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Enumeration as a Grassroot Tool Towards Securing Tenure in Slums: Insights from Kisumu, Kenya

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Abstract Community-based slum enumeration was carried out in Kisumu from 2005 to 2008 as part of a city-wide slum-upgrading initiative. This paper analyses this enumeration exercise particularly in relation to land management and tenure security. The paper draws on a peer evaluation that included interviews with slum-upgrading stakeholders as well as community-based focus group discussions, mainly with enumerators. The paper finds that, for a grassroots enumeration exercise to be successful, grassroots trust must be sustained for ongoing verification and updating of the enumeration data and the enumeration must link up effectively with the planning authorities. Broader preconditions are the coordination of the slum-upgrading initiative, and beyond this, of wider and often competing city initiatives. Key findings towards securing tenure include the importance of various forms of mobilisation that accompany enumeration and of the informal and formal knowledge generation that results from the enumeration process.

Keywords Grassroot · Enumeration · Tenure · Kisumu · Slum

Introduction

It is widely recognised that accurate local data forms an important basis for the improvement of living conditions, a point made in particular in relation to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Mboup 2005). Habitats that are labelled ‘slums’, ‘illegal’ or ‘informal settlements’ represent diverse conditions in terms of tenure forms, levels of insecurity, levels of development, densities, living conditions, household compositions and rates of change. Key challenges for external survey companies collecting data in these areas are access into the settlements, knowledge of the settlements and their diversity, trust that enables the extraction of truthful

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household data and ongoing updating of such data. Grassroots enumeration, or door-to-door data collection by communities themselves, has been promoted in response to the failure of formal, externally driven surveys to capture the demographic, socio-economic and physical complexity and change in informal settlements or slums.

Grassroots enumeration has been underway in Kisumu's slums since 2005. The complex process was near completion in October 2007, when a peer evaluation was organised by UN-HABITAT, the Global Land Tool Network (GLTN) and other stakeholders. Peer evaluation in this context is intended as a non-threatening process integrally involving those parties with direct stakes in what is being evaluated. While providing a level of critical insight, peer evaluation is a process of mutual identification, discussion and acceptance of the results and inevitably involves engagement on how to move forward. Those agreeing to participate in a peer evaluation at this scale will have different objectives. For UN-Habitat and GLTN, who commissioned and funded the evaluation, the purpose was to establish the relevance of grassroots enumeration as a global tool to secure land tenure. Therefore, one objective was to analyse stakeholders' recommendations on securing of tenure and grassroots involvement in this. In relation to the situation in Kisumu, the particular purpose of the evaluation was twofold: firstly, to identify lessons learnt from community-based slum enumeration in Kisumu and, secondly, to make recommendations on grassroots engagement on the use, management and updating of the enumeration data and its integration into the official planning system for the purposes of slum upgrading (GLTN 2007:5).

This paper draws on the peer evaluation process. It starts by looking more closely at the idea of global land tools and the origins of the particular enumeration approach that was envisaged for Kisumu. The paper then contextualises the enumeration exercise within the city of Kisumu, its slums, the slum-upgrading initiative and the governance and coordination challenges that this initiative is confronted with. It then reviews the enumeration experience in Kisumu, focussing on aspects of mobilisation, tensions experienced in carrying out the enumeration, impacts such as changes in landlord–tenant relations and challenges of data verification—all of direct relevance to the question of tenure security.[1] In the conclusion, the paper makes recommendations for a closer association between grassroots enumeration and securing of tenure.

The team that participated in the evaluation mission to Kisumu included the Kenyan human rights organisation Hakijamii Trust,[2] a grassroots human rights foundation from the slum Kibera in Nairobi,[3] the Shack Dwellers International (SDI)-affiliated non-governmental organisation (NGO) Pamoja Trust,[4] which was

[1] Questions of scale, scope and cost-effectiveness of the enumeration and details of the questionnaire are not covered in this paper. The paper also neither reports on the parallel process of grassroots spatial surveying that was undertaken simultaneously, nor does it review the enumeration data produced or examine its spatialisation and analysis through geographic information system (GIS). At the time of writing, Pamoja Trust were themselves preparing a paper for the London-based NGO IIED, which was to cover some of these aspects. That paper not yet available to the public.

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[3] Marcy Kadenyeka (Community Mobiliser, Human Rights Department, Christ the King Catholic Church Kibera, Nairobi).

[4] Lawrence Apiyo (Senior Programmes Officer, Pamoja Trust, Nairobi).

facilitating the grassroots enumeration in Kisumu, members of the emerging slum dwellers' Federation Muungano (also affiliated to the SDI) and an independent consultant (author of this paper). A further participant directly from SDI was unable to attend. However, SDI organised an exchange group of Zimbabweans (two government officials, three Federation members and a staff member from the NGO, Dialogue on Shelter) who joined the team in order transfer learning about grassroots enumeration to Epworth in Zimbabwe.

The peer evaluation involved interviews, mainly in groups, with representatives of the main stakeholders in Kisumu's slum-upgrading initiative and the enumeration exercise: the Kisumu Municipal Council, in particular the Planning Department and Geographic Information System (GIS) Team; the Physical Planning District Officers from all the districts in the Nyanza Province in the Ministry of Lands; the Institute of Surveyors in Kenya (ISK); the Regional Centre for Mapping of Resources for Development (RCMRD); the NGO Pamoja Trust facilitating the slum enumeration exercise; the NGO Sustainable Aid in Africa (SANA), which is involved in sanitation and governance in several slums in Kisumu; and the NGO Network that operates in the region.

The peer evaluation team conducted extensive focus group discussions with grassroots participants of the enumeration exercise. In line with the peer evaluation approach, the NGO Pamoja Trust was tasked with selecting the focus group participants from across most of Kisumu's slums. As a result, participants were mainly enumerators (volunteers from the various slums in Kisumu), thus directly involved in the enumeration process, and members of the new savings groups of the slum dwellers' federation Muungano, which were being established with Pamoja Trust's support and in close association with the enumeration exercise across most of Kisumu's slums. The focus groups in their particular composition generated useful insight into the practicalities and experiences of undertaking the enumeration on the ground, and useful grassroots recommendations were articulated. However, the focus group discussions did not elicit a representative view of the enumeration process among slum residents, those merely having provided their information without direct involvement in the enumeration activities. The focus group discussions required translation for many of the participants, and it is expected that some of the original detail and nuance was lost in this process. Given the sensitivities of some of the aspects discussed, I do not provide the identities of both stakeholders and focus group participants in this paper.

Enumeration as a Global Land Tool Towards Securing Tenure

Land and the recognition and administration of land rights have long been recognised as a central concern in addressing the issues of slums (e.g. Abrahams 1966; Angel 1983) and, to date, remain on the agenda (see Lemmen et al. 2007). Formal land administration systems have relied on registration of individual rights, often economically excluding ordinary people (Durand-Lasserve and Royston 2002; Augustinus 2005), and therefore, contributing to the inadequate living conditions that are broadly captured under the term 'slum'. The invisible slum characteristic of insecure tenure often underpins the more visible slum characteristics of inadequate

shelter, lack of basic services, overcrowding and exposure to health risks and physical hazards (see UN-HABITAT 2003:11).

The need for new systems of land administration (Payne 2002) was confirmed again at the 2006 World Urban Forum (Lemmen et al. 2007). This includes new systems for the management of land information. While the concept of a continuum of land rights (see Doebele 1988) and the need for locally and culturally relevant tenure systems (see McAuslan 1985) have long been identified, more recently, Lemmen et al. (2007:5) advocate for a social tenure domain model (STDM) through which 'a spatial unit forms the basis for recording the people–land relationship'. The focus is on 'social tenure relationships' or recorded (but unregistered) rights, thus 'personal and not real rights' (ibid.). This model is understood as a means of including ordinary people such as slum dwellers in a recognised system that protects tenure rights, thus also forming a basis for the improvement of the lives of slum dwellers, as articulated in the MDG 7 Target 11.

The GLTN, an emerging international network that promotes 'a holistic approach to land issues', places a strong emphasis on the inclusion of grassroots, in addition to governments, NGOs, civil society and professionals, in developing appropriate land management tools (Langford 2007:4). With the term 'grassroots', GLTN refers to those at the local level who are disempowered due to land deprivation and poverty, who would be users of land systems and/or who may be organised into social movements or civil society organisations (ibid.: 8). They are considered, therefore, to have particular insights that should be harnessed into the development of land administration systems. GLTN's work on 'grassroots mechanisms' is concerned with effective grassroots participation in the development of land administration systems. GLTN identifies the grassroots mechanism of enumeration as one global land tool in which grassroots participation should be evaluated in the context of an 'ongoing land tool design and implementation process' (Langford 2007:32).

Grassroots enumeration was developed in the first instance as a:

> [M]eans by which not only the data is gathered to allow for local planning, but also the process by which consensus is built and the inclusion of all residents is negotiated. Enumeration is a means to federate and organise communities and involve them in large scale slum upgrading projects (GLTN 2006:4).

This approach to enumeration that incorporates information-sharing, consensus-building and mobilisation was developed by the SDI-affiliated Indian NGO Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres (SPARC) through its extensive work with pavement dwellers in Indian cities since the 1980s (see SPARC 1985). The approach, based on the realisation that conventional legal, policy and political channels seldom produce pro-poor outcomes, has since been promoted through SDI affiliates in several other countries, including the NGO Pamoja Trust in Kenya (see Weru 2004). Within the SDI, enumeration is one component of a broader methodology which involves in the first instance mobilisation of (primarily) women through savings and credit groups in order to build membership-based federations of the urban poor. The SDI's approach to addressing inadequate housing among federation members is to promote modelling and self-construction of housing. This requires land, and where federation members do not have access to land, as in the case of the Indian pavement dwellers, grassroots enumeration plays an important

role in creating visibility to policy-makers, in improving organised demand-making and in forming the basis for partnerships with relevant government administrations or agencies (SPARC 2002; Huchzermeyer et al. 2006). Where relocations are imminent, enumeration is considered a vehicle for consensus-building within the community around the process of relocation (Patel et al. 2002).

The various components of SDI's methodology, be they mobilising through savings and credit groups, house modelling and self-construction of housing or enumeration and mapping, are replicated through international exchanges of grassroots groups supported by SDI. The components are considered mutually reinforcing, thus an enumeration exercise also has the important function of disseminating information about, and mobilising for, savings groups. For instance, in the case of an enumeration exercise on access to water in Tanzanian informal settlements, a grassroots exchange with South African and Zimbabwean SDI-affiliated federations promoted, in addition to the enumeration methodology, the idea of savings groups (Glockner et al. 2004).

For the purposes of GLTN, grassroots enumeration as a land tool should capture tenure conditions, including various levels of insecurity of tenure (GLTN 2006). However, this is not to the exclusion of the dimensions of enumeration developed by SDI, namely, improving demand-making for basic services other than land, and mobilisation and building of self-reliance through savings groups. It is against this backdrop that, in 2004, UN-HABITAT (though prior to the formation of GLTN), unable to identify any Kisumu-based NGOs with the capacity to carry out door-to-door data collection and mobilisation in Kisumu's slums, requested the Nairobi-based SDI-affiliated NGO Pamoja Trust to facilitate a slum enumeration exercise in Kisumu. GLTN has a particular interest in the lessons learnt from Kisumu's grassroots enumeration exercise and their relevance to the promotion of a continuum of land rights, through, for instance, a STDM. In addition to such lessons, the evaluation of the enumeration exercise in Kisumu exposed limits to what enumeration can achieve in a context of competing interests.

The Kisumu Slum-Upgrading Initiative and its Challenges

The Context of Kisumu's Slums

Kisumu is Kenya's third largest city. It hosts the headquarters of Nyanza Province as well as the Kisumu District. With 53.4% of its population surviving below the food poverty line (compared to 8.4% for Nairobi, 30% for Nakuru and 38.6% for Mombasa), Kisumu is Kenya's poorest city (City of Kisumu 2004). Given its status as a 'leading commercial/trading, industrial and administrative centre in the Lake Victoria Basin', it is also one of the fastest growing cities in Kenya (ibid.: 10). In the 1999 census, Kisumu had a population just under 350,000. The annual growth rate is estimated at 2.8% (City of Kisumu 2004).

Kisumu's so-called belt of slums (see Fig. 1) surrounds the formally planned city centre in a semi-circle, though with a concentration in the topographically flat east, where development occurred largely without planning. Poor drainage in this area imposes high infrastructure costs. Kisumu's slums resulted from the incorporation of

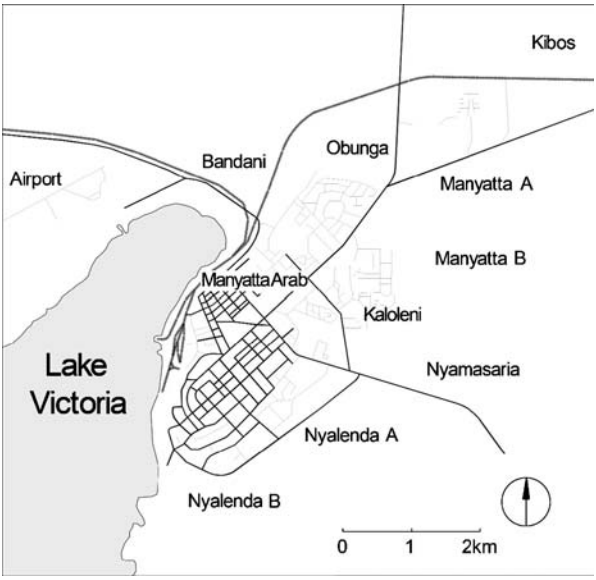

Fig. 1 Location of Kisumu's slums (based on Onyango et al. 2005: x, 13)

formerly rural areas into the urban boundary. Luo villages had been subdivided through inheritance and developed into higher densities, and as agriculture became unviable, tenancy catering for city-ward migrants resulted in increased densities. With incorporation into the urban area, land was largely adjudicated and registered as freehold (though with general boundaries, rather than accurate stakes on the ground, as explained by the representative of ISK). In this process, however, the municipal council did not acquire and set aside land for the development of infrastructure and public facilities. It is estimated that 60% of Kisumu's residents live in areas that do not provide adequate access to basic necessities (Onyango et al. 2005)

A land market as well as a rental market emerged in Kisumu's slums in response to the pressures of urbanisation. The *Situation Analysis* (Onyango et al. 2005), which was commissioned as a basis for Kisumu's slum-upgrading initiative, reports that land prices are rising in the slum belt. It further points out that landlords do not enter into formal lease contracts with their tenants, as 'renewals are based on willingness to pay rent' (ibid.: 8). Both rising land prices and informality of tenancy agreements result in tenure insecurities that are not immediately evident on the surface. However, the dominant position among stakeholders in the Kisumu slum-upgrading initiative is that insecurity of tenure is not the primary concern in Kisumu's slums. The *Situation Analysis* likewise observes that 'issues of tenure' in Kisumu's slums 'are not so critical' (ibid.: 8).

In its dominant form of freehold titling, the land tenure situation in Kisumu's slums is not representative of what is internationally referred to as 'slums'. However, slums across Kenya's cities are characterised by processes of commodification—of shelter (through a rental market) and of basic services (through vending). The land market in Kisumu's slums, underpinned by freehold titles, is a further dimension of

this Kenyan slum characteristic, namely, commodification. In this sense, Kisumu's slums are similar to slums elsewhere in Kenya, although commodification in Kenya's slums is not usually underpinned by formal legal title.

Localised tenure insecurity exists in Kisumu's slums at any given point in time on pockets of invaded land or through localised market threats to economically weak tenants. Beyond this there is the larger process of market change which threatens tenure security. This emerging deepening of tenure insecurity (and residents' fear thereof) is not unrelated to increases in land values that result from processes (or even just promises) of slum upgrading (Onyango et al. 2005; Huchzermeyer 2006).

Given the hidden nature of the tenure issues, the slum enumeration in Kisumu only indirectly dealt with security and insecurity of tenure. This limits to some extent its usefulness for evaluation as a global land tool or grassroots mechanism for tenure security. However, the process of enumeration itself led to changes in landlord–tenant relations that provide interesting insights into the possible relationship between land tenure and enumeration, particularly within a social domain tenure model. Class and tribal clashes in Kisumu since the allegedly rigged December 2007 national elections resulted in massive demolition in Kisumu and internal displacement of people. This has introduced new tenure insecurities. While the displacement will have rendered the slum enumeration data inaccurate, the data might be useful in the identification of internally displaced people. This paper acknowledges this new challenge. However, it analyses and draws lessons only from the pre-election situation in Kisumu.

The Slum-Upgrading Initiative

UN-HABITAT has played an instrumental role in initiating a slum-upgrading initiative in Kisumu. Firstly, since 2003, UN-HABITAT has a cooperation agreement with the Kenyan government on the Kenyan Slum-Upgrading (KENSUP) initiative. Since its inception, KENSUP identifies Nairobi and Kisumu as the initial two cities in which KENSUP will unfold. Secondly, within the Cities Without Slums (CWS) Sub-regional Programme for Eastern and Southern Africa of Cities Alliance (a multilateral initiative involving UN-HABITAT and the World Bank as well as country governments), Kisumu is one of nine selected pilot cities. Through KENSUP and CWS, the Kisumu Municipal Council was encouraged to address the reality of its slums at a city-wide level. With support from UN-HABITAT/Cities Alliance, the detailed *Situation Analysis* (Onyango et al. 2005) was undertaken in 2005. This consultative and consensus-building process led to an *Action Plan* that identified priority areas and set out an institutional framework.

The slum enumeration or 'social mapping' exercise began in March 2005 while the *Situation Analysis* was being prepared and with the same intention of forming a basis for city-wide slum upgrading. Whereas the initiative of a community-based enumeration covering all Kisumu slums and generating data for use by the GIS facility predated the *Action Plan*, it was not integrated into the plan. In practice, it has remained largely a parallel initiative—a coordination problem to which I return in detail below.

The rationale behind this enumeration initiative was twofold. The data was to be made available to the municipal council for planning purposes, while also

empowering the community and ensuring effective demand-making. In conjunction with the enumeration, Pamoja Trust was tasked with mobilising or organising communities into savings groups as well as settlement executive committees—SECs (UN-HABITAT 2004). The model of SECs was developed in the context of the Kibera slum-upgrading pilot programme of KENSUP and appears to be the model that KENSUP favours. By incorporating the establishment of savings groups in Kisumu's slums into Pamoja Trust's brief, UN-HABITAT was tailoring the enumeration work in Kisumu to SDI's broader philosophy and methodology.

Capacity to manage enumeration data and plan effectively was created in the Kisumu Municipal Council through the establishment of a dedicated GIS unit. The GIS facility in the Kisumu Municipal Council appears to have been the most enduring of the institutional innovations that led out of the *Action Plan*. However, the failure of important coordination functions that were set out in the *Action Plan* and to which I turn next has hampered the effectiveness of the enumeration exercise.

Governance, Institutional Capacity and Coordination

Kisumu's slum-upgrading initiative depends on collaboration between the Physical Planning Department of the Ministry of Lands, the Planning Department of the Kisumu Municipal Council, as well as various non-governmental stakeholders (see Table 1). According to the *Action Plan*, coordination between these departments and the non-governmental stakeholders in the slum upgrading, including NGOs such as Pamoja Trust in its facilitation of the slum enumeration, was to be handled by a slum-upgrading Programme Secretariat within Kisumu Municipal Council, headed by the Director of Planning, with a 'well-developed technical support unit' (Onyango et al. 2005:72). In addition, the *Action Plan* recommends the formation of a Multi-Stakeholder Support Group, with stakeholders being the municipality, KENSUP, the Government of Kenya, civil society organisations, neighbourhood associations, the 'Programme Secretariat' and the business community (ibid.).

However, while these two coordinating structures were initially established (according to the Progress Report annexed to the *Situation Analysis*—Onyango et al. 2005:72), at the time of the evaluation in October 2007, neither existed. From the various stakeholder interviews, it was evident that the GIS unit, also established in the Kisumu Municipal Council in support of the slum-upgrading initiative, had captured all the attention. The idea of a Programme Secretariat had fallen by the wayside. As a result, by October 2007, the city-wide slum-upgrading initiative was fragmented and delayed by lack of coordination. According to the representative from the NGO SANA, peer groups working in Kisumu's slums were yearning for coordination. With the absence of a Programme Secretariat, NGOs feared that KENSUP funding for the slum-upgrading initiative was captured by the wrong municipal departments, hampering efficiency of targeting and disbursement of these funds. A representative of the ISK highlighted that, beyond coordination, there was also a need to build trust between the various non-governmental and governmental stakeholders in the slum-upgrading initiative.

In the peer evaluation discussions, NGOs voiced doubts over the municipality's capacity to fulfil a coordination function. It was considered whether NGOs could instead fill the gap in coordination. In 2005, the *Situation Analysis* had already

Table 1 Stakeholders and structures in Kisumu's slum-upgrading initiative

Sector	Organisation	Unit/Department	Envisaged role in Kisumu's slum-upgrading initiative
International agencies	UN-Habitat		Since 2003 in partnership with the Kenyan Government on the Kenyan Slum-Upgrading Programme (KENSUP)
			Commissioned the slum enumeration for Kisumu
			Collaboration with Cities Alliance on Kisumu's slum-upgrading initiative
	Cities Alliance		Commissioned the City Development Strategy for Kisumu
			Commissioned the *Situation Analysis* and *Action Plan* for slum upgrading in Kisumu
Government	Kisumu Municipal Council: Planning Department	GIS unit	Use of slum enumeration data in planning for slum upgrading
		Slum-upgrading Programme Secretariat with technical support unit	Coordination between governmental and non-governmental stakeholders
	Kenyan Government: Ministry of Lands	Physical Planning Department (District Officers of Nyanza Province)	Planning for slum upgrading in collaboration with the municipality's planning activities
Non-governmental sector	Pamoja Trust (SDI-affiliated)		Commissioned by UN-Habitat to facilitate the slum enumeration in Kisumu
			Commissioned by UN-Habitat to mobilise slum communities into savings groups and settlement executive committees
	Sustainable Aid in Africa (SANA)		Ongoing sanitation and governance support to slum communities in Kisumu
	NGO Network		Coordination of NGO activity in the region
	Institute of Surveyors in Kenya (ISK)		Development of alternative tenure
	Regional Centre for Mapping of Resources for Development (RCMRD)		Training for the GIS facility
Grassroots structures	Enumeration teams		Door-to-door data collection in Kisumu's slums
	Muungano Federation (SDI-affiliated)		Setting up of savings groups
	Settlement executive committees		Coordination and effective demand-making

identified as a challenge the lack of coordination between the many NGOs active in Kisumu's slums. According to the representative of the NGO Network, which operates in the Nyanza Province and Western Region, NGOs were still, to some extent, duplicating their work in the slums. An example mentioned was the duplication in setting up community organisations—NGOs such as SANA were in the process of establishing representative settlement committees at the time when Pamoja Trust was commissioned to do the same. The SANA representative recalled that, at the early stages of the CWS initiative, the various stakeholders had agreed to coordinate their activities in Kisumu's slums. However, this initial commitment had lapsed and had needed to be re-addressed by the various NGOs. At the time of the peer evaluation, this was not resolved.

Pamoja Trust had a presence in Kisumu's slums through the extensive enumeration exercise and setting up of community-based organisations around daily savings. However, it was unclear as to what extent Pamoja Trust was expected to play a coordinating role. The slum data generated by the enumeration was certainly of interest to other NGOs and needed to be shared. In terms of a coordination function, a limitation for Pamoja Trust was the fact that it is a national organisation headquartered in Nairobi and did not have a permanent office in Kisumu, unlike other NGOs that are regionally based. Pamoja Trust's staff tasked with facilitating the enumeration exercise was not based fulltime in Kisumu for the duration of the enumeration. For similar reasons, Pamoja Trust had also not joined the NGO Network (which Pamoja Trust also felt was not adequately organised and focussed). However, Pamoja Trust indicated that it was planning a series of consultative meetings with stakeholders in Kisumu.

Coordination was also lacking at the grassroots level. Representative SECs were to be established as part of the official slum-upgrading initiative. However, the peer evaluation revealed that various grassroots committees or structures already existed in many of the slums incorporating a system of chiefs and elders that was not necessarily representative but enjoyed legitimacy at the grassroots. In addition, Pamoja Trust was tasked by UN-HABITAT to compliment the slum enumeration by mobilising slum dwellers into savings groups under the slum dwellers (Muungano) federation. At the time of the peer evaluation, it was evident that relevant structures for community involvement in the planning, management and implementation of slum-upgrading interventions in Kisumu required review.

A broader concern was raised by the representative of the NGO Network, namely, that there were too many externally initiated and competing programmes within the municipality and that these were insufficiently coordinated: CWS; City Development Strategy; Sustainable Urban Mobility; and Millennium Cities. Kisumu's City Development Strategy (City of Kisumu 2004: cover page) is prefaced by the following vision, which makes no mention of improved conditions for its desperately poor and marginalised residents:

> [A] leading transportation, communication and commercial hub in the Great Lakes Region offering great tourism and agro-investment opportunities.

From the brief courtesy meeting between the peer evaluation team and the mayor of Kisumu, it became evident that the various donor-driven initiatives had diverging and partly conflicting objectives and would undoubtedly compete for resource

allocation and commitment. The mayor voiced enthusiasm about the upcoming Millennium Cities event with Jeffrey Sachs, an initiative that seeks to augment donor funding and attract foreign investment with the aim to stimulate the urban economy and to end poverty.[5] The mayor also enthusiastically mentioned plans to build an international airport, linked to the Millennium Cities initiative and its objective of attracting foreign investment. This was evidence of the conflicts in resource allocation that were facing the municipality. Furthermore, lack of engagement by the municipality with residents who may be evicted for the new airport was highlighted by human rights organisations Hakijamii Trust and Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) in their Housing Rights update of August 2007 (see COHRE and Hakijamii 2007).

The challenges of aligning, coordinating and harmonising the initiatives of multi-lateral and bilateral development institutions with country strategies were addressed internationally, with participation of the Kenyan government, in the Rome Declaration on Harmonisation (2003) and Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) declarations. The focus of these declarations is on meeting the MDGs, with an emphasis on the need for sustained coordination, as well as country-level ownership of initiatives, mutual accountability and the achievement of results. What these declarations do not address are the inherent tensions between initiatives that seek to grow urban economies with implied spin-offs for poverty alleviation (such as Kisumu's City Development Strategy and the Millennium Cities initiative) and those that seek directly to extend social infrastructure and service delivery with a direct budgetary burden (such as the CWS initiative). The *Situation Analysis* for CWS alludes only to one aspect of this tension, namely, that the vision of regional economic development is directly associated with the burden of increased migratory pull to the city (Onyango et al. 2005:4).

In a city context such as Kisumu, which is given the status of a regional centre for economic growth yet has substantial backlogs in social infrastructure and services, this tension presents a major political challenge, which translates into difficulties for sustained coordination. Reflecting this larger governance tension between the economic and social function of the city, the newly established GIS unit in Kisumu Municipal Council, which according to the *Situation Analysis* has the purpose of supporting planning and upgrading in Kisumu, at the time of the peer evaluation was being targeted by the municipality as a tool for revenue collection. Payment records were conveniently linked to spatial units on the GIS, thus allowing the GIS system to support an economic rather than the intended social imperative. The GIS unit staff also mentioned the income generation potential for the municipality of selling GIS (and slum enumeration) data to researchers. These economic interests posed a challenge for Pamoja Trust, whose representative voiced fear that the enumeration data, once integrated into the GIS unit's database, would be used for purposes that were not in the direct interest of slum dwellers. This mirrored concerns voiced in focus group discussions with grassroots participants of the enumeration.

[5] In the contemporary development literature, there is no consensus on the relationship between increased donor funding and foreign investment on the one hand, and poverty alleviation on the other—see divergence in positions on poverty alleviation in Sachs (2005) and Collier (2007).

However, seen outside of the challenging socio-political context and the lack of coordination, the GIS facility represented a major advancement in Kenyan municipal capacity. A representative of the RCMRD, which had been instrumental in setting up and training for the GIS facility, shared his view of the institutional context of the GIS facility. He emphasised that this was the first municipal GIS facility in the country. The GIS unit had enabled a fundamental change in the work of municipality's Planning Department, replacing a space-consuming paper-based system with outdated information. High staff turnover and inability to retain staff once trained on GIS were challenges the municipality was faced with in terms of maximising the impact of the new facility, in particular in relation to slum upgrading. The problem was compounded by delays in handing over of the long-expected slum enumeration data.

The GIS facility was planning to initiate GIS access centres within the slums to ensure that enumeration data was analysed and used by the communities. Practicalities of this were not yet resolved. It was not clear how this would impact on the relationship between communities and the municipality and whether resulting demand-making by communities would in fact lead to improved municipal services. In some settlements, the relationship with the municipal council had deteriorated due to awareness raised in the community about poor conditions and about the duties of the municipal council. In these settlements, demand-making had increased through the enumeration, but not yielded results.

Enumeration in Kisumu's Slum-Upgrading Initiative

Pamoja Trust was commissioned by UN-HABITAT late in 2004 to undertake the Kisumu slum enumeration. The mutually agreed budget also provided for community mobilisation into savings groups and the setting up of representative SECs for the purposes of slum upgrading (UN-HABITAT 2004). Key components of the SDI approach to enumeration and mobilisation were to be implemented. The questionnaire used in the social and economic mapping of Nairobi's slum was to be discussed widely for input from Kisumu's stakeholders including slum dwellers, before being administered door-to-door. A major awareness-raising campaign needed to precede the data collection, whereas data collection was to be followed by verification. Pre-dating the formation of the GLTN, the project proposal from UN-HABITAT (2004) made no direct reference to data collection on security of tenure, requesting, however, that both tenants and structure owners be included in the process.

Grassroots Input into the Enumeration Approach and Questionnaire

GLTN's definition of grassroots participation in land tools is that 'grassroots groups fully participate in all stages of the tool development process and not simply be passive recipients of solutions developed *for* them' (Langford 2007:11, emphasis in the original). It first appeared that grassroots involvement in the conceptualisation or development of the enumeration tool in Kisumu was limited, as the methodology was transferred through SDI from India via Nairobi to Kisumu. However, Pamoja

Trust indicated that, while the methodology originated from India, each country domesticates it based on the local situation. It, therefore, differs from country to country and from one municipality to the other. In the case of Kisumu, adjustments had been made after consultation with the Kisumu-based NGO SANA, and other stakeholders had endorsed the questionnaire, giving it local ownership. While grassroots then did not adjust the approach or questionnaire or develop the tool upfront, the enumeration process was one that allowed responses to land tenure issues (primarily the tenancy relations) to emerge at the grassroots.

The Kisumu experience suggested that it might be difficult for ordinary slum dwellers to give upfront suggestions on the conceptualisation or development of a complex data collection approach without any prior experience of such work. However, focus group discussions with the enumerators generated important recommendations for improving the approach and tailoring it to the Kisumu context—the focus group participants enjoyed the opportunity to reflect and make suggestions. This suggested that rather than expecting upfront input from communities into the methodology, it would be relevant to ensure a feedback loop for continuous improvement/refinement/adjustment of the tool by the participating community.

Several grassroots recommendations voiced in the focus groups related to the enumeration form:

- Detail about the size of the plots needed to be handled differently, as it had made landlords suspicious of intentions to grab their land.
- The detailed question about how people were using their money was considered sensitive and unlikely to yield honest responses.
- Disclosure of identification numbers was also considered sensitive.

Furthermore, the useful suggestion was made that the form be completed in duplicate, with the enumerated household keeping one copy. This could then be used by the household to verify whether their data was correctly represented in the final set. With relevance to tenure security, it was suggested that absentee landlords also be enumerated. One focus group also considered whether an organisation should be represented on the enumeration form, so that the enumeration process be clearly identifiable with an appropriate organisation—currently, the enumeration form for Kisumu did not indicate any affiliation. Most respondents expressed the need for such affiliation, but felt that a Muungano association on the form would probably be rejected by the respondents. The focus group considered this issue sensitive and in need of further consideration.

Enumeration teams had managed to resolve the tensions they felt were generated by the enumeration form. This had required lengthy explanation and the assistance of village elders or elected councillors who played a role in legitimising the process. Some felt that this generated additional work for the already time-consuming exercise.

Mobilisation Through Enumeration and the Role of Savings Groups

As the enumeration approach in Kisumu was based on the broader philosophy of the SDI approach, community-based enumeration was occurring at the same time as

mobilisation through savings groups and exchanges. It was, therefore, difficult for the peer evaluation team to distinguish the impact of the community-based enumeration from the impact of the SDI mobilisation and learning (about process as well as settlement conditions). In some settlements (in Nyalenda, Manyatta A, B and Arab and Bandani), Pamoja Trust first established savings groups or Muungano structures and then announced or introduced the idea of enumeration through Muungano. In other settlements, Pamoja Trust was able to rely on existing community organisations and authorities to introduce and launch the enumeration exercise. Thus, one of the focus group respondents noted 'enumeration gives birth to [Muungano] savings groups and vice versa'. This respondent also indicated how the enumeration exercise had directly encouraged mobilisation to resolve the issues that emerged through data collection:

> Many savings schemes came out of the enumeration, because this process made us realise the need e.g. for toilets.

The importance of mobilisation for self-reliance, as promoted through the SDI approach, was explained by a Muungano member directly involved in organising the slum enumeration. He noted the prior attitude of the community of expecting per diems for any meeting attended. This had changed to an attitude of voluntary participation, which was a basic requirement for a grassroots enumeration exercise to be carried out.

The selection of the enumerators and their composition into teams was an aspect of mobilisation in itself. While the composition of the focus groups suggested that most enumerators were Muungano members, this relationship was clarified by Pamoja Trust using the example of Nyalenda:

> Muungano chose enumerators. However, the majority [of enumerators] were not Muungano members. Pamoja Trust gave Muungano members criteria for the selection of the 250 enumerators that were needed for Nyalenda. The enumerators had to enumerate across large parts of the settlement, therefore it could not be a matter of Muungano members only enumerating in the sub-areas in which their savings groups were localised.

In settlements where there were no pre-existing savings groups, Pamoja Trust approached the area administrator, who requested the village elders to convene community meetings at which Pamoja Trust could announce and plan the enumeration. Team leaders for the enumeration would be identified at these meetings. Pamoja Trust explained that enumerators were selected through public meetings, through calls for volunteers or put forward by existing community-based organisations. In a small settlement, the enumeration team would consist of 50–100 enumerators. The team would be subdivided into smaller groups, each with a team leader and each made responsible for a section of the settlement.

As part of the enumeration procedure, the enumeration teams would meet at the beginning and end of each day to bring back the forms and share experiences of the day. At these meetings, Pamoja Trust would also talk about savings and the need to get the community organised. Savings schemes were set up in all settlements, working in the first instance with enumerators. Pamoja Trust indicated that, as a result of this process, savings schemes in Kisumu's slums grew from a mere five to

102 groups. A city-wide slum dwellers-led financing facility known as the Urban Poor Fund was also set up.

An enumerator in a focus group discussion explained the importance of the relationship between Muungano and the enumeration process: Muungano members were trusted and known in their communities. They were able to 'team up' with village chiefs to lay to rest the suspicion among landlords about the enumeration. Muungano gave support to the enumerators even if they were not Muungano members, and the allowance for enumerators was disbursed through Muungano. Muungano also played a role in the training of enumerators through grassroots exchanges with Nairobi.

Pamoja Trust explained that enumeration was announced in the communities as a voluntary activity, therefore, relying on mobilisation and conscientisation. Those selected or coming forward for enumeration were asked to indicate how many days they would be able to volunteer without a stipend (this differed from enumerator to enumerator), and for the remaining days, the stipend was KShS 200 per day, the equivalent of an average daily wage among slum dwellers. Focus group participants did not perceive the stipend as a payment for a job carried out. One of the focus groups considered whether enumeration could be promoted as a daily practice similar to daily savings promoted by Muungano. This would be on a purely voluntary basis, independent of external funding, and could ensure regular updating of data.

Mobilisation that resulted from the enumeration went beyond savings groups. One focus group respondent mentioned a youth group that had formed out of enumerators who were conscientised about youth issues while enumerating. Another respondent from Bandani shared that since the enumeration had showed the prevalence as well as hardships of widows, the SEC had decided to mobilise funding to assist widows with grants to improve their income. In one settlement, landlords, conscientised about the poor quality of their stock, had registered cooperative societies to finance improvements.

As mentioned above, a further aspect of mobilisation that was included in Pamoja Trust's brief was that of setting up representative SECs. In Bandani, a landowner's association was transformed into a SEC including tenant representation. However, this process varied from settlement to settlement depending on existing structures.

The *Situation Analysis* notes that migrants to Kisumu tend to join ethnic enclaves. In its analysis of opportunities and threats for the slum-upgrading initiative, it highlights as one of the opportunities the 'creation of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural communities … organising themselves around key socio-economic issues not ethnic politics' (Onyango et al. 2005:23). Given the post-election class/tribal violence that erupted in Kisumu 3 months after the peer evaluation, it would be important to establish to what extent the non-tribal mobilisation linked to the enumeration, especially where it bridged landlord–tenant as well as tribal divides, had moderated what might have been even worse clashes.

Constraints and Tensions in Carrying out the Enumeration

Among many focus group participants, there was general consensus that although the Kisumu-wide slum enumeration exercise had already taken 3 years, enumeration

in each settlement required more time. Resource and time constraints had forced Pamoja Trust to insist on enumeration in each settlement over a very short period and with long working days for the enumerators. Numbering of doors, filling in of forms and answering questions from respondents had to be completed in 3 weeks. Pamoja Trust added that, because of the communities' mistrust that had been built up from previous externally driven experiences, more time was needed before data could be accessed/extracted.

During the enumeration, particularly the more vulnerable individuals (elderly, disabled or ill) had asked what benefits would arise from the enumeration. Enumerators admitted that this had resulted in 'the creation of expectations', meaning that enumerators had mentioned forthcoming benefits in order to gain willingness from these residents to be enumerated. However, resistance to being enumerated was not only from vulnerable groups—even landlords feared they would be losers in the process. Expectations that had been raised by enumerators' attempts to advocate for the enumeration were a concern raised in the focus group discussions, as those enumerated were now holding enumerators to account:

> To get information from the landlords on the size of their plots, we had used the tactics of saying that this information might assist in allocation of funding. As a result, we are now facing problems in our communities, as people now have raised expectations and are asking us what happened to the promised improvements.

Enumerators were at a loss as to how to answer and expressed this as a post-enumeration pressure they were experiencing. Their promises had not been unjustified, given the city's slum-upgrading initiative. However, in many settlements, improvements had not yet materialised.

Focus group questions about households' resistance to being enumerated generated much discussion and consensus. With some exceptions, tenants had welcomed being enumerated, but landlords had resisted for various reasons.[6] Some had feared that their land would be grabbed, which suggests limits to perceived tenure security even for holders of freehold titles. Others had feared demolition—possibly a larger fear that enumeration would be used to enforce development control without adjusting building standards to the existing building fabric of the slums (the Physical Planning Department of the Ministry of Land did mention alternative building standards for the Obunga pilot). In certain cases, landlords had feared outright eviction. In Kaloleni, the fear of eviction was exacerbated by the good location of the settlement, thus the assumption that there might be plans to build high-rise buildings.

Landlords had also raised their assumptions of gainful employment of the enumerators and had complained that this monetary benefit was not fairly distributed. Some households had felt discriminated against, as no enumerators had been drawn from their areas. These tensions had been resolved.

[6] Landlord resistance to enumeration in Kisumu's slums was not as severe as in Pamoja Trust's earlier experiences in Nairoibi's slums, where 'structure owners' had resorted to the court to stop the enumeration (Weru 2004). Whereas landlords in Kisumu's slums largely have legal title to the land, 'structure owners' in Nairobi's slums by and large live elsewhere and claim land unlawfully to extract rent (Huchzermeyer 2006, 2008).

Households that had resisted enumeration, even rubbing enumeration numbers off their doors, had subsequently understood the purpose of enumeration and were now asking the former enumerators to enumerate them. They had to be told that the time for enumeration had passed. A door-to-door data verification process would have enabled these households to have their facts included. I return below to the constraints that were experienced in verifying the enumeration data.

Changes in Landlord–Tenant Relations

With important implications for tenure security in Kisumu's slums, it was evident that the enumeration process impacted on the landlord–tenant relationship. Focus group discussions, while not representative, gave evidence that attempts by enumerators to gather information from resident landlords as well as their tenants brought to the fore tension in these relations and led to some adjustments. Landlords were initially suspicious of having their tenants disclose their rentals, or more generally, about their tenants being enumerated, as they feared exposure of the poor conditions of their rental stock. Landlords in Manyatta Arab had perceived that the enumeration might entice tenants to take action against them, given that the low standards of living might be found not to match the rent charged. One focus group participant exclaimed that:

> [I]in some cases the landlords are resisting their tenants being enumerated, they even use machetes to chase [enumerators] away.

Landlords also had suspicions of being enumerated by tenant enumerators and feared that tenants would write something on the enumeration forms to benefit themselves. Where landlords were illiterate (a tendency that was observed by enumerators), this fear was justified. Landlords generally felt that the questionnaire favoured tenants.

However, most focus group participants who raised these concerns added that the tensions were resolved through briefings and explanations. In addition, accounts were given of landlord–tenant relations having improved or been harmonised. One landlord participating in a focus group had felt the questionnaire gave tenants high expectations of being relieved of not having latrines and adequate housing. After understanding the questionnaire, this landlord came to a compromise with his tenants and made some improvements.

One tenant in a focus group acknowledged that tenants experienced the enumeration as a 'wake-up call'. They had not been sure how to engage their landlords in a fruitful process:

> Now we know how we can approach our landlords and how to approach them without causing tension.

This change in relationship had also awakened landlords to business principles. While tenants now had the right to ask for services, landlords felt entitled to demand rent on time. As long as services were not provided, it had been hard to press for the rent. Therefore, a general focus group comment from landlords was that the enumeration process had improved their business. After providing basic services, demand for their units had increased. The focus group discussions did not establish

conclusively the extent of displacement of poorer tenants through this change in the market. One focus group participant noted that tenancies tended to be short-term due to contract work; therefore, rents could be increased between tenancies, avoiding direct eviction of poorer tenants. The *Situation Analysis* (Onyango et al. 2005: 33) mentions that the Bangani and Obunga slums house a significant number of short-term contract workers from the nearby industrial zone. However, the report does not link this to high tenant turnover or short durations of tenancies. It is, therefore, not clear whether this focus group observation is representative of tenancies in Kisumu.

From the focus group discussions, it was also not clear whether the accounts of improved landlord–tenant relations were mainly from landlords who were members of Muungano enumerator teams or whether this raised awareness of both social responsibility and business opportunities had occurred throughout the settlements.

Challenges of Data Verification

At the time of the peer evaluation, the enumeration process was in its final stages. Data for most of the slums was being handed over to the Kisumu Municipal Council's Planning Department and GIS team for use in its planning of slum-upgrading interventions. Due to the resource constraints, one crucial aspect of the enumeration approach was compromised—enumeration data was not fully verified. In the published literature by Pamoja Trust and SDI (see Weru 2004), multiple verification, referring to a repetition of the door-to-door process, is emphasised as an integral part of SDI's enumeration methodology, improving accuracy of the data while also building consensus around development. In the enumeration of Korogocho, Nairobi, 'Pamoja Trust followed the methods used by the Indian federation in having a strong verification process, with information returned to households for checking' (Weru 2004:53).

For Kisumu, Pamoja Trust's representative indicated that verification of the enumeration data had only been carried out in Obunga and Bandani, while further verification was being planned. This clearly raised questions about the datasets that were handed to the municipal council, and whether it was appropriate for the GIS team to integrate this data into the GIS if a second set of verified data was still to be provided. Pamoja Trust's representative, while acknowledging that they did not have the resources for the verification process, suggested that the initial enumeration data would be 80–90% accurate without verification. The ISK representative indicated that, for planning purposes, a 20% error margin was acceptable.

Where data verification was carried out in Kisumu, it was not through a door-to-door process as promoted by SDI, but through mass meetings with PowerPoint presentations of the household data and physical mapping. Pamoja Trust was considering this as a regular event, particularly where communities were organised and demanded information. It was envisaged that communities could be trained to undertake this form of verification themselves. With the establishment of Muungano savings groups in the slums, it was felt that capacity and willingness for processes such as verification could be built in these communities.

Focus group participants from some settlements were not aware that any verification of the data was planned. All were concerned about data accuracy. Enumeration was done mainly during daytime when key household members were

not at home, some households (a figure of 10% was mentioned by an enumerator) had refused to cooperate, some withheld information on sensitive questions such as expenditure patterns and some landlords had refused having their tenants enumerated. The other concern was about data becoming outdated with time as new structures were being constructed and others replaced. For Obunga, the first settlement to be enumerated, it was noted in particular that, since enumeration, some tenants had been evicted, some had moved from one place to another within the settlement, some residents had died and others had given birth. Focus group participants suggested that enumeration be done quarterly, and alternatively, updating and verification should be done before the data is used for a particular project.

In Obunga, the first settlement to be enumerated, sense of ownership of the data was expressed by enumerators:

> The data bank that has been produced is beneficial to the community. Landlords are coming to ask questions about their 'papers' and the Ministry of Health has asked for data.

Data verification appeared to go hand-in-hand with communities' sense of ownership of that data. In Bandani, a report of the enumeration data had been brought to the community. However, the data was 'only with the leaders'. It was felt that the community should own the data and should have a document. It was suggested that the data could be displayed at the chief's office, the schools, churches or market places, thus also creating opportunities for households to update their data.

Conclusion

According to anecdotes from the focus group discussions, the enumeration exercise in Kisumu had an initial unintended impact on tenure security by changing landlord–tenant relations. While follow-up research is required to establish the extent of such change, in the cases that were reported, this change in relations occurred not only at the level of individual tenancies, which had become fairer though at the same time more business-oriented. It also occurred at the level of community structures through the various forms of mobilisation that accompanied the enumeration and which included landlords and tenants. This joint landlord–tenant mobilisation included the composition of enumerator teams, the setting up of savings groups, the formation of issue-based structures to address insights gained through the enumeration process and the improvement of representation on community-wide structures such as SECs. The level of community voluntarism required for an enumeration exercise to be carried through relied on conscientisation through mobilisation. Anecdotal evidence was that the Muungano/SDI savings group approach played a strong role in achieving the necessary attitudinal change among residents, both landlords and tenants.

An important outcome of enumeration is knowledge generation, as a basis for informing ways of addressing vulnerabilities. Provided the enumeration questionnaire incorporates more direct questions about tenure vulnerabilities and fears, enumeration can contribute to addressing tenure security at various levels, thus lifting out the mostly invisible slum characteristic of tenure insecurity.

On the one hand, the process of enumeration informally generates insights, particularly among the enumerators. These insights are about the process of enumeration (and in the focus group discussions led to suggestions for its refinement), as well as conditions within the slums. In some of Kisumu's slums, this informal knowledge had led to issue-based mobilisation responding to, for instance, vulnerable widows. If more directly incorporating questions on tenure security, an enumeration could lead to similar community-based responses to tenure vulnerabilities long before official finalisation of the data collection.

On the other hand, enumeration leads to formal knowledge generation, in the form of datasets that can be spatialised through GIS, analysed and used for planning purposes. In the Kisumu case, this process was slow. Given the lack of coordination of the city-wide slum-upgrading initiative, there was no evidence that tenure security would be addressed in the short-term through the application of this formal knowledge in a planning and land management process. The formal knowledge was also subject to competing interests within the municipality: planning for improved service delivery was clearly in the interest of the slum dwellers; and development control and revenue collection was clearly not in the interest of many current slum dwellers, landlords in particular, and their current tenants by implication.

Mediation in the use of the formally generated knowledge is a major requirement in order for the enumeration initiative to sustain support from within the slum communities. The incomplete and partly continuous processes of data verification and updating in Kisumu (especially in a context of high tenant mobility) required sustained support from communities. Resource constraints in the completion of data verification meant an increased reliance on voluntarism and cooperation from communities.

Returning then to the challenge articulated in the introduction of this paper: What is the role for enumeration in the 'ongoing land tool design and implementation process' (Langford 2007: 32) that the GLTN seeks to promote, and particularly, in developing the STDM (Lemmen et al. 2007) Given the area-based focus of this model, it would be relevant for an enumeration to be carried out on the basis of sub-areas of a slum, with enumerators drawn from that area. With their informal knowledge of that sub-area generated through the enumeration, enumerators could fulfil ongoing functions in the governance of these areas, including management of the land. Savings groups and other forms of mobilisation would then also be encouraged on a sub-area basis, reinforcing the capacity of sub-area communities to address insecure tenure and other vulnerabilities within their areas. This recommendation requires further consideration for various land ownership situations that prevail in slums. It also calls for further engagement and discussion with SDI and its affiliates, where experience across diverse contexts has been generated (see SPARC 1985, 2002, Patel et al. 2002; Weru 2004) and could enrich the development of a role for enumeration in the STDM. This discussion may also embrace technological advances, for instance, verification and updating of data through the use of cell phones, which have experienced an unexpected spread among slum communities and are increasingly embraced in social programmes (Id21 2007).

For the slum upgrading in Kisumu, it could be concluded that the enumeration exercise achieved a number of positive results. Among these is the improved overall awareness on the lack of service delivery to Kisumu's slums and of intra-city

inequalities. This potentially paved the way for pro-poor resource distribution through an improved revenue collection mechanism. The enumeration initiative enabled community participation in the official physical plans for two of the slums. It also led to an understanding among stakeholders in Kisumu about the need for adequate information to develop detailed physical plans at neighbourhood as well as municipal levels. The establishment of the Urban Poor Fund is also an important achievement.

The slum-upgrading initiative in Kisumu was constrained by several factors. Only marginal resources were set aside for slum upgrading by the Kenyan government and the Kisumu Municipal Council; therefore, only a few interventions were implemented on a piecemeal basis. In addition, international development partners did not adequately engage with the slum-upgrading initiatives. Lack of coordination at the city level posed a serious challenge for those engaged with improving the lives of Kisumu's slum dwellers. For the purposes of the peer evaluation, this situation helped distil the critical importance of sustained coordination at several levels—between government departments, between externally driven initiatives, between NGOs and between all slum-upgrading stakeholders. Coordination and mediation, particularly of the competing social and economic interests of the city, is essential for any grassroots tool, whether based on sub-areas or settlement-wide, to effectively link up with the authorities and yield tangible benefits on the ground.

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