. New models of partnerships or at least interrelationship are being developed. These include contracting out public services to the private sector; using government resources to stimulate, influence or lever private investment; public investment which complements what the local community is able to provide and enables households to meet their own shelter needs; and sharing responsibility with the local community for the provision and management of local services (p.174).

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), whether based internationally, nationally, or locally, are an integral factor in bridging the gap between the various stakeholders in urban poverty alleviation. According to Mosha (1999), these organizations “have played an important role in alleviating the plight of the urban poor by reinforcing government, municipal and community activities” (p. 109). NGOs have the ability to promote local-capacity building initiatives by communicating the wants and needs of the poor population to those who have the power and/or hold the necessary position within governments to influence and guide policy. NGOs are therefore able to act as the ‘go-between’ in order to make communication clearer and alleviation programs more transparent and effective.

## **2.7 Managing Urban Growth**

There are two main approaches that can be taken when it comes to dealing with rapid urban growth: The first involves reducing the population pressures on cities by lowering the rates of rural-urban migration and promoting lower birth rates; the second aims at developing urban management methods (Cheema, 1993). Because mismanaged urban

growth is believed by many (Cohen, 2004; Kombe, 2002; Turner, 1996) to be the largest threat to the sustenance of sustainable cities in the developing world, differing methods to improve urban management will be the focus of this section of the literature review. However, before doing so, it is important to determine the *underlying causes* that attribute to the urban mismanagement within the developing world.

### ***2.7.1 Structural Causes of Urban Mismanagement***

Regardless of which urban management method is favoured by governments and donor agencies, Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1993) and Hartmann (1998) clearly enunciate the need to examine the underlying structural causes of rapid urbanization and the resulting urbanization of poverty. Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1993) proclaim that the problems faced by third world cities are not solely resulting from rapid growth, but rather from “growth within the context of a legal and institutional structure unable to cope with the needs of the population and the tasks of providing and running city services” (p. 199). Only by examining the overall organizational structure, along with the ‘push and pull factors’ of urban migrants, will urban planners be able to promote viable solutions to the problems associated with urban growth.

In lesser developed countries urban mismanagement is characterized by the poor quality or absence of basic public infrastructure and social services, environmental degradation, and the depletion of natural resources (Kombe, 2002). As Gugler (1996b) states:

Local and national governments are unable to finance critical urban services, administrative and skilled technical personnel are inadequate to the task of operating urban services and to maintaining infrastructure, and local communities are ineffective in the local administrative and political decision-making process (p. 225).

It is projected (Cohen, 2004; Turner, 1996) that urban mismanagement will only continue to become problematic as urban growth is supported by increased global economic integration, the promotion of industrialization and ever-expanding markets. Cohen (2004) estimates that virtually all population growth in the foreseeable future will occur in urban areas, adding to urban management difficulties and environmental stress. However, it is argued that if managed properly, rapid urbanization and urban growth can lead to “economic growth and poverty reduction as evidenced by contemporary industrial economies with higher standards of living” (Republic of Kenya, 2002, p. 21).

In wake of these projections, many different approaches have been set forth by population theorists and urban planners to better deal with rapid urbanization and thus, more adequately ‘manage’ expanding cities. These urban management methods are often discounted as they are seen to encompass an ‘urban bias’ in which policies favour urban areas and problems over their rural counterparts. However, as Rakodi (2002) makes evident, “[i]mproved urban management does not imply neglecting rural development. Cities benefit when agricultural productivity increases. Growing rural economies provide markets for urban services and manufactured goods, including equipment, agrochemicals and consumer goods” (p. 32). As such, this section will examine the differing methods of managing urban growth within both the developed and developing worlds which include: *the Zero Growth Promotion, Sustainable Cities, Participatory Urban Planning, Focus on Newly Emerging Cities, Advancements in High Technology, Slum Eradication, Slum Upgrading and the Integrated Approach to Slum Upgrading.*

### ***2.7.2 The Zero Growth Promotion***

The most radical urban management method is perhaps Williamson's notion of zero growth. Williamson, in his 2004 article entitled *Exploring the No Growth Option*, highlights the congestion and environmental problems resulting from increased population growth. He recommends 'growth control measures', such as open space controls, in order to prevent and/or severely limit urban expansion (Williamson, 2004). Population theorists, (Mazzucato & Niemeijer, 2002), also argue for limiting human population growth as they view human-environment interactions very pessimistically. Others (Barredo & Demicheli, 2003), while not opting for the radical stance of no growth whatsoever, advocate for the implementation of *urban growth management tools* which function to reduce population growth in urban areas. This initiative also attempts to integrate land use dynamics with current planning policies to maximize space in order to deal with rapid increases in urban growth.

### ***2.7.3 Sustainable Cities***

In response to the environmental consequences of urbanization in developing countries, the focus within administrations has turned towards the incorporation of tools of environmental management within their policies and frameworks. Perhaps the best known program that has succeeded in mainstreaming sustainability is the Sustainable Cities Program (SCP), first implemented in the early 1990s with the support of United Nations Human Settlement Program (UN-HABITAT) and the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP). The overall aim of this program is to mainstream environmental concerns in urban planning and management to ensure not only continued

growth, but sustainable growth (UN-HABITAT & UNEP, 2001). A secondary goal is to support local authorities in capacity building to implement Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) strategies (UN-HABITAT & UNEP, 2001). A third goal is to utilize broad-based and meaningful participatory urban planning, which will be discussed in-depth in the next section (UN-HABITAT & UNEP, 2001). The importance of creating sustainable cities is enunciated by Crump (1998) as he states: “[o]ver the coming decades, city governments will have to balance to ever-growing needs of urban dwellers with the protection of natural resources and the local environment (p. 265).

As of 2001, the SCP has engaged participation from forty-plus cities in the developing world. A ‘sustainable city’ has been defined by UN-HABITAT and UNEP (2001) as:

a city where achievements in social, economic, and physical development are made to last. It has a lasting supply of the environmental resources on which its development depends, using them only as a level of sustainable yield. A sustainable city maintains a lasting security from environmental hazards that have the potential to threaten development achievements, allowing only for acceptable risk ( p. 4).

The incorporation of sustainability into urban management in African cities is particularly important as environmental considerations are often ignored in the planning phases. The urban centres of Africa have therefore been described as ‘environmentally unmanageable’ due to the increased rates of urbanization and urban growth (African NGO Habitat II Caucus, 1996, p. 14).

#### ***2.7.4 Participatory Urban Planning***

International agencies such as the World Bank and UN-HABITAT have also advocated for improvements in the basic urban planning process to effectively manage growing

populations by engaging locals in participatory urban planning methods. Carrion (2002) and Lean (1995) support the notion of participation in urban planning as they believe that urban growth and urban infrastructure development are matters that relate to the collective social concerns of the people, and should therefore be prevented from being monopolized by political and intellectual elites. The assumption behind this type of urban planning is that the problems associated with urbanization will be best dealt with by those who are directly affected by the problems. This assumption is further explained by the African NGO Habitat II Caucus (1996):

The daily problems affecting low-income populations: unserviced land, drinking water, elimination of human feces, storm-water, garbage collection paving, education, health, public transport, justice, recreation, etc., represent vital issues for common people, about which they have built their own opinion, developed their own knowledge, and which they tend to accept as having (p. 32).

Incorporating the viewpoints of the locals and examining their local livelihood strategies through participation will serve to uncover marginalized voices, which will assist in the creation of strategies of urban growth management.

The largest criticism of participatory urban planning centres on the inequality between those living within informal settlements and those living in richer neighbourhoods. As Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1993) state:

It is ironic that the poor, with the lowest incomes and often the least free time, are asked to contribute labor to the installation and maintenance of infrastructure and services; meanwhile, richer households the recipients of far better-quality infrastructure and services (often at below market cost), have no demands on their time to help install and maintain them (p. 153).

A second criticism of the participatory urban planning method is that it is not always representative of both genders. For example, in Kenya it is believed that 49 percent of urban dwellers are female, yet they seem to have been excluded from “the formulation

and implementation of urban development strategies, programmes, and projects due to low representation at policy-making levels” (Republic of Kenya, 2002, p. 21). As such, policy-makers and urban planners must take into consideration any and all obstacles which may prevent certain sectors of society from participating within urban planning procedures. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) performs this feat through extensive ‘gender analysis’ which

provides information that recognizes that gender, and its relationship with race, ethnicity, culture, class, age, disability, and/or other status, is important in understanding the different patterns of involvement, behaviour and activities that women and men have in economic, social and legal structures (Canadian International Development Agency, 2006).

In order to measure the gender disparity, CIDA utilizes a Gender Development Index (GDI) which is similar to the Human Poverty Index outlined by UNDP. The GDI divides the HPI along gender lines in order to demonstrate the percentages of the female population that are: able to access knowledge and lead a full and healthful life as well as the percentage of females that are unable to participate in the public life in comparison to the male population (Neimanis and Tortisyn, 2003).

Despite these criticisms, the trend towards participatory urban management is evident in the recent urban Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) agenda that was set forth by UN-HABITAT and UNEP (Kombe, 2002). The main objective of the EPM agenda, through strengthened partnerships among stakeholders, is to “create a harmonious balance between physical development and the environment in urban settings” (Kombe, 2002, p. 66). The notion of partnerships and participation is clearly

emphasized within the agenda as EPM aspires to integrate all affected by urban development, be they the public, private, and popular sectors, NGOs, or civil society.

#### ***2.7.5 Focus on Newly Emerging Cities***

It has also been advocated (Constantino-David, 2002; Acho-Chi, 1998) that urban planners shift their focus to the newly emerging cities of the developing world in order to thwart the ills resulting from urbanization at the onset of expansion. This would not only save time and fiscal resources for the various municipalities, but would also prevent great damage to the local ecosystems. The impact of unplanned urban expansion, as demonstrated by Acho-Chi (1998), places great strain on forests, lands and watersheds. Unplanned expansion also places stress on human populations as spontaneous informal settlements are expanded in areas prone to landslides, flashfloods, and rapid erosion.

Focusing on newly emerging cities would prevent the occurrence of ‘abuse and misuse of open space’ in order to prevent illegal occupation and unmanaged environmental practices (World Bank & UN-HABITAT, 2004). Kombe (2002) argues that this is a necessary strategy as most Third World cities have experienced rapid growth in the last thirty years in conjunction with declining local and central government resources and management capacities. This has subsequently resulted in the poor quality of urban management and weak environmental monitoring.



### ***2.7.6 Advancements in High Technology***

Environmentally sustainable advances in high technology which are low-cost and eco-friendly have recently been adopted and promoted within urban management initiatives in both the developed and developing world. With regard to the developing world, Chakrabarti (2002) highlights three major initiatives which have been recently introduced to deal with environmental degradation within informal settlements: low-cost sanitation, low-cost housing, and rainwater harvesting. These initiatives have been backed by the UNFPA in the Global Plan for Action in an attempt to reduce the ills of urbanization. The UNPFA's plan illustrates concrete health objectives, including sanitation, shelter and adequate supplies of food as concerns which must be addressed in order to sustain the doubling populations of cities (World Bank & UN-HABITAT, 2004). Such advances in high-technology are at the forefront of urban management, and will continually be employed as technology progresses.

### ***2.7.7 Slum Eradication and Slum Upgrading***

When dealing specifically with the formation of peripheral urban settlements, two major urban planning initiatives exist: The first is known as *slum eradication*, and the second, as *slum upgrading*. Before going into the specifics of these two urban management methods, it is first necessary to define the terms 'slum' and 'slum dweller'.

Slums have been defined in many different ways, perhaps most generically as "physical and spatial manifestations of urban poverty" (UN-HABITAT, 2005). Being more specific, slums can be described as "neglected parts of cities where housing and living

conditions are appallingly poor” (World Bank & UN-HABITAT, 2004, p.1). Slums are often viewed in a negative manner as they are believed to “reduce the efficiency of cities and economic growth of countries and—most fundamental—stunt the human potential of enormous numbers of people” (Ferguson & Navarette, 2003, p. 309). As such, it is believed that slums are able to

exist in many forms—from a complete absence of accommodation (as is the case for those sleeping in public places, on pavements, or in open spaces) to overcrowded boarding houses with rented beds, to single rooms in tenement housing entire households, to informal illegal settlements (where dwellers are renters or de facto owners) (Carolini, 2003, p. 8).

Because slums exist in these many forms, it is important to note that within this thesis, the term ‘slum’, unless otherwise specified, will refer to the informal squatter settlements present within and surrounding urban areas.

The term ‘slum dwellers’ refers to those residents which inhabit these spontaneous squatter settlements. Northridge and Sclar (2003) highlight the fact that because many slum dwellers live in illegal settlements without secure tenure, they “often have no official addresses and are commonly denied basic rights and entitlements, including the right to vote, public education, and health care” (p. 1381). As a result of this denial of basic rights, it is argued that slum dwellers have become *invisible* to government authorities as well as to other citizens (Garau et. Al., 2005). Garau et al. (2005) explains that the invisibility often stems from the fact that “slums receive few outside visitors, save for professional politicians in search of votes, emissaries of slum landlords and bona-fide non-governmental organizations (NGOs) directly engaged in local capacity building or specific relieve and/or development projects” (p. 50). In order to identify slum dwellers and make them visible within statistical analysis, UN-HABITAT (2005)

has identified five indicators which can be utilized to recognize slum households.

Accordingly, a slum household is deemed to be a household that lacks any one of the following five elements:

1. Access to improved water – access to sufficient amount of water for family use, at an affordable price, available to household members without being subject to extreme effort;
2. Access to improved sanitation – access to an excreta disposal system, either in the form of a private toilet or a public toilet shared with a reasonable number of people;
3. Security of tenure – evidence of documentation to prove secure tenure status or de facto or perceived protection from evictions;
4. Durability of housing – permanent and adequate structure in non-hazardous location;
5. Sufficient living area – not more than two people sharing the same room

#### **2.7.7.1 Slum Eradication**

Slum eradication is a form of urban management that was popularized in the 1960s and 1970s and involved deporting large numbers of slum inhabitants from peripheral urban settlements (The World Bank, 2000). This method stems from the historical viewpoint of slums as ‘cancerous’ and in need of eradication (Hardoy & Satterthwaite, 1993). Slum eradication (also termed slum clearance) was often promoted by ‘western experts’ and involved bulldozing entire communities in which the prior inhabitants received no compensation (Hardoy & Satterthwaite, 1993).

With time however, studies began to demonstrate that “slum clearance schemes not only failed to improve housing conditions, but also often exacerbated the housing problem by destroying some of the few housing options open to poorer groups” (Hardoy &

Satterthwaite, 1993, p. 119). As a result, criticism of the approach began to stem from its primary instigators. Today, the World Bank (2005) explains the problems associated with the slum eradication method in the following:

Slum clearance is not viable because the poor need to be close to city centres where there are more informal income opportunities, and because often the cost of transportation is unaffordable to the poor. Consequently, moving the poor or replacing their physical facilities with public housing created more problems for the poor and for the cities. Governments not only had to spend resources cleaning slums and resettling inhabitants, but also later had to finance public transportation to facilitate access to employment in the central city. The economic and social costs were prohibitive (pp. 1-2).

Slum eradication eventually evolved to a model of ‘clearance and redevelopment’ (The World Bank, 2005). This model involved *temporarily* moving the slum residents while the land was cleared to build new housing developments on the original site (The World Bank, 2005). However, while these housing developments serviced to improve the overall living conditions, they were often constructed in the form of high-rise buildings. It was soon discovered that these high-rises had a large negative effect on the residents as the lack of ground space minimized the possibilities for micro-enterprise in the form of family business (The World Bank, 2005). As a result of this drawback, combined with the realization of the high economic and social costs associated with slum clearing and redevelopment, international institutions began promoting the creation of slum upgrading programs (The World Bank, 2005).

That being said, slum eradication is by no means absent in current urban management methods. As recent as June 2005, slum residents throughout Zimbabwe were victims of an eradication program under President Robert Mugabe’s “Operation Murambatsvina” which can be roughly translated as ‘drive out the rubbish’ (The Economist, 2005).

During this operation, over one hundred thousand informal residents were displaced from their homes (The Economist, 2005). In many cases, the residents themselves were required by police to demolish and destroy their own dwelling units. However, the changing trends in urban management became publicly evident as President Mugabe's decision to eradicate Zimbabwe's informal settlements was highly denounced by international organizations such as the Slum Upgrading Facility and housing rights advocacy groups such as Shack and Slum Dwellers International (Slum Upgrading Facility, 2005; SDI, 2005).

#### ***2.7.1.2 Slum Upgrading***

In contrast to slum eradication, which displaces the inhabitants of informal settlements, the overarching aim of slum upgrading is to improve significantly the lives of those living within informal settlements. According to the World Bank, “[u]pgrading rejuvenates the existing community with minimum disruption and loss of physical and social assets” (2000, p.2). This technique involves improving upon the existing infrastructure, providing security from eviction as well as improving access to urban services such as water reticulation and garbage collection (The World Bank, 2000). The ten components of slum upgrading, can be summarized as follows:

- Installing/improving basic infrastructure
- Removal or mitigation of environmental hazards
- Providing incentives for community management and maintenance
- Constructing/rehabilitating community facilities (ie. nurseries, health posts, open space)
- Regularizing security of tenure
- Home improvement
- Relocation/compensation for the small number of residents dislocated by the improvements
- Improving access to health care and education, and social support programs

- Enhancement of income-earning opportunities through training and micro-credit
- Building social capital and the institutional framework to sustain improvements  
(The World Bank & UN-HABITAT, 2004).

The focus of slum upgrading is to raise the quality of life for squatter residents by increasing access to basic urban services. The slum upgrading approach does not often include construction to the main dwelling units as residents are deemed capable of doing the construction themselves. However, optional financing, such as micro-credit loaning, are sometimes made available for home improvements (The World Bank, 2000).

Supporting the needs of slum residents is clearly the aim of slum upgrading. As Carolini (2003) states,

The objective [of slum upgrading] is to provide for and address the needs and the priorities of urban populations who live in poor quality housing or settlements.....[t]his often translates into supporting them in their choice to purchase, rent, or build better quality housing, helping improve their income opportunities and finally, ameliorating their living conditions (p. 6).

Upgrading is often seen as a viable financial alternative for governments in developing countries due to the fact that the 'clearance and relocation' method can cost up to ten times as much as a slum upgrading program in a similar-sized area (The World Bank, 2000). Slum upgrading is also noted as a viable eco-alternative as it serves to address environmental degradation which results from the formation of peripheral urban settlements. Slum upgrading increases access to basic urban services, such as sanitation and garbage disposal, which therefore reduces the amount of human waste that is currently threatening community waterways and polluting local habitats.

### ***2.7.8 An Integrated Approach to Slum Upgrading***

An integrated approach to slum upgrading, which is the underlying framework for this thesis, can be defined as consisting of “physical, social, economic, organizational and environmental improvements undertaken cooperatively and locally among citizens, community groups, businesses and local authorities” (World Bank & UN-Habitat, 2004, p. 2). These groups and individuals are often referred to as ‘stakeholders’ within the literature. A stakeholder can be defined as “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization’s objective” (Freeman, 1984, p. 46). It is important to note that stakeholders within slum upgrading initiatives include individuals on both sides of the spectrum, such as government officials and international organizations who inform and create urban management policies, as well as the slum dwellers themselves who will experience the policies and programs as beneficiaries. It is important to emphasize the *cooperation* between stakeholders, as this approach requires participation from all levels: civil society, municipal and national governments, CBOs, NGOs, faith-based organizations (FBOs) and donor agencies.

The notions of partnerships and integration with numerous stakeholders have become increasingly important within developing countries in recent years as governments have become decentralized and responsibilities have been relegated to local authorities and actors whom are not necessarily prepared to assume them (African NGO Habitat II Caucus, 1996). Partnerships and integration between all levels of government have been thus encouraged in order to reduce the negative impacts of decentralization. According to the African NGO Habitat II Caucus (1996), new urban management methods

require new frameworks for assessing and restructuring that overall environment from the national and local state, with productive support from the international community. Such a task requires partnerships among urban actors geared toward elaborating new modalities of coordinated articulations among discrete neighborhoods and their initiatives (p. 48)

The integrated approach to slum upgrading has clearly gained significance in recent years as urban planners and international bodies have centered their focus on the Millennium Development Goal 7, Target 11, to achieve ‘significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020’ (UN-HABITAT, 2003, p. 1). In 2004, the Slum Upgrading Facility (SUF), as an umbrella branch of UN-HABITAT, was formulated in Nairobi, Kenya to assist in achieving this goal. The mission statement of the SUF is:

[t]o lead and coordinate technical cooperation and seed capital initiatives established to develop bankable projects that promote affordable housing for low-income households, the upgrading of slums, and the provision of urban infrastructure in settlements in cities of the developing world (UN-HABITAT, 2005).

The SUF has adopted an integrated approach to slum upgrading, involving the following stakeholders in the process: municipal authorities, CBOs, NGOs, central governments, local residents and the private sector (UN-HABITAT, 2005). The integrated approach is believed to be a more effective method as it is based on the assumption that “[d]ifferent social groups and institutions have different kinds of access to different social processes and resources” (African NGO Habitat II Caucus, 1996, p. 48). When utilized together within the integrated approach, these varying kinds of access enable a more holistic response to the challenges faced by urban managers. The SUF and its involvement with programs in the developing world will be further discussed during Chapter 3.



## **2.8 Urban Land Tenure and Informal Settlements**

The largest challenge evident in the discussion of urbanization deals with the question of *how* to deal with the *magnitude* of urbanization, growth, and urban poverty. As such, a brief examination of urban land tenure is necessary to examine the challenges associated with increasing urban populations and the subsequent lack of available housing opportunities.

Urban land tenure refers to the “regulations and measures of the rights to land....the use of land and the valuation of land” (Torhonen, 2004, p. 549). In basic terms, urban land tenure can be acquired in two distinct ways, through formal or informal means (Kironde, 1995). Acquiring land through formal means refers to the instances when “the allocation and transference of land is via procedures laid down by the government” (Kironde, 1995, p. 79). This type of land tenure is very difficult for the urban poor to obtain as they not only lack the necessary fiscal resources, but also the time needed to invest in obtaining the necessary documents for formal acquisition of land. As Wegelin and Borgman (1995) highlight, the “[a]ccess to land, registration of land, and permission to develop land is time-consuming and [encompasses] costly-procedures which make the legal system difficult to access” (p. 135). Women, as well as the poor, are further impeded by cultural, legal, and economic obstacles that prevent them from obtaining formal access to land (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995, p. 135).

As a result of these obstacles, many urban poor acquire land through informal means, which generally refers to the appropriation of land, though what has become known as

‘self-help housing’ (Berner, 2002). Appropriation of land for personal use can take place on public or private property without formal titles or rights to the land (Abrams, 1990). This appropriation results in the emergence of large-scale irregular settlements, also known as slums or squatters, on the peripheries of urban centres. These settlements have been described as the only ‘architecture that works’ to house the poor as there are few viable alternatives (Berner, 2002). As Abrams (1990) states, “[squattling] is the illicit consequence of the struggle for shelter, the trespass of desperation; sometimes it is denounced, sometimes disesteemed; often it is tolerated for want of a practical alternative” (p. 12).

Although these peripheral settlements are useful in providing shelter for the urban poor, this form of informal land tenure poses great challenges to local municipal administrations and national governments. The lack of secure tenure within informal settlements “hinders most attempts to improve shelter conditions for the urban poor, undermines long-term planning, and distorts the prices for land and services” (Garau et al., 2005, p.50). These settlements, which are not legally recognized through formal means, have also become undersupplied with basic municipal services and as a result, depreciate the market value of land (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995; Berner 2002).

Because these squatter settlements are prevalent throughout the developing world, it is recommended that informal land tenure be regularized as a central element of local government land delivery (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995). As Steinberg (2004) states, “while official recognition of tenure rights may be desirable, often this is politically or

economically not feasible, and thus, the recognition of a community and their ‘informal’ tenure is often considered more important to secure at least their status quo” (p. 164).

## **2.9 Conclusion**

The consequences of urbanization are clearly at the forefront of discussion within the international community as urban centers within the developing world continue to grow at an unprecedented rate. The Millennium Declaration, with its Millennium Development Goals, has targeted the bleak situation of the urban poor in order to improve the quality of lives of 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. Integrated approaches, involving the government at the municipal and national level, as well as NGOs, CBOs, local residents and international agencies, represent a dedication towards the achievement of this goal.

## CHAPTER 3

### URBANIZATION, URBAN GROWTH AND SLUM UPGRADING IN KISUMU, KENYA

Kisumu, the third largest municipality of Kenya, is one of the nine African cities selected to undergo slum upgrading as part of the Cities Without Slums (CWS) initiative.

However, before delving into the specifics of urbanization and slum upgrading in the Kisumu context, it is first necessary to explore the geographical, economical, political and social characteristics of both Kenya and Kisumu in order to contextualize the case study.

#### **3.1 Kenya**

The Republic of Kenya, formerly known as British East Africa, attained its independence from Britain in 1963 under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta and the Kenya National African Union (KANU)<sup>2</sup> (Ministry of Lands and Housing, 2004; Stock, 1995). With an estimated population of 33, 829, 590, the overall density of inhabitants has been calculated at 52.4 people per square kilometer (Rake, 2003). The two official languages of Kenya are English and Kiswahili, although numerous other tribal languages such as Kikuyo and Luo are widely spoken by a large percentage of the population (Morgan, 2003). Kenya is divided into seven administrative districts, called provinces as well as one 'area' (also called the 'extra-provincial district') which encapsulates the capital city, Nairobi and its surroundings (Central Intelligence Agency, 2006). The seven provinces

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<sup>2</sup> For an informative look at the history of colonialism in Kenya and the rest of East Africa, please refer to: Murison, Katharine. (2003). *Africa South of the Sahara*. London: Europa Publications.

and Nairobi area are further broken down into seventy-eight districts and municipalities (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2005).

### ***3.1.1 Geographical Characteristics:***

Situated on the East Coast of Africa on the Indian Ocean, Kenya borders Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda, and Tanzania. Bisected by the equator, Kenya comprises a total area of 569,137 sq km (Morgan, 2003). Eighty-seven percent of the nation rests on arid and semi-arid land, and as a result of this, the distinctive climatic characteristic of Kenya is lack of the sufficient rainfall as only 15 percent of the cultivated land area receives enough rainfall for farming practices (Sindiga & Burnett, 1988). Most precipitation is found along the coast and in the west in the Lake Victoria Region. The municipality of Kisumu, located in Nyanza Province, receives the largest amount of rainfall each year, with the mean rainfall recorded at 1,278 mm annually (Ojany & Ogendo, 1973).

Kenya is well known for encompassing a wide range of geographical features ranging from “bushland, grassland and barren desert in the interior; to dense rain forest, bamboo forest, mountain heath, and moorland; to permanent glaciers on top of Mount Kenya” (Sindiga & Burnett, 1988, p. 232). However, it is arguable that the country’s most distinctive geographical feature is the Great Rift Valley which cuts through Kenya’s highlands, running north to south (Lonsdale, 1989). The Great Rift Valley varies in width from 32 to 56 kilometers and encompasses a parallel series of step faults (Ojany & Ogendo, 1973).

### 3.1.2 Political Climate of Kenya

The Republic of Kenya was first colonized by the British between the years of 1890 – 1920 (Lonsdale, 1989). Although it was originally designated the East Africa Protectorate, the status changed from a protectorate to a colony in 1920 (Zezeza, 1989). In December 1963, the colony achieved independence from Britain and became known as the Republic of Kenya. Independence has been described as marking “the culmination of 68 years of anti-colonial struggle waged by Kenya Africans to free themselves from British domination, oppression, and exploitation” (Ochieng, 1989, p.203)<sup>3</sup>.

The first president of the Republic of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, was sworn into office on June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1963 with the ruling party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) (Miller & Yeager, 1994). Kenyatta’s main objective as the first president was to begin nation-building through the framework of a ‘democratic African socialist state’ (Ochieng, 1995). His central policies revolved around the notion that

the benefits of economic and social development would be distributed equitably, that differential treatment based on tribe, race, belief or class would be abandoned, and that every national, whether black, white or brown, would be given equal opportunity to improve his lot (1995, pp. 91-92).

Despite the respectable intentions of the KANU government and a strong performance within the Kenyan economy, there is strong evidence that Kenyatta’s reign as president was plagued by corruption, land shortages, ethnic and ideological divisions, and high unemployment rates (Miller & Yeager, 1994).

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<sup>3</sup> For a further description of Kenya’s political climate pre-independence or the factors influencing the achievement of independence, please refer to: Ogot, B.A. And Ochieng, W.R. (1995). *Decolonization and Independence in Kenya: 1940-1993*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Upon President Kenyatta's death in 1978, Vice President Daniel arap Moi became the second president of the Republic of Kenya and ruled until 2002 (Ogot, 1981). Moi was responsible for making a drastic change to the constitution, the infamous 'Section 2A', which officially made oppositional parties illegal in 1982 (Ndegwa, 1998). However, after much criticism from the international community and the subsequent withdrawal of foreign aid from large donor institutions, Moi readjusted the constitution of Kenya and once again legalized opposition parties in December of 1991 (Ndegwa, 1998). Despite this amendment, Kenya's political climate has been largely criticized as representing a 'co-opted transition to democracy':

This type of transition is one where the incumbent president has allowed multi-party elections, but through the control over the media, manipulation of electoral machinery and superior financial resources, has been able to defeat the opposition at the ballot box, although fraudulently (Nzomo, 1994, p.19).

The current President of Kenya, Mwai Kibaki, has ruled with the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) from 2003, winning the 2002 election, to present day (UNDP, 2003). Kibaki's presidency can be characterized as attempting to free the Kenyan government of the corruption which was prevalent during both the Moi and Kenyatta eras (The World Bank, 2005). President Kibaki and the NARC government have promoted an ongoing anti-corruption campaign by creating the Kenya Anti-Corruption Commission (The World Bank, 2005). The first step towards reducing the inherent corruption in Kenyan government was to pass the Anti-Corruption and Economic Crimes Act, which was subsequently followed by the Public Officers Ethics Act (Barken, 2004). President Kibaki has also taken large steps to clean up the judiciary. In 2003, he forced the Chief Justice to resign and suspended twenty-three senior judges from the Court of Appeal as

well as a number of magistrates (Barken, 2004). However, despite well-intentions, very few of these civil servants have yet been prosecuted.

An important factor in the anti-corruption initiatives in recent years has been the emphasis on the importance of local authorities within governance. The recent implementation of The Local Authorities Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP), which aims at dispersing power and responsibility to municipal districts, has been promoted by the NARC government in order to increase accountability and transparency of governance (UN-HABITAT, Kisumu City Council, and Sida, 2004). This plan has functioned to place more authority within the Ministry of Local Government: Local service delivery is now solely the responsibility of city councils, county councils, municipal councils and urban councils (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, 2005). However, it has been argued that the local authorities lack the fiscal and human power to deal with the increase in urban populations and are thus unable to effectively manage basic infrastructure and services (Republic of Kenya, 2002).

Despite the attempt to reduce the presence of corruption within government, and improve the living standards for children by introducing Free Primary Education, Kibaki's presidency has neither been without mishap nor allegations of corruption. In late 2005, the political atmosphere turned tense throughout Kenya as a referendum was held to decide on amendments to the constitution (Government of Kenya, 2005). During the campaign process, Kibaki was plagued by allegations of misusing public funds to support his position as well as to bribe supporters (BBC, 2005). Kibaki was drastically defeated



by Kenyan voters, which many interpreted as a vote of ‘No Confidence’ in Kibaki’s leadership.

In mid-February of 2006, Kibaki’s government was once again criticized on allegations of corruption. This latest scandal, called the Anglo-Leasing Affair, involves top government officials who have been accused of allocating multi-million dollar contracts to a phantom firm. When asked to declare their financial assets to the Kenyan Anti-Corruption Commission, the officials refused. At the time of writing, three high-ranking ministers had already resigned in connection to this affair (BBC, 2006b). Many Kenyan protesters have also made demands for the vice-president as well as the head of civil service, to resign from office (BBC, 2005b). Kibaki will rule until the next federal election in 2007, and it will be quite interesting to witness whether or not he is re-elected through democratic processes amidst these allegations of corruption.

### ***3.1.3 The Kenyan Economy***

In the early years of independence, the economy of Kenya performed well as is evident from its strong annual GDP growth rate from 1964-1973 (UNDP, 2003). Kenya was dubbed one of the most successful African countries in the years post-independence as “the economy progressed at a cumulative annual rate of growth of 6.8% in real terms, with growth in the industrial sector reaching 9.7% per year in the 1970s” (Van Buren, 2003, p. 523). However, in the 1980s the Kenyan economy suffered as global agricultural prices, namely tea and coffee, fluctuated immensely: This fluctuation, combined with the presence of drought in many agricultural areas, created a boom and

bust pattern that affected the overall GDP growth (Van Buren, 2003). In the early 1990s, Kenya experienced a negative GDP growth for the first time post-independence, which was followed by an increased inflation rate at 11.6 percent in 2004 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2005). The decline in overall economic performance has been attributed to “reduced investor confidence, poor governance, institutionalized corruption, poor infrastructure, reduced inflows of donor assistance, and unfavorable weather conditions” (UNDP, 2003).

Despite these economic setbacks, the future of the Kenyan economy looks promising as the NARC government, under President Kibaki, has recently launched the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, through consultation with numerous stakeholders and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (UNDP, 2003). The Economic Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation focuses on “strengthening the macroeconomic framework, assuming a responsible fiscal stance, and providing a conducive environment for private sector investment in the productive sectors and, specifically, in infrastructure development and maintenance” (Republic of Kenya, 2004, p.1). The promise of the future is further evident in the recent improvements in overall GDP growth: Kenya has witnessed a 1.9 percent growth from 1996-2002, a 2.8 percent growth in 2003, and a 4.3 percent growth in GDP in 2004 (The World Bank, 2005b).

The largest sector of employment is currently found in the informal sector which employs approximately 5.97 million people, followed by the community/social services sector which employs over 745.9 thousand people, and the agriculture/forestry sector which

employs a further 320.6 thousand people (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2005). Tourism has recently made its mark as an up and coming industry in Kenya as foreigners are drawn to the country for its spectacular coastline, the abundance of animals, and impressive sights throughout the Rift Valley. With growing investor confidence and a government that is becoming more transparent, the number of tourists will continue to expand which will contribute positively to overall economic growth.

#### ***3.1.4 Social Characteristics***

In examining the social characteristics of Kenya, the Human Development Index (HDI), which is calculated by the UNDP, is most useful in comparing Kenya's status with other nations. This index serves to measure

the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, as measured by life expectancy at birth; knowledge, as measured by the adult literacy rate and the combined gross enrolment ratio for primary, secondary, and tertiary schools; and a decent standard of living, as measured by GDP per capita in purchasing power parity (PPP) US dollars (UNDP, 2005, p.214).

The HDI currently Kenya ranks 154<sup>th</sup> out of a total of 177 ranked countries, which includes both developed and developing countries. In comparison to other developing countries and areas, Kenya ranks 64<sup>th</sup> out of 103 countries. When comparing Kenya to other East African countries specifically, Kenya falls roughly in the middle: Sudan is ranked 59<sup>th</sup>, Tanzania and Uganda are ranked 65<sup>th</sup> and 66<sup>th</sup> respectively, Rwanda is ranked 69<sup>th</sup> and Burundi straggles behind, ranking 80<sup>th</sup> (UNDP, 2005).

Kenya, in a similar fashion to other sub-Saharan African countries, is suffering from a declining life expectancy rate which can be largely attributed to the HIV/AIDS pandemic

(UNDP, 2005). The life expectancy rate in Kenya was estimated to be 53.6 years in 1970 and this subsequently dropped to 47 years in 2003 (UNDP, 2005). As of 2003, it was estimated that over 1.2 million adults and children were living with HIV/AIDS across the country (WHO, 2004). Divided along gender lines, it appears that more women than men in the adult population are living with AIDS: It is estimated that up to 67 percent of those infected are women, while 33 percent of those infected are male (UNFPA, 2004). The HIV/AIDS pandemic is also greatly affecting youth as it is believed that 10.8 percent of 15-24 year olds are living with HIV/AIDS (UNFPA, 2004).

The prevalence of HIV/AIDS has been attributed to a shortage in manpower at the household, community and national level and to overstretched social and health services (Republic of Kenya, 2002). However, the overall percentage of adults living with HIV has declined in recent years throughout sub-Saharan Africa: It is believed that the percentage peaked in the 1990s with 10 percent of the total adult population being infected with HIV, while in 2003, 7 percent of the adult population was infected (UNAIDS & WHO, 2003).

### **3.2 Background Information on Kisumu Municipality**

Kisumu is the third largest municipality in Kenya after Nairobi and Mombassa, and has an estimated population of 345, 312 based on the 1999 census. Estimates on the 2005 population of the city place the population at 500, 000 (UN-HABITAT, 2005b).

Situated on the shores of Lake Victoria, the largest fresh water lake in Africa and the second largest in the world, Kisumu is 3, 725 feet above sea level (Ogot, 1981). Located in Nyanza Province, the municipality currently covers an area of 417 km<sup>2</sup>, of which 157 km<sup>2</sup> is under water (Kwach, 2002). The average population density of Kisumu is 828 people per square kilometre while the city growth rate is at 2.5 percent per annum (UN-HABITAT, Kisumu City Council & Sida, 2004).

The history of Kisumu can be traced back to the completion of the Kenya-Uganda railway by the British East-Africa Company in 1901, which served to link the port of Mombasa with the capital city of Nairobi and Port Florence in Kisumu (Bennett & Rosberg, 1961). The presence of the railway, which has been described as the ‘developmental backbone of Kenya’ makes Kisumu an important transportation hub for Kenya and East Africa: The railway services both passenger and cargo rail from surrounding countries. Kisumu also has one airport and is bisected by the main transnational highway. The municipality is clearly strategically located as it links the rest of the country to Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda via rail, water, air and roads (UN-HABITAT, Kisumu City Council, & Sida, 2004).

Kisumu is often referred to as the “leading commercial/trading, industrial, communication and administrative centre in the Lake Victoria Basin, an area that traverses three provinces of Nyanza, Western, and Western Rift Valley” (UN-HABITAT, Kisumu City Council, & Sida, 2004, p. 10). The municipality is an important political centre as it is both the Provincial Headquarters of the Nyanza Province as well as the

District Headquarters for Kisumu District (UN-HABITAT, Kisumu City Council, & Sida, 2004). Kisumu is also a popular location for a variety of multi-lateral development programs which include the Cities Without Slums Initiative, Sustainable Cities Programme, Lake Victoria Region Water and Sanitation Initiative, Kisumu Sustainable Urban Mobility Project and the Regional Urban Sector Profile Study. The municipality of Kisumu has recently gained international attention as it was declared the world's first Millennium City, which was announced in January 2006 by Jeffrey Sachs, Special Advisor to the UN Secretary General (UN-HABITAT, 2006). This designation puts a great deal of emphasis on the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as outlined in the United Nations Millennium Project.

In examining the institutional framework of the municipality, Kisumu is divided into seventeen different wards, with each having an elected counselor to govern. In addition to these seventeen elected positions, five more counselors are also nominated, bringing the total number of civic leaders to twenty-two. The mayor is elected amongst these civic leaders, with the current position being held by Ms. Prisca Auma. The main roles of the Municipal Council of Kisumu (MCK) include the responsibility to provide infrastructure, social services, and regulate business and land use activities (UN-HABITAT, Kisumu City Council, & Sida, 2004). The MCK currently encapsulates ten different departments within its organizational framework, with the Chief Executive being the Town Clerk.

The ten different departments include:

1. Town Clerks Office
2. Social Services
3. Health (Preventive and Curative)
4. Environment

5. Housing and Development
6. Children and Youth affairs
7. Town Planning
8. Town Treasury
9. Engineering
10. Education

(Tropical Institute of Community Health and Development, 2005).

The performance of the MCK has largely been criticized in recent years for lacking the necessary resources to deal with an expanding population base. It has been noted that:

The gaps in governance are occurring in the background of perceived chronic under funding and misadministration of local authorities; local authority staff are constantly several months' in pending salary arrears, while council chief officers are constantly being locked out of their offices for alleged corruption, and being transferred. Thus it becomes a real challenge to institute and maintain quality health and social services (Tropical Institute of Community Health and Development, 2005, p.16).

Current economic activities within the municipality include the fish processing industry as well as manufacturing companies such as Kisumu Cotton Mills and Kenya Matches. As a port city, Kisumu is also an "inland depot for oil and containerized cargo serving the wider greater lakes region" (UN-HABITAT, Kisumu City Council, & Sida, 2004, p.10). In a similar fashion to the majority of municipalities across Kenya, the informal sector plays a key role within the overall economy of the city. Most informal sector activities include petty trading/selling of vegetables at the city market and the sale of second hand clothes, shoes and books along the sidewalks in the Central Business District (CBD). An increasingly important informal sector occupation is found within non-motorized transportation: Progressively more and more young men, mostly stemming from the informal settlements, are finding employment as operators of bicycle taxis, called 'boda-bodas' (Intermediate Technology Development Group-East Africa, 2004).

Stemming from one of the poorest provinces, residents of Kisumu face two main obstacles: poverty and a high prevalence of HIV-AIDS. In terms of poverty<sup>4</sup>, it is argued that Kisumu ranks as one of the poorest municipalities in the country due to the fact that 48 percent of the population lives in a state of absolute poverty (Intermediate Technology Development Group-East Africa, 2004). Roughly 60 percent of the municipal population lives within the peri-urban and informal settlements on the outskirts of the city, and the streets are home to many ‘glue-sniffing’ street children (UN-HABITAT, Kisumu City Council, & Sida, 2004). Even though the name Kisumu was originally derived from a Luo word meaning the “place where the hungry get sustenance’, the municipality today suffers from one of the highest levels of food poverty in the country, at 53.4 percent (UN-HABITAT, Kisumu City Council, & Sida 2004).

In reference to HIV/AIDS, Nyanza Province reportedly has the highest prevalence of HIV in the country, at 15 percent. This widespread prevalence of the fatal disease has a very negative effect not only on the overall population base, but also on the municipal council specifically: It is estimated that the municipal council “looses about 38 to 40 of the 1200 workers per year, or 3-4 per month, to AIDS-related deaths” (Tropical Institute of Community Health and Development, 2005 p. 9). This factor clearly affects the overall running of the council. Apart from HIV/AIDS, residents within Kisumu also suffer from the following health-related morbidities: malaria, upper respiratory

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<sup>4</sup> ‘Absolute poverty’ was defined the previous chapter in reference to the “chronically hungry, unable to access health care, lack the amenities of safe drinking water and sanitation, cannot afford education for some or all of the children, and perhaps lack rudimentary shelter—a roof to keep the rain out of the hut, a chimney to remove the smoke from the cook stove—and basic articles of clothing, such as shoes (Sachs, 2005, p.20).



infections, diarrheal diseases, tuberculosis, anemia and TB pneumonia (Tropical Institute of Community Health and Development, 2005).

### **3.3 The ‘Urban Area’ and Urbanization in the Kenyan Context**

As mentioned in the literature review, the term ‘urban’ is a highly contested one, and it is therefore important to clarify how one defines it when examining statistics on urbanization and urban growth. As such, the Kenyan government defines the ‘urban area’ in two ways. Firstly, it is defined in relation to its population size—an agglomeration of 7,000 residents is designated to be an urban area; and secondly, ‘urban centres’ can be legally designated by the Government of Kenya if they encompass a human settlement which is involved in a multiplicity of ‘enterprise activities’ such as businesses, services and/or administration (Sida, 2005). As of 2002, there were 142 gazetted urban areas in Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2002). According to the 1999 national census, the largest urban areas in Kenya included Nairobi with a population of 2,143,254, Mombasa with a population of 665,018, Kisumu with a population of 322,734, and Nakuru with a population of 219,366 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999). Kisumu was granted an official ‘city status’ by the Government of Kenya in 2001 to culminate its 100<sup>th</sup> year anniversary.

Regarding demographics, the urban population within Kenya has increased dramatically in the last three decades: in 1975, only 12.9 percent of the total population was estimated to be urban, while in 2003, this number skyrocketed to 39.3 percent of the total population. It is projected that the urban population will only continue to grow in the

coming years as it is believed that by 2015, 51.8 percent of the overall population of Kenya will reside in urban areas (UNDP, 2005). The national urban growth rate over the last thirty years is estimated at 5 percent per annum, while the capital city of Nairobi has experienced the most rapid growth, witnessing increases in the urban population of up to 6 percent per annum (African NGO Habitat II Caucus, 1996; Sida, 2005). In the municipality of Kisumu, the urban population has expanded from 214,240 in 1989, to an estimated 500,000 in 2005 (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). However, the current growth rate of the municipality is much lower than that of Nairobi, as it is approximated at 2.5 percent per annum (UN-HABITAT, 2005b).

The increasing rates of urbanization and urban growth throughout Kenya can be attributed to multiple factors. In the case of Kisumu, the process can be largely attributed to two main features: rural-urban migration and annexation. In the case of rural-urban migration, most immigrants to Kisumu come from the surrounding rural areas of the Lake Victoria Basin. The movement of these migrants has been seen as a direct consequence of land inheritance issues in the rural areas: plots are not only becoming greatly reduced in size but are also resulting in poor farming productivity (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). Migrants are thus attracted to the resources and perceived employment opportunities potentially found in Kisumu, being the third largest municipality in the country. Slum settlements have expanded as a result of this migration as most immigrants move into these communities as they are unable to afford housing within the more affluent areas within the Central Business District (CBD) (UN-HABITAT, 2005b).

Locally-born inhabitants of the slum settlements term these new slum dwellers ‘Jodak’ which can be roughly translated as ‘people from away’<sup>1</sup>. Locally-born slum dwellers believe that those ‘from away’ (Jodak) are not invested fully in their new-found communities. It is presumed that because these new migrants are at work all day and only return to their new community to sleep, living conditions within the slums have been deteriorating as a result of their presence. In order to eradicate this problem, locals propose community awareness programs focusing on the risks of poor sanitation, hazards of solid waste, and lack of commitment to living environments<sup>1</sup>.

The second factor leading towards increasing rates of urbanization is that of annexation which refers to the reclassification of peripheral land around the city into municipal boundaries. Annexation occurred in 1971 in Kisumu as the municipal boundaries were extended to incorporate the peri-urban settlements of Manyatta and Nyalenda. The annexation process has resulted in a well planned CBD and the configuration of a “slum belt” which has created a semi-circle around the city centre. The slum belt has been described as forming “the outer ring of the old town as a residential area for the poor working class that is in rapid transition” (UN-HABITAT, 2005b, p. 15). Like other informal settlements, the slum belt is characterized by lacking basic services and infrastructure as well as unplanned and unpaved roads. On the other hand, the well-planned CBD has access to a wide variety of urban services, including solid waste management, paved roads, and water and sanitation service. The CBD is quite attractive and has become the locale for the fancy tourist hotels, formal businesses, the main police

station, both provincial and municipal offices, sports grounds, as well as the upper-income residential areas<sup>ii</sup>.

### **3.4 The Proliferation of Slums in Kenya and Kisumu**

The prevalence of slum and squatter settlements in Kenya can be traced back to pre-colonial times when members of the Kikuyu tribe were forced to surrender portions of their land to European settlers (Berg-Schlosser & Sigler, 1990). This displacement also occurred during the colonial era, as Africans were forced from their homes with the implementation of the Crown Lands Ordinances between the years 1902-1915 (Syagga et al., 2001). These laws, combined with racial discrimination and residential segregation, witnessed the formation of slums in the periphery of the main urban centres of Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu.

In Kisumu, a number of municipal policies and planning techniques have been linked to the subsequent formation of slum settlements. In 1908, an outbreak of the bubonic plague served to define the basic zoning of the city along segregation lines, which classified the city into three separate blocks: 'Block A' served as the residential areas of Indians, Europeans and colonial officers, as well as the headquarters for the government, the railway, and the port; 'Block C' served as the residential area for Africans; 'Block B' was situated between Block A and C and served as a *buffer zone* to prevent the spread of the bubonic plague (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). In 1930, the municipal boundaries were restricted to make the city 'more manageable' under conditions of rapid urbanization and growth. This reduction resulted in the neglect of all inhabited lands found outside Block

C. As a consequence, any dwelling units and construction within this area developed without formalized planning methods and without access to basic urban infrastructure (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). In 1971, slum communities found beyond the original Block C were once again re-incorporated into the municipal boundaries through the process of annexation. Despite this inclusion, these slum settlements were largely left out of the provision of basic infrastructure and municipal services, which has led to the further deterioration of living conditions<sup>iii</sup>.

Looking at the land-use patterns of Kisumu today, the remnants of previous zoning and extensions of municipal boundaries have influenced the organization of the city. The land-use patterns of the municipality can be grouped into six major categories: The first is the high-class residential area of Milimani, which was the site of the former European residential area while the second is the high-income residential area called Tom Mboya-Kibuye, which was the former site of the Indian residential area. The third area contains the low-income public housing units which were originally provided for civil servants and employees of Kenya Railway, Kenya Power, and Kenya Post. These public housing units are now largely occupied by squatters and ex-employees of the abovementioned businesses who have refused to leave upon termination. This has become quite problematic as rental fees are not being paid<sup>iv</sup>. The fourth category is the residential area of Obunga (also called Kanyakwar) which is a rural settlement that has been annexed by the city, and is now believed to be the densest slum settlement in Kisumu. Category five refers to the peri-urban and informal settlements that have formed the slum-belt around the city, and the final category refers to the 'other' extended-rural boundaries (UN-

HABITAT, 2005b). The first three categories were found originally in Block A and have spread into the original Block B in the last few decades. The last three categories comprise two areas: the original Block C as well as the rural areas that have been annexed by the municipality since 1971<sup>v</sup>.

It is currently estimated that 60 percent of the Kisumu population lives within the latter categories of land use, the residential area of Obunga and the peri-urban and slum settlements (Intermediate Technology Development Group-East Africa, 2004). This number is much higher than the national average of slum residents, which falls under 47 percent (Republic of Kenya, 2002). Within the municipality of Kisumu, it is believed that the total number of slum dwellers is 218,766 (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). The main slum settlements include: Manyatta A, Manyatta B, Nyalanda A, Nyalanda B, Obunga, Bandeni, West Kolwa, and Kaloleni (UN-HABITAT, 2005b).

The two largest variations between the slum settlements within Nairobi and those found within Kisumu relate to differences in land tenure and population density. With regard to land tenure, there are two major types of tenure found within informal settlements: *freehold tenure* which refers to the private ownership of land which is passed through hereditary means, and *leasehold tenure* which enables ownership for a specified number of years or through obliging by certain requirements (Okoth-Ogendo, 1999). A third type of land tenure that is becoming increasingly popular within informal settlements is that of 'shared ownership'. This type of tenure refers to land that is jointly purchased with the

assistance of self-help groups, cooperative societies and/or land buying companies (Okoth-Ogendo, 1999).

Slum settlements in Nairobi are generally under leasehold tenure while those in Kisumu fall under the freehold category. It is argued that upgrading initiatives will be easier to implement in Kisumu under freehold tenure as the element of ownership exists from the very beginning. As such, the programs are projected to be largely sustainable<sup>vi</sup>. It is also worth brief mention that under freehold tenure in Kisumu, those tenants who are renting dwellings from landowners do not normally sign into a lease agreement as contracts are renewed based on 'the willingness to pay rent' (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). This is a problematic method due to the fact that disagreements often arise over the timings of rent payment and length of stay<sup>i</sup>.

As for population density, the informal settlements of Kisumu are not nearly as dense as those found in Nairobi. The population density of Kibera, is quite staggering when one considers that 700,000 people are inhabiting only 250 acres (Chakaya et al., 2005). In contrast, the slum settlements in Kisumu thus have a 'rural' feel to them, which can be largely attributed to both the previous expansions of the municipality, which functioned to incorporate surrounding rural areas into the official city boundaries, as well as the net in-migration of rural residents into the slum settlements.

### **3.5 National and Municipal Policy Frameworks in Slum Interventions**

The colonial heritage of Kenya has resulted in a complex land policy framework which ambiguously combines English land laws and African customary laws (Yahya, 2002). However, in the years post-independence, the policies towards slum interventions can be categorized into three main periods: clearance and public housing development; sites and service schemes; and today's emphasis on physical upgrading, tenure security and housing creation.

The first National Housing Policy of Kenya was created in 1966/67, under Kenyatta's rule, and contained two main themes in regards to intervening with informal settlements. The first was slum clearance, and the second was the provision of low-income urban housing (Nabotula, 2004). Slum clearance, which is interchangeably called eradication, involves displacing slum dwellers and bulldozing entire informal settlements. Slum clearance was largely unsuccessful throughout Africa as it simply led to the proliferation of new slums (UN-HABITAT, 2001).

The second theme was public housing which involved government subsidized units available for rent or for sale to low-income tenants (Obudho, 1997). Public housing development was largely unsuccessful for two main reasons. Firstly, governments were often unable to mobilize enough resources for the construction and subsidizing of public housing, and secondly, the housing units were unaffordable to the very low-income groups target by the programmes in the first place (Matovu, 2000; Obudho, 1997). In Kisumu, the remnants of public housing developments are still visible throughout the



municipality: 130 units were originally constructed for Kenya Railways employees, 1,424 units were originally allocated for civil servants of Municipal Council of Kisumu, while 30 units were created for the Kenya Port Authority<sup>v</sup>. These public housing communities, although in dilapidated conditions and often inhabited by squatters, are still largely able to access urban services and provide housing for a wide variety of residents.

In the 1970s 'sites and service schemes' became popular throughout East Africa, and were strongly advocated by the World Bank (UN-HABITAT, 2001). These schemes were characterized by the "provision of plots of land either on ownership or land-lease tenure, along with the bare minimum of essential infrastructure needed for habitation" (Srinivas, 2006, p.1). Kenya has experienced numerous sites and service schemes, with the first being the Dandora Community Project in Nairobi which took place from 1975-1978 (Obudho, 1997). The Municipality of Kisumu has experienced two site and service schemes: The first was implemented by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the second was implemented conjointly by the Government of Kenya and The World Bank (UN-HABITAT, 2005b).

Site and service schemes have been largely criticized for failing to include the lowest income groups within the allotments, thus failing to improve the situation of the urban poor (Obudho, 1997). These schemes were only partially successful in meeting the demands for shelter and as a result, they often failed to involve target groups in the planning process (UN-HABITAT, 2001). As such, problems associated with this type of intervention included delays in the provision of services, poor cost recovery, and the fact

that the high cost of land often meant the sites were located on urban fringe areas –further marginalizing the urban poor (Srinivas, 2006).

The last main period of policy interventions has occurred in the last two and a half decades, with an emphasis on physical upgrading, tenure security and housing. The physical upgrading of slums has recently gained significance in Kenya as the Government and UN-HABITAT signed a memorandum of understanding to create the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP). Due to the fact that the KENSUP is the guiding policy intervention within the CWS initiative in Kisumu, it will be described in depth in the following section. However, historically, physical upgrading has been quite prevalent in Kisumu in various communities: In colonial times, advocates of upgrading attempted to “turn away from wattle and daub huts with grass roots in favour of corrugated iron roofing” (UN-HABITAT, 2005b. p. 43).

Tenure security, which has gained recent significance with UN-HABITAT’s Campaign for Secure Tenure, is also an essential component of recent national policy in Kenya. It has been noted that tenure security is especially important in Kenya’s urban areas as a declining level of owner-occupancy is found within the urban dwelling units when compared with their rural counterparts: Estimates have demonstrated that within urban areas, 76 percent of the poor and 80 percent of the non-poor *rent* their dwellings, while in rural areas 95 percent of poor and 83.5 percent of non poor *own* their dwellings (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2002). Both the 1997 and 2001 National Housing Policies have highlighted the need for secure tenure and advocate proper planning where shortages are

most acute and poverty is most severe. Such initiatives will increase tenure security for those living within informal settlements (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2002).

The last component of policy interventions in recent years is that of housing creation in urban areas. When examining the location of Kenya's 10.4 million dwelling units, most are located within the rural areas. In fact, as of 1999, 81.5 percent of all dwelling units are believed to be located within rural areas, leaving less than 20 percent of the housing stock in designated urban centres (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2002). It is also important to note that within the urban areas, an estimated 59 percent of households live in single-roomed dwelling units which are overcrowded and congested (Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2005). In the municipality of Kisumu, overcrowdedness is also a factor as 50.9 percent of dwellings are one room units, while 24.4 percent are two rooms and 14 percent are three roomed-units (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2002).

In order to address the acute housing shortage prevalent in urban areas, the Ministry of Lands and Housing has proposed, through the National Housing Policy of 2004, the building of 150,000 new dwelling units per year from 2004-2009 (Ministry of Lands and Housing, 2004). However, this goal has not yet been reached within its first years of implementation. Rather, it is estimated that only 20-30,000 units are produced annually, equaling a shortfall of at least 120 000 units per year (Kusienya, 2004). A secondary goal of the Ministry is to *improve the quality* of 300,000 more units per year (Ministry of Lands and Housing, 2004). The Government of Kenya views adequate shelter as a vitally

important factor in improving the lives of slum dwellers as it can lead to employment generation, wealth creation and contributions to health improvements (Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2005). The Government of Kenya defines adequate shelter as encompassing “houses and the related facilities as well as supportive and facilitative infrastructure and services all developed within sustainable living environments” (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2002, p.1).

Apart from the focus on physical upgrading, tenure security and housing creation, the current era of policy interventions has also witnessed an emphasis on the *inclusion* of low-income residents into the urban development process (Cities Without Slums, 2003). An emphasis within national policies has been placed on income-generating activities and micro-financing in recent years in order to combat poverty and improve the livelihoods of the urban poor. The involvement of non-state actors in the provision of physical upgrading has also been emphasized and will be further examined in the following section which discusses the Kenya Slum Upgrading Program (KENSUP).

### ***3.5.1 Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP)***

In January of 2003, the Government of Kenya and UN-HABITAT signed a Memorandum of Understanding to launch the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP). The main objective of this programme is to “improve the livelihoods of people living and working in slums and informal settlements in the urban areas of Kenya” (Cities Without Slums, 2004, p. 2). The KENSUP was officially launched nationally by

President Kibaki on October 4<sup>th</sup> 2004 to commemorate World Habitat Day. KENSUP

has been recognized as the

demonstration of the Government's commitment to the Habitat Agenda and the Millennium Goal of improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020, as set out in the Cities Without Slums initiative and the Declaration on Cities and other Human Settlements in the New Millennium (UN-HABITAT, 2005b, p.9).

Specific goals of the KENSUP include increasing the security of land tenure for the urban poor, supporting urban livelihoods through income-generating activities, and improving upon basic social and physical urban infrastructure (Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2005; UN-HABITAT, 2003b). Another important goal of this programme is to address the prevalence of HIV/AIDS among residents of informal settlements through such initiatives as building support centers for AIDS orphans, creating counseling and testing centers as well as specialized treatment centers within the slum settlements (Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2005). There are currently 650 000 AIDS orphans in Kenya (UNAIDS and WHO, 2005). AIDS orphans are defined as children or youth who have lost a mother, a father, or both parents to the disease (Casey, 2002).

Policy reform is also a large component of the KENSUP initiative and will be achieved through changes and improvements to land policies, housing policies, informal labour policies, urban mobility policies, and local government reform policies (UN-HABITAT, 2003b). Specifically, KENSUP aims to “address the inappropriate policies that contribute to the informal settlements and worsening of living conditions in slum areas” (Kusienya, 2004, p. 8).

The driving forces behind KENSUP are capacity building and participation by key stakeholders. Identified stakeholders within the initiative include the following:

- Residents of the informal settlements and their organizations
- Local authorities (ie. municipal governments)
- Central government agencies (i.e. Ministry of Planning and National Development)
- NGOs
- Professional associations
- Formal private sector
- International development co-operation agencies

(Nabutola, 2005)

Capacity building will be achieved through on the job training and exposure to innovative urban planning techniques at both the central and local government levels as well as at the community level (Nabutola, 2005). One such example is the construction of a Geographic Information Systems (GIS) laboratory within the planning department that has enabled workers to access and create maps of Kisumu including the informal settlements within the slum belt<sup>iii</sup>. As for participation, the overall project is attempting to obtain the involvement of all key stakeholders from the inception phase through to the implementation phase by holding consultative meetings and the formation of a Multi-Stakeholder Support Group (UN-HABITAT, 2005b).

Financial resources for the slum upgrading initiative will be drawn from a variety of sources. The Government of Kenya has established the Slum Upgrading and Low-Cost Housing and Infrastructure Development Fund within the national budget to house any funds generated for the KENSUP initiative (Kusienya, 2004). In the 2004-2005 fiscal year, the Government of Kenya allocated a seed capital of 300 million KES (\$3,750,000 USD) towards this fund (Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2005).

Individuals and households will also be encouraged to save and secure funds with the assistance of cooperative societies, the banking systems and insurance companies (Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2005). The Government of Kenya will also be seeking financial assistance from International Finance Institutions (IFIs). The Slum Upgrading Facility has been mandated to mobilize financing from IFIs towards the aforementioned Slum Upgrading and Low-Cost Housing and Infrastructure Fund (Slum Upgrading Facility, 2005; Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2005). Multilateral agencies that have recently expressed financial support towards this facility include the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) and the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) (UN-HABITAT, 2005b).

The three pilot cities that have been chosen for the initial project are Nairobi, Kisumu, and Mavoko, which is located twenty kilometers from Nairobi. If these pilot programmes are successful, it is the hope that similar initiatives will eventually be replicated in other urban areas across Kenya (UN-HABITAT, 2003b). The Kisumu component of KENSUP falls under the City Without Slums (CWS) initiative: The objective of this initiative is to "improve the livelihoods of people living and working in informal settlements by promoting and facilitating the provision of security of tenure, housing improvement, income generation and physical and social infrastructure, including the problem of addressing HIV/AIDS" (UN-HABITAT, 2003b). Other cities within Eastern and Southern Africa that have been selected for the CWS initiative include: Addis Ababa (Ehtiopia), Ndola (Zambia), Maputo (Mozambique), Durban

(South Africa), Maseru (Lesotho), Lilongwe (Malawi), Arusha (Tanzania), and Kampala (Uganda) (UN-HABITAT, 2005b).

### **3.5.1.1 Institutional Framework**

The institutional framework for the CWS initiative in Kisumu involves the following ensemble: a Multi-Stakeholder Support Group, a Programme Implementation Unit, the Site Project Implementation Units, Programme Support Unit and the Inter-Agency Support Committee. The following table outlines the key members of each unit as well as the major activities each unit is responsible for:

<b><u>Unit</u></b>	<b><u>Key members</u></b>	<b><u>Activities</u></b>
<b>Multi-Stakeholder Support Group (MSSG)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kisumu City Council</li> <li>• KENSUP and the GoK,</li> <li>• CSOs,</li> <li>• Slum Settlement Neighbourhood Associations,</li> <li>• Programme Secretariat</li> <li>• Business community</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policy direction</li> <li>• Guidance to the PIU</li> <li>• Ensure effective use of resources</li> <li>• Promotion of good governance</li> </ul>
<b>Programme Implementation Unit (PIU)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Heads of Municipal Council Departments</li> <li>• Representatives from three relevant government organizations and</li> <li>• Representatives from three CSOs actively involved in slum settlements</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Form a Programme Secretariat made up of representatives from relevant GoK ministries, a CSO representative who is also a member of the MSSG</li> <li>• Implement specific slum upgrade activities</li> </ul>
<b>Site Project Implementation Unit (SPIU)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Each slum settlement would have their own SPIU with own organizational structure and governance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maintain linkages between all on-going activities within each specific slum settlement</li> </ul>
<b>Programme Support Unit (PSU)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All those with expertise needed to carry out implementation</li> <li>• Serves under the Programme Secretariat</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Carry out activities as deemed necessary by the MSSG</li> </ul>



<b>Inter-Agency Support Committee (ISAC)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant Government Ministries</li> <li>• KENSUP</li> <li>• Multi-lateral and bilateral donors</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lends support to various bodies as needed</li> </ul>
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Data from UN-Habitat, 2005b

The Municipal Council of Kisumu plays a key role in the slum upgrading initiative as the main coordinating body as well as the physical meeting place for key members<sup>vii</sup>.

### ***3.5.1.2 The Phases of the CWS Initiative***

There are four consecutive phases of the CWS initiative which include: the Inception Phase, the Preparatory Phase, the Implementation Phase, and the Replication Phase.

Within the Kisumu project, the inception phase began in June 2004 with the mobilization of resources and the initial sensitization and involvement of key stakeholders. The following main activities have been conducted thus far:

1. Formation of Steering Committee: Represents the views of the key stakeholder groups
2. Establishment of Slum Upgrading Secretariat: Located within the municipal council of Kisumu
3. Production of a Situational Analysis: Published in 2005, the analysis outlines the basic information for the eight informal settlements in Kisumu
4. Action plan: Each informal settlement has created an action plan outlining their priorities, challenges, time frames, and cost estimations
5. Capacity building: A GIS laboratory has been built, enabling municipal staff to gain access to, as well as create, social and physical maps of the informal settlements

(UN-HABITAT, 2005b).

Currently, the Kisumu initiative is described as being ‘in-between the preparatory phase and the implementation phase’<sup>vii</sup>. The preparatory phase up to date has involved the initiation of new saving schemes for slum residents as well as an enumeration of all slum dwellers within the informal settlements in Kisumu, with the assistance of the newly-installed GIS equipment in the municipal office. This phase has also focused on securing

financial resources for the project: The Government of Kenya, through KENSUP has allocated \$400,000 USD for the priority areas of the project, and the French Agency for Development (AFD) has contributed a soft loan of 20 million Euros to support water and sanitation projects within the slum settlements. Future funding is being sought through Cities Alliance. Further activities that have yet to be carried out within the preparatory phase include the cost estimates for the implementation phase of the initiative (UN-HABITAT, 2005b).

The implementation phase, which is slated to begin at the start of 2006 will involve a variety of activities largely revolving around the physical upgrade of the slums. Such activities will include: the construction of roads, drainage systems, community information centers, and water and sanitation facilities; improvements to schools and health centers; the introduction of low-cost housing materials; the promotion of secure tenure; and the promotion of income generating activities and micro-finance initiatives (UN-HABITAT, 2005b).

The final phase of the project is the replication phase in which the successful aspects of the project will be simulated in other slum settlements throughout Kenya and the rest of the developing world.

#### ***3.5.1.3 Partnerships with Stakeholders***

A key aspect of the CWS initiative in Kisumu is the involvement of a variety of stakeholders as was outlined in the aforementioned institutional framework. Due to the

fact that a great deal of attention has already been placed on the involvement of the municipal council, UN-HABITAT, and the central government in the initiative, this section will solely outline the involvement of slum dwellers, the private sector, CBOs, and NGOs.

The involvement of slum dwellers within the process has been widely seen as innovative and participatory. The main instruments of involvement for the slum dwellers rest in the Settlement Executive Committees, which have been formed locally in each settlement, and the Kisumu Slum Dwellers Association (KSDA)<sup>viii</sup>. The KSDA was formed in 2002 and is a registered CBO with the Ministry of Culture and Social Services. The KSDA functions as a consortium for registered self-help groups in the slums and works closely with youth groups, women's groups, faith-based organizations and welfare groups. In total, there are 52 registered groups<sup>5</sup>. The objective of the KSDA is to bring slum dwellers together to form a voice, as "speaking as a team is more powerful than going individually"<sup>i</sup>. The KSDA has become involved in the CWS in the following capacity: as both a meeting place for slum dwellers to voice concerns on the ongoing project as well as an educator on the ongoing phases of the project<sup>i</sup>.

The formation of partnerships with NGOs is also seen as a vital process in the slum upgrading initiative. At the time of writing, there were six major NGOs working in the slum settlements, and perhaps the most visible of these NGOs is Sustainable Aid of

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<sup>5</sup> One example of a registered group is the Kisumu Waste Recyclers Association (KWRA). The KWRA works within the slum settlements to reduce the presence of garbage by re-using and selling materials collected. The KWRA prides itself on earning livelihoods while at the same time, improving the living conditions within their communities.

Africa (SANA). SANA was established in 2000 in response to the withdrawal of the central government in the provision of urban service delivery. SANA has played a key role in filling the gap as it performs water and sanitation projects within the informal settlements –a key area which is neglected by the municipality<sup>iii</sup>. SANA has a unique working relationship with the municipality as they often include municipal workers as part of their field staff: SANA normally performs field work in teams when collecting data or evaluating projects and as such, often involves civil servants, such as Public Health Inspectors to assist in the validation of data. Community social workers are also highly involved with the data collecting processes<sup>ix</sup>. SANA mainly works in the communities of Manyatta A, Manyatta B and Obunga, constructing, with community involvement, public toilets, community-owned water kiosks and boreholes. SANA has been involved with the CWS initiative as members of the Multi-Stakeholder Support Group and the Programme Implementation Unit<sup>ix</sup>.

The private sector has become quite involved within the Kisumu project. Perhaps the most influential business is that of the Kisumu Water and Sewerage Company (KIWASCO). KIWASCO began operating under the municipality of Kisumu when the Water Act of 2002 relegated the services of water and sanitation, which was previously under the Department of Water and Sewerage, to the private sector. KIWASCO maintains a good working relationship with the municipality, and is currently able to provide service to fifty percent of the municipal area. KIWASCO will play a key role in the upgrading of the informal settlements of Kisumu as they have recently secured donor funding from the French government to rehabilitate the existing water and sewerage

network in the municipality. This project will occur in two installments: Phase I will begin in March 2006 and will focus on fixing the existing network; Phase II will begin in four years and will function to expand the existing network to areas that have never previously been serviced. Phase II is of special importance as it will function to include the informal settlements within the formal delivery of urban services for the first time<sup>x</sup>.

All of the foregoing stakeholders have been involved in various capacities during the first two phases of the upgrading scheme and will continue to play a key role in the implementation phase. Such participation is key for the success of the project.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

Being recognized as the world's first Millennium City has put added pressure on the Municipal Council of Kisumu to achieve the Millennium Development Goals as outlined in the United Nations Millennium Project. Situated on the verge of beginning its implementation phase, the Cities Without Slums initiative in Kisumu is well on its way towards the significant improvement of the lives of slum dwellers within the municipal boundaries. The efficiency of the programme throughout the implementation stage will be vital in achieving the slum target.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **IDENTIFYING THE OBSTACLES TO SLUM UPGRADING AND THE PERSPECTIVES OF KEY STAKEHOLDERS**

The slum upgrading initiative in Kisumu involves key stakeholders in every phase from inception all the way through to replication. Due to the fact that there are so many actors involved, the goal of the field research was to determine the obstacles that have arisen thus far in the initiative from the viewpoint of the stakeholders. This Chapter will therefore highlight the obstacles and challenges that were described by key stakeholders through these research processes as well as any evident obstacles witnessed during the field visits to slum communities. This Chapter will also serve to examine the ability of the slum upgrading initiative to act as an aspect of urban poverty alleviation, as well as ascertain the perspectives of both slum dwellers and local authorities on the potential achievement of the Millennium Development Goal, Target 11. Before delving into these specific challenges, the first section of this Chapter will analyze the situation of urbanization within the Kisumu context as compared to the definitions and connotations which were outlined in the literature review.

#### **4.1 Urbanization in Kisumu**

The UNFPA has projected a total increase to the world's urban population from 49 percent in 2003 to over 60 percent in 2030 (UNFPA, 2004). In a similar fashion to the rest of the world, the municipality of Kisumu is experiencing increasing rates of urbanization resulting from both rural-urban migration and the practice of annexation. As a result of these processes, the urban population of Kisumu has expanded significantly

in recent years from 345,000 in 1999 to an estimated 500,000 in 2005 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999; UN-HABITAT, 2005b). This sudden increase is in line with Kasarda and Crenshaw's (1991) prediction of the 'Third World Explosion' in which the urban centers of the developing world will expand incrementally at an unprecedented rate due to the combination of expanding population bases and rural-urban migration.

The municipality of Kisumu is also experiencing the effects of the urbanization of poverty in a fashion similar to other expanding urban centers within the continent. The urbanization of poverty, defined by Tibaijuka (2001) as the increased concentrations of poverty within large-scale and medium sized districts, is clearly evident in Kisumu: Poverty has appeared within the informal settlements surrounding the CBD, as a 'slum belt'<sup>iii</sup>. The residents living within the slum belt in Kisumu, like slum dwellers throughout the world, do not have access to basic urban services and sanitation infrastructure. The slum dwellers of Kisumu have also faced a great deal of difficulty in obtaining steady employment within the CBD, and as a result, have been forced to subsidize on income generated from informal sector activities<sup>xi</sup>.

As was mentioned in the literature review, a distinction between the rural and urban sectors of society exists in the form of a rural-urban dichotomy. This distinction between urban and rural communities is evident "in terms of population density, continuous built up areas and the economic and political functions carried out in those areas" (Hugo et. Al., 2001, p. 3). However, Satterthwaite and Tacoli (2002) have alluded to the increasing acknowledgement by researchers of the urban-rural continuum, which promotes the

linkages between the urban and rural area, instead of focusing of the attributes which divide the two sectors.

The urban context in Kisumu is clearly representative of the rural-urban continuum as the surrounding rural areas have become a part of the urban fabric through the process of annexation in 1971. The municipality of Kisumu has clearly incorporated the rural areas, which have now formed the slum belt around the CBD, housing sixty percent of the overall population (Intermediate Technology Development Group-East Africa, 2004). However, it is clear that the municipality has only incorporated these rural settlements as a formality: present urban policies and programs are not reaching the informal settlements as they lack access to basic urban services, such as water and sanitation facilities, adequate road infrastructure, and solid waste management, which are visibly present within the more ‘urban’ part of the city<sup>ii</sup>. Such obstacles, as the literature suggests, plague most urban areas within the developing world as slum settlements have come to represent the ills of urbanization (Yeung & Belisle, 1986).

#### **4.2 Obstacles within the Policy Framework**

Many challenges currently exist in the urban policy framework, both in a national and local sense. Nationally speaking, policies relating to urban planning stem from many different departments which makes the entire slum upgrading process very complex and confusing. For example, it has been noted that “[t]he existing pieces of legislation that regulate the housing sector are administered by different arms of the government, making it difficult to effectively coordinate and regulate the building sector” (Ministry of Finance



and Planning, 2002, p.1). The Government Acts which serve to regulate human settlements in Kenya include: The Physical Planning Act, The Building Code Act, The Public Health Act, The National Housing Policy, and The Local Government Act (CAP 265) which enables local authorities to administer their jurisdiction through the legal power of by-laws (Kwach, 2002). These Acts range in date from 1968 to 2005, and some, such as the Building Code Act of 1968, appear to be outdated, ineffectual and unable to deal with increasing rates of urbanization<sup>iv</sup>. Kenya is clearly not alone with these problems: Ineffectual and outdated policies are surfacing as problems in urban management throughout the developing world. As Yeung and Belisle (1986) have highlighted, urban management in developing countries, with regard to the process of growth and urbanization, is antiquated resulting in issues of inadequate infrastructure, poor service supply, and the shortage of housing.

A second challenge at the national level of policy framework is the clear lack of enforcement of both The Building Code and The Public Health Act which has led to the further deterioration of housing units nationwide (Ministry of Finance and Planning, 2002). The lack of enforcement is evident when walking through the slum settlement of Kibera in Nairobi: Dwelling units have been continually built alongside railway tracks, beneath overhead power lines, and in the midst of waterways, contaminating drinking water with human waste and garbage<sup>xii</sup>. Although these units were constructed with minimal interference from the governing authorities, many of these dwelling units have recently been spray-painted with a red 'X', slating them for demolition by the power companies and local building inspectors: If the threat of demolition is followed through,

approximately 60,000 to 70,000 residents will be misplaced for inhabiting unsafe living environments<sup>vii</sup>. A clear challenge resides in the inability of the authorities to enforce legal acts, as a result of inaccessible communities or lack of awareness, which in turn, forces the system to deal with the problems in a retrospective manner. This issue has become very problematic as the Government of Kenya is attempting to advocate slum upgrading through the KENSUP initiative and not demolition (as was the case in the clearance and redevelopment schemes which were largely unsuccessful) (Republic of Kenya, 2002).

In examining policies at the local level, a number of obstacles are apparent. The first obstacle deals with the Local Authorities Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP), which has placed the onus of responsibility on the local authorities to plan and control development of land use within their municipal boundaries (Republic of Kenya, 2002). While the involvement of local authorities is generally deemed to be a positive step towards increasing transparency and reducing corruption within the Kenyan government, the local authorities are not necessarily *capable* of adequate performance at this point in time. The weakness of the municipality stems from numerous problems such as the lack of fiscal resources, professionally trained and motivated staff, as well as the loss of staff to health matters, including Malaria and HIV/AIDS. Such hindrances were recently highlighted in the Kisumu City Consultation:

Today the financial position of [the Kisumu Municipal Council] is too weak to enable it to extend services such as water and sewerage to peri-urban settlements. Most of the departments are characterized by vacant positions at senior and middle levels with the result that the few senior staff have to do the work of a number of posts, thus limiting their effectiveness (Intermediate Technology Development Group-East Africa, 2004, p. 1).

The impediments faced by the municipality are affecting the CWS initiative as departments have become confused over the roles they are supposed to fill within the institutional framework as well as confused over which responsibilities have been delegated to whom. As a result, in-fighting within the council has occurred, especially over *where* to place the central coordinating authority of the KENSUP initiative<sup>iii</sup>. The change in influence from the central government to the local authority will require an adjustment at all levels in order to adequately supply the necessary services during the upcoming implementation phase of the project. As such, partnerships and integration between all levels of government must be encouraged to reduce the negative impacts of decentralization, which is occurring throughout sub-Saharan Africa and not just within Kenya (African NGO Habitat II Caucus, 1996).

A second obstacle evident at the municipal level in relation to policy frameworks revolves around the issue of enforcement. As is the case in Nairobi, the enforcement procedure in Kisumu is a very convoluted process resulting in distorted methods of development planning. For example, the Town Planning Department has the jurisdiction to both plan and approve infrastructure development and housing creation, but enforcement of laws are performed by a separate department<sup>iii</sup>. As a result, many new migrants who move into the slum settlements are able to build their own dwelling units without adhering to city bylaws or formal planning procedures as enforcement is slack. Consequentially, the future outlook in regards to infrastructure improvement is bleak: Not only are dwelling units blocking access to the building of new roads, but they have

also been created without care for safety standards, therefore presenting construction workers with additional hazards in the work site<sup>xiii</sup>.

The municipality of Kisumu is not the only developing city to experience such problems within the policy framework. Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1993) seconded these tribulations, accrediting the problems of urbanization in developing countries not just to rapid growth, but also to “growth within the context of a legal and institutional structure unable to cope with the needs of the population and the tasks of providing and running city services” (p. 159). Urban centres within developing countries face similar problems to those evident within the Kisumu context, and can consequently be expected to confront similar obstacles when implementing future slum upgrading projects.

A third challenge in relation to policy frameworks is evident as Kisumu lacks updated municipal bylaws, especially relating to urban planning procedures and shelter development (UN-HABITAT, Kisumu City Council, & Sida, 2004). It is shocking to see that the most recent set of bylaws stem from the pre-independence era as they were published in 1954. These regulations are completely inadequate as the population base and overall city structure of Kisumu have drastically changed throughout the last fifty years as a result of increasing rates of urbanization and annexation. While the 1954 bylaws do highlight overcrowding as a noteworthy issue, these bylaws were written at a time when the major slum settlements were not yet part of the municipal framework (Kisumu City Bylaws, 1954). Until new bylaws are created, the municipality will

continue to experience difficulties dealing with informal settlements, urbanization, and land development issues.

The city bylaws also do not adequately address the problems of solid waste management, which is an issue harming both the CBD as well as the slum settlements. Kisumu currently has no official city dump-site to house collected solid waste due to the fact that a private retail company has purchased the land previously utilized for this function (Gulf E, M, and A Consultants, 2004). Garbage therefore litters all streets and residential neighbourhoods, not only causing harm to drainage and sewer systems and the welfare of Lake Victoria, but also to the health of municipal residents. However, at the time the field research was conducted for this thesis, in the fall of 2005, the Department of Environment was in the process of developing specific environmental bylaws, which would address such aspects of solid waste management and appropriate household garbage disposal<sup>viii</sup>. Such bylaws will improve the cleanliness of the city and reduce diseases related to improper sanitation methods. These bylaws, if well enforced, will definitely serve to improve the lives of all urban dwellers, not just the residents of slum settlements.

#### **4.3 Obstacles of Stakeholder Participation**

As mentioned in Chapter 3, one of the most important aspects of the CWS initiative in Kisumu is the involvement of key stakeholders. The term stakeholders refers to “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization’s objective” (Freeman, 1984, p. 46). Such stakeholders within the CWS initiative range

from slum dwellers and their associations, to the private sector, to CBOs and NGOs, to varying levels of government and to international donor agencies. These stakeholders are involved within the institutional framework in varying capacities as members of the Multi-Stakeholder Support Group, the Programme Implementation Unit, the Site Project Implementation Unit, the Programme Support Unit, and/or the Inter-Agency Support Committee (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). Conversely, involving such a large number of interest groups has resulted in numerous obstacles which comprise of time losses, confusion over specific roles and responsibilities, and over-utilizing the resources of the slum dwellers.

One of the largest obstacles with the integrated approach to slum upgrading is the fact that it takes a great deal of *time* to complete even the smallest task due to the fact that consensus must often be reached among stakeholders<sup>xiv</sup>. As an outcome of such consensus-reaching, both local authorities and slum dwellers have become very frustrated with the CWS initiative in Kisumu: although many reports and analyses have been completed, they have yet to see any actual physical upgrading take place<sup>xiv</sup>. Interviewees spoke of the difficulties they have in comprehending why it is so important for stakeholders to write reports on their living conditions when they are in dire need of improvements to their living conditions<sup>xi</sup>. In the coming months this obstacle may be overcome as the implementation phase is set into motion. This phase will include such upgrades as the construction of roads, community information centres, and water, drainage and sanitation facilities, is slated to begin this spring.

Also adding to the delays is the involvement of the central government, which inevitably results in lost time due to government procedures and lengthy bureaucratic methods. For example, in the days post-referendum, the entire parliament, including ministers working with the slum upgrading initiative, were ‘dismissed’ by President Kibaki (BBC, 2005). Such political obstructions not only affect the funding of development projects, but also the speed of the projects as organizations and donors must wait for approval from the relevant ministers and government departments in order to proceed with specific tasks<sup>ix</sup>.

A second obstacle relating to the involvement of a variety of stakeholders is the resulting confusion over roles, which was briefly discussed in the above section. Speaking with members of the municipal council, it became evident that departments are very unsure of their specific responsibilities within the initiative, not only during the first two phases of the project, but also with the upcoming implementation phase. Of all interviews conducted with the local authorities, only one interviewee could adequately outline the institutional framework of the initiative, and where his specific role fit in. Others expressed much frustration over the blurring of roles and the resulting in-fighting within the municipal council. The necessary level of integration between departments has become absent and as a result, responsibilities and roles have become skewed as they pass through the communication channels, adding to confusion and misconceptions.

The last obstacle with regard to stakeholder participation deals with the involvement of the slum dwellers themselves. The participation of slum residents within the initiative is largely seen as a positive method and the slum dwellers appear to be very excited at being

involved in the process<sup>xv</sup>. However, many of the residents have pointed out during interviews that they are on the verge of becoming 'over-utilized' as a result of donor fatigue. Kisumu is the locale for a multiplicity of international development projects other than the CWS initiative, which include the Sustainable Cities Programme, Lake Victoria Region Water and Sanitation Initiative, Kisumu Sustainable Urban Mobility Project and the Regional Urban Sector Profile Study. Because there are so many initiatives occurring in Kisumu, residents have expressed concern that they are losing their most precious resource, their time, during the first few phases of the CWS project. Although the slum dwellers have been encouraged by the fact that many donors and NGOs have an interest in their communities, their ongoing involvement is becoming very taxing and residents are becoming fatigued by too many actors. Slum dwellers spoke of how data collectors enter into their community on a daily basis asking very similar questions, which has been a very time consuming and frustration process<sup>xv</sup>. This seems to be a common problem within participatory planning procedures as is argued by Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1993):

It is ironic that the poor, with the lowest incomes and often the least free time, are asked to contribute labor to the installation and maintenance of infrastructure and services; meanwhile, richer households the recipients of far better-quality infrastructure and services (often at below market cost), have no demands on their time to help install and maintain them (p. 153).

Many slum dwellers in Kisumu suggested it would be a much better idea to have organizations collaborate data instead of misusing the time of the residents. One slum dweller in particular outlined the possibility of assembling field trips for organizations: Organizations, although working on different *projects*, could assemble groups composed of those working on similar *themes*, such as water and sanitation or HIV/AIDS, and enter



the community *together* to collect data during one specified period. This would serve to reduce the time slum dwellers spend answering similar questions, but would still enable them to participate fully in projects occurring within their communities and affecting their lives<sup>xv</sup>.

#### **4.4 Obstacles in Accessing Slum Settlements**

The implementation phase of the upgrade programme will include the physical construction of water and sanitation facilities (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). Many local residents have expressed concern over this phase as they are worried the specific circumstances of each slum settlement will not be taken into consideration prior to construction. Residents of Obunga are particularly worried about being displaced as a result of the infrastructure improvements during the implementation phase<sup>xi</sup>. The settlement of Obunga currently has no piped water, and dwellers make use of wells to obtain enough water for washing, drinking, and cooking. Residents often become sick due to the contamination of the water supply which results from the density of the slum as the houses, wells, and toilets are all overlapping due to lack of sufficient space: Legally, toilets are supposed to be constructed 30 meters from wells but this rarely occurs in practice<sup>xv</sup>. However, instead of worrying about the effects of contamination, residents have expressed more concern over the fact that they might be re-located in order to ensure adequate space for the construction of new sanitation facilities which will adhere to the specified legal standards. Thus, the slum dwellers in Obunga have mixed feelings over the new construction: they would like to see improved facilities within their

community, but at the same time, they do not want to be displaced in order for the process to take place<sup>xvi</sup>.

A few residents in the communities of Manyatta A and Manyatta B have also expressed concern over the installment of new water and sanitation facilities. Many homeowners in this area have created their own businesses by paying for the installment of water piping and taps to their individual dwelling units, and subsequently, selling water for profit to other residents in the community<sup>i</sup>. The water vendors charge clients 2-3 KES per 20 litres of water (3 cents USD), if it is picked up at their kiosk, or up to 6 KES per 20 litres (6 cents USD), if water is hand-delivered to residents. In turn, the vendors pay a monthly fee to KIWASCO which is monitored by the meter system<sup>6ix</sup>. Such vendors are anticipating a loss of income as a result of the physical upgrades to water and sanitation facilities as it will reduce the need for residents to purchase water from their kiosks. As a result of this loss of income, these business owners are worried they will not only become unemployed, but will be unable to provide for their immediate and extended families<sup>i</sup>. The last obstacle in regards to accessing slum settlements revolves around the lack of adequate roadways that would enable service vehicles and necessary construction equipment to be brought into the communities. Almost all of the roads within the informal settlements are unpaved and are very narrow which will make transportation a nightmare, especially during the rainy season<sup>iv</sup>. Also problematic is the fact that the absence of formal planning has enabled dwelling units to be constructed at random,

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<sup>6</sup> This system of water kiosks is very difficult to monitor: Many residents have been caught by-passing the municipal meters in order to reduce their costs and increase profits. KIWASCO continually attempts to monitor such situations and believes the corruption will diminish once they have improved their monitoring and recording methods with their upcoming infrastructure improvements which were outline in Chapter III (Interview with KIWASCO, November 2005).

blocking the potential for road improvements. Many inhabitants have thus expressed concern that they will lose their property and/or dwelling unit in order to make room for construction vehicles and improved roadways during the implementation phase<sup>xv</sup>.

Despite the concerns of the slum dwellers, the Final Situational Analysis, which was produced by UN-HABITAT after full consultations with slum settlement executive committees, promotes the aspect of minimal disturbance to the daily lives of slum dwellers within the implementation phase (2005b). This connotation is directly in line with the World Bank's perception of upgrading projects as was made evident in Chapter 2: Slum upgrading programmes are theoretically understood to be capable of rejuvenating the existing community with the least amount of disruption to living conditions, which includes the prevention of loss to any physical and/or social assets (The World Bank, 2000). As such, perhaps the obstacle rests in the lack of information dissemination to slum residents, and not in the actual implementation of the project.

#### **4.5 Misconceptions of Slum Upgrading**

Throughout the field research and the interviewing processes, it became quite evident that many slum dwellers have misconceived notions as to what actually constitutes 'slum upgrading'. One of the largest misconceptions surrounding the CWS initiative is that many slum dwellers believe the implementation of the upgrade project will include both housing creation as well as improvements to specific dwelling units within the slums<sup>xv</sup>. However, the actual physical upgrades which will take place in the implementation phase have nothing to do with individual housing creation, construction, or renovations of the

*actual* dwelling unit, but rather, focus on upgrading the environment *surrounding* the dwelling units (UN-HABITAT, 2005b)<sup>7</sup>.

A result of this misconception is that slum residents view the CWS initiative as a potential *financial opportunity*. They believe that with the housing creations and improvements to housing structures, homeowners will be able to rent out additional rooms to tenants. Because their houses will be improved upon, they will be able to charge a much higher rate of rent, which will in turn, improve their livelihoods and sustain their extended families<sup>xv</sup>. This is a largely falsified assumption as although the implementation phase includes plans of incorporating the introduction of low-cost housing materials, no actual construction to dwelling units will take place. This misconception needs to be cleared up with the residents of slums in order to allow for the smooth implementation of the physical upgrades.

However, even there are no housing creation initiatives to be implemented within the actual CWS initiative, slum residents will be able to access credit or home construction through local organizations<sup>i</sup>. As we mentioned in the literature review, optional loans, such as micro-credit loaning, are often made available for home improvements during slum upgrading projects (The World Bank, 2000). Within Kisumu, this framework is clearly in place with the presence of the Pamoja Trust. This society functions to supply residents with micro-credit loans for housing construction and home improvements<sup>i</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> As mentioned in the case study, the physical upgrades that will occur during the implementation phase include water and sanitation facilities, improvements to drainage facilities and health facilities, and the construction of community information centres.

Arrangements such as this will definitely compliment the CWS initiative and succeed in alleviating the need for adequate housing structures within the slum settlements.

#### **4.6 Obstacles of Sustainability**

The CWS initiative in Kisumu is attempting to transform the lives of the slum inhabitants and improve the living conditions within the municipal boundaries of Kisumu. However, a few stakeholders have questioned whether or not the initiative will be sustainable in the long-term, which would not only fail to progress living standards, but would also negatively effect the replication phase of the project. Such reservations have been attributed to land-ownership and tenure issues, financial challenges and the overall lack of cooperation among stakeholders.

With regard to land-ownership and tenure issues, the situation in Kisumu is often seen optimistically as most households have freehold tenure which means they officially own the land, and will pass this ownership to their descendents through inheritance<sup>iii</sup>. It is argued that because slum dwellers have every interest in sustaining their land and dwelling units for future generations of their family, they will participate fully within the slum upgrading initiative (Ministry of Lands and Housing, November 2005). However, it has also been argued that people who possess freehold tenure are not always willing to utilize their land for upgrading purposes<sup>iii</sup>. If this becomes the case in Kisumu, it could be quite problematic as the municipality does not have jurisdiction over the lands or dwelling units. This clearly distinguishes the municipality from Nairobi, where tenureship is leasehold, meaning the settlement lands are government-owned and

operated (Kironde, 1995). The municipal and central governments will thus be able to take control of any land negotiations and infrastructure developments in Nairobi's slums if problems arise during the KENSUP.

Women's groups have also pointed to a gender disparity within the societal structure that may harm the potential sustainability of the programme in regards to land ownership<sup>xv</sup>. Women in many developing countries have been historically impeded by both cultural and legal obstacles which prevent them from obtaining ownership of land (Wegelin & Borgman, 1995). In the case of Kenya, women are legally barred from obtaining secure tenure, whether leasehold or freehold. Kenyan women "rarely have ownership rights to land and hence are not eligible for credit, cooperative membership, or other benefits made possible by land ownership" (Thomas-Slayter & Rocheleau, 1995, p. 8). This lack of ownership is an obstacle for the future sustainability of the project as over half of the population of slum residents, while residing in improved settlements, will not be able to obtain legal ownership of their dwelling unit and may, as a result, be excluded from the aforementioned loaning schemes<sup>iii</sup>.

Financially, the CWS initiative is running into a few obstacles which may affect the long-term sustainability of the project. The financial resources for the entire KENSUP project are hailing from numerous sources, including IFIs and private sector support (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). However, the largest source of funding is stemming from the Kenyan government itself as the SUF is attempting to promote the idea of utilizing *domestic capital* for the project. However, the idea of using national funds is a relatively

new model in development programmes and members of the SUF are having difficulties in promoting this concept to the government. Despite these financial set-backs, progress has clearly been made with the creation of the Low-Cost Housing and Infrastructure Development Fund within the National Budget of Kenya, as was described in Chapter 3<sup>xvi</sup>

Also contributing to the financial obstacles is the presence of an unstable political atmosphere. The referendum, which resulted in the defeat of Kibaki's proposed constitution and the consequential dismissal of parliament and cabinet ministers, has slowed the disbursement of government funds to the KENSUP project (BBC, 2005). Municipal authorities expressed a great deal of frustration over this delay in funds as they are very eager to continue with the initiative in Kisumu<sup>iii</sup>. Despite these financial difficulties, it should be reminded that the literature points to upgrading as a viable financial alternative for governments: The previously attempted clearance and re-development schemes, which were outlined in Chapter 2, cost governments up to ten times as much as these slum upgrading programs (The World Bank, 2000).

The last obstacle of sustainability arises from the lack of communication and cooperation among stakeholders involved with the project. As mentioned previously, the stakeholders involved with the slum upgrading initiative include individuals and working bodies on both sides of the spectrum, such as government officials and international organizations who inform and create urban management policies, as well as the slum dwellers and community based organizations who will directly experience the policies

and programs (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). Informants highlighted the lack of adequate dissemination of information to slum residents which has resulted from a lack of formal participation. While the slum dwellers acknowledge that an effort has been made to incorporate the participation of slum dwellers, this participation is often initiated at the elite level of the community. For example, a great deal of involvement has been solely with community Elders, Chiefs, and executives of the steering committees, while the average slum dweller has been excluded from the process<sup>xv</sup>. This lack of incorporation seems to be a problem within many participatory methods in urban planning. Carrion (2002) and Lean (1995) believe that such methods need to be organized in a manner to prevent the process from becoming monopolized by elites within the neighborhoods. The problems the slum dwellers are experiencing are the collective social concerns of the people, and therefore need to be included within the research and inception phases of the project. However, this is clearly not occurring within the Kisumu context as a variety of misconceptions have been revealed, such as the previously mentioned confusion over whether or not home improvements will be part of the physical upgrade. The local authorities are arguing that if residents are better educated on the initiative and community ownership is promoted, the program will be more easily sustained<sup>xiv</sup>.

#### **4.7 Slum Upgrading and Urban Poverty Alleviation**

Kisumu is an extremely poor municipality with approximately 48 percent of its residents living in conditions of absolute poverty (Intermediate Technology Development Group-East Africa, 2004). A large percentage of the slum dwellers hail from poor rural areas in the Lake Victoria Basin with high expectations of securing stable employment within the



city centre. However, many interviewees have highlighted the fact that they have been unsuccessful in obtaining employment in the formal sector, and have ended up performing a series of informal sector activities in the attempt of supporting themselves and their extended families<sup>xv</sup>. The slum settlements in Kisumu clearly represent the urban manifestations of poverty, with little or no access to basic services and dilapidated living conditions.

As was made evident in the literature review, urban poverty alleviation interventions must take place at a multitude of levels in order to attain success. Such levels were highlighted by Satterthwaite (2003) and include the following: the national governments and local authorities, who can create and implement adequate policies; through international development agencies which can guide, finance, and execute poverty alleviation programs; and through the poor people themselves, who can identify and highlight the areas in which they need the most assistance to reduce their experiences of poverty. Hjorth (2003) further argues that in order for urban poverty alleviation interventions to be successful, they need three specific criteria: “they need to be holistic, people centered, and focus on action and learning” (p.392).

The institutional framework of the CWS initiative has clearly addressed the inclusion of stakeholders at a multiplicity of levels as outlined by Satterthwaite (2003) by incorporating a variety of stakeholders from all positions within society. In examining the three measures outlined by Hjorth (2003) and applying them to the CWS initiative in Kisumu, the programme is clearly holistic, people centered *and* focused on action and

learning: It is *holistic* in the sense that it is not only promoting the physical upgrading of slum communities in the form of water and sanitation facilities, but it is also focusing on improving the livelihoods of slum dwellers by supporting health facilities, micro-finance initiatives and the promotion of low-cost, durable housing materials; The approach is *people-centered* as its underlying institutional framework has included multiple stakeholders within the approach, from the inception phase to the implementation phase: Not only are local authorities and the private sector involved, but also community based organizations and non-governmental organizations; This initiative is also focused on *action and learning*. It has enabled the construction of a GIS laboratory within the municipal council in which civil servants have become trained with social mapping techniques and enumeration processes. This not only improves the skills of the civil servants, but also improves the municipality's database on city-wide planning initiatives (such as slum upgrading) which will lead to proper urban management.

The overall goal of the slum upgrading project is to improve the lives of slum dwellers according to the millennium development target. The basic assumption for poverty alleviation is that the program will provide slum dwellers with increased access to basic urban services, thus reducing the money currently being spent on such areas as health care and water, and utilize this money in more efficient means, such as building more sustainable dwelling units (Mosha, 1999). The overall initiative will provide residents with the opportunity to reside in healthy living environments, which will in turn, enable them to participate with income generating activities or become involved with education

programs to further develop their skills (Interview with KSDA, November 2005). The CWS initiative in Kisumu is thus an efficient means of alleviating urban poverty.

#### **4.8 Achieving Goal 7, Target 11:**

Target 11 of the MDGs aims to ‘improve significantly the lives of 100 million slum dwellers’ (UN-HABITAT, 2003c). This specific target of the MDGs has been the subject of much debate due to the fact that it is very difficult to quantifiably measure a ‘significant improvement’ within individual lives. Originally, the target was to be monitored by two main indicators: The first was the proportion of people with access to secure tenure while the second referred to the proportion of people with access to improved sanitation (UN-HABITAT, 2003c). However, these initial indicators were deemed inefficient to monitor the progress of Target 11. As a result of this realization, an Expert Group Meeting on Urban Indicators was held in 2002 in order to develop methods that would monitor the success of the target more efficiently (UN-HABITAT, 2003c).

Five indicators were developed at this meeting and include the following:

- 1) The proportion of households with access to improved water supply
  - 2) The proportion of households with access to adequate sanitation facilities
  - 3) The proportion of individuals which have secure tenure
  - 4) The proportion of households which live in durable housing units
  - 5) The proportion of households which have a sufficient living area<sup>8</sup>
- (UN-HABITAT, 2003c).

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<sup>8</sup> Each of these indicators are further broken down into specific components and methods to analyze the progress of the target. For example, in the first indicator (the proportion of households with access to improved water supply), the components include the proportion of households with direct water connections, access to public stand pipes, and access to non-piped water such as boreholes and wells. Such access to water through these channels must be accomplished through affordable means, without excessive physical effort and time, and in sufficient quantities. These methodologies and components are further described and defined in the UN-HABITAT publication, *Guide to Monitoring Target 11: Improving the Lives of Slum Dwellers* (2003).

One of the goals of the field research was to ascertain whether or not the slum dwellers themselves defined ‘a significant improvement’ in a similar fashion to the indicators that were assembled by UN-HABITAT. While high on the list is the increased access to clean water and sanitation, other indicators such as child mortality rates and lowered rates of poverty were generated within discussions. The following list summarizes the most common meanings and connotations ‘significant improvement’ had to both slum dwellers and members of the Kisumu municipal council:

1. Increased sanitation and supply of clean water
2. A clear reduction in the child mortality rate
3. Indications of housing affordability
4. Healthy living environment
5. Lowered rates of poverty
6. Obtaining knowledge to help oneself
7. Organization among slum residents
8. Moving people away from slums
9. Economic empowerment<sup>xvii</sup>.

A secondary goal of the field research in relation to the MDGs was to ascertain whether or not the stakeholders believed Target 11 was an attainable objective. Stakeholders were therefore questioned as to whether or not they believed the MDG of ‘improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers’ would be reached by 2020. The responses were clearly divided, and it was surprising to note that those who believed the goal would be achieved were the slum dwellers themselves, while those who doubted the goal were largely members of the local authority<sup>xx</sup>.

The slum dwellers, who generally seemed optimistic that the goal would be achieved by the specified date, attributed the success to the factor of engaging participation of all

stakeholders. The slum dwellers had a 'high-level of appreciation' for being given the opportunity to participate within the project and as such, were embracing the concepts of the slum upgrading initiative<sup>i</sup>. The slum dwellers also attributed the future success of the initiative to the fact that many of the dwellers held freehold tenure to the land: Residents noted that if they were given improved access to safe water and other amenities, it would improve their livelihoods immensely. Residents were very proud to be land owners and clearly wanted to remain on their land and pass their property and possessions to their children<sup>xv</sup>.

On the other hand, those in positions of local authority seemed quite doubtful that the goal would be achieved in the allotted time frame. While acknowledging the eagerness of slum dwellers, many local authorities attributed the failure of the goal to the widespread presence of poverty, not only within the municipality, but also nationwide. They mentioned that in order to reach the goal, the poverty level must first be breached and the central government must become more transparent in order to ensure the adequate dispersal of public funds. Others within the local authority attributed the failure of the project to the lack of coordination among stakeholders, which has resulted in delaying the implementation of the initiative. Because of such delays, it is believed that the goal will not be achieved in the allotted time frame: However, if the lack of cooperation between stakeholders was resolved, Kisumu definitely has the potential to meet the goal by the specified year<sup>xiv</sup>.

#### **4.9 Conclusion**

The municipality of Kisumu is clearly suffering the detrimental results of rapid urbanization in a fashion similar to the rest of the developing world, as evidenced by the wide-spread occurrences of slum settlements and the presence of urban poverty within the city boundaries. Kisumu is currently attempting to correct these ills of urbanization with the CWS initiative: One of the overarching aims of the project is to enable the municipality to address the prevalence of urban growth and the resulting consequences.

With regards to the actual *progress* of the CWS initiative, the feedback generated from the interviews and focus groups was reasonably positive. Many slum dwellers were satisfied with the first two phases of the project and were eagerly looking forward to the implementation phase. The local authorities were very impressed with the recently-installed GIS laboratory within the municipal council, and were eagerly anticipating similar capacity-building activities. However, despite these positive generalizations, many obstacles, such as the prevalence of poor policy frameworks, the lack of cooperation among stakeholders, and misconceptions of slum upgrading, have led to some skepticism over the project. These areas need to be addressed in order for the implementation phase of the project to be fully successful.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Conclusions

Controversy over how to address the ills of urbanization and the presence of extreme urban poverty are the driving forces behind this thesis. Kenya, in a similar fashion to the rest of the developing world, is experiencing rapid urbanization: Cities are growing at unprecedented rates, leaving the central government and local authorities to deal with the associated problems that result from expanding urban populations. Specified problems in Kenyan urban areas that have been identified as consequences of this rapid process include “inadequate shelter, tenure regularization in informal settlements, unemployment, delinquency, crime, unavailability of clean water, inadequate drainage and sanitation, lack of adequate public transport, environmental degradation and urban poverty” (Ministry of Planning and National Development, 2005, p. 173). These burdens will only continue to escalate within the next thirty years as the overall urban population of Kenya will exceed its rural population for the first time in history (Sida, 2005). However, what is most appalling is that a significant amount of this urban growth will take place within the informal slum settlements found in larger urban centres: These slum settlements currently house 47 percent of the total urban population within Kenya, and will continue to increase if nothing is carried out to alleviate the situation (The Republic of Kenya, 2002).

The municipality of Kisumu exemplifies the challenges faced by local authorities in developing countries with regard to slum settlements: roughly 60 percent of the municipal population lives within the informal settlements occupying the ‘slum belt’ surrounding the planned settlements and CBD (Intermediate Technology Development Group-East Africa, 2004). The slums of Kisumu, while generally not overcrowded, have clearly become neglected by the municipal council leading to a lack of basic water and sanitation facilities, garbage disposal mechanisms, and adequate road networks for transportation (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). The Cities Without Slums project in Kisumu has been initiated as a positive urban planning technique aiming to address problems associated with slum communities. This initiative, which is also being undertaken in the Kenyan municipalities of Nairobi and Mavako through KENSUP, represents the response from international agencies, the local and central governments, as well as CBOs and NGOs, to the Millennium Development Goal 7, Target 11, which focuses on improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers (UN-HABITAT, 2003c). The initiative is positive in the sense that it engages a multiplicity of stakeholders within the institutional framework in order to create ownership and increase the likelihood of sustainability. It has been well argued that “[w]ithout serious and concerted action on the part of municipal authorities, national governments, civil society actors and the international community, the numbers of slum dwellers are likely to increase in most developing countries”(UN-HABITAT, 2003, p. xxvi).

Although many obstacles to this approach were highlighted in Chapter 4, which ranged from challenges of sustainability to a weak policy framework, the integrated approach to



slum upgrading, as is being promoted through the CWS initiative, is currently the most viable urban management method available. The CWS initiative is attempting to address the ills of urbanization in a holistic manner, by focusing not only on physical upgrades such as improvements to roads, water and sanitation facilities, but also by focusing on income-generating activities and availability of micro-credit loans that will enable slum dwellers to improve their livelihoods (UN-HABITAT, 2005). The integrated approach is appreciably functioning to attend to the *urgent needs* of slum dwellers by improving their immediate living environments. As UN-HABITAT (2003) has highlighted, “[t]he results of upgrading are highly visible, immediate and make a significant difference in the quality of life of the urban poor” (p.127).

However, despite the positive contributions of this approach to improving the immediate living circumstances of slum dwellers, it is often criticized for being a short-term solution to a long-term problem (Butters, 2003). As such, slum upgrading initiatives need to be complimented with academic research and programs that seek to understand the *structural causes* of rapid urban growth and the urbanization of poverty. As Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1993) have highlighted, the problems resulting from urbanization in the developing world are not solely resulting from rapid growth, but rather from “growth within the context of a legal and institutional structure unable to cope with the needs of the population and the tasks of providing and running city services” (p. 199).

## **5.2 Recommendations**

Many policy recommendations stem out of the initial research of this thesis, which include promoting urban agriculture, implementing site-specific upgrades, addressing misconceptions of slum upgrading, re-thinking methods of participation as well as supporting the improvement of local policy frameworks. These recommendations are being offered in order to improve the initiative, thus ensuring the success of the project in Kisumu, as well as future projects that will be replicated in various urban centers throughout the developing world.

### ***5.2.1 Promoting Urban Agriculture***

The Final Situational Analysis, which was produced by UN-HABITAT in 2005, outlines the action plan for the implementation phase of the CWS initiative in Kisumu. This document includes sector-specific priority areas such as land, infrastructure, livelihoods and housing in order to identify sound strategies to improve the living environments of slum dwellers (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). In examining the priority area of livelihoods, the objective is to ‘improve opportunities for better livelihoods in slum areas’ through the following strategies: “improve access to capital for investment; provide opportunities for entrepreneurs to set up small-scale businesses in slum areas; promote employment terms that enhance workers status; and evaluate priority of water to address the issue of affordability” (UN-HABITAT, 2005b, p. 70). Despite these highlighted strategies, the implementation requirements are vague in comparison to other priority sectors, including ‘infrastructure improvements’ in which specific *activities and actions* are outlined to achieve the objective.

As a result, it is recommended that specific income-generating activities need to be highlighted within the priority area of 'livelihood'. One such activity that could be promoted is that of urban agriculture. UN-HABITAT has previously commented that "urban agriculture is one potential area that has been neglected in Kisumu, even though it retains perhaps the greatest potential in providing employment and food to slum residents and the city in general" (2005b, p.25). However, instead of promoting this as an area of advantage for Kisumu, it was neglected within the sector-specific priority areas. This neglect of urban agriculture has been historically common within academia, but has recently gained significance. As Stock (1995) notes, "[m]ost studies of the urbanization process have assumed that migrants from rural areas abandon agriculture when they move to the city. Recent studies, however, are finding that urban agriculture is both prevalent and economically significant" (212). UN-HABITAT and other participating organizations in Kisumu need to build upon the recent resurgence in research and allocate more attention to urban agriculture.

The prevalence of agricultural activities is very apparent when walking through the slums of Kisumu: many slum dwellers currently grow their own vegetables and raise livestock for food. These activities add to household incomes through the selling of surpluses at the city market and through street vendors<sup>ii</sup>. These income-generating methods need to be supported within the slum upgrading initiative as the municipal population suffers from an alarming food poverty rate of 53.4 percent (UN-HABITAT, Kisumu City Council and Sida., 2004). Beyond addressing the food poverty level, Freeman (1991)

believes that supporting urban agriculture will function to benefit the urban settlement in five ways, as it:

1. contributes to urban productivity
2. generates employment
3. gives female entrepreneurs entry into the informal sector economy
4. exploits a vacant niche in the urban economy
5. puts value into otherwise unused and derelict land

Supporting urban livelihood frameworks in manners that are already present in the informal settlements, such as urban agriculture, will enable the sustainability of the program and increase the self-sufficiency of the poor. Urban agriculture will enable slum dwellers to not only feed their immediate and extended families, but also provide a steady income selling surpluses to the food-poor population of Kisumu.

### ***5.2.2 Implementing Site-Specific Physical Upgrades***

The implementation phase of the CWS initiative will include physical upgrades such as the construction of access roads and storm drainages, improvements to water and sanitation facilities and the building of community information centers (UN-HABITAT, 2005b). Concerns have been expressed by the slum dwellers over their potential displacement to execute these physical upgrades: The residents living within the high-density slum of Obunga have become worried that they may become displaced as a result of improvements to infrastructure while the residents of Manyatta A and B have expressed concern over their potential displacement from their community to improve the sanitation infrastructure and the building of roads<sup>xv</sup>. However, those that support slum upgrading projects, such as the World Bank (2000) and UN-HABITAT (2005b), have

advocated for the minimal disruption to peoples' lives in order to prevent the loss of physical and social assets. As such, three recommendations can be made in regards to implementing site-specific physical upgrades.

The first recommendation is to increase the level of communication between those guiding the CWS initiative in Kisumu and the residents who are worried about becoming potentially displaced. Residents need to be reassured that every effort will be made to prevent disruptions to their daily lives in order to improve their living environments. The settlement executive committees and the Kisumu Slum Dwellers Association may act as the appropriate vehicles for the future dissemination of information regarding the initiative. The prospective community information centers should also be constructed within the first stages of implementation in order to provide slum dwellers with a further instrument to voice concerns. Improving the communication process on the physical upgrades should ease the concerns of the slum dwellers and ensure the smooth operation of construction processes.

The second recommendation deals with obstacles associated with sanitation infrastructure in the dense settlement of Obunga. Obunga currently experiences problems with the proximity of its pit latrines to the water systems, and as a result, the community is suffering from water contamination. However, many residents in Obunga have voiced concerns over their potential displacement in order to make room for new water and sanitation facilities. In order to prevent this displacement, it is recommended that instead of constructing new facilities, the municipality purchase a 'UN-HABITAT Vacutug': a

small-scale transportable vacuum system that functions to retrieve and store up to 500 litres of human waste, which is easily extricated from pit latrines<sup>xii</sup>. The Vacutug is “engineered for access to pit latrines in the narrow, unpaved streets of poverty stricken slum settlements where larger vehicles cannot pass” (Alabaster & Issaias, 2003). There are currently nine of these vacuum systems performing trials in East Africa, with one of the nine present in the Kibera slum in Nairobi (Alabaster & Issaias, 2003). The Vacutug system functions to store human waste until it can be properly disposed of, which prevents the contamination of the water supply. This initiative is an excellent means of dealing with the issue of sanitation and the presence of dense slum settlements as it does not require the demolition of dwelling units in order to make accessible roads for the construction of new facilities: the device can easily maneuver through crowded settlements. This initiative is also a positive example of a community-led development project as a working group performs the maintenance, hires operators, and removes waste from the slum settlement<sup>xii</sup>. It would therefore not only serve to address the concerns over displacement and improve sanitation, but it would also offer income-generating opportunities to the residents of Obunga. The cost equivalency for one full load as of 2003, was \$7 USD (Alabaster & Issaias, 2003).

An alternative to the Vacutug, which is also the third recommendation, is the promotion of ECOSAN toilets within the settlements that have high water tables. ECOSAN toilets (derived from the words ‘ecological-sanitation’) function as a “non-mixing toilet system which enables the recycling of human waste” (Terreft & Edstrom, n.d.). The excreta is separated from liquid waste and is stored above-ground in container units. The waste is

removed when necessary and utilized in the following capacities: the liquids can be diluted (after 24 hours) with a 1:5 ratio with water and used as a fertilizer for vegetation (mainly mango trees); the solid waste can be properly stored and used as compost for vegetation (after 6 months) (Terreft & Edstron, n.d.). There are currently fourteen of these ECOSAN toilets within the community of Manyatta B and the local NGO, SANA, has the intention of building additional toilets near their recycling facilities. These ECOSAN toilets are very necessary in the slum settlements due to the fact that the traditional pit latrines cannot be utilized because of the presence of a high water table and flooding during the rainy season<sup>xviii</sup>. Such initiatives need to be supported in the slum communities with high water tables and/or high densities<sup>9</sup>.

### ***5.2.3 Addressing the Misconceptions of Slum Upgrading***

Our discussion in Chapter 4 demonstrates that misconceptions clearly exist over what exactly constitutes ‘slum upgrading’. The slum dwellers who were interviewed as part of the field research in November 2005, believed that the CWS initiative would include housing creation and physical renovations to the existing dwelling units within the slum settlements. However, the actual physical upgrades which will take place in the implementation phase have nothing to do with individual housing creation, construction, or renovations of the *actual* dwelling unit. Rather, the physical upgrades will focus on improving the environment *surrounding* the dwelling units. As a result of this misconception, many slum dwellers currently view the CWS program as a financial

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<sup>9</sup> For more information on ECOSAN toilets, please refer to <http://user.tninet.se/~gyt516c/articles/article4-a.htm>.

opportunity as they believe they will be able to rent out rooms within their new and improved homes for extra income once the upgrades are completed.

In order to reduce the misconceptions of the term, we recommend that more meetings be held within each slum settlement to explain the exact processes of slum upgrading as well as the tasks to be completed during the implementation phase. Although the soon-to-be-built information centers will eventually function to explain the *ongoings* of the implementation phase, it is worrisome that this initiative will come too late. The slum dwellers are eagerly looking forward to receiving new dwelling units, and if this misunderstanding is not addressed in a timely manner, it could potentially lead to conflict, slowing the upgrade process. The sharing of knowledge between those that are guiding the slum upgrading project (local authorities and donor agencies) and those that will be experiencing the end product (slum dwellers) should be more clearly promoted.

We further recommend that optional loans for housing creation, construction and renovations be made available to the slum dwellers. Pamoja Trust is currently preparing functions to supply the slum residents of Kisumu with micro-credit loans for housing construction and home improvements. Arrangements such as this will definitely compliment the CWS initiative and succeed in alleviating the need for adequate housing structures within the slum settlements.



#### ***5.2.4 Re-Examining Methods of Participation***

Chapter 4 highlighted the many international projects that are currently underway in Kisumu. As a result of the multiplicity of projects, it was argued that slum dwellers are becoming over-utilized and donor-exhausted: Slum dwellers are constantly being summoned to participate as informants in interviews, as data collectors and as experts on the living conditions within the slums settlements. Despite this over-utilization, Carrion (2002) and Lean (1995) argue that participation of slum dwellers is a vital process within urban planning initiatives as their input will serve to improve their lives as well as the sustainability of the project. We therefore recommend that two central coordinating bodies be established in order to make the participation level of the slum dwellers more efficient and to avoid duplication of data.

The first coordinating body would function to regulate the presence of CBOs and NGOs working in the slums, while the second coordinating body would regulate the actions of international donors and multilateral agencies. These coordinating bodies would function to share data and resources, and enhance the networking between those working on projects with similar themes (i.e. HIV/AIDS or installation of pit latrines). This formation of partnerships would result in the reduction of time spent within the slum communities, collecting data and interviewing informants. This would also create possibilities for coordinating bodies to form linkages with the settlement executive committees outlined within the CWS framework. This potential partnership would assist in the implementation of infrastructure upgrades as the many stakeholders involved would have an improved communication network. Such initiatives would reduce the

demands on slum dwellers, but still allocate a vehicle through which willing informants could participate. The benefits of such an initiative would outweigh any of the costs accrued in the formation of the coordinating bodies.

#### ***5.2.5 Clarifying the Roles of the Municipal Council***

The participation on behalf of the MCK also needs to be improved in order to overcome current challenges. The institutional framework of the CWS initiative is not clearly recognized by the municipal staff as only one person within the council knew the roles and responsibilities of his department during the course of the slum upgrading project<sup>xiv</sup>. We recommend that the communication processes between departments and other civil servants be improved upon. This could be achieved through the creation of a ‘CWS Handbook’ that would describe the roles of each stakeholder within the initiative as well as the actions required by each department in order to clarify their duties and tasks. Such a device would be easily accessible and would reduce any in-fighting within the council over individual roles and responsibilities, as it would be easily referred to. It is important to encourage cooperation and increase integration as the MCK is a significant stakeholder within the CWS initiative.

It is also important to support the MCK through such initiatives as the central government has recently increased the responsibility of the local governments with the implementation of the Local Authority Services Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP). The LASDAP aims at dispersing power and responsibility to municipal districts in order to reduce the constraints in supplying basic urban services (Ministry of Education, Science

and Technology, 2005). However, the central government notes that this shift in responsibility will require a period of adjustment as not all local authorities within the country have the fiscal means and human resources to deal with increasing responsibilities (Republic of Kenya, 2002). Those involved with the CWS framework need to be able to recognize the increasing pressure that the MCK is under to effectively manage basic infrastructure and services, helping to assist them in any manner possible.

#### ***5.2.6 Supporting Policy Frameworks***

The weak policy framework of the MCK is best exemplified with its generalized city by-laws that date back to the pre-independence era. These by-laws, which were last published in 1952, are inapplicable to the intricacies of the municipality today due to the high rate of urbanization and resulting consequences of over-crowding and poor living conditions. With respect to this, we recommend that the municipal council receive guidance and support in the creation of updated city bylaws which take into consideration the existing problems of slum settlements. During the time of field research in November 2005, the Environment Department within the municipal council offices was in the process of writing solid waste guidelines as well as advocating for a new city dump site. This department also requires the support of varying departments within the municipal council in order to successfully adopt solid waste guidelines to improve the living conditions in the municipality.

In order to further support the municipal policy frameworks, those involved with the CWS initiative need to set examples of compliance with existing Government Acts when

performing the implementation phase of the project. During the construction of new facilities, the stakeholders are encouraged to abide by, as well as see to the enforcement of, such government Acts as the Building Code and Public Health Act. This compliance will demonstrate to the slum dwellers and local authorities the importance of such acts in improving the living environments within the slums.

It is also important for policy makers and urban planners in Kisumu to examine strategies that will forestall and prevent the future growth of slums. Constantino-David (1998) and Acho-Chi (1998) believe the best way to deal with urban growth is to thwart the ills of urbanization at the onset of expansion. This urban management method, which is often termed ‘the focus on newly emerging cities’, can be accomplished by carrying out basic land use planning initiatives as well as tracking demographics in order to deal with increasing rates of urbanization and expanding population bases (Constantino-David, 2002). Cheema (1993) has recommended reducing population pressures on the city by encouraging rural development projects to reduce rural-urban migration. Municipal policy makers clearly need to recognize the consequences of annexing rural areas into the urban infrastructure to properly manage the urban framework.

The current living situation of slum dwellers is bleak, but if these recommendations are taken into consideration by those currently involved with slum upgrading initiatives, vast improvements in their lives will be more than obvious. Kenya’s commitment to the Millennium Development Goals and Kisumu’s selection as the world’s first Millennium City are the first necessary steps to improving the lives of slum dwellers; what is needed

now is the effective implementation of programs that are specifically geared to the localized needs of each slum community.

## ENDNOTES

- i Interview with Kisumu Slum Dwellers Association, November, 2005.
- ii Field visit to Kisumu Municipality, November-December 2005.
- iii Interview with Town Planning Department, November 2005.
- iv Interview with District Maintenance Surveyor, November 2005.
- v Interview with Provincial Housing Officer, November 2005.
- vi Interview with Consultant for NGO, Concern, November 2005.
- vii Interview with staff member of the Slum Upgrading Facility, November 2005.
- viii Interview with Environment Department, November 2005.
- ix Interview with Staff Member of Sustainable Aid in Africa (SANA), November 2005.
- x Interview with staff member of KIWASCO, November 2005.
- xi Focus group with Slum Dwellers, November 2005.
- xii Field visit to Kibera Slum, Nairobi, November 2005.
- xiii Interview with Ministry of Public Works and Roads, November 2005.
- xiv Interviews with Local Authorities, November-December 2005.
- xv Interview with Public Health Authority, November 2005.
- xvi Interview 2 with Staff Member of the Slum Upgrading Facility, November 2005.
- xvii Interviews with all stakeholders, November-December 2005.
- xviii Field visit to Manyatta A and B with SANA Field Staff, November 2005.

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**APPENDIX A:  
GENERAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

*Examining the Obstacles to the Integrated Approach of Slum Upgrading: The Case Study of  
Kisumu, Kenya*  
**Dallas Johnson**

**Department**

**nt Studies**

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*“As previously discussed, I would like to remind you that this interview will encompass 20-30 minutes of your time and your involvement with this study is completely voluntary. There are no known or anticipated risks to your participation in this study and you may decline to answer any of the interview questions and may also terminate the interview at any time. Any and all information you provide will be kept strictly confidential. Are you ready to proceed with the interview?”*

1. How long and in what capacity has your organization worked in slums?
2. Which communities in Kenya does your organization work with?
3. Which other organizations/levels of government does your organization work closely with?
4. How and in what capacity does your organization contribute to the slum upgrading process?
5. How does your organization involve residents and strengthen local capacity in the upgrading process? What benefits do you see as stemming from this involvement?
6. What do you consider to be the largest housing issue in Kenya? Why?
7. In your opinion, is slum upgrading a viable urban management method? Why or why not?
8. Do you believe that cooperation between a multiplicity of stakeholders (i.e the community, local government, national government, community-based organizations, non-governmental organizations, international agencies) helps or hinders the slum upgrading process?
9. What could be done to promote cooperation between these stakeholders and to strengthen partnerships?

10. Do you believe that the concerns/needs of slum residents are being met in slum upgrading initiatives? Why or why not?
11. Are upgraded communities deemed to be sustainable in the long-term? Why or why not?
12. In your opinion, how does the slum upgrading process contribute to urban poverty alleviation?
13. One of the Millennium Development Goals is aimed at “improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020”. Do you think this goal will be reached? Why or why not?
14. Are there any questions or comments you would like to make?

### **END OF INTERVIEW**

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*“Thank-you very much for your time. Your input will be very valuable to my overall findings. Once again, this research study has been approved by the Research Ethics Board of St. Mary’s University. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Dr. John Young, Chair Research Ethics Board at [ethics@smu.ca](mailto:ethics@smu.ca).”*

**APPENDIX B:**  
**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESIDENTS OF SLUM COMMUNITIES**

*Examining the Integrated Approach to Slum Upgrading: The Case of Kenya*

**Dallas Johnson**

**Department of Urban and Environmental Studies**

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1. Which community do you reside in and how long have you lived within this community?

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2. What has brought you to this community?

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3. How many people are part of your household residence?

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4. Has your community experienced upgrading? If so, when?

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5. If you answered yes to #4, did you/your family benefit from the upgrade? If so, in what ways? Did the upgrade improve your livelihood? If not, how come?

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6. What types of improvements do you see as vital in the slum upgrading process? (ie water supply, sanitation, solid waste management, public transport, health care, education)

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7. Do you see slum upgrading as a positive urban management method or a negative one? Why?

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8. What changes would you like to see if your community was granted future slum upgrading programs?

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9. In your opinion, are upgraded communities believed to be sustainable in the long-term? Why or why not?

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10. Do you believe that the slum upgrading process contributes to urban poverty alleviation? Why or why not?

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11. Please list any organizations that you see as playing a vital role in maintaining your community:

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12. Were these organizations involved in the slum upgrading initiative? In what capacity?

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13. Are you involved with any community-based organization/non-governmental organizations? If yes, what ones? In what capacity are you involved?

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14. Did you face any obstacles that may have prevented you from participating in such organizations? If so, please explain.

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15. In your opinion, what do you see as possible limitations of partnerships between community-based organizations/non-governmental organizations/different levels of government in the slum upgrade process?

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16. What could be done to eradicate these limitations?

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17. What could be done to promote cooperation between these stakeholders and to strengthen partnerships?

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18. One of the Millennium Development Goals is aimed at “improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020”. Do you think this goal will be reached? Why or why not?

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#### END OF QUESTIONNAIRE

*This research study has been approved by the Research Ethics Board of St. Mary's University. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Dr. John Young, Chair Research Ethics Board at [ethics@smu.ca](mailto:ethics@smu.ca).*

**APPENDIX C**  
**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CBOS/NGOS WORKING IN SLUMS**

*Examining the Integrated Approach to Slum Upgrading: The Case of Kenya*

**Dallas Johnson**

**Departm**

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1. How long and in what capacity has your organization worked in slums?

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2. Which communities in Kisumu/Kenya does your organization work with?

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3. Which other organizations/levels of government does your organization work closely with?

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4. How and in what capacity does your organization contribute to the slum upgrading process?

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5. In your opinion, do you believe slum upgrading to be a viable method of urban management? Why or why not?

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6. Are you familiar with the Slum Upgrading Facility? If yes, does your organization utilize the SUF's mandate? If no, please proceed to #8.

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7. In your opinion, what do you see as possible limitations of partnerships between cbos/ngos/governments in the slum upgrading process?

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8. What could be done to eradicate these limitations?

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9. What could be done to promote cooperation between partners and stakeholders?

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10. What do you view as the largest obstacle in the process of slum upgrading? Why?

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11. What other types of obstacles do you perceive to be hindering the slum upgrading initiative?

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12. One of the Millennium Development Goals is aimed at “improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020”. Do you think this goal will be reached? Why or why not?

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13. What types of improvements do you see as vital in the slum upgrading process?

(ie water supply, sanitation, solid waste management, public transport, health care, education etc)

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14. How does your organization involve residents and strengthen local capacity in the upgrading process? What benefits do you see as stemming from this involvement?

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15. In your opinion, does the slum upgrading process contribute to urban poverty alleviation? In what ways?

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#### **END OF QUESTIONNAIRE**

*This research study has been approved by the Research Ethics Board of St. Mary's University. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Dr. John Young, Chair Research Ethics Board at [ethics@smu.ca](mailto:ethics@smu.ca).*

**APPENDIX D:  
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STAFF MEMBERS OF SLUM UPGRADING  
FACILITY AND UN-HABITAT**

*Examining the Integrated Approach to Slum Upgrading: The Case of Kenya*

**Dallas Johnson**

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1. Please explain how the SUF came into being:

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2. What types of obstacles does the SUF as an organization face?

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3. Why do you believe slum upgrading is a viable urban management method?

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4. What types of obstacles do you perceive to be hindering the slum upgrading initiative?

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5. How do the housing problems experienced by Kenya compare with other East African countries?

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6. How do the housing problems experienced by Kenya compare with other developing countries throughout the world?

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7. Why does the SUF promote the upgrading of slums and not eradication?

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8. Are upgraded communities deemed to be sustainable in the long-term? Why or why not?

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9. How does the slum upgrading process contribute to urban poverty alleviation?

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10. In your opinion, what do you see as possible limitations of partnerships between community-based organizations/non-governmental organizations/different levels of government in the slum upgrade process?

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11. What could be done to eradicate these limitations?

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12. What could be done to promote cooperation between these stakeholders and to strengthen partnerships?

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13. One of the Millennium Development Goals is aimed at “improving the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020”. Do you think this goal will be reached? Why or why not?

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14. What types of improvements do you see as vital in the slum upgrading process?  
(ie water supply, sanitation, solid waste management, public transport, health care,  
education etc)

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15. How does the SUF promote the involvement of community residents and strengthen  
local capacity in the upgrading process? What benefits do you see as stemming from this  
involvement?

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16. Any comments you would like to make?

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#### END OF QUESTIONNAIRE

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*This research study has been approved by the Research Ethics Board of St. Mary's  
University. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact Dr. John Young, Chair  
Research Ethics Board at [ethics@smu.ca](mailto:ethics@smu.ca).*

# **Saint Mary's University**

## **Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Human Subjects**

**This is to certify that the Research Ethics Board has examined the research proposal or other type of study submitted by:**

**Principal Investigator:**         **JOHNSON, Dallas**

**Name of Research Project:**   **Examining the obstacles to the Integrated Approach to Slum Upgrading: The Case of Kenya**

**REB File Number:**           **05-074**

**and concludes that in all respects the proposed project meets appropriate standards of ethical acceptability and is in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on the Conduct of Research Involving Humans.**

**Please note that for “ongoing research”, approval is only effective for one year from the date approved. If your research project takes longer than one year to complete, submit Form #3 (Annual Report) to the REB at the end of the year and request an extension. You are also required to submit Form #5 (Completion of Research) upon completion of your research.**

**Date:**

**13 September 2005**

**Signature of REB Chair:**

**Dr. John Young**