



Inertia in community planning projects in developing countries: The case of Mukuru Special Planning Area Project, Nairobi, Kenya

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DECLARATION

I, Bosibori Barake, declare that this research report is my original research work. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Urban Studies in the field of Urban Management to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.

Arachne

(Signature of candidate)

.....19..... day of.....August..... ..2021.....
(Day) (Month) (Year)

ABSTRACT

The need to solve the challenges of informal settlements in cities and countries resulted in a bold move by the Nairobi County government to declare Mukuru Informal Settlement a Special Planning Area in August 2017. This created an opportunity to plan for the settlement formally within a two-year period. This has extended beyond this period and the planning process is still not finalized. By evaluating aspects of this project, this study sought to understand the factors that have delayed the completion (approval) of the Mukuru Special Planning Area to date since its inception and what may likely have improved the completion of the project. The dynamics of this project are critical in the physical implementation of aspects of the draft plan are already taking place and shape in the settlement even though the plan is yet to be approved by the local authorities responsible. The study used secondary and primary data collection methods through a case study approach. The research found that various challenges have faced the community participatory planning process. The challenges were beyond the control of those facilitating the participatory planning and relate primarily to the wide scope of the project, various interests at play and that political will, financial support and commitment were lacking.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to the residents of Mukuru informal settlement, whom I had the utmost privilege to work with for close to five years now. I have grown to care and feel like it is my duty to join the movement of fighting for a better place to live. I am honoured to call you my friends.

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List of Acronyms

AMT	Akiba Mashinani Trust
CADP	County Annual Development Plan
CCOCC	Coordination, Community Organisation and Communication Consortium
CGA	County Government Act
CMSSG	County Slum Upgrading Multi-Stakeholder Support Group
CSFs	Critical Success Factors
GoK	Government of Kenya
HIC	Housing Infrastructure and Commerce Consortium
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JST	JICA Study Team
KENSUF	Kenya Slum Upgrading Low-Cost Housing and Infrastructure Trust Fund
KENSUP	Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme
KISIP	Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project
NaMSIP	Nairobi Metropolitan Services Improvement Project
NCCG	Nairobi City County Government
NIUPLAN	Nairobi Integrated Urban Development Master Plan
NLC	National Land Commission
NMS	Nairobi Metropolitan Services
NSUPP	National Slum Upgrading and Prevention Policy
SDI-K	Shack Dwellers International-Kenya
SPA	Special Planning Area
SPARC	Society for The Promotion of Area Resource Centre
UACA	Urban Areas and Cities Act

CHAPTER ONE

1 Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

There are nearly 880 million persons residing in informal settlements globally and facing issues of inadequate accessibility to basic services and insecurity of tenure and livelihoods. (UN-Habitat, 2016). The percentage of people residing in the informal settlements differs from city to city, in the case of Nairobi in Kenya, 6% of the land is occupied by an approximate 200 informal settlements, which accommodate 60% of the population (Kamunyori, 2019). Huchzermeyer and Obala (2019: 201-202), however, question this much-cited figure by examining Kenyan statistics; these point to a figure that is closer to 30%. Nairobi is Kenya's capital city and the East African Business hub, with a wide spectrum of social, political and economic activities. As a result, the city attracts large populations from rural and urban areas within Kenya and from the East African region in search of employment opportunities. This is because it acts as a magnet for persons in search of employment opportunities throughout the country (Ngigi, 2007). The increase in is driven by immigration from rural areas which is estimated at 9.8% annually (NCCG, 2019). This shifting demographic trend, particularly the bulging youth population, mixed with high rate of unemployment presents a challenge for the county government. This, among other factors, has resulted in the development of several informal settlements such the Mukuru informal settlement, which is situated in the industrial area of Nairobi and occupies 689 acres of land and is a home to approximately 185, 185 persons. (KNBS, 2019: 236-238) or 100 000 households (Corbun et al. 2017).

Urban informal settlements are symbolized by dilapidated housing, inefficient social amenities, weak health conditions, environmental ruin and insecurity. Poor infrastructural development and inconsistent maintenance has resulted to derelict roads, sewerage, poor waste management strategies and unreliable street lighting (Kamunyori, 2019). Global development agencies and local governments have expressed the desire to solve the problem of slums through policy and planning solutions. However, these have proven incapable of addressing this challenge. There is a need for governments to create conditions that enable households to house themselves or find housing in the market.

The issues encountered in Nairobi are to some extent similar to what has been experienced in other countries, as noted by Miraftab (2003) for South Africa, both strategic planning and participatory initiatives often fail to include the thoughts and opinions of low-income groups, particularly within the informal settlements.

This research project seeks to address the factors contributing to inertia in completion and implementation of community-based planning projects in informal settlements. This chapter sets out a problem statement that identifies the challenges associated with the planning process and more specifically attempts to relate them with the selected case study through the aims and research questions. It further puts forward a literature review, conceptual framework and the methods used for this research.

1.2 Problem statement and rationale

Informal settlement upgrading processes in Kenya have focused on settlements that occupy public land while failing to offer solutions to those that are located on private land. It is estimated that almost half of Nairobi's slums, including the Mukuru Informal settlement, are stationed on private land (AMT et al. 2015).

The Kenyan government has come up with different suggestions to address the challenge of informal settlements as they directly affect a substantial percentage of the urban population and affect the city image as perceived by its prospective investors. Securing tenure through in situ upgrading is viewed as a more effective way of addressing this challenge than redevelopment projects aimed at meeting the conventional standard of urban development (Huchzermeyer and Karam 2006). The Government of Kenya has in the past started two programmes, the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) in 2004 and the Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project (KISIP) in 2011, with an aim to enhance the living and working conditions of people in informal settlement areas. Further efforts towards upgrading slums have been encouraged by the Kenyan Constitution of 2010, which secures the right to housing in the Bill of Rights. One recent upgrading effort addresses the Mukuru slum in Nairobi. Since its inception in August 2017 through to the time of writing in late 2020, it has realised slow progress towards completion and implementation. This is despite having an extensive involvement of community residents in the plan making process. The community planning approach created an opportunity for the residents of Mukuru to take charge of the planning processes and for the pooling of resources used to influence partnerships and to attract funds from local authorities, financial institutions, and civil society groups.

The term ‘community participation’ denotes anything that demonstrates involvement of people (Cornwall, 2008). Participation in planning became popular in the late 1960s as an answer to the inadequacy of conventional top-down models and technocratic methods to planning (Tandon, 2008). More recently, the concept has drawn the interest of global aid agencies that take note of citizen involvement as a requirement for good governance (*ibid*). Over the years, community participation has been incorporated as a vital element in a wide variety of development programmes and projects claiming to bring about collective involvement. In Kenya, there is a mixed history of citizen participation and community-based planning. The enactment of the new Constitution in 2010 embeds the principle not only of the right to housing under section 43(1)(b). It further accords a right to accountability, democracy and people’s participation in development activities which allows communities to demand participation more confidently in processes that affect them. Effective community participation involves creating links between community members, local and national governments, businesses and other non-governmental organisations (GoK,2010).

The Mukuru Special Planning Area (SPA) project brought on board about 42 organisations comprising government, civil society groups, academic institutions and non-governmental organisations, as I will detail further in chapter three. Over the period of planning from 2017 to 2019, there were intra- and inter-consortia meetings held to share the progress and take stock of challenges and way forward for the process. More than 65 community engagement meetings were held for the entire process and the findings documented (SDI-K, 2019). However, these processes were not always smooth and encountered setbacks.

The setbacks may be seen to have emanated from uncooperative residents, a strain in the representation of government during these meetings and lack of commitment towards implementation upon the completion of the project. To date, the plan is incomplete, implementation has not begun, and the scope of project seems to change from time to time. This study is inspired by my own involvement (as a researcher at the University of Nairobi) in the project from July 2016 to January 2020. This period involved the declaration of the settlement as a Special Planning Area (SPA) and the preparation of an urban integrated development plan for Mukuru. Whilst this project ushered in a new dawn in informal settlements planning in Nairobi, an initial assessment suggests that the process has been inert. What interests me in this research is how, despite intense participation, this project developed an inertia and over a period of two and a half years did not transition into implementation.

1.3 Aims of the study

This study aims to contribute to the understanding of the factors that protract community planning projects, particularly in informal settlements. It seeks to do so by evaluating the case of Mukuru SPA Project in Kenya.

1.4 Research questions

This study will be guided by the following main question:

What has driven the inert state of the informal settlement upgrading project in Mukuru despite intensive involvement of the community in the process?

Sub-Questions

- In addition to the local government and residents, which other stakeholders were involved in the participatory planning process in Mukuru and what were their interests and visions?
- How did the community and other stakeholders organise themselves for the planning process viz a viz local government?
- What planning regulations applied under the Special Planning Area?
- How did the community and the other stakeholders respond to the proposal put forward by the planners?
- In what ways did the interaction between the community and other stakeholders affect the community planning process?
- What recommendations can be made to address inertia in planning processes?

1.5 Guiding hypothesis

This study expects to find that there are a range of factors which have driven the inert state of the planning process in Mukuru SPA. At this stage, my assumption is that this is mostly owing to absence of government support and the involvement of many partners in the process including government and community, and therefore lack of a single goal amongst stakeholders around which to collaborate.

1.6 Research methods

a) Research paradigm and approach

This study was qualitative in nature and exploratory in the sense that it sought to reveal hidden dimensions of a subject. This was chosen because it exposes the research to various styles that enable identification of intangible aspects which may not be readily visible (Mack et al 2005). Also, it involved an analysis of findings and drew on different approaches of inquiry (Creswell 2009).

b) Case study approach

The research is structured as a case study of Mukuru Informal Settlement in Nairobi, Kenya. A case study allows an “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 1991:23). Anderson (1993) views case studies as intended to focus on an issue and not as an entire study or evaluation of a project yet located in an understanding of the project as relevant. Although the Mukuru case is unique in several ways and not representative, the case of Mukuru is intended to provide some insight into aspects of inertia in community planning projects, which may contribute to possible explanations of such inertia in other upgrading projects. The case study was compiled through desktop analysis of secondary sources and through interviews.

c) Desktop component

Secondary data was the major technique of data collection for this study. In addition to the review of academic publications, national and local policies and regulations, data was drawn from other researchers’ work on Nairobi’s slums and Mukuru in particular, as well as project-specific consulting reports such as situational analyses and notes from progress meetings that I attended over the planning period. My involvement as a researcher from August 2017 to January 2020 gave me access to project documents and reports that have contributed data for this report.

d) Interviews

The desktop review for this case study was supplemented by primary data sources and informed the development of questionnaires administered to key informants who were selected through a purposive sampling procedure. The interviews were very detailed given the extent of project

material that the researcher could access. Purposive sampling allowed the researcher to gather data from experts in the selected field of study (Queirós et al 2017). Semi-structured interviews were used because this instrument allowed for an interactive approach with the participants. Consent to record interviews was sought and the recording stored for accuracy and to avoid losing data (Anderson 1993). The interviews were conducted either by phone or skype, and as a last resort by e-mail. Owing to the global Covid-19 pandemic and a need to avoid social interactions which may spread the virus, there were no face-to-face interviews for this research.

The participants comprised of community representatives, and professionals from NGOs and a research institution. They were selected with the expectation that they would be able to provide insightful data necessary to answer the research questions. There was an element of snowballing, as any one of these interviewees recommended that I also speak to another person. The interviewees included:

- Project Assistant, Centre for Urban Research and Innovations. This is a research entity housed within the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Nairobi, Kenya. The participation of the project assistant was important because these assistants had been involved in the project for a lengthy period, as student planners as well as research assistants, already before the declaration of the settlement as a SPA and up to the end of the plan preparation.
- Director, Slum Dwellers International Kenya (Non-Governmental Organisation). This was a critical person due to the wide experience in different settlement upgrading projects within and outside Kenya.
- Program Officer, Akiba Mashinani Trust (Civil Society Group). This Officer had been working largely with the community of Mukuru, and in a very particular role towards mobilisation and formulation of a community engagement strategy.
- Representative, Muungano Alliance. This will represent the interests of Community. This representative's view was quite relevant as he was key in instrumenting the Muungano Alliance network, working with different communities in Kenya towards improving their livelihoods.
- Three Community leaders/representatives from Mukuru. The community members were important for this research because not only had they been living in Mukuru for a long time but were also first had recipients of the challenges and therefore potential beneficiaries of the upgrading project.

However, given the scope of this research, I intended to limit the interviews to 10 at most. The interviews were captured through recording (both zoom and local telephone calls) and I also took notes while having these conversations. Afterwards, I transcribed the recordings and analysed them through coding of the various themes that emerged in the interviews. Considering the COVID-19 situation as mentioned above, and rules on social distancing, the interviews, as already mentioned, were conducted through phone, skype or email depending on the convenience of the participants. They expressed support for the project and willingness to be quoted in this report.

Virtual meetings for the interviews posed a challenge in terms of responses and delayed feedback. I overcame this challenge by following up three times after sending the initial request, and in the cases where I was not able to secure a phone interview, I sent the questionnaire by e-mail. I was not able to secure an interview with one of the key informants despite numerous attempts. The interviewing process made use of video meetings (Zoom) and telephone conversations with the participants. This called for flexibility on both the researcher and participant side for proper scheduling of the meetings. In terms of the community informant interviews, access to stable internet to have zoom or skype calls proved impossible and therefore the researcher used telephone interviews, often scheduled in the evenings as these respondents all had to work during the day. I failed to secure one interview with a government official due to the official's insistence of a physical meeting, which was not supported especially due to the COVID pandemic. Attempts to secure an online or telephone meeting failed too. However, I managed to close this gap in my research through the insights of the other key informants, especially the civil society organisations AMT and SDI-K who have interacted and worked with government on past projects over several years.

1.7 Ethical considerations

As a researcher, I have responsibilities to the study participants, the University and the individuals to whom I will present the findings. Beauchamp and Childress (1983) put forward four principles of ethical concerns that should be considered in any research. They are respect for individual rights, beneficence, not doing harm and being just. These align with the ethics framework of Wits University, under which I sought clearance before commencing with my interviews. As per the ethics code of Wits University, I informed the participants of my identity as a student researcher and explained the purpose of my study to obtain consent before engaging them in interviews. They were given the choice to withhold consent or withdraw at

any time they did not feel comfortable. This, however, was not the case. While interviewing, sensitive and personal questions were avoided. I upheld confidentiality as guided by (Rocha 2004) of the information given to me and have used it only for purposes of this study.

1.8 Limitations of the study

The time frame of this study was from May 2020 to February 2021 with a proposed word count of 18,000-22,000 for the research report, hence limited in terms of the scope and depth that the research would be able to cover. The case study is not representative of all informal settlements and their upgrading processes in Nairobi as such, and the findings are relevant to the Mukuru SPA, and recommendations are drawn from the uniqueness rather than representativeness of this case. Due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic during the study period, and being an international student, I relocated back to Kenya and did not have access to the hard copy holdings of the Wits library. It was however useful to be in Nairobi as this is where the study is based. This allowed me to access more information on the current situation of the Mukuru SPA than if I had conducted the research remotely as initially planned. However, the lockdown situation in Nairobi also restricted access to all public and university libraries and required me to work from home during the entire period.

1.9 Organisation of the research report

This research report will be organised into the following chapters:

Chapter one introduces the background to the study subject, the problem statement, research aim, research questions and goals, the guiding hypothesis and the approach to be used in carrying out the research. Chapter two reviews related literature including concepts, policies, plans and regulations on planning processes and projects.

Chapter three examines the context of Mukuru Informal Settlement, its historical development, locational context and the legal framework for community planning in Kenya. It will further provide an overview of the Special Planning Area and how the community participated in this project. Chapter four offers a presentation of findings from the data collection process, interests and role of various organisations that were part of the project, the challenges and benefits that have been realised from the project and an overview into what factors delayed its completion and what could have been done to ensure timely completion. The final chapter involves a general summary of findings, recommended actions and conclusions and will include a statement of scope for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

2 Literature Review on the barriers to implementation of urban development plans

2.1 Introduction

The literature cited in this chapter was examined with the objective of informing the investigation into the factors that influence the implementation of urban integrated development plans. The chapter is split into the subsequent sections of a brief overview of the concept of urban planning and the identification of critical success factors that affect implementation of urban development plans. The chapter concludes with a conceptual framework in which I highlight two sides of plan implementation, that is, what is needed to ensure success of this process and what is likely to undermine the implementation. The literature in this section draws from different sources and schools of thought including but not limited to management, participation and urban planning.

2.2 Definition of key terms

Planning is described by Cirolia and Berrisford (2017) as the creation of an organized series of actions that assist in the attainment of specified goals. Planning helps to direct operations during doubt and gives a basis for upcoming decision-making (Faludi 2004). Planning is understood as a holistic procedure covering preparation, authorization and implementation. It may also be interpreted as a framework that helps to turn a concept into a reality for leaders (*ibid*).

Imparato and Ruster (2003) define participation as

‘a process in which people, and especially disadvantaged people, influence resource allocation and policy and program formulation and implementation and are involved at different levels and degrees of intensity in the identification, timing, planning, design, implementation, evaluation, and post-implementation stages of development projects.’
(2003:42)

Flexible and process-oriented approaches are used in participatory planning to encourage community engagement and provide local people a significant amount of control over the development program (Bannerji 2020).

Informal settlements are residential areas in which 1) residents have no security of tenure over the land or dwellings they occupy, with modalities ranging from squatting to informal rental housing, 2) the neighbourhoods typically lack, or are cut off from, basic services and city infrastructure, and 3) the housing may not comply with current building codes (UN Habitat 2003).

For the purposes of this study, security of tenure is defined as the assurance that a person's land rights are and will be recognized by others, as well as protected in the event of special challenges (Alban et al. 2020)

2.3 The importance of planning

Plans are important because they allow cities and communities to follow their dreams and grow them in an organized manner. Plans allow participants to predict requirements, align actions, and find a pathway to a future that brings communities together. Planners need to further establish their own frameworks for assessing proposals that are mindful of the related physical and spatial spheres and, that are aimed at directing urban growth in the longer term.

Urban development seeks to improve liveability, stability and wealth (UN Habitat, 2014). By designing an atmosphere that is safe, fair, effective, convenient and attractive, people use urban planning to encourage the wellbeing of current and future communities(*ibid*). Planning may be a means of regulation of use of land that plays the role of an instrument of emancipation and that of authoritarian control (Enemark et al. 2014). While some people consider planning to be a means of public service delivery, others see it as being discriminatory, in the sense that planning for use of land could encourage the marginalization of poor citizens and not serve the public (*ibid*). Additionally, plans, as results of the planning process, give the profession sense and importance but have failed to receive the necessary attention in Kenya (Ryan, 2011).

In the context of planning, barriers are overcome through immediate effort, innovative administration, a shift in thinking, reorganization of resources and a change in land use (Ebi,2015). By applying concrete steps and actions to make the execution of the plan more realistic, planning hurdles can be overcome (Kinzer,2016). Public engagement consolidates all participants in the planning of the plan, in so doing increasing unanimity and dedication which in turn provides momentum for the implementation of the plan (*ibid*). For planners, public engagement in planning is valuable because it infuses local awareness and increases the available data for planning. This involvement makes the subsequent plans more aware of the

issue (*ibid*). If one were to apply Kinzer's (2016) argument generally to identify the challenges that work against implementation, one could list causes such as ongoing disputes, stakeholder exclusion, political intervention and variation from current policies and programs.

2.4 Challenges to implementation of urban development plans

One of the leading challenges to executing plans is a lack of accurate statistical information required to come up with workable plans (Chirisa, 2014). When the implementation of a plan takes longer than anticipated, barriers become clear. Some of these barriers are complications in acquiring approval on matters not anticipated at the start of the process, existence of bureaucratic procedure, incompatible relationships among different actors and changes in major stakeholders (Hupe, 2011). The participants of implementation may support the significant end of a proposal and still disagree with or not expedite the execution because of several reasons (*ibid*). Firstly, stakeholders may support a plan only to get later that it is contradictory or competing for inadequate resources with other projects that they may deem of more urgency. Secondly, actors may have concurrent obligation to other projects that likewise need time and attention. In such situations, urgency may be given to other projects first, resulting in delays, and with it, causing changes as time passes which makes implementation difficult. Thirdly, reliance on other people do not prioritise the project as urgent can delay implementation. These are groups consulted owing to their skills or jurisdictional mandate, yet they may not have a sense of urgency to the implementation process thus hindering it (*ibid*).

Most frequently, local government officials attempt to reach too many goals at once without considering how some of the goals clash or even conflict, as Yaro and Garba (2019) found in their study of local governments and planning in Nigeria. The study revealed that absence of appropriate government support for plans was the prime reason why plans were not implemented (*ibid*). Often this is due to political leaders' lack of commitment in planning practice. Key actors such as planners, staff and political leaders frequently fail to participate in conversation regarding priorities and strategies, which results in a coordination gap in the planning and implementation processes (Hupe 2011). Moreover, there has been a great deal of concern at the level of local government about inexperienced and unqualified workers and bureaucratic bottlenecks (*ibid*).

2.5 Pre-requisites for implementation of urban development plans

For a plan to be successfully implemented, there are factors that need to be paid attention to, commonly referred to as Critical Success Factors (CSFs). CSF are explained as factors such as the role of facilitators or impeded conditions, which influence the outcome of a project (Hoang and Lapumnuaypon 2008). They are the essential issues innate in a project, which must be preserved in an appropriate and efficient way for planning to take place (*ibid*). Jaramillo and Marshall (2004) see CSFs as tasks or characteristics that require management's priority attention because they drive efficiency. Across the literature reviewed, drawing from the field of management, some of these CSFs that emerged are top management support, resource allocation, composition of the project team and community participation which are explained in detail in the section that follows.

a) Top management support

According to Ackel et al. (2012), through the project's implementation, top management support and engagement must be routine, oriented, inclusive and constructive. It is appropriate to make the technical decision about the project with proper consultation. Project management and execution depend on the support of management and execution of defined objectives (*ibid*). Vaidya et al. (2006) further established that discovered top management support and performance assessment are critical. Effective execution of the development plan includes the use of appropriate methods for integration, such as the use of external technical resources, the choice of a qualified project leader, and the selection of a team with essential prior work interactions. However, it needs to be acknowledged that there is also a debate about how this can be counterproductive, particularly in participatory planning which needs flexibility in time and the results of which cannot be predicted if the participation is given real meaning.

b) Resource allocation

Resources for the process of making development plans are regarded to be any materials that are important in facilitating the processes from the start till the execution stages. They could include resources such as human, physical, financial and technological (Ramlall 2010). Another important factor for project sustainability is in the useful allocation of resources which may usually be obtained through political will and support. Additionally, fiscal resources are essential in enabling development and implementation of plans (*ibid*).

Okumu (2001) identified that major concerns to be contemplated are the methods of safeguarding and apportioning resources, time obtainable to finish the execution process, political matters within the government and their influence on resource distribution. Sterling (2003) furthermore perceives chronic shortage of resources as obstructing implementation of plans. Efficacy in allocation of resources also demands that officials unceasingly scrutinize their management systems to come up with approaches to streamline them, so they operate more efficiently (*ibid*).

c) Project team composition

Ackel et al. (2012) observe that the character and composition of the team is a crucial part of plan execution. Kuen et al. (2009) additionally infers that skilled staff are essential to the undertaking a good outcome. An experienced project team consists of a project leader and members, who are specially selected, adequately prepared and possess the required skills and expertise to handle the project. At the point when the project is finished and later introduced to the local community, the power of the team members to persuade and sell the advantages of the project is important to affirm that the project is satisfactory.

UN-Habitat (2010) noticed that planning calls for the abilities and knowledge of experts and stakeholders to be continuously reconsidered. Reeves (2012) urges that training and support for programmes is important, especially in cases where a project is designed to be durable and involves large groups of individuals.

The rates of staff turnover can affect the success of a project as noted by Kuen et al. 2009 while staff turnover has become a significant fear for organizations. Unexpected staff turnover is challenging and costly, affecting not only knowledge and productivity, but also the stability of a project.

d) Community participation

Community participation is a continuously evolving concept that is discussed globally and basically translates to the inclusion of project affected persons, in projects, planning or decision making (Cornwall 2008).

The purpose of participation may include involving people in the decision-making process, complementing the planning and design as well as fostering a sense of community and enhancing confidence of the people in government (Sanoff, 2000).

Types of participation

The different modes and types of participation, to a great extent, determine the overall impact of the process. Arnstein (1969) strongly advocates that citizen participation in its ideal form entails citizen power, and clearly identifies the various forms of participation and “non-participation” that do not meet this ideal. Inhabitants of informal settlements have for a long time been seen to be “powerless” citizens due to their tenure insecurity and therefore lacked recognition. Taking this further, White (1996) evaluates the different interests at stake through the various levels of participation. This approach was put forward to not only be able to work out a way in which people can participate, but also to identify clashing interests which determine how participation is being used.

In compliment to Arnstein’s analysis, Pretty (1995) explores participation from the user perspective. The two authors share a common grounding in the understanding that participation shifts from poor forms to better and more inclusive ones. The two analyses agree that participation is ultimately controlled by power while Pretty emphasises that the motives of people who take part in the processes are an important factor.

Goethert (1998) notes that participation varies in the degree of intensity and that the levels range from no participation to information or indirect participation, consultation, shared control and full control. These levels can easily be compared to Arnstein’s whose three key categories seem to relate to the above. This perspective is characterised by increased citizen control and power the higher the levels go and the relationship with external actors is clearly defined (*ibid*). This analysis introduces the idea of roles of both the community and external actors play in the participatory process. The idea of both external actors and community roles is unique as it has not been identified by the other authors discussed above except maybe for the slight mention of external actors playing an advisory role at the self-mobilisation level put forward by Pretty (1995).

Benefits and impacts of community participation

The benefits of community participation in planning and projects have been examined by various scholars. Imperato and Ruster (2003) who associate the benefits with the improved design and effectiveness of projects by providing an avenue through which people express their needs and concerns against what cost they are willing to incur to achieve that. Firstly, the local knowledge gathered from participatory processes is key to improving design and formulating solutions to challenges (*ibid*). Secondly, it enhances sustainability and impact of projects

through responding to demand, boosting a sense of local ownership as well as responsibility (*ibid*). Finally, participation contributes to the overall goals of good governance and poverty reduction amongst others through building the capacity of local knowledge, establishing clear channels for citizens to be part of decision making and according to people a chance to influence or have a say in actions that influence their lives (*ibid*). Cornwall (2008) notes that participation may encourage engagement around specific issues or challenges citing the example of a Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) project that dealt with child nutrition, but the discussions motivated the citizens to demand accountability from their parliamentary representative. In this way, the process served as a space for expression of grievances that cannot be easily ignored by authorities. Therefore, the citizens are empowered by having an opportunity to interact with key decision makers and give their opinion and contribution to matters affecting them (Irvin and Stansbury 2004).

The benefits of participation are categorised as developmental (social capital, political efficiency, trust and cohesion), instrumental (to planning and service delivery) and due process (a fundamental right signifying the exercise of citizenship) (Goodlad et al. 2005). Participation has been utilized as a tool to influence social change and encouraging better and effective outcomes. It is viewed as a two-way beneficial connection between the government and citizens where the latter learn and gain some level of control over the policy processes while the former can build trust and obtain the confidence of its people through accountability and transparency and legitimize their decisions, avoiding litigation and learning from the people on how to make more applicable policy (Irvin and Stansbury 2004). It further motivates the acceptance of government by its people towards successful policy and plan implementation. This, in most cases, makes the citizens more cooperative. Some of these processes of participation are used as “marketing purposes” which may explain the failure of the process in certain situations (*ibid*).

Factors causing inertia in community participation

Ball and Maginn (2005) note that the setting up of participatory forums and encouraging discussions among stakeholders is not a guarantee that embedded conflicts will disappear. As such, it is safe to conclude that the participatory process encounters challenges or what this report refers to as factors causing inertia.

Participation is bound to encounter a setback if the targeted beneficiaries do not participate in the process. In most cases, participation processes are voluntary and so the targeted groups are

not mandated to participate. In participatory processes in informal settlements, the community members have been subjected to numerous calls to participate in forums for different projects and end up fatigued by the call to participate, also possibly beginning to expect something in return for the time spent in the meetings (Cornwall 2008). This motion is seconded by Lawrence and Deagen (2001) who argue that citizens may be reluctant to be part of protracted forums to work out policy decisions. They may be accepting of decisions by their authorities and therefore participation appears unnecessary.

Participation has both time and cost implications in establishing the mechanisms for participation and procurement of specialized services while the risks are often linked with poorly managed participatory initiatives (Imparato and Ruster 2003). The representation of citizens in these forums may be biased or likely to consist of members whose livelihoods may be affected and therefore not objective. These representatives are often community leaders or older people and have the confidence of the people (Irvin and Stansbury 2004).

Loh (2012) identifies four key stages of potential disconnect in the community planning process as during visioning, plan writing, local government actions and law enforcement. First, a point of disconnect may occur when the outcome of a public participation process is not in sync with other stated goals of interested stakeholders. Secondly, during the plan writing process, there must be a balance between community desires and implementation steps proposed by planners. Thirdly, there could be a disconnect between the plan implementation and ordinance or laws of the township and a change may be necessary if the authority wants to enforce recommendations of the plan. Finally, the bodies that come up with zoning laws and those that carry out enforcement could have a disconnect in the sense that if the ordinances are not evenly enforced, meaningful implementation may not happen. This is however also linked to issues of capacity, budgets and priorities in government authorities(*ibid*).

Mathews (1984) cited in Yang (2006) elaborated on the disconnect between community and planners' proposals by stating that certain factors may lead to professionals being opposed to community participation all together which Yang (2006: 573-594) calls the "four resistances". First, public essential services are provided through a representative process which is determined by the electoral process that citizens participate in. Next, the community or locals are hardly experts and are not able to give solutions to complex situations. Thirdly, the collective view of community is not easy to determine as these forums only take the opinions of those who choose to share. Finally, professionals argue that the ideals of the public may be

hard to understand as they may not mean the same thing. Consequently, the main arguments here are that participation is expensive, time consuming and unproductive (*ibid*). These, among other factors, may be contributing to the inert state of community planning projects and hence this study seeks to understand them in the context of the Mukuru SPA project.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

The framework below seeks to summarise the key emerging aspects of the literature review which explains the enabling and undermining factors to implementing an urban development plan. Resource allocation and top management support among others emerge as the CSFs for implementation while lack of resources and the involvement of many stakeholders among others emerge as key threats. The process of planning for Mukuru informal settlement underwent delays and setbacks, some of which relate to the summary given here below.

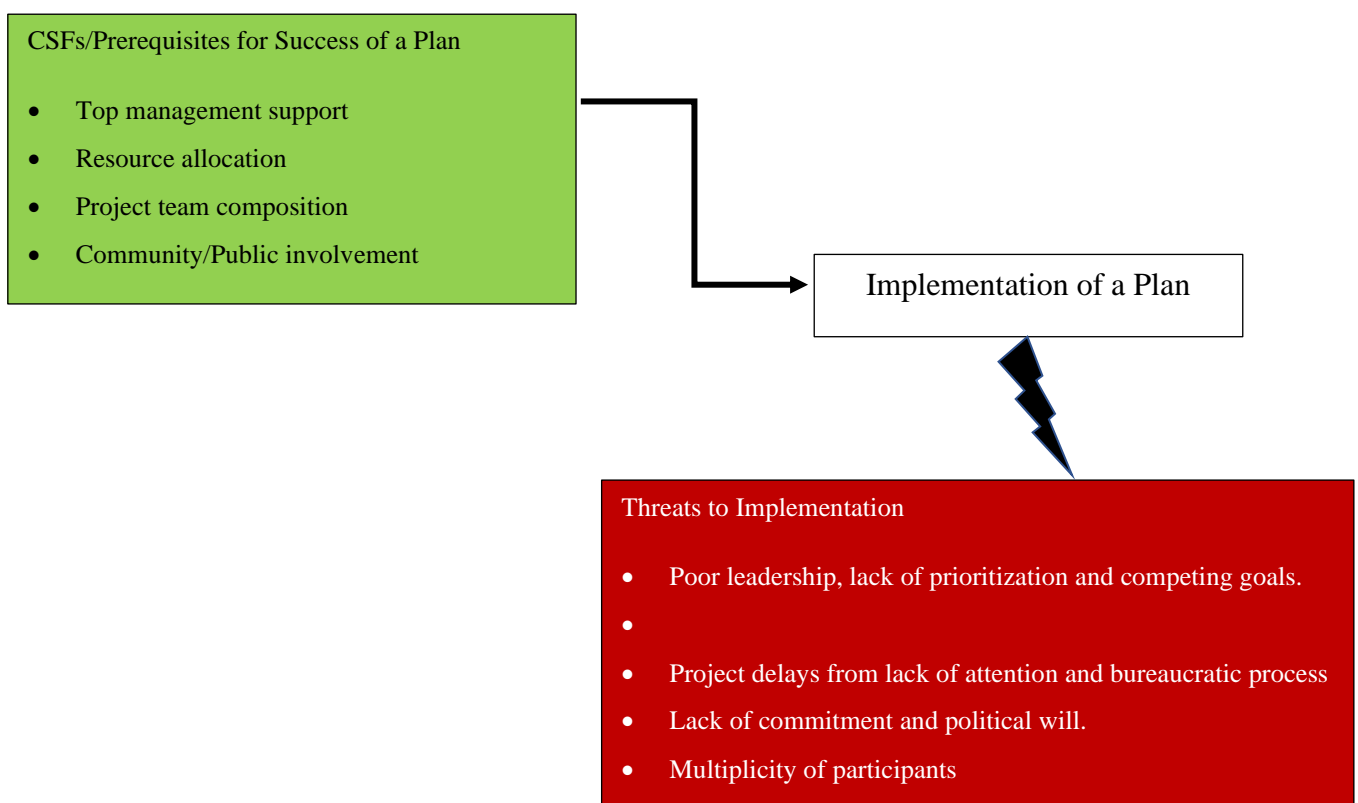


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Author 2021

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter examined the factors that prevent the implementation of plans and subsequently what aspects are necessary to ensure the implementation. It drew on literature from both management and critical planning school of thought to help in the understanding of why the Mukuru Special Planning Area planning process has not been completed. The literature attributes some of the reasons to bureaucratic process of local governments which may delay the entire process, the choice and selection of stakeholders for a project and their commitment to delivering the results of the plan and lack of political will and support. Notably, the chapter seems to point to ambitious goals at the start which may not be feasible within the project period or is not achieved in the end.

On the other hand, this chapter highlights some of the factors that may make such a process successful, starting with availability of resources, management support, composition of the project team and ending with actual community participation which is key to any planning process. This among other factors, if properly taken care of are likely to contribute to successful completion of a project. The next chapter gives a better understanding into the context of Mukuru Special Planning Area and provides an understanding of what actually took place in this planning process.

CHAPTER THREE

3 The Context and Making of Mukuru Integrated Development Plan

3.1 Introduction

This chapter takes an in-depth look at applicable policy and regulations, both global and local, that are relevant to the case study, the context of Mukuru informal settlement and the steps and procedures that led up to the decision to undertake the preparation of an integrated development plan for the settlement. It highlights the challenges that the informal settlement faces, the key stakeholders and activities that led to the declaration of the area as a Special Planning Area and a brief look at how the planning process for the integrated development plan was undertaken.

3.2 Policy and regulations for planning in Kenya

This section gives an overview of relevant policy and legislative framework that guides planning and development activities in Kenya. The national government is required to develop both long- and medium-term integrated development plans for the country as a basis for its budgeting process. Kenya is currently operating under a 22-year, long-term development plan dubbed “Vision 2030” which covers the period 2008 to 2030 and utilises three pillars of economic, social, and political strategies (GoK, 2007). The plan is to be implemented in successive 5-year Medium-Term Plans. Currently, a 30-year National Spatial Plan has been developed, covering the period 2015 to 2045 (GoK, 2015). The national government is further charged with the duty of coordinating planning by the counties, under Schedule 4 of the Constitution (Gok, 2010). The Nairobi Metro 2030 plan identifies poverty and unemployment as factors that result in poor living conditions in slum areas within the Nairobi Metropolitan region (GoK, 2008). It however sets goals to eradicate poverty and raise income levels of low-income groups as well as mainstream inclusive participation in planning (*ibid*). The Nairobi Integrated Urban Development Master Plan (NIUPLAN) (2014-2030) has wide propositions on activities to face the enduring issues being experienced within the city such as traffic jam, joblessness, inadequate housing, and weak infrastructure among others (NCC, 2014). Restructuring of the city’s urban form through creating several sub centers will distribute work opportunities and service delivery to citizens and lower the need to come to the CBD for the same. NIUPLAN visualises a compact city with multiple main centers and a restored CBD. The goal is to have an all-encompassing city, thus guaranteeing spatial and social fairness(*ibid*).

a) The Constitution of Kenya (2010)

The Constitution of Kenya was decreed on 27th August 2010 and establishes the premise of all other laws in Kenya as it is the supreme law of the land. Chapter Six Section 60 (1) denotes the principles under which the stipulations on land use and management are made. The Constitution further provides for the establishment of a National Land Commission whose primary role is to supervise and have oversight obligations over land use planning throughout the country (GoK, 2010). The Constitution asserts that land shall be used and managed in a manner that upholds the principles of fair access to land, safety of land rights, sustainable and useful management of land resources as well as safeguarding of ecologically sensitive areas (*ibid*). This is relevant because the case study in question partly sits on the riparian reserve of Ngong river and has resulted in pollution and degradation (*ibid*). Article 66 (1) identifies the role of the state to control the use of land in the interest of security, public welfare, order, morality, health and land use planning (*ibid*). It is on this premise, especially public health and safety, among other factors, that the case for declaration of an SPA was made for Mukuru.

b) National Slum Upgrading and Prevention Policy (NSUPP) (2013)

The National Slum Upgrading and Prevention Policy seeks to incorporate and formalize slums in existing areas and to prevent the formation of new informal settlements, ensuring that provision of adequate housing and basic infrastructure are guided by appropriate planning and finance (GoK, 2013). The policy supports the UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11.1, to guarantee access for all to satisfactory, safe, and affordable housing and basic services, and upgrade slums. It promotes dignified livelihoods and participatory incremental slum upgrading that fosters community ownership and investment in residents, while improving accountability in county and national initiatives to upgrade slums. While the policy addresses the importance of housing and built infrastructure, it also emphasizes employment opportunities, social infrastructure, land tenure, rent regulations, and the establishment of an inter-government agency for slum prevention and upgrading to implement and coordinate slum upgrading initiatives. Through NSUPP, the Kenya Slum Upgrading Low-Cost Housing and Infrastructure Trust Fund (KENSUF) was created to support slum upgrading, as well as a County Slum Upgrading Multi-Stakeholder Support Group (CMSSG) that devolves implementation of slum upgrading to the county governments (GoK, 2012). The draft Mukuru integrated development plan however does not make mention of these two as an avenue to implement the plan.

c) The Physical and Land use Planning Act (2019)

The Physical and Land use Planning Act entails guidelines to preparation of plans at different spatial levels including the steps and contents of each of the plans. Sec 22 (1) makes provision for the formulation of a National Physical and Land Use Development Plan, as mentioned above, which defines strategic policies to guide the direction and trends of physical and sectoral development in the country and give a framework for the use and development of land (GoK,2019).

Sec 36 (1) of the Act mandates county governments to make a county physical and land use development plan for their respective counties. It directs that each of these plans should conform to the national physical and land use plan mentioned above, and any other inter-county physical plans. Section 45 (1) gives the county governments the power to formulate a local physical and land use development plan for a city, municipality, town or unclassified urban area. Section 52 (1) gives county governments the power to proclaim an area as a special planning area if:

“ that area has unique development, natural resource, environmental potential or challenges; that area has been identified as suitable for intensive and specialized development activity; the development of that area might have significant effect beyond that area's immediate locality; the development of that area raises significant urban design and environmental challenges; or the declaration is meant to guide the implementation of strategic national projects; or guide the management of internationally shared resources” (GoK, 2019).

Further, section 52 (2) states that where a county government has declared an area as a special planning area, the county executive committee member may, by notice in the Gazette, halt any development in the special planning area for a period of not more than two years until a physical and land use development plan of that area has been approved (*ibid*). The declaration of Mukuru as a SPA pre-date this Act, which was enacted in 2019. Prior to this, the Physical Planning Act of 1996 in section 23(1 and 2) gave direction on declaration of a SPA. It declares that the Director of physical planning may declare an area as such if it has unique development challenges and suspend development for a period of not more than two years (GoK, 1996). This supported the initial declaration and gazettment of Mukuru as a SPA.

d) The Land Act (2012)

The essence of the Land Act of 2012 is to establish and streamline the numerous laws previously governing the managing and direction of land in Kenya. Part II of this Act provides for land use planning and management of public land. It tasks the National Land Commission with the duty to make planning regulations and plan approvals. Section 17 (1 and 2) gives guidelines for formulation of development plans, the key factors to be considered for plan making, while section 19 provides for preparation of rules and regulations for sustainable conservation of land-based resources (GoK, 2012a).

e) County Government Act (CGA) (2012)

The County Government Act of 2012 outlines the role of county governments. The aims of planning at the county level are diverse and comprise; i) enabling the development of a perfectly balanced system of settlements, proper use of limited land, water and other resources ii) developing both urban and rural areas as compact areas of economic and social activity; iii) designating county departments, cities and urban areas, sub-counties and wards for planning purposes (GoK 2012b).

In prior planning laws, the consultation of citizens in the planning process was implied, though with limitations on the structure of engagement. The Physical Planning Act of 1996 provided liaison committees for participation whose composition was not defined by law (GoK, 1996). The Constitution of Kenya 2010 and this Act in section 4 (1) conditions that public participation in the county planning processes is compulsory and is should be facilitated through mechanisms provided for in Part VIII of the Act (GoK, 1996, 2010). This gave primacy to the public as the main participants in planning activities. This has accorded citizens the right to reject a plan in the case that there was no consultation.

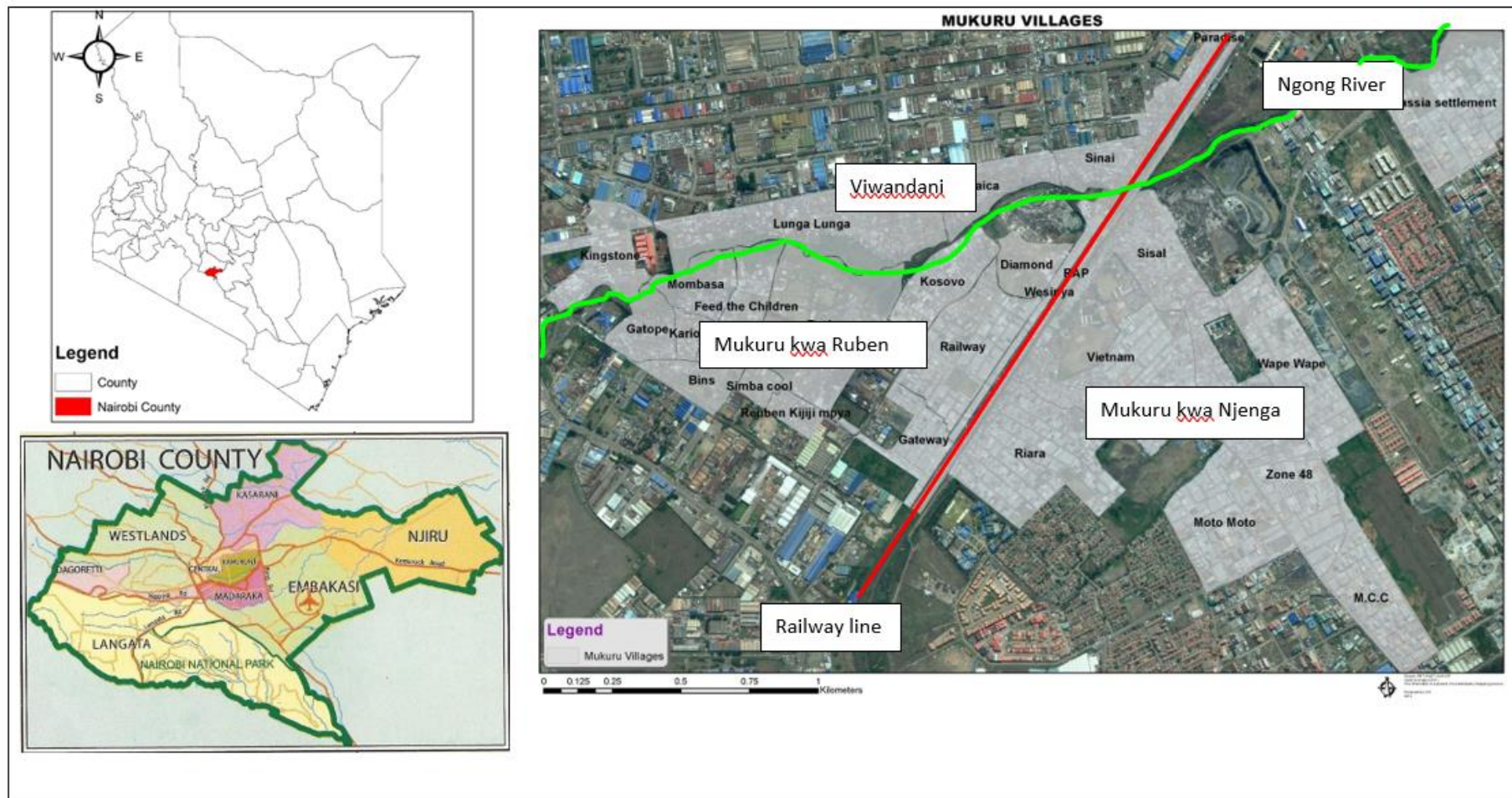
Section 2 of the Act also makes provision for the types of plans that ought to be developed to enable development within each county. They include county integrated development plans, county sectoral plans, county spatial plan and cities and urban areas plans as provided for under the Urban Areas and Cities Act of 2011(UACA) (GoK, 2011). UACA states that the spatial plan should have a life span of ten years to be able to accommodate of the changing aspects of development, an aspect that planning authorities have been struggling with for many years (*ibid*).

As was evident from the literature review in chapter 2 of this research report, poor implementation of plans can be caused by a failure of planning authorities to link fiscal and spatial plans. This aspect has been addressed by the CGA act in Sec 110 (1) which provides that the county's integrated development plan shall "inform the county's budget which shall be based on the annual development priorities and objectives referred to in section 101 of this Act and the performance targets set by the county" (GoK, 2012b).

3.3 The context of Mukuru informal settlement

a) Locational Context of Mukuru informal settlement

The Mukuru informal settlement is the second largest within Nairobi, situated in the southeastern part of the city (see Map 3-1 below) (Weru et al 2015) and is home to approximately 185,185 people (KNBS, 2019) as mentioned in Chapter 1. It is a low-income neighbourhood located between 5.4km to 8.7km southeast of the Nairobi central business district. The settlement is in Embakasi South and Makadara sub-counties in Nairobi County. Mukuru is bordered by 5 major city arterial roads: Lungalunga Road to the North, Outer ring Road to the East, Enterprise Road to the West, Eastern Bypass and Mombasa Road to the South. This makes the settlement highly accessible to the city and other areas where residents of Mukuru seek employment opportunities. The settlement is divided into three major parts of Mukuru kwa Njenga, Mukuru kwa Ruben and Viwandani. The major parts all have smaller villages as shown in the map 3.1 below.



Map 3.1: Location context of Mukuru Informal Settlement

Source: Author 2020, using ©Google Earth.

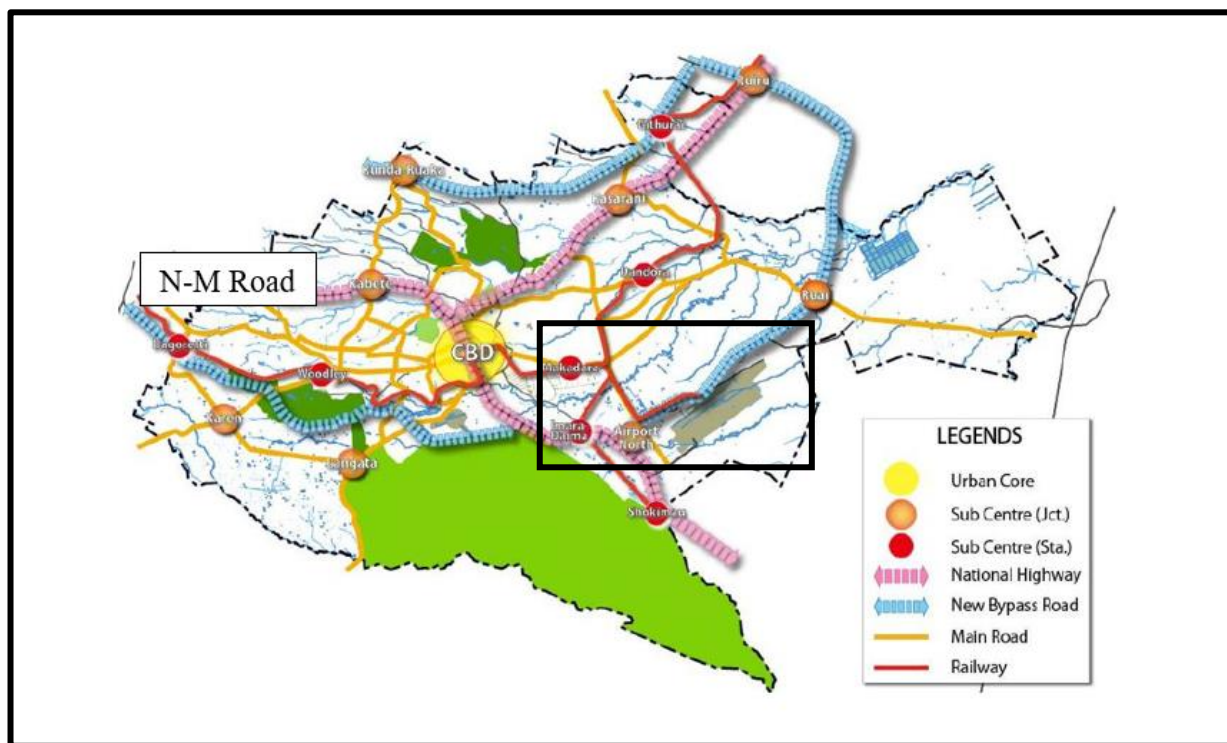
Mukuru is located in an area with a growing number of middle-class housing properties. It is surrounded by an industrial ring of manufacturing and distribution centers. It covers an extensive area of 279.12 Ha (Corbun 2017). The settlements are separated by the Kenya Railway which runs along the border between Mukuru Kwa Njenga and Kwa Reuben; and the Ngong' River which divides Mukuru Kwa Reuben and Viwandani. The three major settlements are further sub-divided into 30 villages with different names which would later be grouped during the mobilisation process to form 13 segments of community engagement as explained later in this chapter. The railway line is non-functional and often used as an open-air market. Figure 3.1 below illustrates some of the livelihood activities that the residents of Mukuru practise. They however recognise that the land surrounding the railway line is a reserve of Kenya Railways Corporation and hardly encroach or construct semi-permanent or residential structures on the reserve. They trade in various commodities at an open-air market located along the railway reserve as well as along the access paths within the settlement. Another key economic activity within the settlement is renting of structures for both residential and commercial purposes. Corburn et al. 2017 notes that 27% of structures are used for business or commercial purposes while 92% of the population are tenants and only 8% landlords.



Figure 3.1: Livelihood activities of the residents of Mukuru

Source: Author, 2017

Strategically, the SPA is situated along the Nairobi -Mombasa Road in East Africa, projected as major economic corridor for development. The Nairobi-Mombasa corridor is the most significant trading corridor as it connects four of the five East African Community countries (Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi) to the port of Mombasa (NCC,2014). Additionally, the NCCG structure plan of Nairobi suggests that Mukuru shall be bound by two new proposed urban sub-centers; Makadara to the north and Imara Daima to the South which will realise both economic and administrative benefits for the residents of Mukuru. The proposed urban nodes within the Nairobi Metropolitan Area will be served by major transport networks as proposed in the plan. The SPA is bound by city arterial roads earmarked by for development e.g. Lunga Lunga Road, Enterprise Road and Outering Road (NCC, 2014).



Map 3.2: Proposed new urban nodes in NIUPLAN Structure Plan

Source: JICA Study Team (JST) 2014

b) Historical context of Mukuru informal settlement

The community of Mukuru dates to the colonial period when a white settler named Reuben used the land for commercial ranching and sisal farming (Musyoka et al. 2010). The settlement was started by one amongst Reuben's farm hands, Munyao, and developed as labour camp for the farm's workers. Mukuru Kwa Njenga was named after a squatter called Mzee Njenga who worked for Reuben while Kwa Rueben was named after the white settler. Viwandani is a

Swahili word meaning “industries” and this name was coined following the closeness of this settlement to the industrial area (*ibid*).

At independence in 1963, the government compulsorily acquired land for public use especially at the town fringe, which included Mukuru (Musyoka et al. 2010). During the 1970s and 1980s, the land was subdivided and allocated to influential individuals to develop industries reciprocally in return for political favours (*ibid*). The new owners were expected to develop the land within two years, failure to which would result in repossession of the land by the government. The majority of allottees were unable to develop and sold the land to companies or used the parcels as collateral to accumulate bank loans, leaving the area vacant.

Urbanization coupled with rural-urban migration continued to take place and Mukuru’s location near the commercial zone attracted casual workers to the surrounding industries. The immigrants acquired spaces in Mukuru through the provincial chiefs at a small fee. So-called ‘provincial chiefs’ in Kenya are government officials, generally known to be governing in an untransparent manner (COHRE, 2004). The residents of Mukuru do not have legal claim to the land they reside on, because of the informal nature of land allocation and squatting. However, there emerged two key groups of residents within the settlement: structure owners and tenants. The structure owners or landlords constructed structures within the settlement and as such were “informal” land holders while the tenants paid rent and other charges to the landlords to enable them live within the settlement. As the settlement began to grow and densify, threats of eviction intensified the contestation over land ownership in Mukuru. Land tenure security challenges are common to informal settlements throughout Nairobi and have impacted the growth and development of Mukuru, which is currently excluded from legal land policy, county and national planning initiatives, the provision and management of basic services, and formal governance systems (AMT et al. 2016).

However, in line with Kenyan laws, the people of Mukuru have lived in their respective ‘villages’ (this term referring to individual sections of the slum) long enough to warrant tenure security. The Constitution states that when someone has squatted on a piece of uncontested land for a continuous period of 12 years, the state should declare that person the factual owner. Article 160 (e) of the Kenya Land Act gives the National Land Commission (NLC) the mandate to establish negotiation between private landowners and squatters, transfer underutilized land and that of absentee landlords to squatters and facilitate regularization of squatter settlements on public and community land for development purposes (GoK 2012).

3.4 Pre-declaration of Mukuru as a special Planning area

Several civil Society groups have been active in the Mukuru area. Pamoja Trust, Muungano wa Wanavijiji and Akiba Mashinani Trust among others have been key players in terms of championing for informal settlement residents' rights for a long time in Kenya. There were other organisations involved but the ones mentioned above were the main players. While Pamoja Trust and Akiba Mashinani Trust focused on encouraging financial savings groups within the settlements Muungano wa Wanavijiji's key goal was to champion against forced evictions and loss of homes. In early 2000s, persons living in informal settlements would approach these organisations to assist them every time they faced threats of eviction from the owners of the land on which they squatted (Weru, 2004). The frequency of these approaches from community members pushed an interdisciplinary team comprised of urban planners at the University of Nairobi, pro-poor financial tacticians at Akiba Mashinani Trust (AMT), legal and finance lecturers at Strathmore University, and lawyers at the Katiba Institute. They were supported by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) from 2013-2015. Researchers from these entities combined surveys, interviews, focus groups, and spatial data gathered in Mukuru over the period of 2013-2015 with a review of best practices from Kenya or other cities. Based on these detailed findings, the team has developed a set of financial, legal, and planning proposals that can benefit households in Mukuru and other informal settlements. The recommendations from this research were expected to have broader applicability for Kenya's urban development policies and impart broader debates about enhancing well-being among the urban poor, assisting to deliver the promise of equitable development in Kenya's constitution and devolution reforms (Corburn et al. 2017).

Over the multi-stage research project, the team partnered closely with residents to develop a thorough situation analysis and to propose future interventions in Mukuru. In the situation analysis, researchers explored the relations between settlement types and service provision, as well as examining alternative models of service delivery (Corburn et al 2017). The findings facilitated the revelation of key links between poor service delivery, insecure land tenure and biased governance institutions in Nairobi's informal settlements. Going beyond analysing slums' land tenure and service delivery, the final report explored the possibility of applying public interest-oriented legal, planning, and fiscal tools to improve the legality and liability of public authorities in the areas of authority, security and fairness (*ibid*).

The report further outlined the living conditions and developmental challenges within Mukuru such as poverty, poor access to sanitation and infrastructural services and land tenure insecurity. This is because approximately 94% of the Mukuru informal settlement occupies privately owned land which, made interventions in the area difficult (AMT et al. 2015). This is because the private owners of the parcels had been trying to evict residents of Mukuru over the years resulting in court battles some of which are still ongoing (*ibid*).

The report referred to the concept of a ‘poverty penalty’ which is the higher price incurred for basic services by the poor, when compared to the non-poor. The land tenure issues and controversies in Mukuru contributed to the area being largely excluded from county and national planning initiatives as well as investments of formal governance systems and services (Corburn et al. 2017). This lack of planning and investment contributed to the present-day conditions in Mukuru of rapid, haphazard, often unsafe development with a lack of basic services. The absence of services such as drainage, sanitation and waste management combine with Mukuru’s proximity to industrial activities to pose cumulative environmental health risks for residents. While Mukuru faces many challenges, it has strong community assets such as women-led savings groups, youth leaders, a network of schools and community facilities, and a robust informal labour market that provide opportunities for growth and are already contributing immensely to the economy and social fabric of Nairobi (*ibid*). Figures 3.2 below provides a pictorial perspective into the challenges that the settlement faces.



Figure 3.2: Open drainage channels used for waste disposal near houses

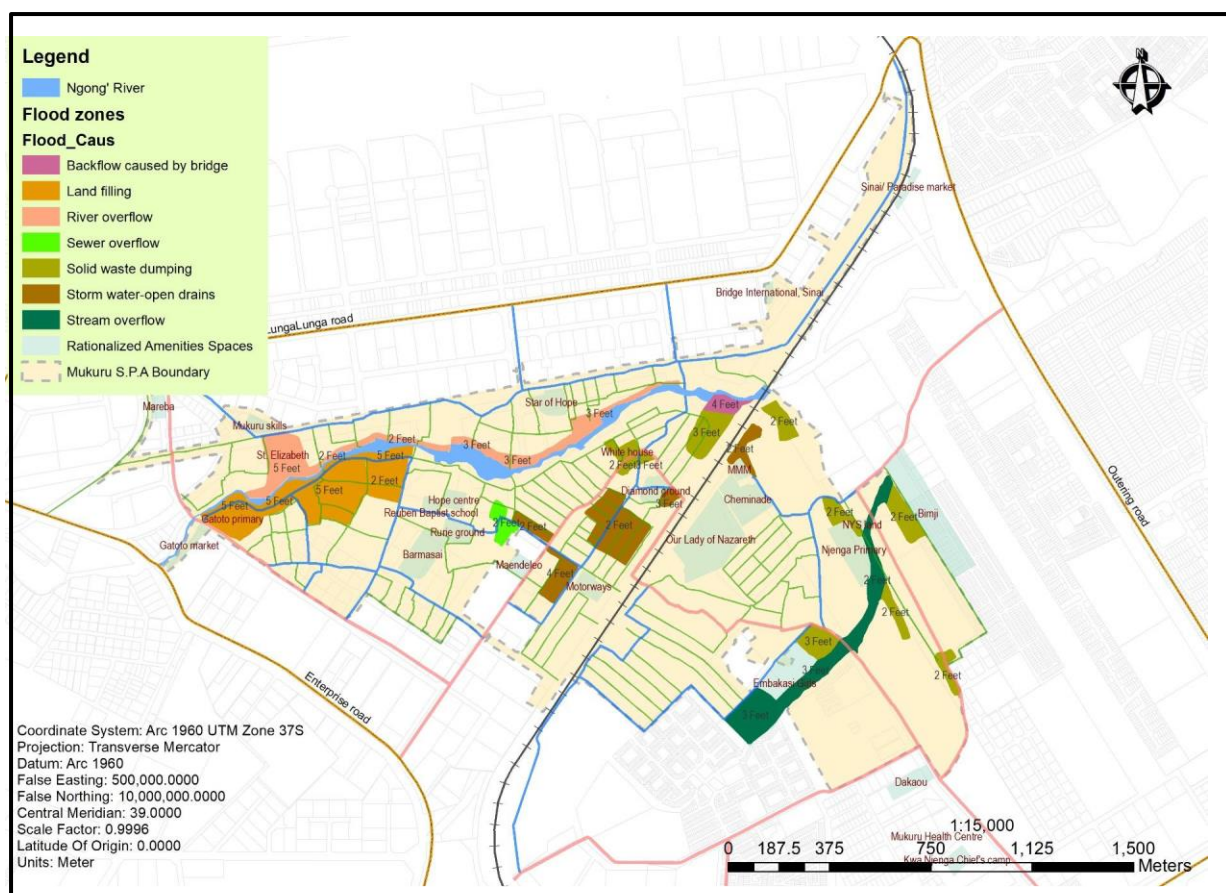
Source: Author 2020



Figure 3.3: Members of organisations in Mukuru SPA Project participating in community clean-up activities

Source: Author 2019

The IDRC-funded collaborative research was regarded as an entry point intervention towards addressing the unique challenges that the community was experiencing. In efforts to draw the attention of the government to this area and its unique developmental challenges, presentations were made, and discussions were held with officials at the Nairobi City County Government (NCCG) in the departments of urban development and housing. Officials in these departments later played an instrumental role in declaring the area a SPA. The Map 3-1 below shows the environmentally problematic areas in the settlement:



Map 3.3: Environmentally fragile areas in Mukuru

Source: SDI-K 2019

3.5 The declaration of the Mukuru as a special planning area

In 2017, the NCCG, under the Kenya Gazette Notice of number 7654 (GoK 2017) as shown in Appendix 1, stated that the informal settlements of Mukuru Kwa Njenga, Kwa Reuben and Viwandani a Special Planning Area (SPA) based on its unique development challenges and opportunities. The declaration, based on the Fourth Schedule of the Constitution and Section 23 of the Kenya Physical Planning Act of 1996, mandated the formulation of a participatory physical development plan for the area and for that purpose paused further development in the three settlements for a two-year period. The NCCG held deliberations with key organisations (listed in Table 3.1 below) on how the plan would be prepared. The project was designed as a multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary process building on thematic groups.

The various organisations that included civil society groups, NGOs, academic institutions and some faith-based organisations formed thematic groups based on their competencies. From my involvement in the research, I was aware that these organisations were recruited by the initial partners and joined the project on a voluntary basis with their resources and personnel, as the

NCCG lacked both the funds and personnel to support the project. These organisations brought on board specialised knowledge and skills in working with the community. The civil society groups, NGOs and faith-based organisations (FBOs) joined this project because of their legitimacy and long-standing relationship with the community while academic institutions were keen on research, learning, knowledge and co-production. The next chapter takes a more detailed look at the interests of the organisations that joined this project as well as that of the community of Mukuru. They are listed below and categorised in the various thematic groups that they were part of in table 3.1 below.

Consortia	Member organisations	Nairobi City County Department	Role of Consortium
Housing, infrastructure and commerce	SPARC India UC Berkeley Institute of Urban & Regional Planning SDI Kenya Akiba Mashinani Trust Institute for Transport and Development Policy (ITDP) University of Nairobi (Planning) Center for Urban Research and Innovation	County Department of Housing County Department of Planning	Planning team charged with spatial planning and preparation of draft sector plan for physical and social infrastructure
Education, youth affairs and culture	Akiba Mashinani Trust Women Educational Researchers of Kenya (WERK) Concern Worldwide Daraja Civic Initiatives Forum Elimu Yetu Coalition	County Department of Education, Youth Affairs and Culture County Department of Social Services	Prepared the education draft sector plan
Health Services Consortia	African Population Health Research Center (APHRC) Innovative Canadians for Change (ICChange) Kenya Medical Association Kenya Red Cross Akiba Mashinani Trust UC Berkeley Center for Global Health	County Department of Health Services	Prepared the health draft sector plan
Water, sanitation and energy	Caritas Switzerland Umande Trust Akiba Mashinani Trust/ SDI Kenya Oxfam Sanergy Nairobi Water and Sewerage Company Water and Sanitation for the Urban Poor/ USAID Strathmore Energy Research Center SDI Global	County Department for Water	Prepared a draft plan for water, sanitation and energy
Environment and natural resources	Muungano wa Wanavijiji United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Stockholm Environment Institute (SEI)	County Department of Environment and Natural Resources	Prepared the environment and natural resources
Coordination, community organisation and communication	SDI Kenya Muungano wa Wanavijiji Akiba Mashinani Trust Franciscan International	County Department of Housing County Department of Urban Renewal	Co-ordinated and mobilised community members and organisations

Finance	Strathmore University Akiba Mashinani Trust Bankable Frontiers Associates Institute for Economic Affairs	County Department for Finance and Economic Planning	Prepared a financial analysis and implication of the plan
Land and institutional frameworks	Katiba Institute Akiba Mashinani Trust University of Nairobi Strathmore University	County Legal Department	Prepared the land report and suggested ways in which land could be made available for the upgrading plan

Table 3.1: Member organisations of Mukuru SPA Consortia

Source: Reproduced from Horn et al 2020 and expanded with additional detail

3.6 The community planning process for the Mukuru IDP

Community planning forums took place between July 2018-January 2019 in ten out of 13 segments in Mukuru. The three segments not included in this process were those in which the residents refused to participate in the project. This is because the structure owners were particularly authoritarian as mentioned in section 3.3 above and cited reasons such as the fact that they were already negotiating with landowners to buy land from them, hence did not need to be part of the planning agenda. They chose not to participate in the process because they strongly felt that the idea behind the plan was to dispossess the structure owners of their spaces. It is also important to note that the structure owners felt they should be given a priority to give their opinion over the tenants because they were the “landholders”. Some forums would be attended by tenants who would feel intimidated about freely giving their views based on fear that the landlords would view this as some sort of scheme to get rights over the land in Mukuru. Map 3.4 below shows areas in which the community engagement forums succeeded and in which they failed. The indicators of a successful consultation were attendance by the sampled participants and an engaging discussion highlighting advantages and disadvantages of different proposals.



Map 3.4: Consultative segments for the Mukuru SPA Plan

Source: SDI Kenya, 2019 (with permission)



Figure 3.4: One of the public consultation sessions in Mukuru

Source: Author 2018

The process of involving as many members of Mukuru community as possible in the planning began in 2018 and was spearheaded by AMT, Muungano wa Wanavijiji and SDI-K which later formed the Coordination, community organisation and communication Consortium (CCOC) as shown in Table 3.1 above. The aim was to organise the community in a way that every single household opinion would be represented. Muungano wa Wanavijiji used the government’s “*nyumba kumi*” units as an entry point to engaging and establishing discussions with the community. “*Nyumba kumi*” is Swahili for “ten households” which were envisaged as cell structures across Nairobi. The National Government Department of Security intended these cell structure to enhance civic policing at various levels including the household and neighbourhood level. The only difference was that in the case of the Mukuru SPA, these units would play a planning role.

The units were referred to as cells and had 10 members who represented 10 households. They were used as building blocks for slightly bigger units of engagement known as sub-clusters/*barazas* which now consisted of 10 cells, equivalent to 100 households. 1 segment would be composed of about 80 sub-clusters representing 8000 households. It is on the basis of this units that Mukuru was divided into 13 segments of community engagement and representatives selected to attend different meetings (Horn et al 2020).

Before the community planning forums which began in mid-2018, CCOCC organised several preliminary meetings with both residents and consortia representatives. The intent of the meetings with residents in Mukuru was to pick representatives for successive community planning forums. Between July 2018 and January 2019, five out of eight thematic teams embarked on consultations to authenticate their sector briefs and to find additional challenges and other issues that should be included within the drafts of subsequent sector plans. In total, 5,370 people participated in community planning forums (Horn et al. 2020).

The applicability of planning standards based on the Kenyan Physical Planning Handbook standards were not practical in Mukuru for two major reasons: 1) The area had already changed use from the initially zoned and planned light industrial use to residential use and 2) The population is very high and therefore the space available to provide all necessary facilities was limited.

The preparation of the spatial plan went through a series of iterations aimed at examining the impact of applying the planning standards at each level. The engagement process not only entailed a documentation of community views and visions but also a negotiation of standards to the minimal possible standards that would allow functionality and minimised displacement of persons. One of the key guiding principles for the SPA plan was minimal displacement, '*conservative surgery approach*'. This is typical for in situ upgrading of informal settlements that seek to minimise disruption in people's lives (Huchzermeyer, 2011).

The second part of the planning involved reviewing the conventional standards. In this case, the buffer zones for arterial and sub-arterial roads were set at 15m and 9m instead of the conventional 60m and 25m respectively that is recommended in the physical planning handbook. The social amenities on the other hand were taken through a process of combining activities, vertical development options and prioritisation of needs which arrived at approximately 56% level of displacement.

This was still undesirable to both the community and planning team therefore the need to negotiate standards arose. During the discussions with community participants on space usage for various amenities, a criterion of prioritisation of needs was employed to arrive at the 'realistic' sizes and number of facilities. Based on my own observation and participation, this was a very interactive process for community and planning teams, sometimes resulting in actual walk through the settlement to confirm the width and sizes of existing roads to make informed proposals. The members of the community were quite well informed and identified

the railway, river and utility reserve areas. They would acknowledge by their own volition that some of their structures were on a road reserve, for instance, and were willing to pull back to make way for some of these critical services.

The final level of modification of the plan consisted of discussions within the planning team to determine how best to represent the community interest against what was practical regarding planning, while upholding the principle of minimal displacement first. This was able to arrive at adjusted sizes of roads that the community was likely to accept as opposed to the conventional standards. The planning process evaluated the impact of the plan at each level of iteration and evolution of the IDP in terms of displacement of persons and percentage of land that would go to the public realm arriving at a final 22% displacement within the settlement. This result has however not been taken to the community members for validation and approval based on my knowledge.

3.7 Implementation phase of the SPA project

Despite the plan not having been completed in terms of validation and approval by the community, some implementation aspects of the draft plan have already been realised in the settlement by the Nairobi Metropolitan Services (NMS). In March 2020, the president established NMS to manage some key NCCG functions such as health, transport, public works and planning and development due to internal constraints and capacity challenges faced by the county government (Koech, 2020). NMS is a state entity that came up with the Nairobi Metropolitan Services Improvement Project (NaMSIP) under the state department for housing and urban development.

As part of the project's key components towards metropolitan infrastructure and services and owing to the COVID pandemic and need for immediate intervention in informal settlement areas of Nairobi, certain aspects of the draft plan such as roads, a level III hospital and sewer lines have been implemented in Mukuru (Cheruiyot, 2020).

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter sought to provide a deeper understanding into the legal guidelines for planning in Kenya and specifically for special planning areas such as Mukuru. The context analysis covered how the planning process for the Mukuru project was conducted, what the modalities were and the status of that process. It also sought to make give insight into some of the identified causes of delay in implementation of plans as articulated in the conceptual

framework of chapter two. The main argument emerging from in this chapter is that the plan preparation steps for the case study were promptly followed but began to experience setbacks towards the validation and implementation stages which are still pending to date. The next chapter will turn to a more detailed presentation of the factors at play in the Mukuru planning process.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 The case of Mukuru special planning area project

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on findings from the fieldwork conducted, that is, key informant interviews. The issues discussed in this chapter are based on the research aim and question presented in chapter one above. It further attempts to link the material reviewed from chapter two and chapter three towards a better understanding of the case of Mukuru SPA.

Over the course of the fieldwork, the research established that Mukuru SPA Project was a first of its kind in the country and that it tackled particularly unique development challenges of public health and safety, tenure insecurity and poverty as discussed in the earlier chapters. It is important to note that a mechanism of intervention into these challenges was difficult to find, because the settlement lies largely on privately owned land. This introduced the key competing interests as being between landowners, structure owners or “slum” landlords and their tenants.

Additionally, the project had a wide scope and involved a wide array of multi-disciplinary organisations with different goals and aims of taking part in this project. These are also discussed in the sections below. The chapter is structured along key aspects of the research to provide an in-depth analysis into the findings.

4.2 Stakeholder interests in the Mukuru SPA project

There was a total of 42 organisations involved in the Mukuru SPA Project as indicated in Table 3.1 in Chapter 3 above. However, some played a more superior role to others in terms of coordinating and being a point of communication among the other organizations. These were primarily the Muungano Alliance which consists of Muungano wa Wanavijiji, Akiba Mashinani Trust and Shack Dwellers International-Kenya.

Civil Society groups, AMT and Muungano wa Wanavijiji, NGOs and academic institutions like the University of Nairobi have been involved in research and action planning in Mukuru and other informal settlements for a long time and this created a unique opportunity to partner with NCCG and possibly set a pace that would realise a greater impact in addressing the challenges faced by people living in informal settlements.

The interest of SDI-K in this project was mostly to support the community of Mukuru to avoid evictions as had been done in other areas of Nairobi such as informal settlements in Huruma. In that area, SDI-K had conducted a pilot study to demonstrate that public land could be converted and used to resettle or provide a home to squatters. Mukuru posed a different kind of challenge since 94% of it is on privately owned land and the SPA strategy created a unique opportunity to plan and provide basic infrastructural services and utilities to persons living there. Additionally, the organisation wanted to help the community deal with land issues and access to services that came out strongly in the IDRC themed “*Improving Access to Justice and Basic Services in the Informal Settlements of Nairobi*” research. SDI-K had an interest of improving the living conditions of the people of Mukuru through this project by looking for solutions to the development challenges identified in the above sections.

AMT primarily wanted to help the community to resolve the land issue to unlock other opportunities regarding housing and other social amenities and services. The land issue as has already been stated was because a majority of Mukuru land is privately owned. AMT began to research into who the landowners are and ways in which the land could be acquired or used for the betterment of the standards of living within the settlement. This was also motivated by the realisation that the people in Mukuru incurred a penalty on charges to access services and utilities due to their state of poverty and challenge of tenure insecurity. Since the land is mostly privately owned, the NCCG does not have a way of providing services, for example water to the residents and charging them as is done in formal residents. This resulted in the rise in informal service providers whose charges are exorbitant and highly profit motivated.

The responses from Community leaders 1 and 2 and 3 on their interest in the project was first to respond to the pressing challenges that the residents faced in the settlement such as inaccessible roads. It came out earlier in the community engagement sessions which were part of the plan preparation steps of the project in 2018-2019 that in the case of a fire emergency in the settlement, structures had to be demolished to make way for the fire engine to put out the fire. It was therefore very important for the members of the community for their settlement to be accessible.

Secondly, access to water and sanitation facilities was also key for them. They expensively had to purchase water from informal vendors and pay for the use of toilets that are insufficient within the settlement. The way in which sanitation facilities and housing are provided within the settlement deprives the residents of human dignity. As Community leader 1 explained,

“...There is a challenge of toilets in this settlement, when women go to these public toilets at night, they are at risk of rape and other insecurity risks...” They saw the plan as an opportunity to improve service provision and restore dignity to themselves.

Thirdly, the interview with Community leader 1 shed light on the fact that the project came to be at a time when they were aware of their duties and constitutional right to housing and proper living conditions. It is through Muungano wa Wanavijiji that they were sensitized on these issues and were able to hold peaceful demonstrations and demand interventions from NCCG and the state Ministry of Land and Urban Development. The Mukuru SPA Project was therefore an opportunity for the community to mobilise and give their opinions towards the future development of their settlement. Despite the great opportunity the plan provided, it introduced conflict and mistrust between the landlords and tenants as the former felt the plan was going to result in dispossession of their structures and income sources.

The other organisations came on board to play a part in the project due to interests aligned with their different visions as organisations such as environmental conservation, energy use and sanitation and clean water use objectives. Notably so, the Kenya Red Cross Society came in and offered financial support to the activities of the project as explained by key informant 1 of Muungano Alliance.

Key informant 4, who represented the view of CURI, asserted that the university had been engaged in different upgrading projects including Mathare and Huruma. However, those were on small scale and Mukuru was larger and had an actual promise of government support. This provided a key opportunities for research and learning to the researchers and also to the students who were training to become urban planners. The expectation was that much of this process would be documented and published for future use by planners and interested parties.

4.3 The role of stakeholders and community in the project

As mentioned in the introductory section to this chapter, the project brought together many multi-disciplinary organisations including but not limited to government, NGOs, civil society, CBOs, FBOs and academic institutions. The areas of expertise of the different players meant that they had or were assigned different roles, that were guided by the plan’s key thematic areas. AMT, SDI-K and Muungano wa Wanavijiji played an active role in co-ordination and ensuring communication among all the organisations.

SDI-K played the role of co-ordinating teams and working with individual partners towards realising the goal of the project. The planned strategy of the SPA Project was multi-disciplinary and hence targeted organisations that were experts in different fields, this organisation therefore recruited other organisations to be part of the seven thematic groups developed based on their different areas of expertise. Majority of these organisations brought in their own resources as the plan was not government funded. Key informant 2 estimated that a total of 2.6 million dollars was brought in by the organisations in terms of personnel and direct planning inputs. It further supported Muungano wa Wanavijiji in designing the training of community mobilisers and a community engagement strategy which would be used during the consultative sessions with the community. AMT, being the key player in mobilisation activities in the community helped to formulate a community mobilisation structure from which the community would have a platform to engage with other organisations as well as the county government.

The NCCG played a major role in declaring Mukuru as a SPA and aligning their key departments to the project's thematic areas. The county officials were meant to chair and give guidance to each of the consortia groups, but their absence as evidenced by attendance to meetings and participation in community planning forums indicated a lack of support or good will towards the project. This was further attributed to the high staff turnover at the NCCG which would always leave the officials disorganised.

The community's role, as enthusiastically stated by the leaders, was mostly to make the plan. Community leader 2 confidently noted that "If the members of the community were not involved, there would be no plan." Basically, the community members gave inputs, participated in the consultative forums and mapped out the areas where they wanted their facilities to be. The community mobilised themselves to work with other organisations through intense physical meetings to share and express ideas about the supposed SPA long before the declaration and how it was expected to influence their way of life. The community were proud to say that some of the opinions they gave during the community meetings are currently being implemented by the Nairobi Metropolitan Services (NMS) which they consider a win for the settlement as explained by community leader 3.

"There is a health consortium meeting that we had, and members of the community spoke a lot about Lungalunga health centre, which we call Mareba. It is out of that participation that there is now a maternity wing being built there."

They also expressed that it is their willingness to sacrifice and suffer property loss that made it possible to draft a plan for the settlement.

The role of the planning team, led by CURI was primarily to offer guidance on planning standards relating to the spatial aspects of the plan. Eventually other experts from SDI-K and Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centre (SPARC, India) joined the planning team and all contributed towards the plan.

4.4 Challenges faced by the project

The scale, scope and multiple partner involvement of the project gave rise to challenges that were realised at different stages of the project. At the research and conceptualisation stage, there was a difference of opinion on how to address the challenges that Mukuru faces. It is important to note that the SPA was a new concept in the country and had not been undertaken before therefore bringing conflict between the different organisations on how to go about planning. During the planning phase, there was reduced friction among the players which was attributed to the involvement of the technical team of the NCCG.

Some of the community members were not easily trusting of the objectives behind this plan. This is because there has always been a constant tug between “structure owners /landlords” and tenants as to who has more right to the “illegal” occupancy. The latter felt that the plan posed a risk to their property. This made the key organisations go the extra mile to hold more conversations with them to get their buy in. Needless to state, without their support, the plan would be unlikely to succeed.

The commitment towards the SPA Plan was largely driven by other organisations (civil society, NGOs and academia) rather than the NCCG. Additionally, establishment of the NMS has brought about a lot of confusion for the stakeholders since the project was initially started by NCCG but the implementation taken over by the former because of the earlier mentioned transfer of functions. The organisations that took part in the plan preparation did not know what role they played after NMS took over and neither did the residents of Mukuru. Key informant 2, Jack Makau from SDI-K notes that;

“.... government involvement is not because they care so much about communities. When there is a political opportunity, they use it, whether it is the need to establish NMS or forthcoming elections...whatever it is...it always seems that communities and other organisations have to align themselves to a government opportunity.”

As has been stated earlier in this research report, one of the biggest setbacks that the process has encountered is that there has been no validation of the draft plan by the community members, yet some level of implementation is taking place which raises questions within the community about the basis for the changes taking place in the settlement. The residents are clear on what steps were to take place after the engagement sessions to prepare the plan.

As explained by key informant 1, the national electioneering period and contested elections in Kenya from August 2017 to April 2018 delayed the project by almost a year and this further brought about the transitional governments of NCCG and a change in department heads and cabinet secretaries. It implied almost a restart to the process as the new government officials had to be brought on board and convinced to buy in to the project.

The finances used to support and execute this process were sought and pooled from various organisations (NGOs, CBOs and Civil Societies) and was not enough still. NCCG did not have any resources to support the planning process. This could be a possible explanation as to why it could not take an authoritative stand or position of management in the process. Financial constraints and the need to raise resources for use at each stage of the plan preparation process brought about long periods of engagement and postponing/extending of activities which resulted in a loss of momentum and fatigue among the members of community and the participating organisations. Key informant 4 noted that the long periods between consultations with community. These were due to lack of finances, and often reduced the momentum in different phases of the project. The community members would, in most cases, ask why the project appeared inconsistent in terms of time taken to get back to them. This challenge has affected even the community validation and feedback process that was to take place but had not been done at the time of my fieldwork in August-October 2020. Despite this, the NMS was already started some interventions such as of the roads and sewer lines as had been proposed in the plan. The NMS had its own agenda with NaMSIP but took advantage of the existence of a draft plan for Mukuru to implement the proposals of an unvalidated plan.

Key informant 2 notes that

“There has now emerged a lack of trust between the community and the Muungano Alliance. This is because part of the community feels that the current implementation taking place is not what they proposed in the planning stage and there is disappointment because many people have been affected and their structures destroyed to pave the way for construction of roads and drainage channels.”

On the other hand, community leader 2 stated that the residents were happy with the interventions that were being implemented although they did not exactly understand the party responsible between the NCCG and the state.

There was a challenge in terms of engaging the officials of NCCG during the project period due to staff turnover and need to update the new official every time on the project activities, Muungano wa Wanavijiji tried to deal with county departments as well as individual officers but was unsuccessful in getting someone to take responsibility and support the proposals of the project. The county government was also not fully involved in the project and failed to deliver on its part to chair and give technical guidance and support to the different consortia. The NCCG and local planning authorities in general have for a long time not been able to effectively address the challenge of informal settlements as evidenced by previous projects' such as KISIP and KENSUP, which in the end did not benefit the common "*mwanachi*". The move by NCCG in declaring and taking part in the process of planning with the residents of Mukuru was to finally find a lasting solution to the challenge of informal settlements. There have been sentiments that the motive behind this was political, with no confirmation however because there was no input from a county government official representative or official towards this study. Additionally, the high staff turnover that took place in county offices following the general election in 2017 introduced a huge challenge for the organisations that took place in the project, having to explain and justify the plan to each new official in order to buy in their support and commitment towards the plan.

One of the CSFs towards implementation of a plan is top management support as identified in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter two. The lack thereof from NCCG is seen as one of the reasons why the plan is yet to be completed by both community leaders and key informants from the interviews conducted.

From the side of the community leaders, there was resistance from fellow members of the community towards the community engagement process, with claims that the SPA was a way to destroy the settlement and anyone who participated in it was "*selling*" out their homes. Community mobilisers and leaders received threats from fellow members and particularly the informal service providers on their lives and property.

"I was going to be burned alive in my house, they had planned to set my house on fire. So, she thinks she can sell the settlement, tell her that to separate her head from her body is in the twinkle of an eye." Community leader 1.

4.5 Factors for inertia of the Mukuru SPA project

According to this research, completion of the project refers to the finalisation of the plan through community validation, feedback and approval by the NCCG for implementation. It has been mentioned earlier in this report that the above-mentioned steps remain unfinished in as much as some of its proposals are already being implemented in the settlement.

Sterling (2003), as reviewed in Chapter two, notes that chronic lack of resources is one of the factors that hinder implementation of a plan. In the case of Mukuru SPA, all stages in the plan preparation process were funded by partner organisations since the NCCG was not able to fund the processes. One of the major factors that limited completion of this project is the lack of resources to undertake validation meetings with the community. This is mainly because participating organisations came in with their own resources which was still not enough without government support as explained by key informant 3.

There was also a lack of political will and support towards this project, some of the political leaders have direct investments in the settlement in the form of informal/illegal rental stock and therefore support for the SPA would interfere with their incomes and investments. This was a sentiment shared by community leader 3 during the interview process. Additionally, both key informants and community leaders felt that no formal responsibility was taken by the NCCG towards this project as evidenced by “...there being no memorandum of understanding signed between the participating organisations and the NCCG” as explained by key informant 1. The partnering organisations made several attempts to have an MoU between their individual organisations and the NCCG but there was never official signage of the document.

Some organisations did not take on the bulk of the work that they were assigned to and needed to be pushed to deliver on timelines, for instance the Environment Consortium (Stockholm Environment Institute, UNEP and Muungano wa Wanavijiji) that was tasked with coming up with a plan to conserve and preserve the environment of Mukuru failed to deliver the sector report and plan at the agreed upon time but there was no way to hold them accountable as their participation, like the other organisations, was almost on a voluntary basis. This sentiment was strongly supported by key informants 1 and 3.

The nature of transitioning leadership in NCCG was perceived as big setback to the project as well as the high staff turnover that came with the new leadership. The project became like a cycle that had to be restarted each time that happened.

4.6 Benefits realised from the Mukuru SPA project

The one thing that seem to have come out clearly from the interviews was that in as much as there were setbacks and challenges to the project, there were some benefits that were realised from it. Key informant 1 felt strongly that the project set a precedent for government which can now look at large informal settlements as problem areas that can be solved through formal participatory planning. This informed the declaration of subsequent Mathare and Kibera informal settlements as special planning areas (as shown in Appendix II below). The multi-disciplinary approach in including different partners that was adopted for Mukuru SPA was a success and the NCCG is now accepting of the idea to work with other organisations towards planning and delivery of plans. This was because previously, planning was a reserve of planners and local authorities only as expressed by key informant 1.

Key informant 3 noted that the community engagement strategy that was developed by AMT and SDI-K would be a good starting point to engage communities and that it can be replicated in other projects and planning undertakings to determine how best to engage and organise planning activities. The SPA as a strategy to intervene in large informal settlements can be used in other similar situations. This was further echoed by key informant 1 when citing the example of Kibera and Mathare slums which were consequently declared as SPA to address the challenges they face.

The transfer of some functions from the NCCG to NMS which is a national government entity made some members of the community appreciate the quick wins that have started to be realised within the settlement. These include construction of roads, digging of eight boreholes, some of which are already operational, upgrade of two-level III hospitals, organised waste management and street lighting.

The youth of Mukuru have benefited through employment opportunities, albeit temporary, that they are now involved in to help in road construction, waste management and digging of boreholes. The settlement is now accessible because of the expanded roads and vehicular access is now possible, particularly for emergency vehicles, public transport buses and vans as well as trucks that deliver goods in the shops in Mukuru.

The community leaders felt that the members of Mukuru community have benefited from the knowledge and information that has been disseminated throughout the planning period and engagement with other organisations. This was because of the cells that were used as units to

discuss and deliberate over issues that would later be presented at the community engagement meetings. Additionally, the community is now self-aware about their rights and the channels which they can use to advocate for the same.

This project also created an opportunity for other informal settlements to mobilize and begin to lobby for upgrading intervention in their settlements. This may have been the reason why Mathare and Kibera Slums were subsequently declared as special planning areas by the NMS in 2020. It also gave government a chance and window of opportunity to try and intervene in the “challenge of slums” which were previously perceived as problematic areas, not recognised as part of the city, and best left ignored.

4.7 Factors that could have enhanced completion of the plan

In hindsight, the key informants expressed opinions that there are certain aspects of the process that could have been improved to ensure completion of the project. The CSFs discussed in Chapter two are expected to come up in this section to support the findings from the interviews conducted.

Key informant 1 expressed concerns that from the conceptualisation through to the planning phase, there was an imbalance between the technical planning process and the community mobilisation, and it should have been balanced for timely delivery. He felt strongly that there was a failure in the community engagement process particularly on the aspect that technical processes overwhelmed the community consultation. This is because all the processes leading up to the consultation forums had not included members of the community. That is, the conceptualisation and initial data consolidation stages. Many activities, besides the actual consultative sessions took place without the involvement of community. “We feel that we know Mukuru settlement better than the residents themselves and that should not be the case” he explained.

The “participatory” nature of organisations led to a situation where some of the key organisations like the Muungano Alliance had to take a frontline position in some consortium teams where they were not experts yet there were partners who would have taken a lead role in that. For example, when the Environment Consortium failed to deliver the sector plan and brief, some of the staff of Muungano wa Wanavijiji had to take upon the role to prepare these documents. The composition of some of the thematic consortia of the planning process was

complex and harder to manage and co-ordinate in the sense that they and may have in a way contributed to the lack of delivery of the plan.

Key informant 3 stated that government resources and support should have been present for this project. This would have ensured more control over the deliverables, timelines and a general authority to hold organisations accountable.

Community leader 1 felt strongly that the plan should have stuck to the original workplan to conclude in August 2019 because the new situation, particularly with the involvement of the NMS and implementation of the proposals by the same has left the community and even organisations participating in the preparation of the SPA Plan at a point of confusion over how the plan will be completed, and which authority will take up the remaining parts of the process.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided an in-depth analysis of the findings from the fieldwork conducted. It was guided by transcripts from the interviews to explain the different interests of stakeholders involved in the process, the challenges, benefits, and ways in which the project processes would have been improved to ensure completion of the plan. Generally, it gives an insight into what really happened in the case of Mukuru from different perspectives of some of the players. Some of these findings are linked to the key points coming from the conceptual framework in Chapter two to explain inertia in community planning projects. For instance, a key finding into the challenges faced by the process is the lack of both financial and technical support from NCCG despite it being the authority behind the declaration of the SPA. The stakeholders and community members all attribute this as being a major stumbling block to the process. The significance of these and the other findings are what I discuss in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 5

5 Conclusion and recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the research findings and discusses the broader implications of the findings in relation to the literature while identifying areas for further research in the Kenyan context. This study sought to investigate the factors influencing the effectiveness of community planning process using the Mukuru SPA Project as a case study. Specifically, the study explored the organisations involved in the plan making process, the factors causing inertia and the challenges and benefits accrued from this process. The presentation is organized around specific research questions to assess the results by evaluating and interpreting them. This study resonates with other studies that try to identify the challenges of participatory planning processes such as Purwanto et al. 2017 and Meredith et al. 2017.

5.2 Summary of key findings

The literature review in Chapter two concludes with a conceptual framework that identifies CSFs for plan implementation and the threats to implementation. The residents of Mukuru, being the key stakeholders in the process were interested and had visions of a better community for themselves free from challenges of inaccessibility of infrastructural services and utilities, poor quality of services in health and educational facilities as well as poor standards of living. This motivated their cooperation, involvement in the plan making process and willingness to encounter loss for the greater good. The other participants also had different interests in the project as has been explained in Chapter 4 above. This multiplicity of participants in plan making is identified as a threat to implementation arising from different interests and possible delays.

The common perception that resonated throughout the discussions with key informants was that NCCG did not fully support or take responsibility for this project despite their move to declare Mukuru a SPA. This was evidenced by a lack of commitment towards implementation, failure to agree on the alternative standards put forward, poor representation at community meetings and the current confusion of who is in charge, between the NCCG and NMS. Other opinions pointed towards the move being a political motive which may not have served its

purpose as it progressed hence NCCG lost interest in the project. This supports the CSF on top management support as to have been lacking hence the reason why the plan is still incomplete.

The community buy-in especially that of structure owners proved quite difficult to obtain initially with most of them feeling like the plan was going to rob them of ‘their’ space, structures and source of income. Community leaders and mobilisers who supported the project were described as ‘traitors’ who wanted to sell off the community. They received threats for their participation and have in some instances been alienated from community activities, especially considering recent developmental activities in the settlement. The key lesson from this process is that members of a community may not always be united towards a common goal. Additionally, settlement upgrading has a downside to it as some members end up losing their investment.

There was need for NCCG involvement at an authoritative and managerial position for this project and financial support towards the process as well. This would have facilitated clear definition of roles, responsibility and accountability and the current confusion between the NCCG and NMS could possibly have been avoided. Majority of the residents are highly satisfied with the planning process up until the community engagement sessions because they feel that they participated, and their opinions were captured in the process.

Finally, the inclination towards alternative standards of adopting minimum space requirements for infrastructure came out clearly through this project. This study critically discussed and noted that in cases of informal settlement upgrading, the conventional planning standards are likely to lead to more harm than good, that is, rendering many displaced and homeless. In an age where the public is consulted during the planning process, the Mukuru community gallantly reiterated the utilities they wanted, what they prioritised and most importantly, what they could do without, in order to ensure minimal displacement and distraction of their settlement.

5.3 Research conclusion

The section 5.2 above highlights the key findings from chapter four and links these with the conceptual framework in chapter two. This section gives an overall conclusion to the report by stating the factors for inertia in community planning projects.

This research report concludes that there were three key factors that contributed to the inertia in this planning project. First, a lack of total community buy-in to the process, challenges in leadership and overall project management and poor government support and commitment

towards the whole planning process and particularly a follow up to implementation. These three factors would have been very important towards completion, approval and therefore eventual implementation of the plan.

It is however equally important to take note of the benefits that have been realised for this project and the potential for this learning outcomes to influence the challenge of informal settlements in other local and global cases. Being a first of its kind in Kenya, it has shaped and changed how planners and other urban sector players look at ways of incorporating informal settlement residents into wider city plans and economy.

5.4 Recommendations

This research report makes some recommendations for project planning and implementation the study. One recommendation is that urban area local authorities ought to distribute ample resources and support to the projects within their control. This can be accomplished through proper financial planning and budgeting. Further, they should put together a team that is able to supervise the planning process and implementation. This should also include taking community inputs on board and working closely with community inputs in order to facilitate the process. Keeping staff turnover at minimal levels guarantees that experienced staff are maintained in their positions, and this has a positive impact on planning and implementation of projects.

A further recommendation that leads out of this study is that community/ engagement during the implementation of projects should be given attention. Nearly all of the community members are the recipients of the said project, hence it is their right to be engaged in the planning and implementation process as mandated by the constitution of Kenya. However, it is worth highlighting that the project indicated many diverse and competing interests which resulted in the inertia.

5.5 Areas of further research

This study suggests some areas for further research. One is on how multi-disciplinary organisations can begin to support planning for urban communities alongside government and planning authorities. The difficulty in managing a large-scale project with multiple partners also comes out strongly in this study and could therefore be a potential area of research. Finally, the reason why intervention in Mukuru had been near impossible for a long time is because of its location on privately owned land. Consequently, the challenge of planning for an informal settlement on privately owned land comes out as a potential area of further study.

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7 Appendix 1: Gazette Notice of declaration of Mukuru as SPA

4754

THE KENYA GAZETTE

11th August, 2017

(No. 17 of 2012)

NYAMIRA COUNTY GOVERNMENT
THE COUNTY ASSEMBLY OF NYAMIRA
LOCATION OF COUNTY ASSEMBLY BUILDING

NOTICE is given to all members of the public that the County Assembly premises are situated at the Nyamira Assembly Building, opposite Kenya Industrial Estates, Nyamira.

Dated the 27th July, 2017.

MR/3583327 JOHN OBIERO NYANGARAMA,
Governor, Nyamira County.

GAZETTE NOTICE No. 7654

THE PHYSICAL PLANNING ACT

(Cap. 286)

DECLARATION OF MUKURU KWA NJENGA, MUKURU KWA REUBEN AND VIWANDANI AS A SPECIAL PLANNING AREA

NOTICE is given that the County Executive Committee Member for Lands and Urban Planning pursuant to section 23(1), (2), and (3) of the Physical Planning Act, declares all that area of land measuring approximately 550 acres covering the informal settlements of Mukuru Kwa Njenga, Mukuru Kwa Reuben and Viwandani within Imara Daima, Kwa Njenga, Kwa Reuben, Nairobi South and Viwandani Wards, all within Starehe, Makadara and Embakasi South sub-counties as a Special Planning Area.

Consequently, there shall be no more developments (approved or otherwise) in the aforementioned areas.

Developments are hereby suspended for a period of not more than two (2) years from the date of this notice.

The declaration of the special planning area shall not affect development permission if the development in respect of which the permission is granted has been commenced not less than six months before the suspension of development in the special planning area.

This declaration is also intended to notify the public of the intention of the Nairobi County Government to initiate a participatory process to develop a Physical Development Plan for the area.

The developments referred to in this notice include—

- the making of any material change in the use or density of any buildings or land or the subdivision of any land which for the purpose of the Physical Planning Act is classified as Class "A" development;
- the erection of such buildings or works and the carrying out of such building operations as the County Executive Member may from time to time determine which for purposes of the Physical Planning Act is classified as class "B" development.

The following shall not constitute development under this notice:

- The carrying out of works for the maintenance or improvement or other alteration, of or addition to, any building where such alteration or addition does not exceed 10 per cent of the floor area of the building measured.
- The carrying out by a competent authority of any works required for the construction, maintenance or improvement of a road, if the works are carried out on land within the road reserves.
- The carrying out by the Nairobi City County Government or any statutory body of any works for the purpose of inspecting, repairing or renewing any sewers, mains, pipes, cables or other apparatus, including breaking-open of any street for that purpose and the installation of services by the Nairobi City County Government or any statutory body.

A map of the affected area will be posted at the precincts of the county government offices at City Hall, the offices of the Ward

Administrators of the respective wards and on the Nairobi City County official website

For further clarification on this matter, interested persons may consult the office of the Chief Officer, Urban Planning at City Hall, 5th Floor during official working hours.

Dated the 1st August, 2017

CHRISTOPHER KHAEMBA,
County Executive Committee Member,
Lands and Urban Planning.

MR/3583320

GAZETTE NOTICE No. 7655

THE KENYA INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS ACT

(Cap. 411A)

CORRIGENDUM

IN Gazette Notice No. 4480 of 2017 on page 2119, delete the heading "REVOCATION OF LICENCES" and the paragraph that follows stating that "NOTICE is hereby given for the general information of the public that the Communications Authority of Kenya has revoked the licences granted to the following entities due to non-compliance of the applicable licence conditions" and insert the following respectively:

"NOTICE OF INTENTION TO REVOKE LICENCES"

"NOTICE is hereby given pursuant to the provisions of the Kenya Information and Communications Act, the Regulations made thereunder and the licence conditions that the Communications Authority of Kenya intends to revoke the licences granted to the following licencees due to non-compliance of the applicable licence conditions:"

Dated the 2nd August, 2017.

JOHN OMO,
for Director-General.

GAZETTE NOTICE No. 7656

THE KENYA INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS ACT

(Cap. 411A)

APPLICATIONS FOR LICENCES

NOTICE is given that the following applicants have, pursuant to the provisions of the Kenya Information and Communications Act, made applications to the Communications Authority of Kenya for the grant of the licences as below:

Applicant	Licence Category
Greyhound Holdings Limited, P.O. Box 14017-00800, Nairobi	National Courier Licence
Northern City Coaches Limited, P.O. Box 32009-00600, Nairobi	National Courier Licence
Sense Telecommunications Limited, P.O. Box 23536-00100, Nairobi	NFP-T2 Licence
Frontier Optical Networks Limited, P.O. Box 2115-00606, Nairobi	Internet Protocol Television Broadcasting Licence
Noor Al-Huda Limited, P.O. Box 17955-00500, Nairobi	Commercial Free-to-Air Television Broadcasting Licence
Moyale Liner Bus Services, P.O. Box 173-60700, Moyale	National Courier Licence
Homeland Media Group Limited, P.O. Box 8490-00200, Nairobi	IGS Licence

The licences, if granted, will enable the applicants to operate and provide services as indicated against their names. The grant of these licences may affect public and local authorities, companies, persons or bodies of persons within the country.

The Authority wishes to notify the general public that any legal or natural person, or group of individuals, who are desirous of making any representation and/or any objection to the said applications herein, to do so vide a letter addressed to the Director-General,

8 Appendix II: Gazette Notice of declaration of Kibera Slum as SPA

Mary Waihera Gathegu (Ms.)	Tourism and Natural Resources	Water, Environment, Tourism and Natural Resources
Samuel Kiriri Muchunu	Co-operatives Development	Industrialization, Trade and Co-operatives
Samson Kabugi Mweru	Industrialization and Trade	Industrialization, Trade and Co-operatives
Florence Wanzila Annan (Ms.)	–	Lands, Housing, Physical Planning and Urban Development
Nelson Kimilu Mutua	–	Health Services
Juvenalis Gitau Thiong'o	Finance	Finance and Economic Development
Muigai Wainaina	Economic Planning and Development	Finance and Economic Development

Dated the 6th May, 2020.

FRANCIS KIMEMIA,
Governor, Nyandarua County.

GAZETTE NOTICE No. 3432

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE PHYSICAL AND LAND USE PLANNING ACT
(No. 13 of 2019)
(SECTION 52 (1))

DECLARATION OF A SPECIAL PLANNING AREA

PURSUANT to the Deed of transfer of functions from the Nairobi City County Government to the National Government published vide Gazette Notice No.1609 of 2020, section (26) of the Inter-governmental Relations Act (No. 2 of 2012). In exercise of powers conferred by section 52 (1) of the Physical and Land Use Planning Act, 2019, the Nairobi City County Government declares the informal settlements of Sarangombe (with exception of Ayany and Olympic Estate), Lindi, Makina and Laini Saba all within Kibra Constituency within Nairobi City County, as a Special Planning Area.

The main objective of the declaration is to enable preparation of a participatory, economically feasible, socially and environmentally sustainable Physical Development Plan in accordance with the provisions of Physical and Land Use Planning Act, 2019. The declaration is meant to guide the implementation of strategic interventions for improvement of socio-economic and environmental aspects of the area. Additionally, the declaration of the special planning area provides a framework for enhancing the people's fundamental rights to live with basic dignity and in decent conditions.

This declaration will facilitate formulation of harmonized standards and guidelines for buildings and other forms of development as defined under the provisions of the Physical and Land Use Planning Act, 2019. The plan will be reference framework for developers and

GAZETTE NOTICE No. 3433

THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA
THE PHYSICAL AND LAND USE PLANNING ACT
(No. 13 of 2019)
(SECTION 52 (1))

DECLARATION OF A SPECIAL PLANNING AREA

PURSUANT to the Deed of transfer of functions from the Nairobi City County Government to the National Government published vide Gazette Notice No. 1609 of 2020, section (26) of the Inter-governmental Relations Act (No. 2 of 2012). In exercise of powers conferred by section 52 (1) of the Physical and Land Use Planning Act, 2019, the Nairobi City County Government declares all the land measuring 550 acres covering the informal settlements of Mukuru Kwa Njenga, Mukuru Kwa Reuben, and Viwandani Wards all within Nairobi City County, as a Special Planning Area.

The main objective of the declaration is to enable preparation of a participatory, economically feasible, socially and environmentally sustainable Physical Development Plan in accordance with the provisions of Physical and Land Use Planning Act, 2019. The declaration is meant to guide the implementation of strategic interventions for improvement of socio-economic and environmental aspects of the area. Additionally, the declaration of the special planning area provides a framework for enhancing the people's fundamental rights to live with basic dignity and in decent conditions.

This declaration will facilitate formulation of harmonized standards and guidelines for buildings and other forms of development as defined under the provisions of the Physical and Land Use Planning Act, 2019. The plan will be reference framework for developers and regulatory agencies with regard to development control processes and infrastructure provision within the planning area.

Consequently, there shall be no more developments in the mentioned areas and developments are suspended for a period of not more than two (2) years from the date of this notice. The declaration of this special planning area does not affect development permission granted six (6) months prior to this declaration.

A map of the subject area will be posted at the precincts of the County Government offices at City Hall, the offices of the Ward Administrators of the respective wards and on the Nairobi City County Official website.

For further clarification on this matter, interested persons may channel their communication through email address: email: directorgeneral.nms@gmail.com or P.O. Box 40530-00100, Nairobi.

Dated the 23rd April, 2020.

MAJOR-GENERAL MOHAMED ABDALLA BADI,
Director-General, Nairobi Metropolitan Services.

9 Appendix III: Wits Ethics Clearance Certificate

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE



CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP051/06/2020

PROJECT TITLE: THE GOVERNMENT PERSPECTIVE ON PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT UPGRADING; THE CASE OF JOHANNESBURG

INVESTIGATOR/S: Barake Bosibori (Student No: 2373069)

SCHOOL: Architecture and Planning

DEGREE PROGRAMME: Master of Urban Studies (MUS UM)

DATE CONSIDERED: 05 August 2020

EXPIRY DATE: 05 August 2021

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE: Approved

CHAIRPERSON
(Dr Brian Boshoff)

DATE: Signed under lockdown: 10.8.20

cc: Supervisor/s: Marie Huchzermeyer

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to endure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Signature

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Date

10 Appendix IV: National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation Research License

 <p>REPUBLIC OF KENYA</p> <p>Ref No: 886855</p>	 <p>NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION</p> <p>Date of Issue: 15/July/2020</p>
<p>RESEARCH LICENSE</p>	
	
<p>This is to Certify that Ms. Bosibori Mayianda Barake of University of the Witwatersrand, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: Inertia in community participation in developing countries: The case of Mukuru Special Planning Area Project, Nairobi, Kenya for the period ending : 15/July/2021.</p>	
<p>License No: NACOSTI/P/20/5720</p>	
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11 Appendix V: Participant Information Forms



Date.....

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET-COMMUNITY LEADERS

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Bosibori Barake and I am a Masters student in the field of Urban Management in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I must undertake a research project under the supervision of Prof. Marie Huchzermeyer, and I am investigating the reasons for inertia in community planning for settlement upgrading projects. The aim of this research project is to investigate the factors for protraction of the planning process. You have been selected to take part in this research because of you have been a member of the community for a long time and have taken part in the project since inception. Your opinion will be sought in matters regarding the organisation, operation and challenges that have faced this project of Mukuru.

I would like to invite you to take part in an interview that will take around 45 minutes. With your permission, I would also like to record the interview using a digital device (optional). You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview will be completely confidential as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held securely and not disclosed to anyone else. Unless you give me permission to use your name, I will be using 'Community leader x' to represent your participation in my final research report. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview, and or resume another time only if you are comfortable with this.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. This study will be written up as a research report which will be available online through the university library website. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. The information given during this interview will be stored in a password protected computer which only I have access to, it will be destroyed after 7 years. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrec-medical.researchoffice@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Barake'.

Bosibori Barake.

Ms. Bosibori Barake: 2373069@students.wits.ac.za

Cel: +254727953100

Prof. Marie Huchzermeyer Marie.Huchzermeyer@wits.ac.za

Tel: +27834242457

12 Appendix VI: Participant Consent Forms

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM-COMMUNITY BASED RESPONDENTS

Inertia in community planning in developing countries: The case of Mukuru Special Planning Area Project, Nairobi, Kenya

By Ms. Bosibori Barake

I, agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please tick the relevant options below).

• I agree that my participation will remain anonymous YES NO

• I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes

in his / her research report YES NO

• I agree that the interview may be audio recorded YES NO

• I agree that the information I provide may be used YES NO

anonymously after this project has ended, for

academic purposes

..... (signature of participant)

..... (name of participant)

..... (date)

..... (signature of person seeking consent)

..... (name of person seeking consent)

..... (date)

13 Appendix VII: Experts Interview Guide

Name of researcher: Bosibori Barake

Inertia in community planning in developing countries: The case of Mukuru Special Planning Area Project, Nairobi, Kenya

Semi-structured Interview Guide (Experts- NGO Practitioners/Academic Researcher/Government Official)

Greetings, many thanks for availing yourself for this interview. As mentioned, my research focuses on understanding of the factors that protract community planning particularly in informal settlement upgrading projects such as the Mukuru Special Planning Area project. I am particularly interested in the trajectory of the project up until early 2020.

1. What organization are you working with as part of the SPA Project for Mukuru, and what is the role of that organization?
2. When did this organization become involved in the Mukuru SPA Project?
3. Could you explain why your organization became involved, what particular interest does it have in the project?
4. What is your personal role as an expert in the Mukuru SPA Project?
5. Which other organizations are involved in the project, and which would you say are leading the participatory planning process?
6. Could you share your insights on how the various organizations have organized themselves to work collaboratively and with the community?
7. Did these arrangements evolve over time? Could you expand?
8. Could you share any particular challenges that arose in this collaboration?
9. Are you aware of other challenges that the project experienced? Or benefits that have been realized as a result?
10. What, in your opinion, are the factors that limited the timely completion of the project?
11. What implications have these factors had for your organization?
12. What implications have these factors had for your organization?
13. In what ways do you think the process could have been improved for timely completion and improved delivery?
14. Is there anything else you feel I should be aware of in relation to the Mukuru SPA Project? Or anyone you feel I should talk to for more information on this project?

Thank you so much for taking the time to speak to me

14 Appendix VIII: Community Interview Guide

Name of researcher: Bosibori Barake

Inertia in community planning in developing countries: The case of Mukuru Special Planning Area Project, Nairobi, Kenya

Semi-structured Interview Guide (Community leaders)

Greetings, many thanks for availing yourself for this interview. As mentioned, my research focuses on understanding of the factors that protract community planning particularly in informal settlement upgrading projects such as the Mukuru Special Planning Area project. I am particularly interested in the trajectory of the project up until early 2020.

1. When, and how and in what capacity did you get involved in the Mukuru SPA Project?
2. What is your role in the Mukuru SPA Project?
3. What would you say is your interest in the Mukuru SPA project?
4. What would you say is the interest of other community-based participants in the Mukuru SPA project?
5. Could you explain how the community organized itself to work with the government and other organizations in this project?
6. Could you explain how this evolved over time?
7. Could you explain what the main roles are that the community participants have played in the project?
8. Could you share the challenges that you faced in the process? Would you like to expand?
9. What would you say has caused the delay in the project moving to implementation stage?
10. Could you expand on the implications of the challenges and the delays for the Mukuru community?
11. What benefits would you say have been realized through the project?
12. In what ways do you think the process could have been improved for timely completion and improved delivery?
13. Is there anything else you feel I should be aware of in relation to the Mukuru SPA Project?

Thank you so much for taking the time to speak to me.

15 Appendix IX : Plagiarism Declaration Form

Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa • Telephone (011) 717 – 7007 • Fax: (011) 717 7009 • Email: febe.co@wits.ac.za



PLAGIARISM DECLARATION TO BE SIGNED BY ALL HIGHER DEGREE STUDENTS

SENATE PLAGIARISM POLICY: APPENDIX ONE

I _____ (Student number: 2373069) am a student
registered for the degree of MASTER OF URBAN STUDIES
(URBAN MANAGEMENT) in the academic year 2020/21

I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that the work submitted for assessment for the above degree is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signature:  Date: 19TH MARCH 2021