Decanting and Social Sustainability:

Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (A Case Study)

by

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Author's declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners. I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

By the year 2030, over half of the global population will reside in cities. The impacts of this trend are most notable among nations within the global south, which are experiencing rapid urbanization, due to forced displacement, political, economic and environmental conditions. The infrastructure deficit, caused by rapid urbanization, experienced by most nations in the global south has created slum conditions for many of their urban residents. All levels of government including international diplomatic bodies have encouraged urban renewal programs that seek to resolve the "slum issue" in the global south. These urban renewal programs have been the subject of much criticism given the methods of redevelopment. The focus on improving the physical environment of slum dwellers and the limited attention to the resulting social consequences of such programs. The Kenya Slum Upgrading Program is a case study by which the method of redevelopment included the use of a decanting site which facilitated the temporary displacement of residents of the Kibera slum, Soweto East Village to a pre-constructed high-rise estate, until the redevelopment of the Soweto East Village is complete.

Using Stren and Polèse's concept of Social sustainability as a framework, this research seeks to understand the impacts of the use of a decanting site on the targeted community. The decanting site offered a space to understand a community in transition and critically understand the impacts of this method.

The research found that social sustainability was impacted both positively and negatively within the decanting site. In fact, decanting sites are an opportunity to build social sustainability for a displaced community, instead of seeking to sustain its previous manifestation in Soweto East. The research also found that the driver for this program were international benchmarks, which may have impeded the ability for all stakeholders, at all levels, to consider the impacts of social sustainability.

As we move into a global post- 2015 development framework these findings must be understood as a starting point to understanding the impacts of methods used to support large scale redevelopment programs.

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This was truly one of the most challenging tasks in my life. It was not without my faith, trust and pure perseverance that I was able to get through this work. It has truly been a journey and I would like to thank all who encouraged me along the way.

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Dedication

I press on toward the goal to win the prize for which God has called me heavenward in Christ Jesus

Philippians 3:14

My people will live in peaceful dwelling places, in secure homes, in undisturbed places of rest.

Isaiah 32: 18

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1 Introduction

Housing the urban poor has been a foremost challenge for cities over the past century. Governments have been challenged to implement housing programs that would address these often poorly housed populations. In North America governments had implemented programs that saw the replacement of these "slum-like" dwellings with modern public housing schemes. These public housing schemes sought to resolve the immediate problem of urban blight, but did not take into consideration the social, economic and environmental changes that may impact the success of the populations that were impacted by these changes..

Despite the short-term success of these programs, it was clear that there was a lack of understanding in terms of the dynamics of these populations. Most communities impacted by these public housing schemes saw social and economic degradation and the further marginalization from the broader community. To resolve these newly formed issues there has been a number of recent international and domestic initiated urban revitalization programs involving the demolition of the public housing that was built to resolve the initial housing problem and subsequent rebuilding of new housing under a more socially integrated scheme.

Stren and Polèse offer a clear description of the social, economical and environmental factors that are not being considered by international measurement standards (e.g. Millennium Development Goals). They use the concept social sustainability to describe

the policies and institutions that have the overall effect of integrating diverse groups and cultural practices in a just and equitable fashion (Stren & Polese, Understanding the New Sociocultural Dynamics of Cities: Comparitive Urban Policy in a Global Context, 2000, p. 3). They go further to define social sustainability for a city as a development (and/or growth) that is compatible with the harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration with the quality of life for all segments of the population (Stren & Polese, Understanding the New Sociocultural Dynamics of Cities: Comparitive Urban Policy in a Global Context, 2000, p. 3). Observing slum formations as a general urban phenomenon this concept is an appropriate measure to fill the gap where housing interventions applied to slum redevelopment programs have been missing. The concept of social sustainability offers 6 areas in which to draw indicators and measurements for social sustainability. They include: governance, employment/economic revitalization, transportation and accessibility, land and housing, social and cultural policies and social infrastructure and public services.

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this research is to measure the impact on the social sustainability of the Soweto East community by the implementation of the Kenya Slum Upgrading Program. I will explore the correlation between the use of a decanting site (Section 1.6), as a means in supporting the slum redevelopment project, and social sustainability.

Through this analysis I will identify the social and economic impacts of Kenya's housing interventions, key drivers of slum redevelopment programs and address the areas by which social sustainability can be achieved. I will provide some initial observations of the impact with the goal of providing a broader and more inclusive scope to mitigating the impact of housing redevelopment programs on the urban poor.

The primary focus of my research is the development of metrics that will measure the social impacts of the housing intervention programs. Social sustainability is focused on understanding the relationships and networks in a city. It is strongly reflected in the degree to which inequality and social "discontinuity" exists (Stren & Polese, Understanding the New Sociocultural Dynamics of Cities: Comparitive Urban Policy in a Global Context, 2000). These metrics will be based on the 6 interdependent policy areas of social sustainability, that make up the institutional-territorial nexus: Governance (Civil Society), Employment and Economic Revitalization, Infrastructure and Public Services, Social and Cultural Policy, Urban Land and Housing, and Urban Transportation. In my research I have identified the subset of Civil Society, Employment and Economic Revitalization and Urban Land and Housing as the indicators in which I will be developing measures of social sustainability.

It is my hope that this research will also provide the necessary information for policy makers to harness the vitality of these, though aesthetically unpleasing, vibrant communities and go beyond the physical improvement of their living conditions but as well suggest further alternatives that can improve the lives of slum dwellers.

1.2 Research Questions:

I approached this research with the following questions in mind:

Has the use of decanting sites, as a means in supporting the process of slum upgrading, impacted the social sustainability of a community?

The sub questions that derive from the central research question are:

a) *What are the drivers of large slum upgrading programs? (From all levels, International, National and Local)*
b) *What are the necessary conditions to ensure that social sustainability is sustained?*

1.3 Rationale:

The United Nations is projecting that globally the level of urbanization is expected to rise from 50 per cent from 2009 estimates to 69 per cent by 2050 (United Nations, 2010) due to number of factors, primarily rural to urban migration and displacement from political, economical and environmental disruptions. Most of this growth has been reported in the global South, particularly within Sub-Saharan Africa. Associated with rapid urbanization has been the increasing development of slum settlements, due to limited mobilization of state and private resources to provide adequate housing for these growing populations.

Large-scale housing interventions continue to be the response to the "slum issue" around the world (e.g. slum redevelopment programs). The timeliness of this research aligns with the reporting of achievements, to date, of Kenya's monitoring of the millennium development goals. It allows us to now add depth to the measurement criteria that has been used to measure the progress of large-scale housing interventions. It is my hope that

through this research we can have a more holistic understanding of the true impacts of large scale redevelopment programs being implemented in the global south.

Nairobi, Kenya has been undergoing an urban transformation that has seen variety of methods used for improving the lives of the urban residents, particularly slum dwellers. Nairobi offers a number of United Nation's measured projects where lives have been improved. Nairobi is also the city where UN-Habitat is located and as such I had access to many of their resources. Kibera, Nairobi, Kenya, offers the perfect case study to observe for the purposes of my research.

1.4 Background

The following provides the detailed context in which the redevelopment program is occurring. Understanding both the national and local geographical, social and economic environment provides greater insights into the conditions that allow this scale of redevelopment to occur and the description of the population of which it impacted.

1.4.1 Kenya

Kenya is a nation located in East Africa with a population of 43,013,341(Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2010).

Figure 1.1 Geographic location of Kenya (Graphic Maps, n.d.)

Figure 1.2 – Nairobi (Nations Online, n.d.)

The removal of colonial restrictions on freedom of movement at independence, in 1963, meant a rapid increase in rural-urban migration of the local African population (Lee-Smith & Lamba, 2000) into the country's urban centres. As a nation, Kenya has been experiencing rapid urbanization with the urban population growing from an initial 750,000 to 9.9 million by 1999(Government of Kenya, 2005, p. vii). Kenya's urban population is approximately 30% of the total population, however 70% of these urban dwellers inhabit informal settlements that have limited access to water and sanitation, housing, employment, social services and secure tenure. These problems of poor infrastructure and services are further exacerbated by environmental degradation in these informal settlements (UN-Habitat, 2007).

There is no single cause for the persistent reproduction of slums in Kenya. Their manifestation is a result of complex social, environmental, economic and political factors. UN-Habitat attributes the continued proliferation of illegal slums in Kenya to increased urban poverty and inequality in poor neighborhoods, the high cost of living, the inability of the urban poor to access affordable land for housing, insufficient investment in new low income housing, and poor maintenance of the existing housing stock(UN-Habitat, 2007). The history of social and spatial exclusion in urban planning, both under colonial regimes and democratic governance structures is also an important factor, particularly in the case of Nairobi.

Nairobi (Figure 1.2), the capital city of Kenya, received its name from the Maasi phrase of "Enkare Nairobi", which means "The place of cold waters". It is the largest city in

Kenya, as well as the only urban province in the country (Medard, 2010). It is the commercial and political capital of the nation and where the concentration of urban poverty resides. The population of Nairobi is approximately over 3 million, however the reason it is difficult to quantify the population is due to the unplanned living areas of Nairobi's informal settlements (Medard, 2010). Nairobi has a total 183 slums, which accommodate approximately 40% of the city's population (Shack/Slum Dwellers International , 2010).

The colonial city of Nairobi was formed through exclusionary planning policies and enforced by British laws. The city's history of social exclusion has structured the way institutions operate as much as, or more than, it has structured physical space (Lee-Smith & Lamba, 2000, p. 269). It is within this context that social norms were also created and borders were formed both legislatively and socially on the premise of ethnic lines(Lee-Smith & Lamba, 2000; Mwangi, 2007). Africans were legally prevented from owning freehold property in the city until 1920s, when the British government prohibited separation of the races. Thereafter the settlers prevented such ownership through zoning and social pressures(Lee-Smith & Lamba, 2000, p. 252).

The proliferation and/or contraction, of Kenya's slums are a physical representation of government policies that are either moving them towards an era of inclusivity or of social exclusion, by their very presence. The Kibera Slum is the greatest illustration of the social and spatial exclusion.

The presence of slums has been attributed to explicit government policy and decades of official indifference by lack of inclusion for the provision of low-income housing in the budgetary process (Amnesty International, 2009, p. 6; Muraya, 2006; Lee-Smith & Lamba, 2000). Historically, policy intentions to house Nairobi's population were not implemented and the state sponsored initiatives have been falling short of demand(Lee-Smith & Lamba, 2000).

Nairobi's slums differ from the conventional ad-hoc and owner-builder relationship that is attributed to informal settlements. These informal spaces much more frequently manifest as a landlord-builder tenant relationship, in response to the issue of housing affordability and demand, which is a primary reason why migrants settle into the slums instead of other areas.

Rental accommodation in Kenyan towns has usually been associated with low-income households but it has also become the main form of housing for middle-income households and new urban residents of all income levels.(Mwangi, 2007, p. 141).

Despite domestic and international political recognition of Nairobi's rapid and continued proliferation of slums, their continued presence present a challenge and illustrate the need to take an integrated, socially sustainable approach to redevelopment programs.

1.4.2 Kibera
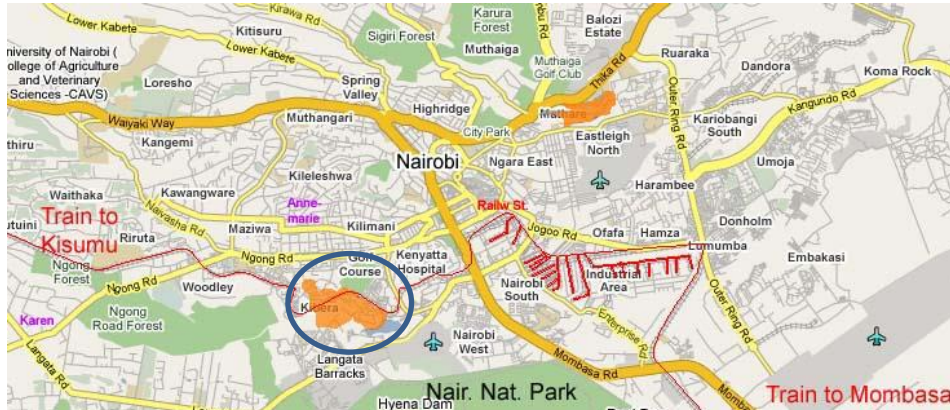
Figure 1.3 - Geographic location of Kibera, Langata District Nairobi (Hamminga, 2014)

The informal settlement of Kibera (Figure 1.3) is located in Langata District, which is the Nubian word for "Forest." Kibera is a physical manifestation of where politics and poverty meet. Kibera is an informal settlement located on a portion of Nairobi's 13% contested lands. This implies that there are still no clear tenure rights to residents living within the settlement (Shack/Slum Dwellers International , 2010, p. 35). The true ownership of the land has been subject to a long-standing legal debate between the Nubian community, long-term settlers and the Government of Kenya, due to the length of settlement on the land following service as the King's African Rifles, the British East African Colonial Forces(Balaton-Chrimes, 2011). Despite the challenges in tenure the settlement has grown beyond the initial Nubian settlement to become a broad multi-ethnic community with a population make up of landlords and tenants. It can be described as a "town within a town" despite its marginalization and roots in territorial exclusion(Medard, 2010; Lee-Smith & Lamba, 2000).

Kibera consists of 12 villages namely: Soweto East, Laini Saba, Makina, Kisumu Ndogo, Gatwikra, Soweto West, Lindi, Kianda, Kambi Muru, Mashimoni, Raila, and Salinga.

Figure 1.4: Map of Kibera and its villages

It is the largest slum in Kenya and is approximately 225 hectares (556 acres) in size. Located 7km outside of the Nairobi city centre, it is estimated that the population of Kibera is between 170,000 to 1 million (Integrated Water Sanitation and Waste Management in Kibera, 2008; UN-Habitat, 2007). Kibera has received notoriety for its density and inflated estimate of the settlement population.

Despite the informal nature of Kibera, it is still subject to the formal institutional structures that govern the city of Nairobi. Accountable to the district of Langata's governing officers, there is also an educational officer located within the slum and a number of local chiefs that oversee the governance within specific areas throughout the slum. It remains debatable to define Kibera as a squatter settlement and as well as an illegal settlement. The debate comes with the fact that the majority of residents are

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tenants and are thus paying rent to a landlord, who is presumed to have "legal" rights over the land. In most instances, this is not the case. Amis addresses this "owner/tenant" phenomenon by suggesting that squatting, as it is conventionally defined no longer exists in Nairobi. Instead he suggests that the provision of such low-income shelter is now a commercial activity (Amis, Squatters or Tenants: The Commercialization of Unauthorized Housing in Nairobi, 1984).

1.5   Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme

1.5.1   Overview

The Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) is a joint initiative between the Government of Kenya and UN-Habitat with the primary goal of improving the lives of 5.3 million people living and working in informal settlements in urban areas in Kenya by 2020(Government of Kenya, 2005; UN-Habitat, 2007) and to have improved and sustainable urban living environments in Kenya. The agreement followed the ratification of the Millennium Development Goals, which aspire to *Improve the lives of 100 million slum dwellers,* under their environmental sustainability mandate Goal 7, target 11. Improvements are to be measured with the following criteria:

- Access to improved water
- Access to improved sanitation facilities
- Sufficient-living area, not overcrowded
- Structural quality/durability of dwellings
- Security of tenure

Both parties signed a Memorandum of Understanding in 2001 and the implementation of the programme began in 2003. The program is currently focused on selected settlements

within the legal boundaries of Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and Mavoko, with the mission
to develop and implement policies, programs and strategies to facilitate the reduction and
prevention of slums in Kenya(Government of Kenya, 2005). Despite the title description
of an upgrading programme, KENSUP indicates that development approaches will range
from complete redevelopment to partial redevelopment(Government of Kenya, 2005).
The KENSUP programme is part of a broader national Poverty Reduction Strategy,
National Housing Policy and National Housing Development Programme
Framework(Government of Kenya, 2005). The program symbolizes a movement away
from disruptive housing interventions, which led to the forced displacement of
communities, wide-spread slum clearance and disregard for the role of low income
earners in urban development(Government of Kenya, 2005). towards an integrated
planning model that offers a strong foundation towards social sustainability.

Both UN-Habitat and the GoK committed both the funding of financial and material
resources to the process (Government of Kenya, 2005). As UN-HABITAT's role in the
programme is supplementary, its activities have focused on the provision of technical
advice, capacity building of the relevant local authorities and communities, provision of
basic infrastructure, and testing of innovative slum upgrading approaches through pilot
projects.

What is unique about the KENSUP is that it is a government driven initiative with
international support, funding and oversight, with a key focus on engaging the affected
population throughout the planning process. This program is a direct response to the

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establishment of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, thus it is an important case study to measure the correlation between slum redevelopment and social sustainability. The GoK has indicated that the success of the programme is largely dependent on the how the government coordinates the contributions of key stakeholders, builds consensus, conducts policy reform, and strengthens project implementation within the settlements(Government of Kenya, 2006).

1.5.2 Implementation Strategy

The KENSUP Programme is premised on "enabling slum dwellers and other stakeholders to be fully and actively involved in improving their own livelihoods and neighbourhoods" (Government of Kenya, 2005). The KENSUP programme has conceptually developed a framework on the principles of good governance. This includes (but is not limited to) building partnerships, establishing a decentralized approach and focusing on ensuring that the programme is sustainable (Government of Kenya, 2005).

The implementation strategy details the approaches to slum upgrading for each of the sites that are under the auspices of the programme. With regards to the development of the Kibera Slum, the GoK detailed the following approach(Government of Kenya, 2005):

- Socio-Economic and physical mapping
- Development of a Master plan
- Installation of Infrastructure and services by the government and local authority
- Engagement with the mobilization of communities to agree on:
    o Formation of cooperatives
    o Service provision and relocation
    o Housing development types and approaches
    o Forms of tenure
    o Housing Construction/development modes
    o Estate Management and maintenance of various facilities

In principle the KENSUP program highlighted a number of strategic interventions to support the direction of all of their upgrading programs(Government of Kenya, 2005). These interventions varied between community organization, City/Town development strategies, establishment of microfinance and credit systems and the development of income generating activities.

1.5.3 Institutional Framework

The KENSUP programme is a joint partnership between UN-Habitat and the Government of Kenya. These two bodies have broad oversight over the programme, however they have established a decentralized institutional framework, which focuses on allocating the responsibility for the provision of services and decision making to the closest appropriate level improving responsiveness to the priorities and needs of slum dwellers(Government of Kenya, 2005). This decentralization of responsibility, conceptually, provides the capacity to respond to the needs of the resident population.

1.5.4 Soweto East, Kibera

The Kibera pilot project component of the KENSUP programme commenced in the village of Soweto East (population 19,318), found on the eastern edge of the Kibera slum. The precise population figure is due to the detailed enumeration exercise that was undertaken by the ministry of lands. Soweto East is characterized as an area with high densities of both people and structures, overcrowding in dilapidated buildings, congestion, haphazard layouts, non-existent and minimal services(Ministry of Lands & Ministry of Housing, 2008). Soweto East was selected as the site to commence the pilot project for the following reasons (Ministry of Lands & Ministry of Housing, 2008):

- Land Ownership: Land Ownership is clear, hence minimal complications regarding acquisition and compensation.
- State of infrastructure and social facilities
- Community Cohesiveness/ organization: There exists well organized community groupings providing good entry points for community mobilization and minimizing controversy
- Population size and Settlement: the size was ideal for a pilot project
- Ratio of structure owners to tenants: The existence of a large population of resident structure owners. It is hoped that this will encourage smooth negotiations as they stand to benefit from improved conditions
- Condition of housing structures and the presence of other interventions

In order to facilitate the enumeration process, situation analysis, collection of demographic information and the subsequent relocation of the Soweto East population to the decanting site, the village was divided into four zones; A, B, C and D (Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.5 Soweto East Zone Divisions

The Ministry of Lands and the Ministry of housing facilitated the enumeration process of the entire village, which provides a broad illustration of the physical characteristics of the site as well as the demographic composition of the site. It was with this information that the decanting site was planned and the final Soweto East master plan designed for the population following decanting.

Table 1.1 – Table 1.14 and Figure 1.6 and Figure 1.7 highlight the demographic information of the population that was relocated to the decanting site, as well as the physical characteristics of the Soweto East village(Ministry of Lands, 2008).

1.5.5 Soweto East Physical Characteristics

Table 1.1 - Structure distribution by Zone

Zone	Number	Percentage
A	876	36.5
B	522	22
C	410	17
D	588	24.5
Total	2,396	100

Table 1.2 - Types of Structures

USER	NUMBER OF STRUCTURES
Total number of structures	2434
Residential rooms	7567
Commercial rooms	1607
Toilets	268
Bathrooms	110
Churches	39
Schools	8
Water Tanks	64
Urban Agriculture	54

1.5.6 Soweto East Demographic Information:

Table 1.3 - Structure Owners and Tenants Distribution

	Males	Females	Organization	Total
Owners	1376	917	32	2333
Tenants	10725	7694	24	18443

Table 1.4 - Population Dynamics

Description	Numbers
Total no. Of Households	7,775
Total Resident Population	19,318
Owners residing	1,723
Non-resident Owners	673
Persons with disability	81
Average household size	2.4

Legend:
- Pit Latrines
- No Pit Latrines
- Others(e.g Flying Toilets)
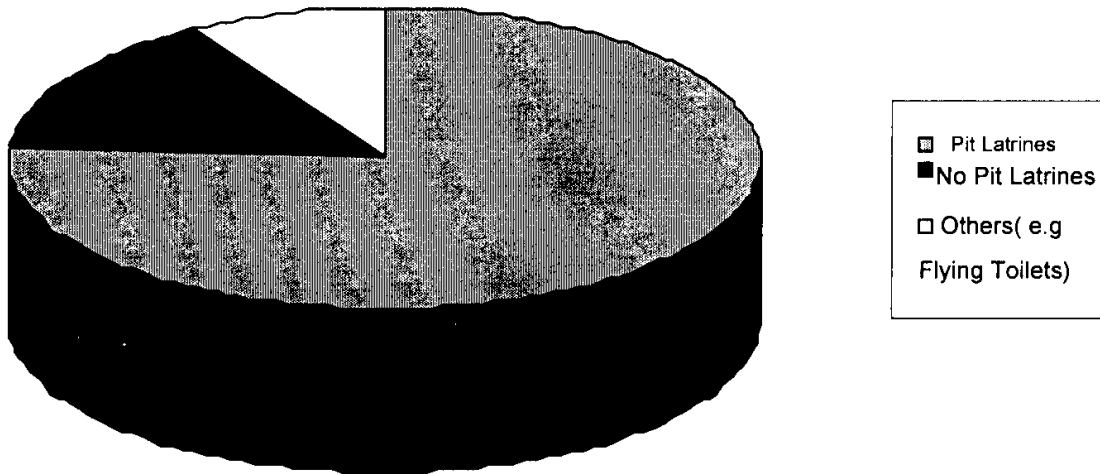
Figure 1.6 - Access to types of Sanitation

	Casual Labourer	20.4%
	Civil Servant	1.4%
	Not Applicable	13.4%
	Private Sector	14.3%
	Self-employed	17.1%
	Student	8.8%
	Un Employed	24.6%
	Total:	100.0%
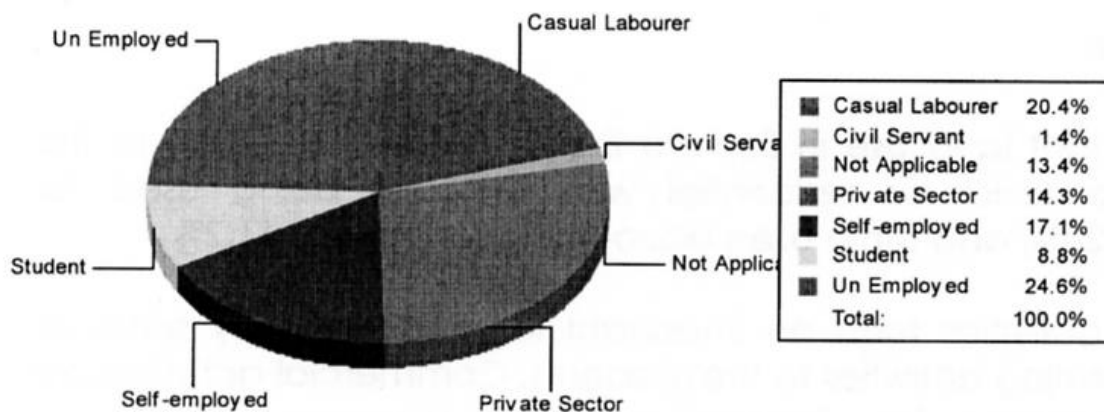
Figure 1.7 - Professions of the Residents who were not owners (Occupiers)

1.6 Decanting Process

It is important to note that the Decanting site, of the Kibera Pilot Project, of the KENSUP

Program is not intended to be the final destination for the Soweto East population.

Residents are there on a temporary basis and have signed a legal tenancy agreement that

ensures their occupation is not for an extended period of time. The final stage of

redevelopment would have the residents returning from the temporary housing of the

decanting site to move into high rise blocks (as per the implementation plan). This is

identified as the reasonable mode of development for Soweto East due to its ability to

accommodate existing densities (Government of Kenya, 2005). To support the upgrading

of Soweto East the local government instituted the use of a decanting site as a means of

temporarily housing the Soweto. The following are conditions of their tenancy in the

decanting site:

- There is a standard price for rent and people rent rooms and not entire apartment
  units. Appendix C: Floor Plan provides the floor plans for each of these units.
- Individuals were allocated housing accommodations based on affordability and
  not on the need of space. Thus, a family of five can be found in a single room,

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opposite to a family of 2 that could afford the rent of two rooms, thus allocating one of the spaces to a living room.

- All the tenants have the option of participating in a housing cooperative and are part of a voluntary savings program in order to buy their unit that is being built in Soweto East

- Tenants are to pay a rent of 1000ksh ($12CDN) (minimum) which includes rent, hydro and water.

The ultimate intent is that the land of Soweto East be re-organized with secure tenure arrangements administered under a cooperative body or corporate institution that would have the option of selling, rental or for own occupancy(Government of Kenya, 2005). This would require the removal of all existing structures to accommodate the upgrading.

The Kibera Pilot Project of the Kenya Slum Upgrading Program is a contemporary case study to begin to understand the social sustainability of a diverse community impacted by a national redevelopment program, which is validated by international drivers. Stren and Polèse offer an alternative social perspective to redevelopment that cannot be captured by the millennium development goals. It is with this lens that we can begin measuring the longevity of similar redevelopment programs.

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review chapter provides the foundation upon which my research was conducted. The literature review will address the theory and conceptual foundations for defining and assessing the measurement of social sustainability, as it relates to the use of decanting sites in slum upgrading programs.

An explanation of the complexity of the process of urbanization, particularly in the global south and the impacts on the urban form (slum formation) will be highlighted to provide an understanding of the importance of measuring social sustainability. Planning solutions have been found in government sponsored and internationally endorsed urban housing interventions that have consequently displaced the most vulnerable populations. These programs have been grounded in the concept of environmental determinism. Environmental determinism has historically been a primary planning concept that has justified the use of large scale urban redevelopment strategies in the west. However within the global south this takes a different form as urban redevelopment strategies are the cause for mass displacement of people.

Anthropologists, ethnographers and urban geographers introduced the concept of *development-induced displacement and resettlement* to analyze the social consequences of government sponsored redevelopment programs. This group of experts developed a variety of models that illustrate this concept. Social sustainability as a social planning concept offers a complementary perspective on measuring the impacts of large-scale

housing interventions, particularly on the use of decanting sites as an intermediary step before complete resettlement.

2.1.1 Structure

The structure of this chapter follows the cause and effect of rapid urbanization to the global proliferation of slums and the consequence of housing interventions. The chapter commences exploring the progression of urbanization from a local concept to a global phenomenon in the form of rapid urbanization. This trend has factored into the proliferation of slums in many parts of the world, which has triggered the implementation of international targets and government endorsed housing interventions to resolve the "slum problem". The methods to implement these interventions are then explored to understand the intersections between government initiative and the social sustainability of the impacted populations.

2.2 Urbanization

The populations of the world's cities are growing at such a rapid pace that the United Nations is reporting that by the year 2030, more people in every region of the world will live in urban centres (Moreno, Oyeyinka, & Mboup, 2008), especially in developing nations (Global South). Nowhere in the world is this trend so prevalent as within the continent of Africa. The recent literature on rapid urbanization has presented a number of critical issues arising, due to rapid urban growth, primarily decreasing health and quality of life amongst urban populations..

2.2.1 Understanding urbanization

Understanding urbanization as a process of increasing population concentration offers a

clear foundation upon which to discuss the formulation of slums and other impacts to the urban form. Urbanization is defined by the Organization of Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) as the increase in the proportion of a population living in urban areas; which includes a process by which a large number of people become permanently concentrated in relatively small areas, forming cities (Glossary of Statistical Terms, 2003). The process of urbanization in Western cities is understood to be incremental (Henderson, 2002; Aldrich & Sandhu, 1995) and a process of interstate and intercontinental emigration. This incremental process coupled with a strong GDP and high education per capita allowed for the necessary governance and economic institutions to adjust to the growing urban centres (Henderson, 2002). Urbanization within the global south has occurred in a completely opposite manner, with urbanization occurring at an extremely rapid pace (Henderson, 2002; Aldrich & Sandhu, 1995; Amis, 1990). In the global south urbanization is a process operating within a post-colonial framework guided by economic growth, resource mobilization and political adjustments. It is within this context that urbanization in the global south cannot be seen solely as a consequence of domestic pressures, but that it is a part of a global momentum towards modernity.

2.2.2   Rapid Urbanization and Slum Formation

The creation of slums is complex. For the first time in history, more than half of the world's population are living in towns and cities with the populations increasing to almost 5 billion by 2030 with urban growth concentrated in Africa and Asia (United Nation's Population Fund, 2007) with the highest percentage of slum dwellers living in sub-Sahara Africa with 62 per cent of the nations' urban populations living in slums(Motasim & Rae, 2010, p. xxv). However, there is value in recognizing the

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assumptions that contribute to how cities develop, which subsequently factor into the creation of slums. Fainstein and Fainstein highlights three key political economic assumptions on the development of the city, in the case of the development in the United States (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1983, pp. 2-3). They assign the following three assumptions 1) The city is not a unitary political community, but rather a site for class and racial conflict 2) Class and racial inequality is expressed by the form of the built environment 3) Urban development is generally uneven between and within cities. This inequality and segmentation within the city and the scale at which rapid urbanization has been occurring globally offers a glimpse into the world's urban future. In the case of Nairobi, the inadequate housing and poor infrastructure in the slum highlight the expression of class inequality expressed in the built form.

Fainstein and Faintein remark that "in capitalist societies the reproduction of the physical, social and economic fabric of cities depends upon the complex interaction of private and public decisions (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1983). It is the combination of these factors, including policy, that have either manifested domestically or been influenced by international influences (Hardoy & Satterthwaite, 1989, p. 40), which highlights the global nature of the phenomenon. The tendency has been for the generalization that simply the process of rapid urbanization and a deficit in available housing is the reason for the development of slums and squatter settlements within the developing world. The reality is, like many other urban issues, the formation of slums is not linearly related to solely rapid urbanization.

A land economist describes the presence of slums in terms of supply and demand of the commodity of housing within a capitalist system. Housing is viewed as a consumer product, thus implying that individuals who live in poor-quality housing have a smaller household consumption of the commodity called "housing". The relative price of slum housing and the proportion of dwelling units which are poor quality relative to good quality also depend upon conditions of supply" (Muth, 1969, p. 128). In an explanation using the ghettoization and decline in American cities, slum housing was not produced so much as it was the subdivision of existing dwellings and the deferring of maintenance.

Aldrich and Sandhu (Aldrich & Sandhu, 1995) present four alternative models of urbanization and housing that contribute to slum or squatter housing formation in the global south. First a basic demographic or population model, which emphasizes the conditions of urban-rural migration, with the pull factor to cities, associated with the limited options presented in rural communities. The second model is premised on the global hegemony of capitalist countries which drain resources from the global south in a one-sided exchange, the third model addresses the interaction of the national economy as a dynamic player in an international market and the final model acknowledges the United Nations Development Programs (UNDP) emphasis on economic development and the significant role of active political elites and their commitment to human development. They suggest that any of these models and/or a combination of these models explain the inadequacy of housing in the global south. These models neglect the influence of exclusionary state policies that create barriers for impoverished communities such as in China where policy has restricted access to urban public housing by the many rural

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peasants which led to the proliferation of informal settlements (Zhang, Zhao, & Tian, 2003; Solinger, 1996), which illustrates the need to delve into the understanding of spatial policy and its application in the global south, within varying contexts.

Pugh presents a similar view to the development of slum formation through the concept of housing poverty, which relates the presence of inadequate housing provisions with levels of household income generation (Pugh, 1995). He attributes the existence of housing poverty to criteria that mirror Aldrich and Sandhu's econometric model of slum development. These criteria include: high rent/repayment-to-income ratios, substandard and unfit housing conditions, substantially blocked access to adequate housing" (Pugh, 1995, p. 37). He further broadens the discussion beyond the borders of nation states to question if the international income inequality influences the housing affordability of independent nation states (Pugh, 1995). This illustrates the compounding influence of international markets influencing the proliferation of slums.

It is very difficult to get up to date and reliable estimates of the number of people in the global south that are housed inadequately, due to the variation of statistical data collection methods and the multiple definitions of housing "inadequacy". Inadequate housing in African cities ranges from a minimum of 33 percent to a maximum of 90 percent (Aldrich & Sandhu, 1995; Parmar, 1991). The United Nations attributes slum development in Africa to a combination of issues beyond rapid urbanization such as increasing urban poverty and inequality, marginalization of poor neighborhoods, inability of the urban poor to access affordable land for housing, insufficient investment in new

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low-income housing and poor maintenance of the existing housing stock (UN-Habitat, 2006).

2.2.3 Defining Slums

Despite the continuing evidence of urban deterioration and documented increases in "slum-like" conditions developing across cities in the global south, researchers are challenged to define exactly what is considered to be a slum. The definition varies between the physical characterizations of an area to the socio-cultural composition of a particular area. It also remains a negative physical phenomenon as stressed on the planning profession given the planners aversion to uncontrolled and unplanned growth (Amis, 1990). Given this challenge, the United Nations provides the definition of a slum that offers a starting point to understanding and measuring the urban phenomena. The United Nations describes a slum as a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services and often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city (UN-Habitat, 2003, p. 5)**.** They further describe slums as a physical and spatial manifestation of increasing urban poverty and intra-city inequality (UN-Habitat, 2003, p. 4).

Hardoy and Satterwaithe assert that a slum is not defined by the condition of its houses or the circumstances of its residents but because of the image that this urban phenomenon portrays of the national government (Hardoy & Satterthwaite, 1989, p. 39). This suggests that the presence of slums is a matter of perception, particularly for the social elite or the governing body. This issue of perception, when labeling a slum, is expressed in the Jane Jacobs' *Death and Life of Great American Cities,* when she writes about her experiences

in a perceived Boston slum (Jacobs, 1961). In a dialogue with a Boston planner she

expresses her amazement when he describes the North End of Boston as a "slum". Jacobs

indicates that the social aspects of this area such as interaction in the street and described

an "atmosphere of buoyancy, friendliness and good health" (Jacobs, 1961, pp. 7-8) which

countered the perceived description that this area of Boston was a slum.

Seeley would add further to the argument of perception stating it as a means to measure

the slum problem due to its subjective and relative nature (Seely, 1959, p. 8). Using the

United Nations definition, this relative comparison that Seeley suggests implies the

conditions of the slum settlement to the conditions of its surrounding communities, which

do not express the same slum like qualities. He expands this observation by providing six

characteristics of a slum: space, population, a value position of goods and ills, dispersion,

correlation and concentration (Seely, 1959, p. 7). He expands that a change in any of

these characteristics can affect the nature of the slum. However, he continues to

emphasize that the removal of any one of these realities will not wholly resolve the issue

of the slum, as none of these realities operate in the realm of absolutes.

Amis contributes that not all slums are squatter settlements and that they consist

combination of subsistence and commercial housing (with subsistence being in the

minority). Subsistence housing is described as the builder, the owner and the occupier

contained within the same social unit so that there is no monetary exchange or tenancy

(Amis, Squatters or Tenants: The Commercialization of Unauthorized Housing in

Nairobi, 1984, p. 88). Commercial housing would imply that there is a commercial

exchange between a landlord and tenant (though within a slum it is likely illegal, due to precarious land tenure rights). This dynamic changes the nature of slums from destitute squatter settlements to a commercial hub for the exploitation of a limited affordable housing stock.

Again these two illustrations only identify slums based on their physical characteristics. However, given their primary observation as a physical manifestation of urban and intra-city inequality, it is clear that there must be socio-economic characteristics that can be included in the description of a slum. To ignore social and economic factors in the definition will ultimately limit the impact of any slum redevelopment programs that seek to improve this urban condition.

The physical conditions of a slum are of the utmost importance when considering means for the improvement of the lives of slum dwellers, however the challenge with the United Nations definition is that it does not recognize the slum as an integrated part of the urban environment and as such neglects to indicate unique socio-economic conditions that also characterizes the slums. Without consideration for these factors, how can one measure the improvement of the life of a slum dweller?

2.3   Slum Dweller

It is important to note that urban redevelopment strategies are not done in isolation for the sole purpose of improving the physical environment, but also seek to improve the lives of the populations within these settlements. Residents who inhabit the slums have been

defined as slum dwellers. In the literature, slum dwellers are defined by the following characteristics:

1) Ownership of property (Amis, Squatters or Tenants: The Commercialization of Unauthorized Housing in Nairobi, 1984)
2) Duration of residence in slum (Seely, 1959)
3) Physical conditions of housing environment(UN-Habitat, 2003)
4) Economic status(Seely, 1959)
5) Motivations(Seely, 1959)

Target 11 does not distinctly define what a slum dweller is but indicates that a slum household is a group of individuals living under the same roof that lack **one or more** of the following: Access to improved water, Access to improved sanitation facilities, Sufficient-living area, not overcrowded, Structural quality/durability of dwellings and/or Security of tenure(UN-Habitat, 2003). The UN continues to look at the physical condition for the measure of individual well being. Genuine success of the improvement of the slum dwellers life must take into account the changes in socio-economic and environmental conditions of these slum dweller populations.

2.4 Justification for Mass Housing Interventions

Environmental and architectural determinism provides governments and implementing organizations the theory for which large-scale housing interventions have been justified. It is based upon this theory that physical and policy changes have been designed and enforced to support the urban remediation of sites to support the populations that live within them. Interventions range from, slum upgrading to urban redevelopment, however, these interventions for improvement have produced unintended consequences, which I will explore in this section.

2.5   Upgrading

John F.C Turner popularized slum upgrading in his 1972 book *Freedom to Build*. Slum upgrading operates under assumption that that the solution is not to demolish the housing but to improve the environment (Werlin, 1999, p. 1523). The United Nations supports slum-upgrading programs, however there remains an unclear delineation between slum upgrading and slum redevelopment with regards to the methods used in achieving the millennium development goals. This confusion is manifested through the case of Kenya's Slum Upgrading Program (KENSUP), which continues the demolition and displacement of a number of slum dwellers.

2.6   Redevelopment

In a broad sense, redevelopment involves the demolition of homes or "blighted" area for the purpose of redeveloping the land to achieve its "highest and best use". This usually means the development of new housing and retail to replace the "blight" that was previously on the land. The consequence of redevelopment is the displacement of mature communities. Scudder and Colson suggest that with few exceptions, the large majority of those forced to move by development projects are low-income, low-status people who have very little political power and scant access to national resources (Scudder & Colson, 1982, p. 268). Fainstein and Fainstein assert that redevelopment is the result of economic forces, political action and state policy (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1983, p. 13). Many Western planners and social scientists criticized this strategy, in the 1960s, as being unethical and unbeneficial to the residents that were displaced. In the case of the United

States Housing and Community Development Act (1974) clearance and demolition of existing homes was the practice implemented by developers involved in the program, which led to the displacement of poor and predominantly minority residents (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1983). Keating explores the topic of redevelopment through the case example of Techwood/Clark Howell in Atlanta, Georgia before the 1996 Olympics. Keating argues that despite what the United States had learned in the initial urban renewal programs of the 1950s, there are still policies and political interests in place that are allowing for the similar displacement of poor populations to occur, which will likely beget the same problems of the current public housing issues. In this case, Keating noted that there were numerous gaps in the process and administration of the program particular with its impact to the individuals lives it sought to improve. One of the main issues that translate across cases is the housing replacement after demolition. For the Hope VI public housing program (in the United States) there was not a mandated one-to-one replacement of housing units (Keating, 2000, p. 395), which led to further displacement of the residents.

2.7   Slum Networking

Slum Networking is a holistic approach to urban improvement in which slums are seen as an integral part of the city – a settlement network that presents an opportunity for change rather than a problem for the city(Verma, 2000, p. 93). This is mainly completed through individual infrastructure development, improvement of the slum environment through landscaping and upgrading slums in the form of a network that is integrated with watercourses aligned with the city's existing infrastructure (Verma, 2000, p. 93). The

application of slum networking has been limited to Indore City, India. It received awards from the Aga Khan award for architecture on its completion; however despite the integrated nature of this housing intervention strategy the lives of slum dwellers remained the same if not worse and the project model has not been widely replicated.

2.8   Urban Renewal

Urban renewal goes beyond the remediation of urban areas for the purpose of improving the solution to enduring health, social and environmental issues health and life safety. The goal behind urban renewal has commonly been the diversification of a particular neighborhood and the dispersion of poverty (Koenig, 2009). In general terms urban renewal refers to the comprehensive improvement of a poor urban neighbourhood (Koenig, 2009, p. 121). The improvement of health and life safety is a consequence of urban renewal programs, but is ultimately not the primary goal. Since the 1960s urban renewal has transformed from a matter of international concern, rather than only of local or national relevance (Cernea M. M., 1995). Urban renewal programs in the global south have seen the influence of international bodies on the shaping of the urban form compounded with the interests of the local government. This was the case in the 1960s and 70s when the World Bank funded programs that promoted the upgrading of unauthorized areas (Rakodi, 1988). The magnitude and volume of projects catalyzed the creation of policy to manage the socio-economic impacts of communities that so many of these projects were having on their displaced populations.

The challenge remains that within the positivist tradition of urban planning, where the planner is assumed to be the expert and the community is subject to the expertise of the planner, urban renewal has taken a top down approach to urban upgrading and redevelopment programs and the unintended (or intended) consequences of this has been dispersed communities the mass displacement of communities and the subsequent challenging resettlement of these communities.

2.9 Consequences of Mass Urban redevelopment strategies

2.9.1 Development Induced/Forced Displacement and Resettlement

Anthropologists, ethnographers, sociologists and geographers who have been studying the social impacts of displaced populations since western industrialization saw the displacement of communities by large infrastructure projects (particularly dams) sponsored by private and government institutions.

The study of displaced populations has further expanded to include populations that have been displaced by natural disasters and political conflict. During the 1960s the discussion regarding population displacement shifted to include western urban renewal (mainly across Western Europe and the United States).

In light of the growing wealth and infrastructure disparity between the global south and the west the momentum to engage academics on the socio-economic and environmental impacts of development induced displacement and resettlement. This was highlighted in the in the *declaration and programme of action on poverty eradication* produced at the World Social Summit in Copenhagen (1995), which emphasized that the restoration of

livelihoods of displaced populations was necessary for poverty eradication. Literature

suggests that urban projects collectively account for greater displacement than large-scale

infrastructure projects with about 10 million people annually entering the forced

displacement and relocation in mainly dam (McDowell, 1996, p. 3; Cernea M. M., 1995).

Cernea suggests that social and environmental safeguards tend to be cut-short when there

is the pressure for investment in large scale infrastructure projects and that it is the

responsibility of government to mitigate against the compounding economic and financial

risks of impoverishment, by the impacted populations(Cernea M. M., 2009; McDowell,

1996).

2.9.2 Deconcentration of Poverty

Complementing the literature on development forced displacement is Goetz's research on

the deconcentration of poverty. Goetz's research into the large scale redevelopment

programs in the United States explores the premise that poverty is spatially concentrated

and that the justification for these programs was to disperse these populations (Goetz,

2003; Goetz, 2002). The methods of dispersal were both voluntary and involuntary,

operating on the policy objective to reduce social problems associated with concentrated

poverty, and the improving the living environments for families (Goetz, 2002, p. 107).

His observations measured the perception of those that had the option of relocation

versus those that were involuntarily displaced. The research concluded that those that

were forcibly displaced often moved to areas that were close to their original location,

which maintained the same social problems and concentration that were experienced at

their previous location and furthermore exhibited "post-move' issues due to this(Goetz,

2002, p. 122). However, when moved to a 'better' neighborhood displaced members of the community were able to adjust to their new surroundings (Goetz, 2002).

Conclusively, the outcomes of these programs provided little to no added benefit to the lives of the individuals that were affected and the justification for these programs on that premise are unjustified (Goetz, 2002, p. 123). This research is an example of how despite the intentions to improve the lives of low-income community there remains a correlation between displacement and relative dissatisfaction.

2.10 Decanting as a means of facilitating development induced displacement

For the purposes of this research we must understand the transition period (Cernea M. M., 1995; Scudder & Colson, From Welfare to Development: A conceptual Framework for the Analysis of Displocated People, 1982) in the relocation process. It is within this space that the decanting site exists and must be analyzed. Scudder and Colson found the transition period to be a time of stress and when populations begin to turn inward and behave as though their socio-cultural system were a closed system (Scudder & Colson, From Welfare to Development: A conceptual Framework for the Analysis of Displocated People, 1982). Scudder and Colson developed a descriptive relocation model, which articulates the phases in which relocated populations go through. "Victims of national development policies that serve the interests of more powerful segments of the population are apt to find themselves in unfamiliar habitats with ever increasing tensions between the relocate and host" (Scudder & Colson, 1982, p. 275).

The nature, definition and use of decanting housing is not clearly articulated in academic literature. In its nature decanting housing is defined in response to national or organizational policies that address the requirement to house displaced populations temporarily. Historically, it has been combined with domestic policies regarding compensation for involuntary displacement and rights following displacement due to government land acquisition. The United Kingdom based, One Housing Group (a non-profit organization that specializes in the development of public housing) offers a legal definition of decanting housing as:

> Decanting is a legal definition used to explain the process where residents are required to move from their homes when a property is in major repairs work or needs to be refurbished or modernized. They are also necessary when a property needs to be rebuilt or disposed or an authority with compulsory purchase powers has redevelopment plans for their home. These plans may involve demolition or major repair or improvement to the property (resulting in a significant change or character to the property, e.g. building an extra room) and will require to resident to move out, either temporarily or permanently, for the works to be completed. (One Housing Group, 2011).

The implementation of this policy is guided by the United Kingdom *Land compensation act, 1973* and *Planning and Compensation Act, 1991*, which both highlight the rights. Decanting sites offer a temporary holding area that provides some sense of stability to the displaced population, even though they are in the transition process. As previously described, the nature of displaced and resettled communities is generally homogenous, marginalized and poor (Hartman, 1966; Oliver- Smith, 2009; Koenig, 2009; Cernea M. M., 1995). Sites are governed by tenancy agreements, either issued and directed by government policy or directed by organizational policies (One Housing Group, 2011).

A decanting site is a resettlement tool of forced displacement. Using the aforementioned definition of decanting it is clear that the use of a decanting resettlement strategy is not community driven, but the product of government (or organizationally)-sponsored redevelopment programs where the displacement of an identified community is unavoidable. This can either take the form of a local upgrade of a neighborhood to a broader national strategy used in the redevelopment of blighted areas (Government of Kenya, 2005). Where land tenure rights are absent, the statement of an "authority with compulsory purchase powers" indicates that resident's rights are limited, in the absence of legislative authorities that protect the rights of the citizens similar to the United Kingdom's *Land compensation act, 1973* and *Planning and Compensation Act, 1991*.

Decanting sites take the form of a familiar environment for those who are being displaced, thus communities that are displaced in urban centres would inhabit a decanting site that reflects the urban form, either in dense towers or a well-placed sub-division in relative close proximity to the project site. In instances where the development is occurring in a rural setting, the governing body, may redistribute plots of a land to the displaced community to ensure that agricultural activities can continue as it had prior to displacement.

As a displaced community, residents of a decanting site express the characteristics addressed by Scudder and Colson in their description of the stress-risk model of relocation. The forethought of anthropologists and sociologists initiating research on forced population displacements before other disciplines (Cernea M. M., 1995), provide

the impetus for further discussion on the impacts of the resettlements process. Furthermore, the purpose of my research is to add to the literature from a planning perspective, particularly examining the social sustainability of these redevelopment programs, looking specifically at the use of decanting in the resettlement process.

2.11 Social Sustainability

The creation of development-induced displacement and resettlement models by sociologists, anthropologists and ethnographers have provided a number of models around the social impacts of development induced displacement and resettlement. These authors further call into question the need to create and research alternative models of development and expansion of research in the area as it evolves (Oliver- Smith, 2009). Social sustainability offers the policy lens in which development induced displacement and resettlement can now be analyzed from the perspective of urban planning. This lens is recognition of the resettled community as a part of a broader urban territorial and policy system that must be analyzed.

The concept of social sustainability is commonly understood within the broader category of sustainable development. Sustainable development is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p. 43). This is primarily within the context of populations consuming beyond the world's ecological capacities. The city of Vancouver describes a socially sustainable community as one that meets the basic needs of residents. It hinges on human social and community

capacity and to be effective and sustainable, both these individual and community

resources need to be developed and used within the context of four guiding principles -

equity, social inclusion and interaction, security, and adaptability(Gates & Lee, 2007).

The concept of social sustainability does not discount the importance of the overall

concept of sustainable development, but it operates within the sustainable development

framework to provide an institutional-territorial perspective to the discourse of

sustainable development.

Stren and Polèse recognized the importance of *Our Common Future* but stressed the

importance of the social aspects of sustainable development as they are interrelated with

the environmental aspects. With statements such as "to be environmentally sustainable,

cities must also be socially sustainable and without social policy, there can be no

effective environmental policy (Polèse & Stren, 2000, p. 14) Stren and Polèse extracted

and focused on social sustainability as means of managing a successful city.

Mario Polèse and Richard Stren define social sustainability as:

> "…Development (and/or growth) that is compatible with the harmonious
> evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to the compatible
> cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time
> encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for all
> segments of the population" (Polèse & Stren, 2000, pp. 15-16)

They further expand the concept of social sustainability to include the development of

policies that are conducive and seek to bring people together:

> "…among other things, seek to bring people together, to weave the various parts

of the city into a cohesive whole, and to increase accessibility (spatial and otherwise) to public services and employment, within the framework, ideally, of a local governance structure which is democratic, efficient and equitable"(Polèse & Stren, 2000, p. 16)

Stren and Polèse operationalize social sustainability through six policy areas that constitute the institutional- territorial nexus. The six policy areas are: Governance, Social and Cultural Policies, Social Infrastructure and Public Services, Urban Land and Housing, Urban Transportation and accessibility and Employment, Economic Revitalization and the building of Inclusive Public Spaces. Underpinning the descriptions of each of the policy areas in the overarching concept of social sustainability that focuses on "policies and institutions that have the overall effect of integrating diverse groups and cultural practices in a just and equitable fashion" (Polèse & Stren, 2000, p. 3). The purpose of this division is to provide a comparative framework for social sustainability. For the purposes of illustrating the comparative nature of social sustainability, Polèse and Stren observe multiple cities across all continents; they clearly discuss trends and instances of social sustainability within this framework.

2.11.1 Governance (Civil Society)

Governance is an inclusive term broadly defined to capture relational elements in a complex urban system. It is influenced by contemporary issues of "local governance" (political decentralization, plurality, urban social movements, local networks). It can refer to the relationship between governments and state agencies and/or civil society, as well as the relationship between communities and social groups. It covers a range of functions of political, social and/or governmental groups (Polèse & Stren, 2000) including provision of government services and urban management.

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2.11.2 Social and Cultural Policies

Social and cultural policies refer to understanding the nature of social organization that influence governance and address policies that effects social activity. It is heavily influenced by the concept of "social capital", which addresses the features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam, 1993; Polèse & Stren, 2000, p. 20). It addresses the social activities and the cultural institutions that support these activities that generate a level of urban pride and community.

2.11.3 Social Infrastructure and Public Services

Social Infrastructure refers to the public institutions that support social welfare and engagement as well as facilitate interconnectivity within the social realm. These two policy areas have an economic impact in that it can drive investment as well as dictate the level of access to services across varying socio-economic groups, thus, dividing the city into those who have access and those that do not.

2.11.4 Urban Land and Housing

Urban land and housing refers to the policies and controls that define the patterns of land and housing in the city (zoning ordinances, land tenure) that influence the inclusiveness of a city. Polèse and Stren refer to these as "territorial mechanisms". It includes understanding the housing market demands and the ability for a household to move within the socio-economic parameters (affordability, land cost, housing stock, land tenure, etc.). Policies that mitigate the instances of social exclusion and impacts to environmental sustainability are addressed in urban land and housing.

2.11.5 Urban Transport and Accessibility

Urban transport and accessibility refers to the networks and modes that influence the mobility of individuals within the city. Again, it directly affects accessibility and inclusion within the city due to its influences on spatial organization. Affordability, proximity and accessibility are vehicles by which urban transport can be assessed.

2.11.6 Employment, Economic Revitalization, and the Building of Inclusive Public Spaces

This policy area refers to the idea that spatial organization of urban spaces impacts an individual's ability to access employment and economic opportunity. It also considers the influence of government infrastructure policies in encouraging foreign investment and consumer decisions. Some of these policies include tax incentives and subsides or general training supports to those entering the workforce.

Despite the division into six different policy areas that make up the concept of social sustainability these policy areas remain highly integrated in their purpose of expressing the necessary components of a social urban space.

2.12 Conclusion

The trajectory of the global population makes this research relevant. The literature provides a clear understanding of the complexity of the proliferation of slums and subsequently large-scale housing interventions and their social, economic and environmental consequences. Stren and Polèse offer a clear scope in which to observe the social sustainability of a community in light of the drastic policy and development

programs that are being undertaken to improve the lives of slum dwellers. This research

will endeavor to integrate the scope of Stren and Polèse's work with the work Goetz,

Cerna and Sculley to begin to understand the impact of the use of decanting sites in

supporting slum redevelopment programs. The "in-between" requires more observation

and greater research. It is the intent of this research to amalgamate the learnings from

planning, sociology and international development to understand the social sustainability

of a decanted population. In the following chapter the methods of data collection will be

detailed, including the characteristics of the population and site.

3 Methods

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the method used to conduct research in to the research question of: **Has the use of decanting sites, as a means in supporting the process of slum upgrading, impacted the social sustainability of a community?**

The section will specifically explore the development of the research question and the selection of indicators within the broader concept of *social sustainability.* It will go further to describe the data collection, theory, and methods that were used to guide my research. The chapter will look at how social sustainability, as a social planning concept, is quantified and measured. This includes the creation and validation of the tools that were used to collect data, particularly outlining the ethics process and the process of reviewing material by local academics and students; site selection for the collection of information; and the interview selection processes. At the conclusion of this chapter I will explore the limitations of the data collection methods and omissions from the process that could not be included for academic integrity.

3.2 Research Design Process

Babbie provides a clear schematic on the research process and offers an illustration of the path that was used in order to create the necessary research design foundation to conduct my research (Babbie, 2004, p. 108). Research design is a recursive process meaning that portions of the design can be put into place as the study proceeds and that design features can be revisited periodically as the study is administered (Yin, 2011, p. 77). This research

project received the necessary ethics approvals in May 2011, allowing them to embark on the collection of qualitative and quantitative data. However, methods that had been created within the North American context needed to be adjusted to reflect the unique environment in which the research was being conducted. With the support of personnel at the University of Nairobi, methods were adjusted and modified to ensure that the resulting research design was compatible within the Kenyan context.

Figure 3.1 - Diagram of the Research Process
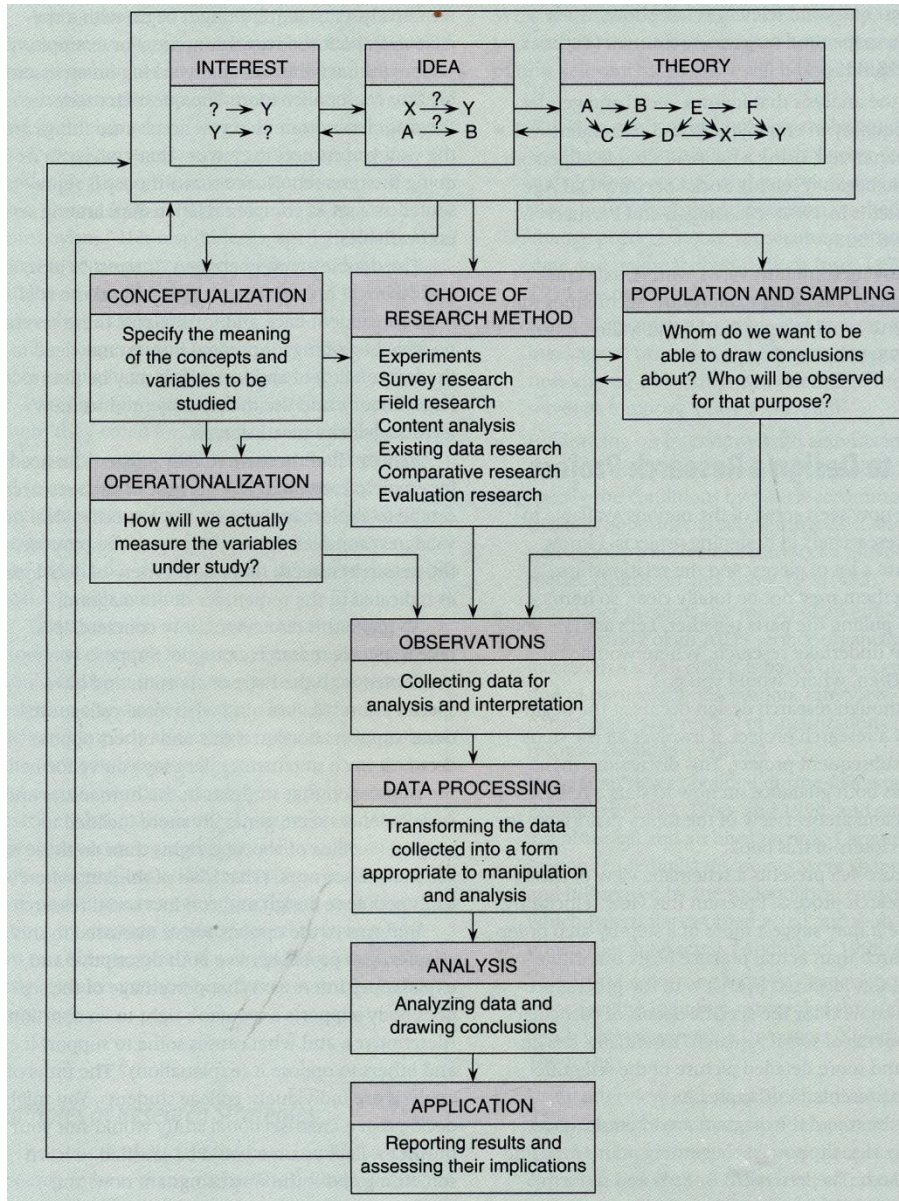
Chart from *The Practice of Social Research 10th edition* (Babbie, 2004, p. 108)

3.2.1 Research Question

The top of the diagram in Figure 3.1 indicates the starting point for the research process.

As identified, research can either commence out of the interest of a topic; an idea or a

theory with the arrows represent the fluidity of the starting process between the three

starting points(Babbie, 2004). My research commenced with a general interest in rapid urbanization and slum formation within the global south, which was further validated through existing theories that were used as a foundation for my research. Creswell's endorsement of stating a research question at the beginning of a qualitative study recommended that inquirers state research questions in two forms: a central question and the associated sub questions (Creswell, 2009, p. 129). For the purpose of conducting this research the central question is: **Has the use of decanting sites, as a means in supporting the process of slum upgrading, impacted the social sustainability of a community?**

This question was derived from a preliminary literature review that identified the sustainability of social cohesiveness and normality of a given community within temporary housing as an issue within the subject of slum upgrading programs. The sub questions that derive from the central research questions are:

c) *What are the drivers of large slum upgrading programs? (from all levels, International, National and Local)*
d) *What are the necessary conditions to ensure that social sustainability is sustained?*

3.2.2 Theory and Conceptualization

3.2.2.1 *Theory*

As the research involved the collection of data from various sources, in order to capture the nuances of social sustainability, grounded theory proved to be the most effective theoretical model to employ. As an inductive method of investigation grounded theory offered the freedom to first observe the aspects of life and then distinguish patterns and themes from the research process. Grounded theory requires the use of multiple stages of

data collection for the purpose of constant comparison of information with emerging categories and the theoretical sampling of different groups to maximize the similarities and differences of information(Creswell, 2009; Strauss & Corbin, 1990; 1998; Charmaz, 2006; Babbie, 2004, p. 291). The application of grounded theory will be further explained in the analysis portion of the methods chapter.

3.2.2.2   Conceptualization

Conceptualization refers to the definition of terms and their operational uses within the context of the study (Babbie, 2004, p. 109). In Chapter two, there were multiple definitions of social sustainability that had been addressed and the additional concepts used for the purposes of measuring the social impact. It was concluded that Mario Polèse and Richard Stren's definition of social sustainability provided a definition that had particular relevance within the planning context and offered an adequate framework to develop a measurement tool for the investigation of the measurement of the social planning concept. Stren and Polèse's definition of social sustainability detailed six policy areas as the "Institutional-Territorial Nexus" (Stren & Polèse, 2000, p. 16). These areas include the following:

  i.   Employment and Economic Revitalization
  ii. Urban Transportation
  iii. Social and Cultural Policy
  iv. Infrastructure and Public Services
  v.   Governance (Civil Society)
  vi. Urban Land and Housing

The above six policies were discussed in chapter 2.

3.2.2.3 *Scope*

Stren and Polèse describe social sustainability as a process of development (and/or growth) (Stren & Polèse, 2000), not an end state to be achieved, whereby all six policy areas are working harmoniously to achieve an environment that is conducive to the compatible cohabitation of diverse populations. Thus, one can observe independent elements of social sustainability and conclude whether a city or community is implementing policies that are either conducive to social sustainability, versus actions that move away from social sustainability. As such, the scope of my research was limited to three out of the six policy areas of social sustainability. This allowed me to observe in detail three policy areas versus engaging in research that would offer a broad conclusion across all policy areas. The policy areas observed were: Employment and Economic Revitalization, Governance (Civil Society)[1] and Urban Land and Housing. These three policy areas, due to their influence on and by planning. Zoning ordinances, spatial policies and designated uses can all be found within each of these policy areas and thus allow us to look at social sustainability from a social planning perspective. Observation of three of the six policy areas still provides insights as to whether a city or community is progressing towards social sustainability. Elements of the omitted policy areas of; Urban Transportation, Social and Cultural Policy and Infrastructure and Public Services remained highly integrated within the three measured policy areas.

A similar approach was taken in Bramley and Power's observation of the social impact of the urban form on social sustainability. Bramley and Power remarked that Polèse and

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[1] Governance is referred to as civil society within my research due to the broad relational nature of Stren and Polèse's definition of governance.

Stren's definition discusses social sustainability in terms of the collective functioning of society as well as in terms of individual quality-of-life issues (Bramley & Power, 2009, p. 31) and thus was the adopted definition of social sustainability for their research. Their approach maintained the conceptual foundation of social sustainability, but also included additional indicators that were aligned with the definition provided through the policy definition provided by the policy statement of H M Government (Bramley & Power, 2009). However, their methodological approach was also scoped to include four of the eight indicators given the integrated nature of social indicators (Bramley & Power, 2009).

3.2.3 Operationalization

Operationalization further concretizes the intended meaning of the concept in relation to a particular study and provide some criteria for measuring the empirical existence of that concept (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2007; Babbie, 2004). As a mixed methods approach was being taken, each of the policy areas were translated into an indicator and assigned a measure in order to facilitate the collection of data to determine the social sustainability of the use of decanting as a method of urban upgrading. Each of the measures were further expanded and categorized into qualitative and quantitative measurements, which can be found in

Table 3.1. Using Stren and Polèse's definitions of each of the observed policy areas I extrapolated qualitative and quantitative measures from text. These measures were informed the development of the questionnaire and key informant interview questions to ensure that all policy areas of social sustainability were being addressed.

Indicators	Measures	Quantitative	Qualitative
Urban Land and Housing	Rental Costs	• Current price of Rent • Avg. Neighborhood rent • Change in rental cost +/- • Frequency of late payments • Measure the difference between a rent controlled home and the former squatter settlement	• Is it worth the amount you are paying in rent? • Is it going to affect you ability to pay your rent? • Exploring public housing policy • Qualifications for the redevelopment projects
	Financial incentives	• Amount of money invested by government in housing programs • Amount of funding available for new tenants • Measuring growth of equity	• Do you qualify for government subsidies? • Ability to gain income from the current housing
	Urban Management	• Funding allocated for infrastructure maintenance • Real Estate Taxes	• Awareness of zoning ordinances • Do you feel restricted by the current zoning bylaws? • Presence of exclusionary zoning • Space allocated for urban agriculture • Have there been any recent changes in housing policies in light of the need to improve the lives of slum dwellers?
Employment, Economic Revitalization, and the building of inclusive public spaces	Employment/ income generation	• # of employers within the prescribed area • # of existing businesses (entrepreneurs vs. employers) • Avg. income • Unemployment rate • Licensing rates for private vendors	• Are you aware of zoning ordinances and building regulations that prohibit certain uses on this site? • Do you find the administration restrictive of revenue generating activities • Affect new development has had on generation of income • Proximity to work, retail facilities and education
	Investment	• # of government programs that subsidize private investment • % of household income in investments • Equity and land value changes	• Access to technological infrastructure • Perceived value of private investment in the area • Presence of commercial space and infrastructure investment • Presence of public space
Civil Society	Citizen engagement	• Frequency of planning meetings with the local government and non government organizations • # of organic grass roots organizations • Composition of ethnic groupings (census data) • Community Levies for the purpose of community building	• Levels of activity is political issues • Level of engagement in the planning process • Perceived freedom of assembly, management of own resources, urban management • Perceived political voice
	Transparency of governance structures		• Perceived access to local community organizations • access to government resources • trust in government • Understanding of the redevelopment process • Access to government • Knowledge of MDGs

Table 3.1 - Indicators for Methods Test

3.3 Research Method

As the measurement of social sustainability has varying elements it was important to use a variation of forms for data collection to capture the breadth of the concept. Data collection consisted of both primary and secondary data collection methods. The primary data collection method was encompassed in fieldwork which included: observations, the administration of a questionnaire to the affected populations and in-person semi-structured interviews with key informants including academics, government officials, international NGOs, representatives of community based organizations, and the review of official documents about the program. Secondary data collection included the review of government documentation, legislation, and all relevant academic articles. Relevant documentation included any literature that related to the issues of resettlement, housing policy, land rights and other topics relating to human settlements. The scope of the review of documents included the extraction of information that would provide insights on methods and case studies that could provide a lens for which to view my research question.

3.3.1 Field Research

Field research is the systematic study of ordinary events and activities in the setting that they occur (Bailey, 1996; Emerson, 1988) with the primary objective of collecting data by interacting with and observing people within a self contained setting (Bailey, 1996; Van Maanen, 1982). For the purposes of this research the field is Nairobi, Kenya, however it can be further stratified into the offices of federal bureaucrats, community based organizations, non-profit organizations and the impacted community. The offices of the federal bureaucrats and the Non-profit organizations were located within the

central business district; the community-based organizations were located directly within the Kibera and other slum settlements. The community impacted by the slum-upgrading program was limited to the physical boundaries of the decanting site. It included 6 buildings A, D, G, J, N and P. Field research included the administration of a 56 question questionnaire, observation and the conducting of qualitative semi-structured key informant interviews.

3.3.2 Questionnaire

Primary data collection consisted in the use of a short questionnaire administered by five University of Nairobi students. An interview questionnaire method was employed for the administration of the questionnaire, which instead of the residents self-administering the questionnaire, students asked the questions orally and recorded the responses of the residents (Babbie, 2004, p. 263). The research assistants were selected based on their experience in conducting field research within Kibera, cultural and ethnic sensitivities of Kibera. They were also selected based on their regional ethnicities. The administrators represented 4 out of the 42 federally recognized ethnic groups. This mitigated the cultural and social biases that could be expressed by the administrators. The questions were developed and vetted through the academic advisors and the research assistants.

The questionnaire was divided into four parts: General demographics, urban land and housing, economic and civil society. The formulation of the questionnaire corresponded with the indicators and measures outlined in

Table 3.1. The following chart outlines the questions and the corresponding measure. Using the chart as a guide, a stand-alone questionnaire was developed to support the administration process by the research assistants (Appendix A: Household Questionnaire).

The questionnaire was administered over a span of three days, which included two weekdays and one day during the weekend. Research in the decanting site is highly restricted and limited, thus it was necessary to identify the duration of time and selection of days that would be of least disruption to the community. The decision to have the questionnaire administered during the week and on the weekend was to ensure that we captured the head of household (typically available on weekends) in the administration of our questionnaire.

The value of using interview questionnaires as a data collection method was that administrators were able to clarify any confusion in the questionnaire, probe if there is particular interest in a question and also provide supplementary observations while conducting the interviews.

3.3.3 Observation

The purpose of observational data is to describe the setting that was observed, the activities that took place in that setting, and the meanings of what was observed from the perspective of the observed (Patton M. Q., 1990, p. 202). The use of observation in my field research was completed predominantly while within the decanting site. For the purposes of this research the following were observed:

- Social interactions between the surveyed and the surveyor
- Social interactions between tenants and neighbors
- Social interactions between leadership/representatives of the community and the residents
- Physical environment (ex. Buildings, public spaces, trade posts)
- Use of public space within and around the decanting site and the variation of uses from the previous Soweto East location
- Use of common areas within the units
- Physical interaction with the decanting site and the existing physical infrastructure of the greater Kibera community.

Each of the administrators of the questionnaire were also provided a journal to record any of their own observations that went above and beyond the questions that were provided. These journals, captured in English, provided a perspective that was able to capture the cultural nuances, which I would not have been able to observe given my cultural background and biases.

3.3.4 Semi-Structured and conversational Interviews

Semi-Structured in person interviews were held with federal and local administration, international Non-Government Organizations and community-based organizations. My local research assistants and academic adviser and my Waterloo academic advisors validated the questions used in my interviews through a review and approval process. The local researchers assessed the cultural appropriateness of the questions by reading, editing and reviewing the questions. The materials were also further vetted through the Waterloo ethics review process to ensure that academic integrity was upheld and did not infringe on the rights of the human subjects.

The pre-formulated questions served as an interview guide and allowed me as the interviewer to build a conversation within a particular subject area, word questions spontaneously and to establish a conversational style but with focus on a particular subject that had been pre-determined (Patton M. Q., 2002, p. 208). Interviewees also had the opportunity to expand on areas of particular interest that provided a broader context to the information being collected. The interview questions (Appendix B: Interview Questions) were categorized under the headings of: Community Based Organizations, NGOs and Government organizations. The use of the interview questions as a guide allowed for additional insights, that may not have been considered to enter into the discussion.

3.4 Site Selection

Slum upgrading programs are occurring all around the world in various urban locations. Slum Dwellers International, an organization that is involved in multiple slum upgrading programs, is currently involved in projects in 388 cities globally, with Kenya accounting for 11 of those cities (Slum Dwellers International, 2011). This illustrates the scale and variety of projects that are accessible for observing this research. The selection of the decanting site as the site for research depended on three factors:

- Institutional accessibility and support
- Access to information and resources
- Accessibility to and throughout site

Conducting research in Kenya requires academic support and institutional sponsorship from a local university. The purpose of this is to ensure that academic integrity is maintained throughout the administration of research. Through the assistance of the

University, a research permit was obtained from the National Council for Science and Technology (NCST), which permitted the administration of my research.

Due to the current relevance of this issue access to recent reports, journals, technical papers and brochures on the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) was easily facilitated through the United Nations and the University of Nairobi.

Accessing Kibera, particularly the decanting site, was the most important reason for selecting the location. Given the international spotlight on this particular location specific permissions were required to access the location from the Ministry of Housing and local political officials. Other parts of Kibera had limited access, primarily for security reasons and required a local escort.

Kibera, located in Langata District of Nairobi, was the location selected for this study. There were a number of reasons why this site was chosen as the optimal location to collected qualitative and quantitative data:

1) Kibera is one of the largest slums in Africa and is currently undergoing a large-scale upgrading program that requires the temporary displacement of a large slum population in a decanting site in order to prepare the previous site for resettlement.
2) The organization of the decanting site (buildings, units, suites) supported the collection of data.
3) The physical environment of the decanting site juxtaposed against the broader slum population.

3.4.1 Site Description

Decanting is defined, scientifically, as moving liquid from one container to another. Within the context of slum upgrading, decanting refers to the physical resettlement of a community from their place of origin to a temporary holding site-the decanting site, in order to redevelop their former location with minimal interruptions. For the purposes of the KENSUP program the decanting site serves as a temporary settlement are, whereby the residents of the impacted upgraded area (Soweto East, Zone A) are resettled until the site is upgraded.

The decanting site is bordered by the informal settlements of Kibera, Langata housing estates and the Langata women's prison. A wired fence and a concrete wall with a controlled access point adjacent to the administrative building demarcate the site from the greater Kibera community. The decanting site consists of 17 multi-residential apartment buildings that are alphabetically labeled from A-Q.

This site was constructed for the KENSUP program to facilitate the upgrading process. The benefit of decanting is that the community can remain together during this period of forced relocation, which offers a centralized location where communications can be shared with all residents that are impacted by the upgrading program. All residents of the decanting site are required to be former residents of Soweto East, Zone A and are identified by enumeration cards issued by the Ministry of Lands.

3.4.1.1 Unit Descriptions

Relocated households were assigned units, within a three-unit apartment, based on availability and affordability. Each of the apartments in the decanting site are equal in

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size and in layout (Appendix C: Floor Plan). Each apartment is divided into three units, with a shared kitchen and washroom among the households. The apartment can house up to three households, with no limits in household size. Each unit is rented at a cost of 1000ksh per month ($12CDN).

The site also has amenities to support the resettled population, such as small shops, a community hall and an administrative office where residents pay rent and issue complaints and maintenance requests.

The units are comprised of three rooms, a sink, toilet, bathroom and balcony. The distribution of units amongst the community was based on affordability and availability.

3.5   Population and Sampling

3.5.1   Population

Kibera contains an ethnically and demographically diverse and dense population. It is informally divided up into 12 villages. Each of these villages contains a variety of ethnic backgrounds that also have variances in language. Despite the Kikuyu being the largest ethnic group in Kenya and in greater Nairobi, the majority of Kibera's population consists of members of the Luo, Luhya, Kamba, Kisii and Nubian ethnic populations, with all having distinct languages between them. However, given the cosmopolitan nature of Kibera a majority of the population speaks KiSwahili.

For the purposes of my research I further stratified the population of Kibera to include solely the population of the Soweto East village, which is the community that is directly impacted by the upgrading project. The Soweto East village was further subdivided, by the Ministry of Lands, into zones A, B, C and D to facilitate the resettlement of the community into the decanting site, located on the northern boundaries of Kibera. During the span of my research zone 'A' was the population that had been temporarily resettled into the decanting site and thus was the focus of my research.

3.5.2   Units and Quantitative Sample Size

Given the limited time frame, permitted by local officials to administer my questionnaires it was appropriate to create a quantitative sample from the number of housing units in the decanting site. Table 3.2 highlights the housing figures of the decanting site and the number of households that had been interviewed.

The following was the information provided by the administration:

Table 3.2 Decanting Site Specifications

Description	Numbers
Total Number of Blocks:	17
Total Households:	1400
Total Units:	600
Total rooms:	1800
Total Population:	Unknown
Total geographical size:	?
Responded Households:	135
Buildings Visited:	6- A, D, G, J, N, P

Total Units Visited   Approx. 180

3.5.3   Non-Probability Sampling Methods

In creating a sample size for my research I used non-probability methods of sample

selection: purposive, quota and snowball sampling.

3.5.3.1   Purposive

A necessary characteristic of purposive sampling is ensuring that the sample interviewed

represents the appropriate perspective reflective of a proportion of the population. In this

case the samples targeted the population impacted by the resettlement programme: Zone

'A' of the Soweto East Village. As one of the main purposes of *purposive sampling* is to

gain a better understanding, it is necessary to choose stakeholders that can provide an in-

depth perspective into the issues that are being addressed by my research. With regards to

selecting experts in the field, such as political officials, academics and NGOs it was

important that the individuals were engaged in the resettlement process.

3.5.3.2   Snowball

Snowball sampling refers to the non-probability sampling method that uses networks and

linkages for the purpose of recruitment into the qualitative study (Neuman, 2007). Upon

departure from Canada an identified list of organizations and first contact had been made

to organizations and individuals that I would interview while in the field, however locals

were able to provide greater insights into individuals and organizations that I should

contact for the purpose of my research. The result of this was the broad categories of

resident, NGO/CBO and government bodies became more specific and I could target my

efforts towards specific organizations and individuals. The limitation of snowballing was that individuals referred me to individuals that in fact had no relevance to the research topic.

3.6   Human Sources of Data Collection

Table 3.3 - Human Sources of Data Collection

Residents	Community-Based Organizations	Federal Agencies	Government Issued Documents	NGOs

3.6.1   Residents

A resident refers to a registered and enumerated head of household(s) of the Soweto East Zone 'A' community that is currently residing in the decanting site. These individuals have either endorsed or are subject to the GoK *Tenancy Agreement*, which highlights that rules and regulations that must be followed while living within the decanting site. This may include members of the Settlement Executive Committee, Block Representatives or any other member of the KENSUP institutional framework. Residents include the Head of Household (or partner) of the leased unit within the decanting site. Each resident bears a resident identification card that was produced during the Ministry of Lands enumeration process at the commencement of the upgrading process. Other individuals that were engaged included the representative of the resident cooperative and the estate management and administration, all of which are members of the resettled community.

3.6.2   Block Representatives

A block representative is a democratically elected individual, that voluntarily represents the interests of the residential block in which he or she resides. The block representatives have the most frequent and consistent contact with the residents in the building. Residents contact their block representatives if there are any issues with their physical problems with their unit. The block representative is also viewed as a mediator, who interjects when there is a conflict between neighbors. For the administration of the questionnaires it was the responsibility of the block representative to introduce each of the residents to the questionnaire administrator.

3.6.3 Settlement Executive Committee (SEC)

The SEC is a democratically elected group of individuals that represent the Soweto East community on all matters during the upgrading process. The SEC has 17 officials that represent separate interest groups within the community. The composition of the SEC includes the following:

- Chief
- Councilor
- District Officer
- 2 Structure Owners
- 2 Faith-based Reps
- 2 Community Based Organizations
- 2 Disabled
- 2 Youth
- 1 NGOs
- 1 Widows and Orphans

It is the responsibility of each of these representatives to bring forth the issues of each interest group the SEC.

3.6.4 Community Based Organizations (CBOs)

A community-based organization refers to those organizations that were directly or indirectly engaged in the public participation process during the development of the KENSUP implementation strategy. These individual(s) were able to provide insight into the process and/or how the project has impacted the greater community as a whole. These CBOs were located directly in Kibera and have implemented programs that directly support slum upgrading and its overall intentions.

3.6.5 Federal Agencies

A federal agency refers to an organization that was may have been involved in the upgrading process or may also have provided insight into the broader impact of the upgrading program or the broader provision of housing for the urban poor. Some of these agencies did not provide qualitative interviews, but offered resources that supported my research. Federal Agencies included: The Ministry of Housing, Ministry of Lands, National Housing Corporation, and Urban Development Department.

3.6.6 Non-Government Organizations (NGOs)

Coordination Board of Kenya defines an NGO a private voluntary grouping of individuals or associations not operated for profit or other commercial purposes but which have organized themselves nationally or internationally for the benefit of the public at large and promotion of social welfare, development, charity or research in the areas inclusive of, but not restricted to health, agriculture, education, industry and supply of amenities and services(NGO's Co-ordination Board, 2009, p. 13). The NGOs that were interviewed in the process provided insight on public engagement during the initial planning process as well as insights into the current impact of the upgrading on the broader community.

3.7 Analysis

3.7.1 Questionnaires

To facilitate the analysis of the responses to the questionnaires the use of database technology was used. All information gathered from the questionnaires was entered into Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Each of the questions was coded and entered into SPSS to analyze if there are co-relations and/or emerging themes from the responses in the questionnaire that may enhance theoretical understandings of the qualitative research. Coding refers to the classifying or categorizing of individual pieces of data-coupled with some kind of retrieval system for the purposes of recalling materials that I may have a later interest in (Babbie, 2004, p. 376). Through the use of SPSS, visual representation of the data could be generated from the system in the form of charts and graphs.

3.7.2 Interviews

With permission, interviews were recorded with a recording device (cell phone recorder), however, given the cultural sensitivities it was a challenge for individuals to accept the operation of a recording device in the room. Thus, a majority of interviews were documented using a pen and paper, to capture the key points. To support my analysis notes were redrafted to capture key themes and patterns that would support my analysis of social sustainability. For the purposes of this research all interviewees will remain anonymous within the findings discussion.

3.8 Triangulation

Triangulation is an approach that is used to verify the data collected over the course of the research process in order to strengthen the validation of the research (Yin, 2011). Yin recommends the validation of information from three sources.(Yin, 2011). For the purpose of this research the information being validated was the information gathered from the residents of the decanting site. The following are the triangulation methods that were used for the purpose of validating the responses from the questionnaires:

- Use of governance documents and Standard operating procedures to cross reference responses
- Conducting semi-structured interviews with government officials, CBOs, NGO and academics to verify information received from residents and other key stakeholders

3.9 Limitations

3.9.1 Accurate Information

Due to the informal nature of slums it is a challenge to collect accurate data regarding the demographic composition, population and geographical characteristics. It has been noted that statistics on slum populations and are often deliberately exaggerated or massively undercounted by political officials (Davis, 2006). Thus despite the use of official documents for data verification, the information that is provided can be regarded with skepticism.

3.9.2 Language barriers

English is spoken by a majority of the residents of Nairobi. I did not encounter any problems when interviewing government officials and senior officials from non-governmental organizations and community based organizations. However, despite the

ethnic diversity within Kibera, KiSwahili was the common language that was spoken by many of the residents. Prior to my departure into the field I learned a few key phrases in KiSwahili that allowed me to build a basic rapport with the resident population. To overcome this challenge of language I solicited the support from the research assistants from the University of Nairobi.

3.9.3 Limited Time

I had a total of two months in the field to gather information from all human subjects (questionnaires and conducted interviews) as well as collecting any resources that could only be found while in Kenya. Access to the decanting site where the questionnaires were administered was limited to three days. The time within the decanting site did not permit the administration of a pilot survey. This impacted the quality and clarity of responses from respondents. Where there was variation in responses and clear lack of understanding, those questions were omitted from further analysis.

Time was further constrained by the inconveniencing amount of traffic in the city. Where data collection was interrupted by conflicts in scheduling and/or transportation, my contingency was relying on primary data vis à vis government and non-government sector reports and census data to fill in the gaps where information could not be collected.

3.9.4 Appropriate Sampling

The approval to collect data within the site was through the Ministry of Housing. However, the estate manager and the assigned block representatives controlled the facilitation of the administration of the questionnaire. The estate manager arranged which buildings we would administer the questionnaire to and assigned the block representative

to provide the necessary introductions to the residents prior to the administration of the questionnaire. Thus I had no control on what building I wanted to sample.

4 Findings

4.1 Introduction

The following chapter presents the findings from interviews and from data collected in the field. As indicated in the methods chapter, three of Stren and Polèse's (2000) policy areas within social sustainability's institutional-territorial nexus were observed in detail: a) Civil Society b) Urban Land and Housing and c) Employment, Economic Revitalization, and the building of inclusive public spaces. Looking at these areas of social sustainability we can better answer the primary research question:

Has the use of decanting sites, as a means of supporting the process of slum upgrading, impacted the social sustainability of a community? Subsequently the findings will also allow us to be able to answer the sub questions: **What are the drivers of large slum upgrading programs and What are the necessary conditions to ensure that social sustainability is sustained?**

The limited time frame did not permit the investigation into all six-policy areas outlined by Stren and Polèse (ibid.). As such, the findings produced in this chapter offer an initial first step into understanding social sustainability. The quantitative data collected over a three-day period through the administration of a questionnaire, were objectively categorized into the three policy areas that were being observed. Using local research assistants from the University of Nairobi and with the assistance of local Block Representatives[2], surveys were conducted in 7 out of the total 17 blocks within the

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[2] Block Representatives are individuals who have been elected by their respective housing blocks to be the primary liaison between the settlement executive committee and the residents of the decanting site.

decanting site, with the highest proportion of interviews conducted in Block P and marginally less in Block N. The selection of blocks was left to the discretion of the estate manager and was also based on the availability of block representatives to accompany the research assistants while each questionnaire was administrated. In total, representative of 125 households[3] were interviewed, with under 1% of the population approached declining the request to participate in the survey. The total site is comprised of 600 apartments, which contain anywhere from 1-3 households, with shared cooking and washroom facilities. Each of the research assistants recorded additional observations and details in note pads, in order to capture additional contextual information.

4.1.1 Survey Results

The information collected from the survey was inputted into SPSS software in order to tabulate the frequencies for each of the responses. The following information was summarized from the data collected from the survey. The survey results have been categorized under one of the institutional-territorial policy areas to further illustrate their correlation with social sustainability and figures have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

4.1.2 Limitations

The questions from the survey were translated on site by the research assistants, which led to some inconsistencies in the response to some questions. Due to the inconsistency in responses, some responses were omitted from the survey results. For example, when asked how far the participant must travel different participants responded in terms of cost,

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[3] A household denotes an individual represents 1 or more individuals that also cohabitate within a unit in the decanting site.

time and distance. Questions regarding age and self employment (licensing and staffing) were omitted from the survey results.

4.2   Characteristics of the Sample

(Q1) Gender of survey participants (1) Male (2) Female

Participants of the survey were predominately women accounting for 67% of the total participants with 53% indicating that they were the wife of the household head. Men made up about one-third (32%) of the survey participants.

(Q2) Participant's Relationship with household head ……………………………

Within the context of this questionnaire the household head is defined as the individual who is responsible for the financial and social affairs of the family. They are mainly the primary breadwinner and commonly make the decisions in the house as it relates to the familial affairs. The household head participants were predominantly male at 25% of participants with a 6% of women identifying with the role.

(Q3) Period of residence in the Decanting Site (1) 1-3months (2) 3 -6months (3) 6-12months (4) over a year

A sign at the decanting site commemorates the first relocation of Kibera residents to the site as Wednesday, September 16, 2009. During the conduct of these questionnaires a majority of residents had lived in the decanting site for over a year. This indicates that a majority of the survey residents (93%) were there from the beginning of the project.

(Q4) Household/family size …………………………..

Households surveyed were relatively large, with the majority having five or more

members. The largest single category, 7 or more members, accounted for almost one-

quarter (23%) of households surveyed. The variance between household sizes was

minimal. Table (4.1) illustrates the distribution of household sizes.

Table 4.1- Household Sizes

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	1	4	3.2
	2	8	6.5
	3	21	16.9
	4	18	14.5
	5	22	17.7
	6	23	18.5
	Seven or more	28	22.6
	Total	124	100.0
Missing	System	1	
Total		125	

(Q5) Rooms occupied by householdi:

Each of the units in the decanting site consists of 3 rooms, which are numbered from 1-3.

A household can occupy one room, two rooms or the entire unit. There is a correlation

between the amount of rent paid and the number of rooms occupied per household. For

example, if the respondent indicated that they pay 1000Ksh, it implies that the household

occupies one room within the unit. Of the sample interviewed the results were relatively

evenly split between from 1 room to 3 rooms, with 25% occupying one room, 36%

occupying two rooms and 39% occupying 3 rooms.

Table 4.2 - Rent paid per month

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	1000	31	25.2
	2000	44	35.8
	3000	48	39.0
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

(Q6) Marital Status (1) Single (2) Married (3) Widowed (4) separated (5) Other

A vast majority of participants (82%) were married. Table (4.3) illustrates the marital statuses of the survey participants.

Table 4.3 - Marital status of respondent

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	single	15	12.1
	married	102	82.3
	widowed	6	4.8
	separated	1	.8
	Total	124	100.0
Missing	System	1	
Total		125	

(Q7) Household Income (per month): (a) <1500ksh (b) 1501 – 3000ksh (c) 3001ksh – 4500ksh (d) 4501ksh –6000ksh (e) 6001ksh- 7500ksh (f) 7500ksh- 9000ksh (g) 9000ksh +

Income refers to the total amount of income that is brought in by the household per month. If the participant was not the head of the household their knowledge of the finances was an estimate. As such the results of the question must consider this variance.

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A majority of residents (40%) reported that their income was greater than 9000ksh a month. Table 4.4 - Household income per month illustrates this. Despite the majority of respondents making over 9000Ksh, other costs associated with caring for relatively larger households, impacts the level of poverty experienced by each of the households.

Table 4.4 - Household income per month

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Kshs.< 1500	2	1.6
	Kshs.1501-3000	3	2.4
	Kshs.3001-4500	10	8.1
	Kshs.4501-6000	4	3.3
	Kshs.6001-7500	12	9.8
	Kshs.7501-9000	16	13.0
	Kshs. Above 9000	49	39.8
	88	18	14.6
	99	9	7.3
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

(Q8) Ethnicity …………………………..

Nairobi is known for its social and political divisions based on the lines of ethnicity. Four major ethnic groups, Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo and Kamba make up 70% of Kenya's population (East Africa Living Encyclopedia, n.d). It was important to ask this question to understand the ethnic composition of the community which dictates much of the social and economic interactions within the community, not just in the decanting site but in the broader community of Kibera. Almost half of the participants (46%) indicated that they were Luhya, while the strong minority of the participants were Kikuyu at 11%. Table 4.5 reports the distribution of ethnic identity.

Table 4.5 - Ethnic group of respondent

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	kikuyu	13	10.6
	luhya[4]	57	46.3
	kisii	6	4.9
Valid	kamba	17	13.8
	luo	27	22.0
	taita	3	2.4
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

(Q9) What languages do you speak? Circle all that apply (1) English (2) Kiswahili (3)

Luhya (4) Luo (5) Kikuyu (6) Nubian (7) Kalenjin (8) Kamba (9) Kisii (10)

Others_____

A majority of participants indicated that they spoke multiple languages, however the

prominent languages spoken were: English, Kiswahili, Luhya, and Luo.

(Q10) Religion: (1) Christian (2) Muslim (3) Traditional (4) None (5) Other (specify)

Religion is an extremely important indicator for propensity to participate in community

organizations. It also implies that the individual identifies with a community versus

solely an individual amongst other residents. It also illustrates that beyond the ethnic

divisions individuals can find unity within another spectrum of social association. Almost

all (98%) of participants indicated that they practiced Christianity whereas 2% indicated

that they practiced Islam.

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[4] My research did not delve into the reasoning behind the proportionately higher Luhya
population

Table 4.6 - Religious Affiliation of Respondent

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Christian	120	97.6
	Muslim	2	1.6
	none	1	.8
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

4.3 Civil Society

Using social sustainability's institutional-territorial nexus, Civil Society refers to examining the relationship between government and state agencies on one hand and the relationship between government and communities or social groups. It also goes beyond this relational definition to include the activities undertaken by groups-- political, social or governmental. This means understanding local governance structures, civil engagement, effective policy implementation, etc.

(Q11) Did you feel like you had the option not to relocate (1) Yes (2) No (put the table in)

56% of participants felt like they had the option not to relocate, whereas 40% of participants felt that they had no option for relocation. 4% did not respond to the question.

(Q12) Is the relocation justified?

Table 4.7 - Was the relocation justified?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	yes	111	90.2
	no	8	6.5
Valid	Do not know	1	.8
	no response	3	2.4
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

90% of participants indicated that they felt that the relocation was justified with the majority indicating that it was justified to prepare their location in Soweto East for redevelopment. Only 15% of participants indicated that the relocation was justified because it created a clean environment.

(Q13) I trust that the government will complete the Slum Upgrading Program (1) Absolutely (2) Maybe (3) Not likely (4) No (5) No opinion

(345.5%) of participants trust that the government will complete the slum-upgrading program

Table 4.8 - Trust Government will complete the program

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	Absolutely	15	12.2
	Maybe	41	33.3
Valid	Not likely	24	19.5
	No	29	23.6
	No opinion	14	11.4
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

(Q14) Did you participate in the public consultations when this area was being developed? (1) Yes (2) No

Table 4.9 - Participation in the public consultations

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	yes	63	51.2
	no	58	47.2
	no response	2	1.6
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

Participation in public consultations was closely split between those that participated and those that did not. Fifty-One percent of participants indicated that they participated in KENSUP public consultations, whereas 47% of participants indicated that they were not involved in the consultation process. Engagement included participating in the enumeration process, attending meetings and seminars, and supporting the efforts to sensitize the population to the nature of the program.

(Q15) I am highly engaged in local politics: A)Strongly Agree   B) Agree   C) Undecided   D) Disagree   E) Strongly Disagree

Table 4.10 - Engage in local politics

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	Strongly agree	19	15.6
	Agree	36	29.5
	Undecided	15	12.3
Valid	Disagree	34	27.9
	Strongly disagree	17	13.9
	no response	1	.8
	Total	122	100.0
Missing	System	3	
Total		125	

The difference between the respondent identifying as highly engaged and in local politics and not is marginal. Almost half (45%) of participants identified themselves as being engaged in local politics, with 16% indicating that they are strongly engaged. 42% of the participants indicated that they would not identify themselves as highly engaged in local politics. The remainder of the participants were undecided or did not provide a response to the question.

(Q16) My desire to participate in community activities has increased since the redevelopment program: (A) Strongly Agree   B) Agree C) Undecided D) Disagree   E) Strongly Disagree

Table 4.11 - Increase in desire to participate in local politics

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	strongly agree	17	13.9
	agree	56	45.9
	undecided	17	13.9
Valid	disagree	27	22.1
	strongly disagree	3	2.5
	88.00	2	1.6
	Total	122	100.0
Missing	System	3	
Total		125	

Since the redevelopment 60% articipants indicated that their desire to participate in local politics has increased, whereas 25% indicated that after the redevelopment their desire to participate in local politics did not increase.

(Q17) Have these physical improvements positively influenced the welfare of the community? (1) Yes (2) No

Table 4.12 - Have the Physical Improvements Positively Influenced the Welfare of the Community?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	yes	69	56.1
Valid	no	49	39.8
	no response	5	4.1
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

A majority of participants indicated that the physical changes have improved the welfare of the community. They stated that improved living standards and the improved health of

residents have been determining factors in the positive influence that the redevelopment has had on the community. Participants that did not believe that the redevelopment improved the quality of life, cited that the increase in conflicts amongst neighbours that share units, the weak social networks within the decanting site, the declining economic status of people and the nature of people becoming more individualistic as primary reasons on how the redevelopment has negatively impacted the residents of the decanting site.

(Q18) What are the sources of the information? (circle all that apply) Source (1) Local administration (2) Church (3) Media (4) friends

A majority of participants indicated that their primary source of information was the news media. This would include predominantly newspapers and televisions. Second to the media, participants also cited that they received their information from the local administration.

Table 4.13 – Primary sources of information

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	local administration	30	24.8
	church	4	3.3
Valid	media	82	67.8
	friends	3	2.5
	posters and notices	2	1.7
	Total	121	100.0
Missing	System	4	
Total		125	

(Q19) What mode do you use in passing the information to different people? (1) Barazas (2) Cell phones (3) Letter writing (4) Radio

Participants favoured the use of cell phones as the primary means of sharing information. Second to cell phones participants indicated that Baraza5 were the second method they would use to share information.

(Q20) From which representative on the settlement executive committee have you received information ? (1) Faith Based (2) CBOs (3) Disability Rep (4) Youth (5) NGO (6) Widows and Orphans (7) Other(specify)_____

36% of individuals indicated that the block representative is the individual on the Settlement Executive Committee that they receive most of their information from.

(Q21) Do you feel engaged in the KENSUP Project? (1) Yes (2) No

There was very little difference between the proportions of the participants that felt engaged in the KENSUP program versus those that did not feel engaged. 44% of participants felt engaged in the KENSUP program, whereas 42% indicated that they did not. The remainder of participants provided no response to the question, without the request for a reason as to why they had abstained.

(Q22) State the major social organization that exists in this settlement? (Social networks)

. The major social organization within the decanting site are the women's groups, with over 35% of the participants indicating that they were involved in these organizations.

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5 A Baraza is an informal term used in Nairobi, Kenya as a forum in which community members gather

Welfare groups and youth groups were the next most popular social organization that the participants in the survey indicated that they were involved in.

(Q23) Where do you buy your Maize Meal?

Maize meal is a staple food in Kenyan culture. Maize meal is corn that is ground into fine flour and eaten with spinach or kale at lunch or dinner. This question was specifically asked in order to understand whether the participants' necessities were available in close proximity to the decanting site. A vast majority of the participants (76%) purchase their maize meal in the decanting site. The remainder of the participants were fairly evenly split between purchasing their maize meal in Nairobi town or in Kibera.

(Q24) What is the frequency in which you return to your previous location?

Soweto East is a 40 minute walk from the decanting site and presumably a location where a number of residents of the decanting site still have valued relationships. In redevelopment schemes it is common for the population to frequently return to the site from which they were displaced (Goetz, 2002). Thus, understanding the affinity for participants to want to return to their previous site is important to understand because it illustrates the strength of social bonds.

The variation in frequency of returning to the decanting site was slight between the posed durations. The majority of participants (31%) indicated that they return to the decanting site on a daily basis. 28% of participants indicated that they return to Soweto East on a weekly basis. It is important to note that a small minority (13%) had never returned to

Soweto East. The question did not follow up to ask the purpose of their frequent visits to Soweto East, particularly clarifying whether the visits were for economic or social reasons.

Table 4.14 - Frequency to which you return to your Soweto East

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	daily	38	30.9
	weekly	34	27.6
	monthly	22	17.9
	every 3 months	8	6.5
	never returned	16	13.0
	no response	5	4.1
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

(Q25) If you are catching a matatu, which stage do you take it from?

In Nairobi, the cost of taking public transportation is measured by the distance an individual travels. For example, if an individual is closer to their destination they pay less, vs. an individual who is farther from their destination, who would ultimately pay more. In Soweto East residents were within a 5-10 minute walk to the closest Matatu[6] (Mutongi, 2006) stage[7].

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6 Matatus are independently owned minibuses used as primarily low-cost transportation for Kenyans
7 A stage is a bus stop

Table 4.15 - Stage from which you take a Matatu (Figure 4.1)

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	Olympic Kibera	56	45.5
Valid	Otiende	66	53.7
	no response	1	.8
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

Figure 4.1 - Kibera Informal Settlement Villages

4.4 Urban Land and Housing

Urban land and housing refers to understanding the spatial influences on social
sustainability. This includes understanding housing policies that are enforced to the
permitted activities zoned in pre-identified spaces. It also refers to the agency in which an
individual can influence their environment, either private or communal. The following
data illustrates the quantifiable elements of urban land and housing.

*(Q26) Do you wish to make any physical changes to your living environment? (1) Yes
(2) No*

Social sustainability refers to the capacity of an individual to control their land and
housing (Polèse & Stren, 2000). A demonstration of this capability is expressed through
this question. The tenancy agreement (Ministry of Housing, 2010) indicates the
households are not allowed to augment the shape of their unit, thus indicating the limits
on capacity that the state has imposed on the residents of the decanting site. One may
conclude that the state is suppressing the household's ability to influence and amend their

physical environment. However, it is important to understand if the households desire to

make changes to their physical environment. A majority of participants (68%) indicated

that they have no desire to make physical changes to their living environment[8], whereas

29% of participants indicated that they would like to make changes to their physical

environment.

Table 4.16 - Do you wish to make any physical changes to your living environment?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	yes	35	28.5
	no	83	67.5
	no response	5	4.1
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

(Q27) Living in the Decanting site I feel more included in my community (1) Rarely (2)

Sometimes (3) Neutral (4) Absolutely

The decanting site is physically distinct from the rest of Kibera. The high-rise towers that

house the displaced Soweto East population are a stark physical contrast from the slums

of Kibera (Figure 4.2, Figure 4.3). To understand the feeling of greater inclusion by the

residents, this question was posed. A majority (46%) of participants affirmed that they

felt more included in their community, whereas it was marginally split between

individuals the rarely felt included (18%), Sometimes included (22%) and Neutral (11%)

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8 Living environment refers to the housing unit.

Figure 4.2: Decanting Site

Figure 4.3: Decanting Site 2

4.5 Employment, Economic Revitalization, and the Building of Inclusive Public Spaces

This policy area refers to impact that spatial design and local policy can impact the presence of employment and the capacity for economic development has on the residence of a particular community. This includes how policy can prohibit or promote the opportunities for residents to engage in economic activity, such that the defined space can either become economically empowered or suffer economic exclusion from the broader population. The following data capture from residents illustrates the impact that the spatial policies governing the land use in the decanting site have had on the economic status of the displaced population.

90

(Q28) Main source of income (1) Trading (2) Informal business (3) Formal business (4) Informal employment (5) Formal employment (6) Hustling (7) Not employed (8) Other (specify)

The main source of income was predominantly from engaging in informal employment. Informal employment is described as outside of a national legislative and regulatory framework of employment, subsequently with no clear legal employee and employer relationship established (Hussmanns, 2004).

Table 4.17- Main source of income

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	Trading	8	6.5
	Informal businesses	18	14.5
	Formal businesses	13	10.5
Valid	Informal employment	36	29.0
	Formal employment	26	21.0
	Hustling	7	5.6
	Not employed	16	12.9
	Total	124	100.0
Missing	System	1	
Total		125	

(Q29) Specific Type of employment

13% of participants indicated that the specific type of employment that they were engaged in were Juakali (trade, metalwork) and a business person[9]. Employment varied from being self employed to being a security officer.

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9 It was not clear what type of business these individuals engaged in.

(Q30) Location of employment (1) In the home (2) outside of the home

A majority of participants indicated that their employment was outside of the home at 74%.

(Q31) After the relocation my place of employment became (1) Closer (2) Farther (3) No change

47% of participants indicated that after the relocation their place of employment became farther for them. 38% of the participants indicated that they worked in Nairobi (City Centre). It is important to note that 14% of participants continued to work in Kibera and 12% of participants worked in Langata, community that is located (informally, by name) adjacent to Kibera. The reason for this informality is that Kibera, as a settlement, is formally located in Langata's territorial boundaries.

Table 4.18 - Distance of place of employment after relocation

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	Closer	20	16.3
	Farther	58	47.2
Valid	No change	25	20.3
	No response	12	9.8
	Not applicable	8	6.5
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

(Q32) How often do you receive wages from your source of income? (1) Daily (2) Weekly (3) After every two weeks (4) Monthly

38% of participants indicated that they receive wages either daily or monthly.

Table 4.19 - Frequency of receiving income

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	Daily	46	37.4
	End of each week	7	5.7
Valid	monthly	46	37.4
	no response	13	10.6
	not applicable	11	8.9
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

(Q33) Is the amount of rent you pay currently greater than the rent you paid when you lived in your previous location? (1) Yes (2) No

85% of participants indicated that the amount that they are paying in rent now is greater than what they were paying in Soweto East, Kibera.

(Q34) Is it worth the amount? (1) Yes (2) No

Table 4.20 - Are the New Residents worth the amount in Rent?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	yes	108	87.8
Valid	no	13	10.6
	no response	2	1.6
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

Despite the increase in rent, 88% of participants indicated that the rental amount was worth the amount, with the primary reason being because of access to water and electricity, followed by the quality of building materials.

(Q35) My ability to make rent is now (1) Easier (2) Somewhat Easier (3) No change (4) Somewhat harder (5) Difficult

Residents indicated that the transition to the decanting site made their ability to pay rent *somewhat harder* at 33% and an additional 28% indicated that their ability to make rent was now difficult.

Table 4.21 - Ability to make rent as compared to previous location

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	Easier	11	8.9
	Somewhat easier	15	12.2
	No change	22	17.9
Valid	Somewhat harder	40	32.5
	Difficult	34	27.6
	no response	1	.8
	Total	123	100.0
Missing	System	2	
Total		125	

(Q36) Level of expenditure per week ……………………………..

Cumulatively 34% of participants spend over 2000Ksh per week in expenses. Upon explanation to the participant's expenditures includes all financial obligations that go above and beyond rental obligations.

(Q37) What has been the trend of the financial situation in the household since the relocation? Is it (1) Increasing (2) Decreasing (3) No change (4) unknown

Since the relocation, the majority (58%) of people have indicated that their financial situation has been decreasing, followed by 29% of people indicating that their financial situation has not changed since the relocation. The self-disclosed reason for the decrease in the household's financial situation has been the increased cost of living within the decanting site. The lack of employment opportunities accounted for the second greatest reason why household's financial situations had been decreasing.

4.6 Questionnaire Conclusions

The surveys offer a quantifiable objective perspective of how the residents perceive the social sustainability of the decanting site. The following section will illustrate a more detailed perspective of key informants who were involved in the implementation of the upgrading project.

4.6.1 Interviews

The semi-structured key informant interviews were conducted over the course of three months. The information obtained through these interviews provided detailed context and validation of the information obtained through the administration of the questionnaire to the residents. Using prepared questions as a guide (Appendix A: Household Questionnaire), representatives of Government and Non-Government agencies participated in interviews. Four organizations/ individuals had been pre-selected prior to entering into the field based on their involvement within KENSUP. Additional

interviewees were identified by the pre-selected sample, through the method of snowball

sampling to provide greater context for the scope and impact to social sustainability of

the program. Snowball sampling refers to the non-probability sampling method that uses

networks and linkages for the purpose of recruitment into the qualitative study (Neuman,

2007). In total there were nine interviews that provided the appropriate contextual

background information into the social sustainability of the use of decanting sites for the

KENSUP program. Interviewees included representatives from three broad categories;

Government Officials, Community Based Organizations (CBO), Non-Government

Organizations (NGO), both local and international and local governance/administration.

 All interviewees were either directly involved in the implementation of the project or

were subject matter experts in urban development and housing at the federal or local

level. A majority of interviewees requested that their interviews not be audio recorded.

Thus, the information captured in this section are from notes drafted by me during the

interviews. Given the political sensitivity of the topic the interviewees remain anonymous

and each Key Informant is distinguished by the nomenclature of (KI). Speaking to

individuals from all levels within the institutional structure of the programme provided a

breadth of perspectives. The findings of the interviews touched on the key themes of

within social sustainability of Civil Society, Urban Land and Housing and Employment,

Economic revitalization and building of inclusive public spaces.

The Community Based Organization (CBO) was mainly engaged in providing

information to residents of Kibera through print media. The representative was also an

active community organizer and advocate for improving the living conditions of individuals in the community and highlighting common issues, mainly in development. Their involvement in the project was mainly supporting the initial enumeration of the population and disseminating information regarding the project. The CBO was represented by a representative from a Kibera based media organization

Three representatives from Non-Government Organizations were interviewed. They were with involved in the development, implementation and/or administration of KENSUP. The respondent was a former key administrator and advocate for the program and played a vital role in developing the strategic direction for the program. NGOs included the following:

- An international NGO with representatives both at the Head Office and onsite
- A Nairobi-based social housing organization

Three government officials were interviewed including federal representatives that had the legislative mandate of providing low-income housing strategies and funding across the country, which provided insight on what had previously been completed and detailed their omission in the KENSUP project. Other government representatives interviewed included the coordinating bodies that have been involved in the facilitation, administration and implementation of the KENSUP program.

Two individuals representing local governance and administration included individuals that were either given their authority through a democratic process or appointed by government officials, were locally assigned to represent the interests of the community

throughout the process. It is the responsibility of these individuals to manage local administrative structures and processes as well as manage the social well-being and finances of the community. Local administration consists of:

- Soweto east Cooperative representatives
- Decanting site estate administration

4.6.2 Limitations

Individuals were more comfortable in speaking about the project than responding to questions regarding their involvement in the project. Where there was little relevance to the question that was posed, respondents preferred to discuss broadly the nature of the program.

4.6.2.1 Key Findings by themes

Conflict negotiation and resolution

Amongst all of the participants the theme of conflict was reoccurring. These tensions were noticed between residents in the decanting site, the community of Soweto East and the "new[10]" residents and including between the coordinating organizations. Within the decanting site it was mentioned by KI05 (KI05, Personal Communications, 2011) and KI06 (KI06, Personal Communications, 2011) that there were re-occurring conflicts with residents that were sharing an apartment. The origins of these conflicts were mainly over the common spaces and/or activities that would occur within individual unit in an apartment, such as drug use, bathroom prostitution, sexual harassment, witchcraft and manufacturing of illicit brew. Tensions would also arise over assigned space within the unit. The allocation of rooms was based on affordability over need, which resulted in (in

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[10] Once the residents of Soweto East 'A' relocated to the decanting site, individuals began squatting in their vacated homes

some cases) households of 5+ limited to one room within the apartment and the other two rooms potentially being occupied by a two-person household. Broader issues would occur between the local administration and individuals if households used utilities beyond their prescribed usage. The local administrator indicated that conflicts amongst residents are resolved through the escalation of issues through the Settlement Executive Committee and the Ministry of Housing. KI06 believed that individuals have become dependent upon the institutional structures that have been developed to manage their conflict and they have a challenge managing these issues independently.

The KI04 (KI04, Personal Communications, 2011) indicated that there was increasing conflict in Soweto East between the remaining community and individuals who had relocated into the homes vacated by those in the decanting site. Due to a court injunction the project had been delayed, thus the homes that were earmarked for demolition were not removed, which provided the opportunity for "new" residents to move into the area. The KI08 (KI08, Personal Communications, 2011) indicated the new residents had been issued notices and that they were staying on the grounds at their own risk.

Community engagement

Amongst all of the participants there was a shared understanding that the success of the KENSUP programme would be measured by the engagement of the community. This included ensuring that the necessary forums and structures were put into place to maximize tenant engagement. The Government of Kenya, via the Ministry of Housing and Ministry of Lands supported this effort by instituting local administrative structures

to facilitate the engagement of the local community. KI08 described the relocation as a community driven process with the community approving designs deciding how best their lives can be improved.

There are existing structures that are in place that currently support low-income housing and slum upgrading projects within the National government. However, upon approaching them for interviews I found that they were limited in their advisory role in the project, despite their previous engagement in past slum upgrading programs. KI01 (KI01, Personal Communications, 2011) mentioned that it is the responsibility of their organization to provide land and infrastructure in support of upgrading. Another NGO KI06 sat as a member on the relocation task force and offered advice in institutional arrangements, community mobilization and in the development of technical design/ financial modeling (they offered advice but the government never implemented it). They also supported the effort by sensitizing the community to the project, through the use of barrazas to create awareness. KI06 indicated that engaging the members of the Soweto East community, through barrazas[11], was challenging because they were open to everyone (all of Kibera), not just individuals, who lived in the community, which reduced the quality of the sensitization. This sentiment was also reflected by KI09 (KI09, Personal Communications, 2011). KI09 emphasized that the challenge was engaging the direct beneficiary of the project and have the population participate in discussions of their own issues.

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[11] Community forum

Another reoccurring theme amongst the interviews was social engagement, which for the purposes of this research means the social interaction and contribution of residents expressed within the decanting site. The KI04 referenced conversations with residents that indicated that they would rather spend the better part of their day in Soweto than remain in the decanting site. This has led to individuals setting up businesses in the decanting site for the for the purpose of transporting people back and forth from Soweto. Similarly, the KI06 interviewees highlighted the ineffectiveness of the community engagement structure, by indicating that the community did not want to see the construction of high-rise buildings.

Communication

All of the participants indicated that there were challenges with communication-- both the creation and dissemination of information. A communication process was developed centrally by KENSUP to guide the flow of communication for the project, mainly for the purpose of educating the effected population on the vision of the program and as well as providing an adequate feedback loop into project implementation (Government of Kenya, 2006). The interviews revealed that the information that was being shared within and amongst organizations was disjointed and inconsistent with the original messages that were to be communicated, particularly building understanding of cooperatives. The disjointedness in specific messaging will be explored further in the analysis section.

There are existing CBOs that collect and disseminate information to the community, sensitizing them to the project (Figure 4.4). KENSUP leveraged this existing CBO to

support their communication goals, operating with the belief that access to information was important to let the general population understand what was happening to them. KENSUP provided KI04 with the necessary information to inform the broader population. The challenges faced by KI04 was their overall capacity to deliver the information. With a limited circulation of 1000 copies, the success of the delivery of information was measured by direct reader response. The other challenge faced by the KI04 was intimidation from the officials that were supporting the implementation of the program. The KI04 mentioned that there were reports of their journalists being attacked by these officials.

The consequence of this miscommunication has led to the generation of rumours within the community and within the international community with regards to the progress of the project. This has subsequently led to the residents no longer believing that the government would complete the project, not understanding that the broader issue was because of the litigation that the government was engaged in with the structure owners. KI04 indicated that residents believed that the delay was intentional, which has reduced their confidence in the programme.

KI04 and KI06 also indicated that the miscommunication has had an impact on the rental default rate within the decanting site, as there were rumours amongst residents that the units were a gift from Raila Odinga, the Prime Minister of Kenya. As members of the Luo ethnic group, the residents of Kibera closes identify with the Prime Minister, who is also Luo.

Figure 4.4: Local Newspaper

This miscommunication also revealed inconsistency between the interviewees on the vision, intent and duration of the programme. KI06 indicated that people could not mentally validate the move from Soweto East to the decanting site, with residents mainly asking the question, "why is it unacceptable [to live in Soweto, East, Kibera] and not here?"

4.6.3   Governance structures

The governance structures involved in KENSUP included local, national and international bodies. The KI08 indicated that after the initiation of the program various bodies made up the hierarchy of governance. There was interagency coordination through a joint planning team, multi-stakeholder support groups and the KENSUP secretariat (through the Settlement Project Implementation Unit). KI07 (KI07, Personal

Communications, 2011) indicated that there was a demand for a structure to organize the resettlement thus the formation of the Settlement Executive Committee (SEC) and the Soweto East Cooperative. These formations of these institutions were from the residents. There was very little opposition to the structure, because many believed they would be given a home.

The Federal government's Housing Development Department met with the Settlement Executive Committee twice a month to support the implementation of the project.

- Interagency steering committee- there is interagency coordination
    - Joint planning team
    - Multi-stakeholder support groups
    - KENSUP Secretariat- Settlement project implementation unit
    - Housing Development Dept- SEC (meets twice a month)

According to, KI03 (KI03, Personal Communications, 2011), Government organizations spearheaded the processes, mainly involving the provision of research and planning and not in physical planning services. They were responsible for the alignment of the mandate of the KENSUP program with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Their primary connection was through the Settlement Executive Committee (SEC). The KI03 indicated that the purpose of the SEC was to communicate the issues or directives from the Ministry of Housing—primarily addressing the issues of relocation. The Government representative indicated that the purpose of the Block Representative was mainly for the purposes of estate management.

All interviewees indicated that the organizations that were created to facilitate the implementation of the program were not working, which is reflected in government-

issued documentation (Government of Kenya, 2006). Residents of the decanting site did not understand their relationships with these new structures and this was particularly evident in the establishment of the cooperative and the administrative bodies that support this function. KI06 indicated that the Settlement Executive Committee had not sensitized people to the leadership of the relocation program. KI06 indicated that the community leadership was not working and in some cases compromised, with instances of residents acquiring multiple rooms and in some cases selling apartments. KI06 also indicated that the local administration of the decanting site and those supporting the relocation are disconnected from the population, either because they have ceased to be members of the community or because they have been mentored to think they are not like the rest of the population. KI06 stressed that institutional arrangements have to work hand in hand with the people in order to improve their lives- stressing that there is a difference between estate management and community management.

KI09 echoed the concerns of the CBOs and local NGOs to assert that the functionality of the secretariat had decreased. This was mainly due to the disagreements between the International NGO and the Government, particularly on the approach to the resettlement. KI09 described the ineffective approach to governance like "climbing trees from the top". KI09 supported a local approach to governance and recommended that there be a review of the KENSUP governance structure. KI09 also made reference to other international bodies that were becoming engaged in the process; such as the World Bank and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). Their participation in the resettlement programme is separate from the KENSUP program and is called the Kenya

Informal Settlement Improvement Project. It is the recommendation of KI09 to harmonize the approaches to the resettlement and redevelopment project.

Financial Sustainability

Both the KI04 and KI05 (KI05, Personal Communications, 2011) have found that residents are having a hard time paying rent, which is evident through a high default rate. KI05 indicated that 50% of residents are usually 6-12 months late, 30% are under 6 months in delivering their rent, but not on time and 20% are over 1 year in arrears of their rental payment. KI05 indicated that there is no threshold for late payments and remarked that flexibility was the best approach. Individuals that are in arrears are provided with a notices and further information, through workshops, on the importance of paying rent. The KI04 acknowledges that the quality of life has been improved, but indicated that the residents' income has remained the same, which creates the challenge of affordability. KI06 attributes this to the fact that the relocation did not adequately address the livelihood issues and that those that have lived in informal settlements could not support this new livelihood.

Cooperative

The development of a cooperative has been a means of building the financial capacity of the community KI08. KI08 Supports the vision that people can own their housing and give them a communal title which gives them the collective bargaining power to approach financial institutions, as they indicated that 90% of the population were living as tenants in Soweto East. KI08 has expressed that a challenge was the project is 1 year

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behind schedule, given to court injunction by the landlords and it is unclear how long the case will take. All of the interviewees indicated that membership into the cooperative was voluntary. However, each of the interviewees had a different perspective on the consequences of this decision. KI05 operate with the perspective that residents need to be given the option to take on the financial responsibility of participating in the co-op. They wish to avoid being perceived to be forcing the community to participate in the cooperative. In contrast, the KI04 perceive the co-op as a means of excluding a portion of the population from their future homes.

The outcome of their contribution is housing upon their return to Soweto East. The KI05 indicated that households must raise 10% of the structural cost and if they are incapable of raising the 10% they can sell their shares to other members. KI05 indicated that 90% of the households are contributing to the cooperative and that those who are not in the cooperative can sell their shares and become tenants of the cooperative.

In an effort to support the relocation of the other zones of Soweto, sensitizing those populations to the processes of the cooperative has commenced. A representative from the Cooperative (KI07, Personal Communications, 2011)) provided details into the nature of the cooperative. The representative characterized the COOP as a community approach assisting the government with resource mobilization, so people can see the product of their saving. It had initially been formed in July 2006, when official elections were held. The purpose is to assist the community to build a fund in which they can buy homes in Soweto East and also support infrastructure development. The cooperative administration

assists residents make savings on a weekly basis to support this effort. The membership of the cooperative is voluntary, as per the Cooperative Society Act of Kenya. This voluntary clause recognizes that not all people want to buy a home. Membership is restricted to:

1. An enumerated resident of Soweto East Zone A
2. Must have a resident ID card
3. Must be over 18 years of age

Registration in 2006 cost members 20Ksh. KI07 indicated that to be a contributing member of the cooperative residents must buy at least 4 shares at 100ksh each (400ksh). There is a Joint bank account for the Cooperative. Contributions are flexible and it can either be per week or month. Residents are expected to deliver their funds to the Cooperative office.

The Cooperative society has 400 members (households) but not all of them are active. There are 180 active members. An active member is one that frequently pays into the cooperative and attends meetings quarterly. Non-Active members are characterized as members that have been registered, paid their subscription, but do not participate in day-to-day activities. Households that are not members are not interested in owning homes. When the homes are completed in Soweto East residents that are non-members will be able to rent one of the units that have been allocated to rent. The rental income for the housing will be provided to the cooperative. In 2008 the fundraising goals for purchasing units were the following:

1. 2 bedroom- 900 000
2. 1 bedroom-600 000ksh
3. Single room – 400 000ksh

Members must be able to pay for 10% of the apartment unit with the balance paid to the Cooperative. Once the member has gained ownership they are at liberty to sublet to help pay rent. However, there are restrictions to participating in the Cooperative. A member cannot sell their apartment unit and move back into the slum, their apartment unit must be owner occupied and everyone must be given equal treatment and equal opportunity to benefit. For those that cannot meet their savings goals the COOP bank can leverage a loan off the COOP funds.

Persons with disabilities and those in extreme poverty are offered an exception to the saving requirements of others. KI07 indicated that provisions have been made for these special groups, which includes subsidized contributions. KI07 indicated that they will re-evaluate their positions after the buildings are complete. If members fall short there is a process to look for subsidization from government or the United Nations. As members they will support each other and at AGM find out which individuals need assistance.

If people choose to pull out of the Cooperative they can write a letter to transfer their shares to another individual. Frequent education is one of the principles of the COOP movement. Training occurs every 4 months through the Ministry of Cooperative Development. It sensitizes members to the needs of saving and contributing to the Cooperative. The Soweto East Cooperative also conducts its own training. In groups of 20, leaders educate member on their roles and on cooperative affairs. This occurs monthly in venues in Soweto.

Households also continue to rely on traditional methods of saving and income generation. All of the interviewees referred to the informal savings groups, which were either divided up by ethnicity or gender. Funds are contributed on a regular basis (i.e. weekly, monthly) and subsequently given to particular participants when in need (if required). KI05 indicated that some of these savings groups also support the resident's contributions to the Cooperative.

However, despite these traditional means of savings, the local administration indicated that the subletting of rooms was an issue within the decanting site and it needed to be monitored. The tenancy agreement (signed by all residents), stipulates the cost of the room, was produced through community consultation, thus they were aware of the costs. The Settlement Executive Committee (SEC) was also engaged in this process along with KI06. KI06 suggested that the traditional model of contracts would not work (given the nature of the community) and suggested an alternate model.

Successful businesses operate out of the decanting site to allow individuals to purchase their necessities. Five shops are located on site at a rent of 1500Ksh per month, with 500ksh towards electricity. KI05 stated that whoever had a shop in Soweto East had a right to have a shop in the new site and in an improved setting.

KI04 were also advocates for the program and sought to promote the necessity of training and empowering youth. KI04 advocated for building capacity building for the youth,

recognizing the limited opportunities that were presented in their current housing situation. They were trained in bicycle maintenance, construction, and supported garbage collection.

4.7 Alternative solution to KENSUP

Several of the interviewees offered some additional insights into the process that spoke to the spatial policy and social critique of the slums.

KI09 stressed that it has been 5 years since the federal administration started the process with the emphasis on housing improvement. KI09 indicated that upgrading must be linked with other aspects, stating that slums occupy less than 5% of the land and there are 60% of the people living in them[12]. KI09 stressed that the program must look at the wider issues, rationalizing that when there is only the focus on housing other aspects are missed. KI09 stated that land policy may resolve some of the issue of slums. Without land policy we cannot have rights, conservation and designate appropriate uses. KI09 made reference to a prioritized list of items to improve the lives of slum dwellers, with the housing being ranked tenth on the list. The top three were security, employment and income generation. KI09 emphasized that both the government and UN Habitat believed the focus was on housing.

The representative from the KI02 (KI02, Personal Communications, 2011) believes it is the responsibility of government to house people and that the proliferation of slums is "a

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[12] The 60% quoted by the key informant was not validated

way of life", inevitable, and that the national should be planning for rapid urbanization. It's not just a question about planning, but it is improving the life of the population. KI02 believed that nationally there should be a promotion of rental housing as the main form of housing tenure and questioned the need for residents to own their homes, as the government has limited budget for housing. KI02 indicated that if the living conditions are improved then there will be security and improved health.

KI02 expressed that there is a difference between upgrading and redevelopment, stressing that the KENSUP is not an upgrading processes, but a redevelopment. KI02 indicated it is hard to find someone who is against upgrading the slums, however the best method would be to find cheap financing for housing development. KI02 spoke about their experiences developing a similar project, where tenants had the ability to rent out their second room to subsidize their rent. The additional room could be a form of wealth creation for the residents. In the absence of this approach KI02 mentioned that the slum dwellers remained challenged in paying their rent. With experience KI02 indicated that in a previous project slum dwellers were given good homes, but they would still sell them to other people and remained satisfied in their slum living conditions. Through the process of gentrification the middle class move into the new housing. Their solution is that in order to resolve the low-income housing issues the government must first solve the middle class housing problem. KI02 expressed that the development is ahead of infrastructure development, when it should be the reverse. KI02 expressed that the government should focus on planned infrastructure improvement to support the new developments. They also echoed that the project is challenged by the court injunction.

4.8 Conclusion

All of the respondents believed that the residents' lives have been improved since they have moved from Soweto East to the decanting site. The CBOs believe that the lives of the residents have been improved from an environmental and physical standpoint, from the improvement in infrastructure and cleanliness. KI05 stated, that the site was more than the residents could have ever dreamed and there was no longer the fear of rain[13]. KI05 echoed the sentiment of KI04regarding environmental improvements, but added that people feel more secure, particularly when it comes to the instances of theft and also that their overall health has improved. KI06 recognized that there are lessons to be learned from the entire process and there is the opportunity to improve on processes. KI08 indicated that success of the pilot will be achieved if there remains the political will, project financing and involvement of the community to enhance their sense of ownership.

In the following section the findings that have been laid out in the current chapter will be analyzed following the principle of triangulation where more than one source of information is considered in drawing conclusions.

5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

In the following chapter the findings from the survey results are analyzed and interpreted through the lens of social sustainability. In order to respond to the research question,

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[13] Rain often causes homes in informal settlements to lose their foundation and residents are at risk of landslides, flooding and structural loss.

which is: **Has the use of decanting sites, as a means of supporting the process of slum upgrading, impacted the social sustainability of a community?**

To reiterate, social sustainability refers to "policies and institutions that have the overall effect of integrating diverse groups and cultural practices in a just and equitable manner" (Polèse & Stren, 2000, p. 3). It is on this premise that Stren and Polèse argue, "For the management of the city to be successful (all other factors being equal), its policies need to be conducive to 'social sustainability'".

In order to respond to the research question, trends and correlations must be extracted from the data received from the Soweto East resident questionnaire and triangulated with the data from the key informant interviews and government documentation.

5.1.1 Government Documentation

The Kenya Slum Upgrading Program (KENSUP) published a number of documents that define the strategic direction, scope, financial requirements and implementation of the program. Analyses of these documents offers a clear lens into the intentions of the program and provide some context into the establishment of local governance structures and administration. The documents that are being considered are:

- Government of Kenya: The Renting of Houses Kibera Decanting Site Tenancy Agreement(Government of Kenya, 2005)
- Kibera (Soweto East) Local Physical Development Plan (2008) (Ministry of Lands, 2008)
- Soweto 'A' Housing Cooperative Society Limited Bylaws (Soweto 'A' Housing Cooperative Society Limited, 2007)
- KENSUP Financial Strategy(Government of Kenya, 2005)
- KENSUP Implementation Strategy(Government of Kenya, 2005)
- Communication Action Plan (Government of Kenya, 2006)

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5.1.2 Structure of the chapter

In this chapter Information will be presented within the scope of three of the six social sustainability's Institutional-territorial nexus: Governance (civil society), Urban Land and Housing and Employment, Economic Revitalization, and the building of inclusive public spaces. These elements of social sustainability do not act independently from one another. Economic revitalization impacts the urban land and housing, which is conversely controlled by new governance, policy and structures as developed by the government.

5.2 Civil Society

Civil Society, within social sustainability, refers to the relationship between government (local administration)/state agencies and communities/social groups. The questionnaires sought to reveal the nature of the relationship between the governance structure and the residents of Soweto East. In understanding the social sustainability of the use of a decanting site in slum redevelopment, it is important to understand the governing frameworks that direct the implementation and management of the overarching program.

Social sustainability speaks to an emergence of local 'policy communities'(Polèse & Stren, 2000) that come together to respond to problems within the local community. It was clear that in the government's attempt to gain consensus and implement the KENSUP program that the organic nature of these local organizations were manufactured either by program and/or policy direction.

The outcomes of the questionnaire suggest that there is a modest positive relationship between the community and the new governance structure and redevelopment process. Participation in public consultation and self-identification as "engaged in local politics" skewed towards a positive response amongst the participants. This indicated that there was already a pre-existing propensity for residents to engage with the new governance structures.

With the nature of engagement the desire to participate in local politics increased since relocating to the decanting site. The increased desire to engage in politics is likely due to the fact that the community is dependent upon the government within the decanting site and thus in order to understand the progress of their resettlement process there would be an increased desire to engage in local politics (within the decanting site). As these new local 'policy communities' develop they must have the agency to influence the direction of the program. Thus, in contrast to political engagement, a minority of the participants felt like they were engaged in the redevelopment process, which illustrates a perceived separation by respondents of political engagement and the resettlement process (which is also highly politicized).

The literature suggests that the implementation stage of a redevelopment program is a *fait accomplis* and that there is limited choice for impacted individuals to opt out of the relocation process. The questionnaire revealed that to draw the correlation between participation in a mass redevelopment scheme and lack of choice cannot be clearly established. 56% of the participants indicated that they felt they had a choice in relocating

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to the decanting site, where 40% felt that they did not have a choice. Despite the majority expressing they had a choice, the difference between the two results is minor.

As income is a factor when considering large scale redevelopment programs (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1983; Goetz, 2002; Goetz, 2003) it would be important to understand if income created a bias in participant responses. Upon further analysis on whether income level influenced the respondents' perception of choice to move, the relationship between the two variables provided a very weak, negative relationship between the two variables and indicated that there is no clear statistical relationship. A similar co-relation was drawn between the income level and choice of matatu stage. This finding suggests that individuals impacted by the slum-upgrading program should conduct further research on income and the perception of choice.

The literature also spoke to the intentions of government in commencement of a redevelopment program (Goetz, 2002). There was an overall support for the redevelopment program with an overwhelming percent of the population (90%) agreeing that the relocation was justified; however, the results were not as overwhelming in the expression that the physical improvements had positively influenced the welfare of the community (56%). The modest majority indicates that despite the improvements in the physical environment (found in the decanting site) there remains a minority that frequently returns to Soweto East on a daily and weekly basis. This illustrates that there remain pull factors to their previous location.

There was no clear direction in the provision of staple goods in the development of the

decanting site found in the implementation plan(Government of Kenya, 2005). However,

overwhelmingly respondents indicated that they were able to get their staple goods (i.e.

maize meal) in the decanting site, which indicated the development of the settlement

supported minor economic activity.

The majority of residents (56%) also trust that the government will complete the project,

however do not rely on the government to get adequate information. With the primary

means of information being received through the media and the primary modes being

through phones and barazzas it illustrates the community's propensity to share

information with each other using social networks, versus a direct communication from

the government.

This disconnect in government-community communication catalyzed the KENSUP

communication plan(Government of Kenya, 2006), in which the government expressed

some of the issues including mistrust and suspicion; misinformation as a result of

competing interests, lack of coordination among stakeholders, delay in relaying relevant

information and lack of clearly defined feedback mechanisms (Government of Kenya,

2006, p. 1), as consequences of the disjointed communications.

In response to the mis-information and distrust that was building within the community,

the communication plan outlined a resolution through a Multi-Stakeholder Support Group

(MSSG). Though it was proactive for the administrators of the program to recognize this

deficiency, it was clear through the interviews, that the issue of mis-information remains

.. Since respondents gathered most of their information from the media, the government

could have built relationships with and bolstered existing community media

organizations, such as local news papers, to support in disseminating relevant information

and established stronger linkages into the community.

5.3   Cooperative Administration

Social sustainability is premised on inclusivity particularly with regards to the

individual's ability to operate wholly within a balanced system of urban finance. Within

the decanting site the cooperative operates as the primary financial conduit to improving

the lives of the residents of Soweto East. Beyond the local administrative system, the

cooperative is an administrative structure that manages the funds of its members. By

definition, the cooperative is run democratically by its members. Individuals that have

been relocated from Soweto East and settled in the decanting site are not, by default,

members of the Cooperative. Membership into the Cooperative is subject to a list of

eligibility criteria (Soweto 'A' Housing Cooperative Society Limited, 2007, p. 6):

- An original member who signed the application for registration i.e. a registered and enumerated resident of Soweto East Zone A- Kibera
- A new member subsequently admitted in accordance with these bylaws
- Not less than 18 years of age
- Paid registration fees
- Good character and sound mind
- A nominee or personal representative of an enumerated and registered member

Admittance and exit from the society is controlled, as one can only be admitted to the

cooperative if they have paid the entrance fee and purchased at least 4 shares, signing the

membership form and the nomination of an individual to whom, in the instance of death, shares can be transferred to (Soweto 'A' Housing Cooperative Society Limited, 2007, p. 7).

The financial commitment of the co-operative membership segments the population within the decanting site, of those *who have* and those *who have not*. The longer term consequences of not participating in the co-operative are limited capacity to influence local administrative decisions and opportunities to actively participate in the resettlement process, which limits the fostering of social sustainability.

Overall, the relationship between the community and administrative structures within the decanting site illustrates the impact on social sustainability. The creation of new governance structures and administrative processes, illustrates a shift away from what the understanding of governance that individuals may have understood and know from their previous location in Soweto East. Structures that may not have been defined by formal policies and agreements, but an informal structure (rules and conduct) that was understood by residents of the community. This validates the concerns over effective communication, from the key informant interviews, particularly in relaying government expectations. It is clear that participants' attitudes towards the governance structure are neither extremely negative nor positive. The key informant interviews confirm that the structures that are in place challenge the agency of the residents of the decanting site.

5.4 Urban Land and housing

Social sustainability emphasizes the necessity for individuals and the collective capacity to impact the environment in which they live. This includes understanding the policies and regulations that influence an individual's ability to shape their physical environment and furthermore investigate the individual's motivations/desires to change their environment. The nature of the decanting site is counter to social sustainability in that it leaves individuals subject to new administrative/political frameworks, policies and international benchmarks, which precludes a relationship between the participant and their physical surroundings.

The government issued a tenancy agreement with all enumerated residents from Soweto East 'A' (Government of Kenya, 2005), highlighting the parameters of living within the decanting site. Within the document, individuals have limited control over augmenting their physical environment. It details that residents are responsible for:

- Keeping the unit in order
- Ensuring appropriate use of electricity and water
- Ensure the unit maintains the same form it had upon occupancy

Despite the stringent stipulations highlighted in the agreement, participants indicated that they have not motivations to physically augment their residences. But it is clear that they do not have a choice in the matter.

The physical layout of the decanting site is distinct from the sprawling form of the adjacent informal settlement of Kibera. This juxtaposition creates a distinct space, separate (but a part of) Kibera. It resembles an island, with exclusionary resident

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stipulations as outlined by the tenancy agreement. The form of the decanting site was driven by the goals of KENSUP and influences the way the residents of the decanting site interact with the rest of their community. The findings were skewed towards participants feeling moderately included in the broader community (Kibera).

Housing affordability is of particular importance for social sustainability. Within the decanting site the housing costs have adversely impacted the financial health of the participants. An overwhelming number of participants (85%) indicated that the rent that they are paying in the decanting site is greater than what they spent while living in Kibera. Furthermore, there was greater difficulty in a majority of the participants' ability to make rent since they had moved to the decanting site. It is clear that, given the limited income of many of the residents and the average household size, individuals are put in a compromising position, with regards to ensuring that rent is paid.

This concern was validated by the community-based organization and NGO that were involved in the process. The local administrator also noted that there was a high default rate on rent payments. The 1000ksh per month rent is inclusive of electricity (300ksh), rent (500) and water (200Ksh) as per the tenancy agreement. Understanding the necessity of having a formal document to ensuring the rights of residents on the site, there are unintended consequences such as the rental default. With over a third of the participants indicating weekly expenses over 2000Ksh it is clear that the rent is unaffordable. Overall, a majority of participants have indicated that their financial situation has deteriorated since moving to the decanting site, with the primary reason for this being the cost of rent.

What should be noted is that despite the lack of affordability of their temporary situation, a majority of the participants understood the value of the amount of their rent. This illustrates a tragic situation in the life of the residents. On one hand they recognize the value of their current living situation (vs. living in the slum at an affordable rate), but at the same time it is very obvious that this standard of living is unsustainable within the current rental model.

Overall, the participants recognized the cost relative to the improved housing conditions and valued their new environment. However, it is clear that residents within the site have no control or influence over the shape of their living environment (due to formal agreements) and in the absence of additional public financing (their current rent is a subsidized amount) residents are left vulnerable to their financial situations and the affordability of the decanting site is highly prohibitive.

5.5 Employment, Economic Revitalization, and the Building of Inclusive Public Spaces

Within the scope of social sustainability the capacity to create or facilitate employment and economic opportunities is necessary for social sustainability(Polèse & Stren, 2000). There are a number of terms within the tenancy agreement that limit the resident's capacity to create his or her own economic activities. The agreement highlights that residents are to only use the units for residential purposes, thus prohibiting economic activity. This is a challenge considering over a quarter of the participants indicated that they are involved in informal employment, which may not operate within a fixed location and can operate out of an individuals' home. However, (47%) of participants indicated

that their place of employment had become farther since the relocation, which indicates that the majority of the sample were not impacted by the economic restrictions to operating a business out of the home. This highlights a different challenge, particularly increasing weekly expenditures to include transportation, where this may have not been the need before.

Under the Cooperative's Society Act (Government of Kenya, 2012) a Co-Operative Society is one that promotes the "welfare and economic interests of its members" and has incorporated the following cooperative into its bylaws (as per section 4)] :

(i)   voluntary and open membership;
(ii)   democratic member control;
(iii)   economic participation by members;
(iv)   autonomy and independence;
(v)   education, training and information;
(vi)   co-operation among co-operatives; and
(vii)   concern for community in general,

One of the primary functions of the cooperative is to facilitate ownership and management of houses in Soweto East. With this membership they are entitled to all of the rights under the Cooperative, with the most important right being their right to a share of the housing, upon resettlement. The terms of the cooperative bylaws influence the social sustainability of the individuals residing in the decanting site. It varies between empowering an individual towards home ownership and enhancing an individual's ability to access a loan. The cooperative acts as the intangible bridge between this present state of displacement within the decanting site and the communities' final relocation back in Soweto east.

The terms of the cooperative bylaws influence the social sustainability of the individuals residing in the decanting site. It varies between empowering an individual towards home ownership and enhancing an individual's ability to access a loan.

Unfortunately, participation in the society is not an investment. Expulsion is possible if there is repeat failure to pay any sum due to the society, which is a high probability considering the financial challenges some face in making rent.

5.6 Summary

The use of decanting as a means of supporting the KENSUP programme has impacted the social sustainability of the community, through evidence of its impacts on the three observed policy areas. All relationships either between governance structures, physical space and commerce have been impacted through this resettlement process. However, further evaluation will need to assess whether the impact has been a negative one or a positive one. It is clear that there is little autonomy for residents of the site, as their physical and social agency are defined by formal agreements and new zoning ordinances as laid out by the political system and international expectations.

Housing affordability and income remain a challenge for those within the decanting site. Despite the support for the program, it is clear that this transitory process of decanting impacts financial sustainability. Individuals value the clean environment and enhanced security afforded to them while living in the decanting site; however it remains a 'catch 22' as they realize that it is unsustainable. The cooperative organization that endeavors to

support the financial and physical wellbeing of the community falters in its application as it becomes a mechanism for division versus inclusion. Ultimately, consideration, should be on creating new opportunities for employment and accommodating methods of local economic development that spans from the decanting site into Kibera.

6 Conclusion

Social sustainability within the context of Development Forced Displacement and Redevelopment remains an area of fine balance for the field of urban planning. While it may be studied in great depth by geographers, sociologists and anthropologists, it is urban planners that develop the practical assessments and physical plans that support the re-development of these vulnerable communities. It is important to understand that the re-development of these unique urban spaces must go beyond the need to improve the physical space for slum dwellers, but must also focus on the social development of the population and ensure that the physical environment supports this in a sustained manner.

What is fascinating about slum redevelopment schemes is that despite the best efforts to provide an orderly, safe, healthy and clean environment for the residents, formalizing the process (e.g. Formal Tenancy agreements) and freedoms (e.g. Social and economic activity restrictions) within a settlement remain a challenge for most of the residents. The struggle to adapt to these changes foreshadows future challenges if the residents resettle in their former locations.

6.1   What drives slum-upgrading programs?

The KENSUP pilot project was driven by international pressures to achieve social benchmarks, such as the millennium development goals (Government of Kenya, 2005). However, this is not to negate the trajectory of the local government in also wanting to improve the lives of its citizens. The influence by international pressures are evident

through the establishment of macro-level timelines to achieve international goals and benchmarks. These reporting on the progress of these goals do not consider the political particularities of these areas, which leads to conflict between the local government and communities to achieve these benchmarks.

The measurement and evaluation tools remain subject to the expectations of the international community and standards to achieve the millennium development goals. This limits the national government and pilot project administrator in the flexibility needed to develop its own measures of success and operate on timeline that works for the community and not the expected timelines set out by the international community. This does not negate the autonomy of the state. Not participating in these measures exposes the state to reputational and diplomatic risks, as the ratification of the MDGs are a global sign of cooperation and commitment to improve the lives of the urban poor.

The short sightedness of slum redevelopment programs is symptomatic of what occurs in drastic redevelopment schemes. There is an initial uptake and optimism that occurs; however, there is lack of foresight into the long-term impacts of such a program. Particularly at the decanting site individuals recognized the value of the new spaces, but did not necessarily understand the longer-term impact of their requirement to be a part of the "voluntary" cooperative that would ultimately house them after the decanting period. On paper and as a concept the transition between the decanting site and cooperative ownership seems ideal, but with the rate of default on rent and inability to save additional funds these individuals are left with the fear that they will have nowhere to go after this phase of decanting.

Given the international scope and pressures on the project, the question remains: as a pilot project, is the purpose of the Kenya Slum Upgrading Program to be a model for other international slum upgrading programs? Furthermore, once the initial phase of this redevelopment is completed will the use of decanting sites, in facilitating slum upgrading also be assessed? It is the vagueness of this response that misinforms the expectations from the relevant stakeholders-- both those that are being impacted by the redevelopment, the partners that are engaged in the process and those that are observing the process.

As our world becomes more urban and the proliferation of slums continues to expand, it will be important to ensure that we address the drivers of domestic redevelopment programs and ensure that they are couched in pre-established domestic agendas for urban development.

6.2   What are the necessary conditions to ensure social sustainability is sustained?

Social sustainability cannot be sustained in a slum-upgrading program. Like our social networks and interactions, social sustainability cannot maintain the same form that it did in an environment when it is observed and transposed into another. The findings of this research show a change in attitudes towards housing, engagement and economic status as a result of the resettlement to the decanting site. This illustrates that social sustainability is subject to a complex number of factors including the social, political and economic environment.

In spite of the inability for social sustainability to be sustained, the findings and analysis of this research imply that social sustainability can be developed within transitional spaces. As planners we must recognize the existing governance, social and economic structures, that are either formal or informal and integrate the new systems that will facilitate the program, with consideration for social sustainability's six policy areas. An example of this would be the formal integration of the Kamba[14] 'savings' groups into the cooperative system, to support the resettlement back to Soweto A or engaging local media to be responsible for communications.

As research progresses in these areas it will be important for us to begin looking at not only how social sustainability has been impacted from its previous manifestation, but how social sustainability is transformed within the new areas in which the population has been resettled.

6.3   Final Thoughts

Since the conclusion of my field research in 2011, progress has commenced in the development of the homes in Soweto East zone 'A' (Figure 6.1, Figure 6.2). The conclusions of this research are still valid given that the decanting site will be used for the subsequent phases of the redevelopment process and it remains a global pilot project. My research can inform methods to not only inform the building of social sustainability of the community but also the social resilience for the slum as a whole.

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[14] Kamba's are informal savings groups formed by the community to support eachother during times of need. Individuals contribute an equal amount of funds on a pre-determined basis and draw funds when approved by the group.

The use of decanting sites as a method of supporting redevelopment programs requires further analysis. Observing social sustainability within the scope of this specific case study is only the beginning towards understanding how planning policies and urban form impact beneficiary communities. What this case study revealed is that improving the physical environment of a community can have both negative and positive impacts for populations and that opinions skewed either way must balance to allow for focused and informed discussion on the social impact of the lives of communities.

Ultimately, the temporary resettlement of the Soweto East 'A' population of Kibera in the decanting site was only the first phase of a multi-phase program. It will be important that the subsequent phases of the Kenya Slum Upgrading Program consider not only the three policy areas that were observed to measure the social sustainability of the project but that it should look attempt to look at all six.

In 2013 the United Nations asked members to renew their commitment to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (a key driver of this program), in an effort to motivate one last "push" towards the MDG deadline of 2015. The target specific to the KENSUP program was to "achieve, by 2020 a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers" (UN-Habitat, 2006). The United Nations has recently reported the achievement of this target with "the share of urban slum residents in the developing world declining from 39% in 2000 to 33% in 2012, with more than 200 million of these people gaining access to improved water, sanitation facilities and durable

less crowded housing" (United Nations, 2013). The United Nations is working towards a Post-2015 Development framework, which will seek to continue the momentum triggered by the MDGs, whilst focusing on sustainable development. As these new frameworks are developed it will be important to be reminded that the social, economic and environmental sensitivities of the Soweto East population are not unique, but must be considered going forward with the new development agenda.

International coalitions of planners (such as the Global Planners Network) and broader global planning concepts (such as New Urban Planning) will play a key role in conceptualizing and critiquing international development, from a planning perspective going forward. Case studies, such as KENSUP will inform innovative and creative solutions to ensure that we not only achieve sustainable development in the future, but ensure the means by which we seek to achieve these goals considers the social sustainability of the impacted populations.

Figure 6.1: Soweto East Redevelopment in Progress (G, 2013)

Figure 6.2: Soweto East Redevelopment in Progress (G, 2013)

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Appendix A: Household Questionnaire

For internal Use only: Building _____ House# _____
Code#_____

Household Questionnaires

General
i. Gender of respondent (1) Male (2) Female
ii. Number of residents in household: Genders and Ages (# male)_____
     Ages_____ (# female)_____ Ages_____
iii. Age ……………………………………………………..
iv. Relationship with household head ……………………………
v. Period of residence in the Decanting Site (1) 1-3months (2) 3 -6months (3) 6-
     12months (4) over a year
vi. Household/family size ……………………………..
vii. Marital Status (1) Single (2) Married (3) Widowed (4) separated (5) Other

Economic
viii. Main source of income (1) Trading (2) Informal business (3) Formal business (4)
       Informal employment (5) Formal employment (6) Hustling (7) Not employed (8)
       Other (specify)
ix. Specific Type of employment
     _____
x. If an entrepreneur, presently how many people do they employ?
     _____
xi. Has the number of people you employ (i) increased (ii) decreased (iii) no change
     Since moving to the decanting site
xii. If an entrepreneur, do you pay any licensing or operating fees? (1) yes (2) No
xiii. What percentage of your income goes towards licensing fees?
     _____
xiv. Location of employment (1) In the home (2) outside of the home
xv. If outside of the home how far do you have to go to work?
     _____
xvi. After the relocation my place of employment became (1) Closer (2) Farther (3)
       No change
xvii. How often do you receive wage from your source of income? (1) Daily (2) End of
       each week (3) After every two weeks (4) Monthly
xviii. Income (per month): (a) <1500ksh (b) 1501 – 3000ksh (c) 3001ksh – 4500ksh (d)
        4501ksh –6000ksh (e) 6001ksh- 7500ksh (f) 7500ksh- 9000ksh (g) 9000ksh +
xix. Self Disclosed amount of monthly earnings_____
xx. Investment streams: (a) real estate (b) Personal Savings via banking products (c)
       Educational (Child) (d) Educational (adult) (e) savings (at home) (f) none (g)
       other_____

xxi.   What percentage of their income do they invest:

_____

xxii.   Level of expenditure per week …………………………….

xxiii.   How much do you currently pay in rent? _____

xxiv.   Is this amount greater than it was when you lived in your previous location? (1) yes (2) No

xxv.   Is it worth the amount? (1) yes (2) No

xxvi.   How?

_____
_____
_____
_____

xxvii.   My ability to make rent is now (1) Easier (2) Somewhat Easier (3) No change (4) Somewhat harder (5) Difficult

xxviii.   Are there any financial interventions made by the government, civil society or nongovernmental organization in the improvement of the family incomes. (1) Yes (2) No

xxix.   What has been the trend of the financial situation in the household since the relocation (1) Increasing (2) Decreasing (3) No change (4) unknown

xxx.   Explain why the increase/decrease.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Civil Society

xxxi.   Ethnicity ……………………………..

xxxii.   What languages do you speak circle all that apply? (1) English (2) Kiswahili (3) Luhya (4) Luo (5) Kikuyu (6) Nubian (7) Kalenjin (8) Kamba (9) Kisii (10) Others_____

xxxiii.   Religion: (1) Christian (2) Muslim (3) Traditional (4) None (5) Other (specify)

xxxiv.   Do you think the relocation is justified? (1) yes (2) No

xxxv.   why?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

xxxvi.   Did you feel like you had the option not to relocate (1) Yes (2) No

xxxvii.   I trust that the government will complete the Slum Upgrading Program (1) Absolutely (2) Maybe (3) Not likely (4) No (5) No opinion

xxxviii.   Did you participate in the public consultations when this area was being developed? (1) Yes (2) No

xxxix.   How?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

xl.   I am highly engaged in local politics: A)Strongly Agree   B) Agree   C) Undecided   D) Disagree   E) Strongly Disagree

xli.   My desire to participate in community activities has increased since the redevelopment program: (A) Strongly Agree   B) Agree   C) Undecided   D) Disagree   E) Strongly Disagree

xlii.   Have these physical improvements positively influenced the welfare of the community. (1) Yes (2) No

xliii.   How?_____

_____
_____
_____
_____

xliv.   What are the sources of the information (circle all that apply)? Source (1) Local administration (2) Church (3) Media (4) friends

xlv.   What mode do you use in passing the information to different people? (1) Barazas (2) Cell phones (3) Letter writing (4) Radio

xlvi.   From which representative on the settlement executive committee have you received information from? (1) Faith Based (2) CBOs (3) Disability Rep (4) Youth (5) NGO (6) Widows and Orphans (7) Other_____

xlvii.   Do you feel engaged in the KENSUP Project? (1) yes (2) no

xlviii.   State the major social organization that exists in this settlement? (Social networks)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

xlix.   Where do you buy your Maize Meal?

_____

l.   What is the frequency in which you return to your previous location?

_____

li.   If you are catching a matatu, which stage do you take it from?_____

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lii.   Do you wish to make any physical changes to your living environment? (1) Yes (2) No

liii.   Living in the Decanting site I feel more included in my community (1) Rarely (2) Sometimes (3) Neutral (4) Absolutely

liv.   Are you aware of the Millennium Development Goals?

_____
_____
_____
_____

lv.   What is KENSUP?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

lvi.   Any Additional Comments:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Would you like to participate in a one-on-one interview to expand on any or all of the survey questions?

Participant would like to participate in a one-on-one interview in which I will have the opportunity to expand on any or all of the above responses:

             YES   NO

Appendix B: Interview Questions

Interview Questions NGOs/Government bodies

a) Community based NGO

i.   Role/involvement in the upgrading of the
     project?_____
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____

ii. Were you involved in decision making process during the upgrading by other
     agencies when suggesting on various development initiatives?
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____

iii. Is there any political/administrative influence(s)/dependence on the
     implementation of your
     projects?_____
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____

iv. Were people aware of the role the MDGs played in these developments?
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____

v.   Does ethnic composition influence the settlement patterns in this settlement?

vi. If yes above, how?
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____
     _____

vii. What is your opinion on the social cohesiveness of different communities in this
     settlement?

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_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

viii.   What information do you consider critical and how do you access or disseminate it ?

_____
_____
_____
_____

ix.   Are decisions raised by the community considered by the relevant development implementing agencies in this village?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

x.   How has the organization been involved in championing the rights of slum dwellers during the slum upgrading ?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

xi.   What are the guiding principles used by the organization to achieve the above ?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

xii.   What limitations are experienced in trying to address the above issues?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

xiii.   what are your measures of success when championing or participating in a slum upgrading program?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

xiv.   What were some of the challenges you faced while being engaged?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

xv.   What were some of the opportunities that allowed this process to occur?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

xvi.   What are your methods of monitoring and evaluating the success of an upgrading program?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

xvii.   How have the physical improvements enhanced the lives of the slum dwellers socially?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

xviii.   How confident are you that the government will complete the KENSUP program?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Additional Comments:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

1. Name:_____
2. Registered Location_____
3. Number of Residents involved in the organization:
    1. General Member_____
    2. Leadership positions
    3. Consulted
4. Purpose_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5. What is the frequency in which you visit the decanting site?
_____

6. Role/involvement in the upgrading of the
project?_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

7. Were you involved in decision making process during the upgrading by other
agencies when suggesting on various development initiatives?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

8. What role do the MDGs play in delivering upon your objectives?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Government: Local administration; (elders, chiefs and councilors)

1. What information do you find critical to the communities and how do you pass across to them?
2. To what extent are the community members involved in decision making in this settlement?
3. What institutions are involved in development initiatives in this settlement?
4. In your opinion, are the institutions effective in terms of performance?
5. What is the ethnic composition of this settlement?
6. Does it influence the settlement pattern in the settlement?
7. Have there been any cases of conflict (gender, communal/ethnic, e.t.c.) reporte in regards with the upgrading and its effects on the lives of the resident ?
8. What mechanism does your office have to facilitate solving the same?

Government: Federal and Municipal

1. What is the total population that has been resettled?
2. What is the history of the upgrading
3. What is the composition of the population of the community? Are there any clear groupings based on ethnic, tribal origin or area of origin?
4. What are the terms used for resettlement and what are the minimum qualifications for doing so?
5. What are the main government bodies involved in the upgrading
6. What is the role of the community in the upgrading
7. How does the upgrading improve the social well being of the community members?
8. Are there any fiscal benefits gained from the community members in the upgrading ?
9. How does the planning standards influence the present density of the population ?
10. How have these developments improved the likelihood of employment opportunities for its residents?
11. How do the achievements of the Millennium Development Goals factor into your efforts?
12. Are there new zoning regulations that have accompanied these redevelopment programs? If so, how has this impacted commercial activity within private households?
13. Are there any programs that have encouraged private investment in these areas of redevelopment
14. What percentage of rental income goes towards the maintenance of public facilities?
15. Describe the public consultation process.
16. Is there rent control?
17. have you made any changes to local housing policy based on the city's trend of rapid urbanization that will support low income developments
18. What is the relationship between NCC and other partner organizations
19. Is Rent subsidized? What was the formula to come to that rental amount (economic considerations)

Appendix C: Floor Plan