

# **The Process of Urban Renewal in Nairobi, Kenya**



A Case Study On Citizen Participation Within The  
Renewal of Nairobi City County Estates.

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# **'The Process Of Urban Renewal In Nairobi, Kenya: A Case Study On Citizen Participation Within The Renewal Of Nairobi City County Estates.'**

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## Abstract

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As the world is urbanizing at a fast pace, it is predicted that urban population will surpass 50% by 2050. In the developing world that means developing cities will experience urban pressures such as increasing unemployment; environmental degradation; lack of urban services and infrastructure; and lack of adequate and durable shelter. In Nairobi, Kenya, the Nairobi METRO 2030 urban master plan envisions Nairobi as being a future world-class city, and details strategies to combat many of the above urban problematics. However such grand urban master plans often fail to address the realities on the ground, thus often end up failing. The plan however details the use of citizen participation in its planning projects. The use of participatory methods in planning has long held its footing in western planning initiatives, as a means of increasing democracy and tackling failings in state-led housing schemes. The adoption of participatory methods in the global south however has proven to be influenced by various aspects such as the historical planning context, and social political climate the countries are in. This study therefore adopts a 'situated analysis' approach to map out the context of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project; and takes into account people's opinion on the project and the process of participation to determine whether the inclusion of participatory methods, in the case of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project is able to overcome the drawbacks associated with top-down planning in urban housing schemes.

Keywords: Urban Renewal | Citizen Participation | Land Densification | Housing | Sustainable Redevelopment

## Summary

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As the world is urbanizing at a fast pace, it is predicted that urban population will surpass 50% by 2050. In the developing world that means developing cities will experience urban pressures such as increasing unemployment; environmental degradation; lack of urban services and infrastructure; and lack of adequate and durable shelter. The current housing stock however is highly inadequate and paves way for the formation of dilapidated and informal settlements. There is therefore a dire need for planning reforms to deal with current urban challenges, but also to curb sprawl and the formation of slums.

In Nairobi, Kenya, the Nairobi METRO 2030 urban master plan envisions Nairobi as being a future world-class city, and details strategies in line with Sustainable Development Goal 11: to "Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable" (UN-Habitat, 2016, 2), in order to combat many of the above urban problematics. Under Nairobi Metro 2030 is the Nairobi Metropolitan Services Improvement Project (NAMSIP), which aims to improve the urban services and infrastructure in Nairobi, of which 1.5 million people working in and residing in Nairobi will benefit from. These include improvements made to urban roads and public transport systems, solid waste collection, sewerage and wastewater treatment, as well as increase the current housing stock of Nairobi's low-income settlements. As part of NAMSIP, is the Nairobi Urban Renewal Project (NURP), which is phase 1 of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Programme. The goal is to not only create adequate housing, but also housing that is affordable and fits the needs of the target group, i.e. low-income residents. In trying to reach this goal, the project stipulates that all participating stakeholders must be fully cooperative in the planning and design stages of project, i.e. it should be a people-driven process whereby the end-users are involved in the mapping of their environment, to the design formulation of the intended development, thereby ensuring the project meets the real needs of the stakeholders. Hence stakeholders include the residents currently residing in the old estates.

However grand urban master plans often fail to address the realities on the ground, thus often end up failing. Nairobi metro 30, however and in particular NURP details the use of participatory methods in its planning projects. The use of participatory methods in planning has long held its footing in western planning initiatives, as a means of increasing democracy and tackling failings in state-led (top-down) housing schemes. The adoption of participatory methods in the global south however has proven to be influenced by various aspects such as the historical planning context, and social political climate the countries are in. The aim of this dissertation was to analyse the historical planning context of Nairobi, and how the political, social, and cultural context of the city influences how participation is carried out in the Nairobi Urban Renewal pilot (NURP) project. The

theoretical lens used to examine this process was Connelly's 'hostile' environments, and drawing on comparisons between NURP, and previous top-down urban renewal schemes in the city, as well as call for William's (2004) 'situated-analysis' which examines the social and institutional context of a country. The main research question in the study was:

*How does Nairobi's context (historically, socio-culturally, and politically) shape the participatory process in the current Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project?*

Followed by the following guiding sub-questions:

- How have the previous urban planning policies and development schemes influenced the current housing crisis in Nairobi and what implications did past top-down renewal schemes have?
- What urban priorities do participants in the NURP have?
- How does citizen participation within the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project compare to the top-down strategies in previous urban renewal schemes in Nairobi?

The study uses NURP as a case study. The estates under review were Bachelors/Jevanjee, Ngong Road Estate, Old Ngara Estate, New Ngara Estate, Pangani Estate, Uhuru Estate, and Suna Road Market. The main mode of data collection were interviews, and a secondary literature review, which included project documents and reports, public consultation minutes made by the Nairobi City County (NCC), and media articles from various media houses in Nairobi. To validate the study, two validity strategies were used, first the triangulation of data, and secondly that of member checking to corroborate answers provided during the interviews.

Findings showed that Nairobi's historical planning and housing context were shaped by colonial spatial patterns, and further influenced by failed housing policies and corruptive practices post-independence. This historical climate highlighted and mapped out the setting in which NURP and participation within the project will be carried out. This then partly explained the failing of top-down urban renewal schemes in Nairobi, which were due to unaffordability and project mismanagement, and not meeting the needs of the target group. The proposed answer to this was to adopt participatory methods in future urban renewal plans, however the theory used in this study already suggests that citizen participation cannot be adopted universally.

This then led to examining NURP and its context, and make an attempt at a 'situated-analysis' to determine how participation is carried out in the project looking at: 1) Does it address citizens concerns and needs; 2) does the use of participation overcome the failings of top-down urban renewal; 3) how do citizens themselves view the process of

participation. Firstly, the initial urban renewal concepts that according to Chan and Lee are of priority from a citizen's perspective (social service/infrastructure, accessibility, job availability) were concepts citizens in this particular case were less vocal about. Instead, other emerging concepts such as ownership, affordability, trust, eviction and displacement, were more prevalent, reinforcing the idea that urban renewal is not a one size fits all strategy, and therefore context specific shaped by historical planning strategies, and the past political economy of the city which has carried on to present times. Secondly, NURP has seemingly rectified some of the problematics that arose from top-down strategies in urban renewal such as lack of funds to complete projects, and unaffordability. When it comes to the problem of not meeting the needs of the target group, and the suggestion by Muraya (2006) to adopt citizen participation, the findings from this study revealed that a history of failed participatory efforts are repeating themselves in NURP. Which leads to the third point, currently there is a lost of distrust and suspicion amongst citizens, and towards the NCC, which impedes decision-making. Participation is being met with 'hostility due to citizen's bad experiences with the government. In summary, Nairobi has shown a history of corrupt land and tenure practices; privatisation of urban services; and overall oppression of marginalized, vulnerable communities, which make the adoption of participatory methods in future planning projects challenging. Despite efforts made by the NCC, it is evident that participation in developing countries is an unsteady process as governments and citizens are unfamiliar with the concept of cooperation and dialogue.

In moving forward, especially for phase two of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Program which is the renewal of the Eastlands region, various challenges, which include discrepancies in information, mistrust amongst the target group, conflicting interests, etc. can be overcome through building trust in low-income communities; enhance ownership by enabling them to be apart of each phase of the project, and aid in the maintenance after completion. Effective communication strategies must be set up to avoid misunderstandings.

There were some limitations to the study, which include time availability, as well as flaws in the methodological approach, which reduced the quality of the interviews, which led to the review of media articles for further information. Overall, results could provide useful insights and recommendations for phase 2 of the urban renewal scheme. The same study could also be conducted for phase 2 (with the adjustments made above) in which future comparisons can be made. Both studies could provide the NCC with the necessary information to develop citizen participation techniques that are best suited in the given situation, and develop urban planning strategies that coincide with the reality on the ground.

# Table Of Content

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Dedication and Acknowledgements	II
Abstract	III
Summary	IV
List of Tables and Figures	VII
Abbreviations	VIII
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Background	1
1.1.2 The Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project	3
1.1.3 Urban Master Plans in the African Context	4
1.2 Problem Statement & Relevancy Of Research	5
1.3 Dissertation Outline	6
2. Theoretical Framework	7
2.1 Operationalization of Concepts	7
2.1.1 Urban Renewal	7
2.1.2 Urban Renewal Themes versus Reality On The Ground	8
2.1.3 Top-Down Planning	9
2.1.4 Citizen Participation	10
2.2 Research Objective & Research Questions	18
3. Methodology	19
3.2 Research Design	19
3.3 Data Collection Methods	20
3.4 Data Analysis	22
3.5 Validity Strategies	24
3.6 Scope And Limitations Of The Study	25
4. Results	29
4.1 Past Planning Schemes And Policies	29
4.2 Current Planning Policies	33
4.3 Case Overview: Proposed Developments of the Estates Undergoing Renewal	37
4.4 Project Intentions Versus Previous Urban (Housing) Renewal Schemes	43
4.4 Findings on Key Urban Renewal Themes	45
4.5. Findings On Citizen Participation	52
5. Discussion	55
5.1 Results Versus Theoretical Framework	55
5.2 The Way Forward	62
6. Conclusion	69
6.1 Reflection	70
Literature List	71
Appendices	77



## List of Tables and Figures

---

Figure 1: Arnstein's Participation Ladder .....	12
Figure 2: Choquill's Participation Ladder .....	12
Figure 3: Shand & Arnberg's Participation Scale.....	13
Figure 4: Flow-Chart of Research Design .....	20
Figure 5: Conceptual Framework for Analysis .....	23
Figure 6: Map of Nairobi City 1906 .....	30
Figure 7: Map of Nairobi City 1927 .....	30
Figure 8: Priority Program Framework.....	34
Figure 9: Site Map of Bachelors / Jevanjee .....	37
Figure 10: Current Situation of Bachelors / Jevanjee.....	37
Figure 11: Site Map of Ngong Road Estate .....	38
Figure 12: Current situation of Ngong Road Estate .....	38
Figure 13: Site Map of Old Ngara .....	39
Figure 14: Current Situation of Old Ngara .....	39
Figure 15: Site Map of New Ngara .....	39
Figure 16: Current Situation of New Ngara.....	39
Figure 17: Site Map of Pangani Estate .....	40
Figure 18: Current Situation of Pangani Estate .....	40
Figure 19: Site Map of Uhuru Estate .....	41
Figure 20: Current Situation of Uhuru Estate.....	41
Figure 21: Site Map of Suna Road Market .....	42
Figure 22: Current Situation of Suna Road Market .....	42
Table 1: Percentage Urban Population & Annual Urbanization Rate (1960-2017) .....	2
Table 2: Sub-Questions and Their Relevant Data Sources .....	21
Table 3: Current Housing Stock + Proposed Developments .....	43

## Abbreviations

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CMF	Community Managed Funds
CBO	Community Based Organisation
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Institute
NAMSIP	Nairobi Metropolitan Service Improvement Scheme
NCC	Nairobi City County
NUA	New Urban Agenda
NURP	Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project
PPP	Public Private Partnership
SDG'S	Sustainable Development Goals
TPS	Tenant Purchase Scheme
UN	United Nations
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlement Program



# 1. Introduction

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## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Background

Globally, the rate of urbanization has rapidly been increasing. The proportion of urban dwellers initially stood at 33.5% in 1960, and rose to 43% in 1990 (2.3 billion) but has dramatically risen to 54.3% (5 billion) in 2016 (UN-Habitat, 2016). Despite urbanization enhancing the prosperity of cities allowing them to become economically developed, the majority of cities are ill equipped to accommodate the vast growth of residents. The continuing increase of the world's urban populations means that on-going urban issues are becoming more and more pressing. These issues include increasing unemployment, environmental degradation, lack of urban services and infrastructure, lack of adequate and durable shelter. Alongside these persistent issues, newer trends have emerged: climate change and resilience; rising inequality and exclusion; and an increase in insecurity.

Africa too is a rapidly growing continent. With an urban growth rate 11 times that of Europe, the number of urban dwellers is projected to surpass the 50% point around 2035. Data from 2015 showed a current urban population of 471 million, however this is expected to reach 133 billion in 2050 (UN-Habitat, 2015). This can be attributed to: natural increase of the population; rural-urban migration as younger populations migrate to the city to seek employment and better living standards; a consequence of conflict and disaster events. Most rural-urban migrants move towards the capital city. This is because many African countries still operate in a system whereby the capital is considered most dominant in the national political economy (UN-Habitat, 2015), whilst other cities in the same country are of much smaller size and influence. This vast population growth increases the demand for housing and services. The current housing stock however is highly inadequate and paves way for the formation of informal settlements. Currently the percentage of urban slum dwellers in sub-Saharan Africa stands at 59% of the total urban population. It is estimated that the number slum dwellers in Africa will exceed 1.2 billion by 2050 (UN-Habitat, 2015).

Other urban issues that arise as a consequence of urbanization such as: water shortages; poor sanitation and solid waste management; and failing infrastructure, pose an even greater challenge in Africa as African cities are amongst the poorest in the world. Therefore these cities do not possess enough resources and capacity to provide quality infrastructure and services for their growing populations. This issue is hampered even further by the linkages between the political and business elites as well as urban planning

aimed at serving these elites, thereby turning a blind eye to provisioning affordable urban utilities to those who need it the most.

When looking at the region of East Africa, it is the least urbanized area in the world, yet is currently the most rapidly urbanizing region (UN-Habitat, 2014). The main urban challenges East African cities will face are pressure on basic services and infrastructure, housing shortages, traffic congestion, pollution and sprawl. Kenya is no exception to this problem and has an annual urbanization rate of 4.34% (UN-Habitat, 2015).

Zooming in further there is the case of Nairobi, which is the capital of Kenya. Nairobi city is considered the most important business and residential city in East Africa (The World Bank, 2012). Despite of that, inner-city problems are an obstacle for future economic growth. These problems are the limited infrastructure (mobility), water systems, lack of ICT cabling, etc. (The World Bank, 2012). However, not only urban services and infrastructure are an issue. With a current population of 3.1 million (Ministry of State for Planning, 2009), future predictions claim the population in 2040 will be 5 times that of 2010 (UN-Habitat 2014). All in all, this urban population increase will put further stress on the already existing problem of housing shortages and inadequate urban services, and has already resulted in peri-urban sprawl and slumming of inner city neighbourhoods.

	1960	1979	2017
<b>Urban Population (% of total)</b>	7.36	16.75	25.56
<b>Urbanization Rate (%)</b>	5.78	8.13	4.26

Table 1: Percentage Urban Population & Annual Urbanization Rate (1960-2017) (UN, 2015)

According to UN-Habitat there is a dire need for planning reforms to deal with current urban challenges, but also to curb sprawl and the formation of slums (UN-Habitat, 2014). In the case of strong urbanization and a lack of resources to keep up with the influx of residents, current housing and infrastructure/services are becoming out-dated (UN-Habitat, 2014) This degeneration is due to the neglect and lack of proper maintenance of buildings in neighbourhoods and forms a major problem for the quality of life of its citizens. This degeneration however, offers spatial planning a chance to turn deteriorated neighbourhoods that have the potential for redevelopment, into newly appreciated residential areas. This renewal also addresses the issue of sprawl because there is an interest in urban centralization and inward growth.

Coming up in this grand debate is the New Urban Agenda (NUA), which is a global plan of action adopted by world leaders following Habitat III, the United Nation's Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development in Quito, Ecuador 2016. During the

conference, important urban challenges were discussed, in particular related to SDG 11 “Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable” (UN-Habitat, 2016, 2). One of the key pillars in the creation of sustainable cities is the inclusion of civil society and participation of citizens in the design of infrastructure, services and urban space.

### 1.1.2 The Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project

Seven old Nairobi County estates are expected to undergo renewal as part of the first phase in the Nairobi Metropolitan Services Improvement Project (NAMSIP). NAMSIP aims to improve the urban services and infrastructure in Nairobi, of which 1.5 million people working in residing in Nairobi will benefit from. These include improvements made to urban roads and public transport systems, solid waste collection, sewerage and wastewater treatment, amongst others. The plan is also dedicated to the management, monitoring, and evaluation of the improved urban fabric (Nairobi Planning Innovations, 2012). The NAMSIP project is funded by the World Bank at \$330 million (The World Bank, 2012).

The Urban Renewal Pilot Projects seek to not only upgrade services and infrastructure, but also alleviate the over densification in the old city county estates. Even though urban renewal typically refers to the regeneration of old spaces (further elaborated in the theoretical chapter), the project in Nairobi is set out to demolish the existing residential buildings in some estates, and replace them with high-rise units (Waitathu, 2013). Phase 2 of NAMSIP is the renewal of Eastlands, a populous region in Nairobi, which is currently run-down. The second phase aims to transform this region in not only a residential area, but also a business/commercial centre for job creation. The plan ultimately wants to create a self-sustaining neighbourhood for its residents, (Nairobi, 2016). By self-sustaining the project refers to job creation within the vicinity of the targeted estates, and the development of social services/infrastructure such as education and health facilities, playgrounds and community centres. Moreover, upon successful completion of the project, the Eastlands region, according to project developers, will likely surpass competing regions in the capital, such as Westlands, which is already referred to as a ‘mini city’. Before the commencement of Phase 2 however, seven Nairobi county estates were selected to serve as pilots. The estates that will begin to be renewed are Old and New Ngara, Pangani, Jevanjee Bachelor's, Uhuru Estate, Ngong Road Estate, and Suna Road Market. Currently the estates are characterised by run-down low-rise housing units, some of which have extensions built by local residents in order to accommodate the large number of residents. The buildings will be demolished after the modern high-rise units are built on the empty spaces of the estates. This is partly to ensure current residents are not displaced or their livelihoods disturbed (NCC, 2015).

The renewal of the old estates will take place within the climate of the New Urban Agenda (NUA). The NUA's call for adequate and sustainable housing includes the renewal of the world's urban city centres and presents a paradigm shift from central/local government planning towards inclusive development for prosperous cities. The goal is to not only create adequate housing, but also housing that is affordable and fits the needs of the target group, i.e. low-income residents. In trying to reach this goal, the project stipulates that all participating stakeholders must be fully cooperative in the planning and design stages of project, i.e. it should be a people-driven process whereby the end-users are involved in the mapping of their environment, to the design formulation of the intended development, thereby ensuring the project meets the real needs of the stakeholders. Hence stakeholders include the residents currently residing in the old estates.

### 1.1.3 Urban Master Plans in the African Context

“Nairobi has been the site of a glaring contradiction for more than a century. The inequalities and injustices of Nairobi are as dramatic as its spectacular skyline or its leaders' grand ambitions.” Garth Myers (2015, 329)

Watson (2014) claims that the new urban master plans formulated by national governments in African cities do not resonate with the reality on the ground in African Cities. Highly inspired by mega cities in Asia, these plans promise the development of smart eco-cities accompanied by skyscrapers, fly-overs, green public spaces, and free of pollution, whilst in actuality, African cities are characterized by uncontrolled traffic, and densely populated informal settlements whereby the majority of the population are low-income earners. Watson then states that the implementation of these new urban master plans will most likely have a devastating impact on these low-income groups through evictions and relocations (2014, p. 216). Watson questions why governments of these African cities continue to promote these plans. Acuto (2010) describes it as a way for governments to exert 'symbolic power' towards the rest of the world. Through positioning themselves as a 'world-class city' or at least promoting the quest to becoming one, they present themselves as a global competitor.

Either way, vulnerable populations are threatened by mass-evictions, under the justification of becoming part of the global elite. As Watson (2014) states:

‘The impact on poorer urban dwellers is felt most directly where new urban master plans and projects attempt comprehensive urban renewal to remake the city in the image of somewhere else considered “world class”.’ (p. 228)

One big critique of these new urban master plans intended for African cities, is that they have little or no citizen participation and therefore no local input on how citizens would like to see their own environment get developed. Obeng-Oboom (2015) believes that city restructuring, as outlined in the proposed master plans, is possible through inclusive planning (civil society groups and residents).

Whereas the new urban agenda aims at guiding governments formulate policies and strategies that allow for diversity in urban planning approaches and urban development depending on climate, culture and context. The Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project, operating within the NUA, already proposed the use of inclusive planning within its project (JICI, 2014). It is therefore important to understand the process of citizen participation, i.e. how and in what ways residents can design and plan their own living environment, and under which conditions this collaboration takes place.

## 1.2 Problem Statement & Relevancy Of Research

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After Kenya's independence, Nairobi experienced a large case of rural-urban migration with a population increase of 9.3% between 1962-1969 (Muraya, 2006). A top-down 'Development Plan' was set up by the government to relieve the housing crisis through clearing slums and reconstructing neglected buildings. Top-down refers to the planning of spatial environments at government level; this concept is further expounded in the theoretical framework. Muraya (2006) attains that these planning projects failed because they did not engage the community, as in Obeng-Oboom (2015). As a result, the buildings that were constructed neglected the needs of the target groups, followed poor building standards, and were of a high cost. The Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Projects will make use of citizen participation as a way of finding out what the community wants and needs in their new living environment. Muraya (2006) questions whether the same problems that occurred during top-down planning schemes, i.e. neglect of the needs of the target group poor standards, high costs, etc. will re-occur during a more citizen centred planning approach. In this case there then seems to be a knowledge gap on whether issues previously being associated with top-down urban renewal will persist in more contemporary planning, whereby the government acts as a partner and facilitator in the planning process.

Another pivotal discussion is the notion that citizen participation is context specific, influenced by the social, cultural, and political factors of a country. The current approach to citizen participation has primarily been shaped by the global North, and much like previous planning ideologies during colonial imperialism, transferred to the global south (Watson, 2009; 2014). However, citizen participation can reveal the real local climate, i.e. cultural, social and political context. Through community mobilization and civic awareness



programs, citizens will be better informed and equipped to engage in the planning of their own living environment.

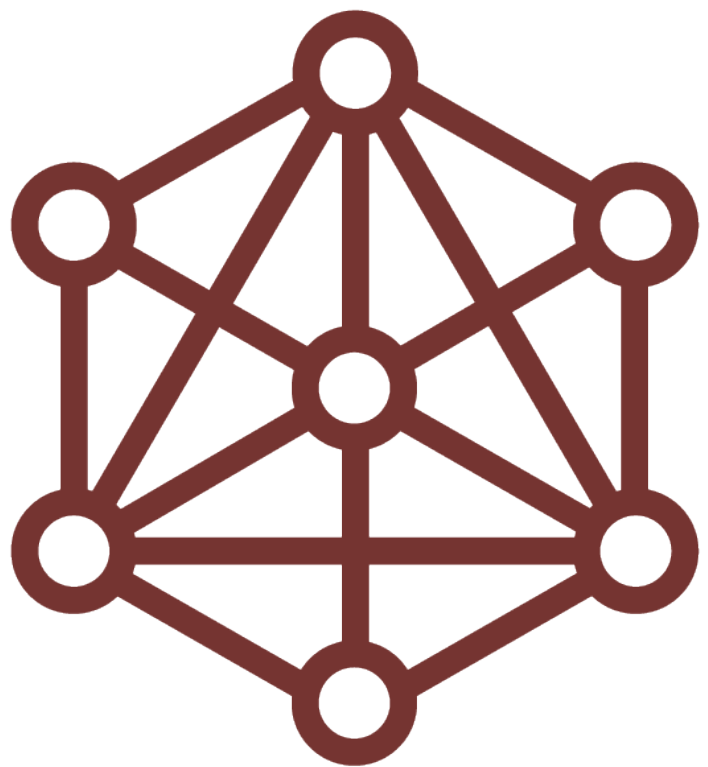
The aim of this dissertation therefore is to assess the process of citizen participation within the case of the 'Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Projects'. A topic of importance is citizen's interests versus the projects interests, what is viewed as important factors that need to be addressed and whether or not this correlates to what the project deems important.

The main question to be answered is how citizen participation is being carried out in the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot project, given the city's historical, social, cultural and political context. Through answering the main research question it can be deduced whether under this approach to citizen participation, the urban renewal scheme carries the same potential consequences as that of top-down renewal schemes or not. The main research question and sub-questions are further elaborated in the theoretical framework.

### 1.3 Dissertation Outline

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This dissertation is divided into 7 chapters. The first chapter outlines the research background and gives a brief overview of the problem statement. The second chapter deliberates the theoretical framework, which is that of top-down urban renewal, 'citizen participation', in particular 'citizen participation in "hostile" environments'. Chapter three discusses the data collection strategies, and any complications that were encountered. The fourth chapter relays the analysis of the results, and subsequently chapter five explores the results in relation to the theories used in the theoretical framework, and how the study's findings could contribute to the upcoming phase 2 of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Plan. Chapter 6 includes the conclusion to the dissertation, followed by a reflection on the research.



## **2. Theoretical Framework**

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## 2. Theoretical Framework

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### 2.1 Operationalization of Concepts

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#### 2.1.1 Urban Renewal

Urban renewal, also referred to as urban regeneration, describes the process of redeveloping the urban fabric. It addresses a range of urban problems such as inadequate infrastructure and services, and ageing and decaying buildings (Zheng, Shen, Wang, 2014). The decline of a city is considered a consequence of its growth (Juan, Roper, Castro-Lacoutre, Ha Kim, 2010). An increase in urban population leads to housing shortages and overcrowding, which easily leads to the formation of informal settlements. This paired with a lack of resources (financial, organizational) for maintenance is the main causes for areas in cities to turn into slums (Or, 2014). This slumming process also brings other social problems such as a high crime and unemployment rate (Or, 2014).

The process of renewal can unfold in two ways, first being the refurbishing and renovation of deteriorated buildings and housing. However the second most typical form of renewal is the demolition of buildings, which are then replaced by newly constructed ones (Power, 2008). Alongside this process, the residing population is often temporarily relocated which may have a short-term effect on their livelihood. Hence according to Power (2008), demolition has often been met with hostility from the residing residents. Power also states that demolition is socially disruptive, as it disrupts social networks within a community and tears down social infrastructure. The relocation of existing residents also reduces the housing capacity since the demolition and rebuilding process is timely, yet demand for housing keeps growing.

The process of urban renewal, according to Clark and Wise (2018), is approached and understood differently in various countries. There is a great disparity between the needs and desires of different stakeholders when it comes to renewing the urban fabric. Clark and Wise therefore advocate for a participatory approach to urban renewal:

The existence of such differences reinforces the lesson that there cannot be a one-size-fits-all model for, or understanding of, approaches to urban renewal: the importance of bottom-up, participatory urban management, which benefits local people, as opposed to top-down policies cannot be overstated.' (2018, p. 241)

### 2.1.2 Urban Renewal Themes versus Reality On The Ground

As explained earlier, Watson (2014) argues that newly formulated urban master plans do not resonate with the African reality, and addresses themes such as skyscrapers, intricate mobility infrastructure such as fly-overs, green public spaces, smart-living etc. African cities however have dire need for sustainable planning resonating with the actuality.

Chan and Lee (2008) developed the following concepts, which in this dissertation have been selected as being factors of interest for both citizens and project developers that need to be addressed within urban renewal schemes. Chan and Lee (2008) consider these essential for improving social sustainability in urban renewal projects, and were important discussion points while gathering data for this dissertation. They furthermore give insight on whether citizens' interests differ from the perspective/interests of the project developers of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project.

#### *Social Services/social infrastructure:*

The provision of decent affordable housing is not sufficient to ensure a better quality of life for citizens. Basic amenities such as schools and hospitals are vital to a community (Chan, Lee, 2008). Other amenities such as sports or leisure facilities ensure for a better and more pleasant living environment. Proper infrastructure needs to be put in place for vulnerable groups, for example ramps for the disabled and elderly, and social playgrounds for children. According to Chan and Lee (2008), the creation of public green space offers a space for social gathering, and acts as a buffer zone in built up areas. The slumming of the old Nairobi city county estates resulted in a gradual degradation of many amenities. Schools are still in place, but are of subpar standards. Other public facilities for leisure and social interaction are lacking. In addition, the construction of informal housing extensions in the estates left little to no room for open green spaces.

#### *Accessibility:*

The ability to move freely and easily by all members of a society is of great benefit to their well being. Thus having proper access to various facilities and amenities, regardless of someone's age or physical condition is of great importance (Chan, Lee, 2008). Or as Power (2008) explains, ' Location and proximity are increasingly important for access to employment and services and to reduce environmental impact' (p. 4490). Nairobi has battled with poor quality roads and traffic congestion, especially in densely populated areas.

#### *Job Availability*

The availability of jobs is one of the drivers for rural-urban migration (Byerlee, 1974). Chan and Lee (2008) state that besides providing individuals with an income, jobs also offer individuals a place for social interaction, which according to them are key components for

social-well being for citizens. When there is an increase in employment, other social problems such as poverty, crime, and social exclusion also decrease (Chan, Lee, 2008). Nairobi has been dealing with a rising rate of rural-urban migration whilst the current national unemployment rate is at 17.4% (The World Bank, 2016). The construction of office space, and commercial centres in/near the estates undergoing renewal will create jobs. However a question that might arise is whether the residents will directly benefit from the new business/commercial complexes being built, or whether jobs will be passed on to workers living outside the region. A higher employment rate, as mentioned earlier might alleviate other social problems the community is facing.

### *Ownership*

A fourth concept, which did not appear in Chan and Lee's classification, but still is of outmost relevance to this research is that of Ownership which refers to being a legal owner and possessing a title deed to the concerning property. Studies show that urban renewal is often paired with the displacement and eviction of local inhabitants, either during the process of renewal or after, i.e. due to gentrification (Weinstein & Ren, 2009) (Power, 2008). It therefore has an impact on both homeowners and public housing tenants. According to Weinstein and Ren, ownership structures are also subjected to change, as land is being privatized or 'leased to private developers for redevelopment' (2009, 408). In the case of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Projects, project developers ensured the inhabitants would not be displaced, since renewal will begin on open spaces of land. However, certain questions still arise when it comes to verifying original home owners, for example in the case where dependants took over a dwelling upon the passing of the original owner, however a transfer of the title deed was not issued, or in the case where tenants are subletting. Another critical question is what will become of the occupants of the illegal extensions that had been built.

### **2.1.3 Top-Down Planning**

State-based planning refers to planning from a hierarchical perspective, i.e. whereby planning is centralized by the state, neglecting the perspective of other stakeholders. Its roots lie in the Rational-Systemic approach to planning (Rojas-Caldelas, Ranfla-González, Peña-Salmón, Leyva-Camacho, Corona-Zambrano, 2015) that gained prominence in the 60's and 70's. In simple terms, the rational-systems school of planning indicates that the implemented policies that are state-developed result in a 'rational' outcome, i.e. based on scientific and objective methods (Allmendinger, 2009). The systems approach aims to get an understanding of society by viewing it as a system, and that it is made up 'of different but related components' (2009, p. 52). These complex systems are then converted into models on which plans are based. Rational planning believes that planning should be done in a rational and objective manner, i.e. finding the most efficient and logical way to reach

an end goal. This process was executed at state level, whereby the planner was seen as the 'helmsman steering the city' (2009, p. 59). The idea of the planner being in full control was heavily critiqued by Faludi (1985), who stated that these planners ignored the complexities of society and conflicting objectives of all the stakeholders involved. The 'master-planner' promoted this grand idea that everything has its rightful place, except that it was far from user-friendly urban development.

### *Top-down Urban Renewal in Nairobi*

The shortage of housing in Nairobi stems from failed housing strategies implemented before and after Kenya's independence in 1963, this is further elaborated during the upcoming literature review. After independence, the new government announced the 1964-1970 Development Plan, which was top-down in nature, and intended to tackle the shortage of low-income housing. Muraya (2006) states that upon reviewing top-down renewal schemes, it was discovered that the plan did not overcome the housing crisis.

Furthermore the scheme did not do well in terms of cost-recovery, as the units were too expensive, and a luxury that residents at the time were unable to afford. This led to the displacement of the target group, whose needs were evidently not met. The 1987 Urban Renewal Program for example wanted to address the housing shortage Nairobi was facing, by redeveloping low-income housing. Just like the current renewal scheme, the then program wanted to build high-rise apartments. After careful assessment, the 1987 program did not help alleviate the housing shortage due to several factors, one of them being rapid population growth as a consequence of natural increase and rural to urban migration. Again, affordability was a major issue, and there was a lack of funds to successfully complete the project. Lastly, poor governance and lack of proper management of the program meant the duration of the program exceeded the initial timetable. The government of Kenya issued solutions to the problems experienced with top-down renewal schemes in their National Development Plan 1977-2001 (Muraya, 2006), one of which is the inclusion of citizens in the planning of future urban renewal projects.

#### **2.1.4 Citizen Participation**

In its basic form, citizen participation is defined as enabling citizens with the opportunity to exercise influence in planning and design, and decision-making (Moser, 1989), i.e. it permits people who have previously been excluded from any planning processes to take part in discussions about future developments related urban development/renewal. The term citizen participation arose when top-down urban renewal schemes post World War Two proved to be unsuccessful in creating social improvement. The process of

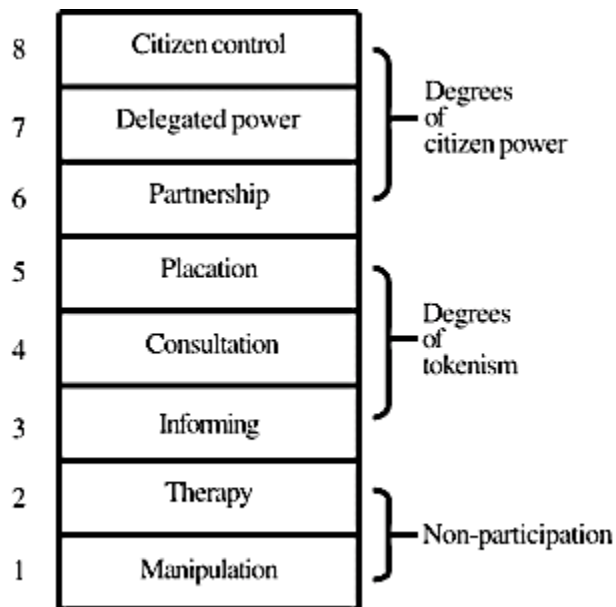
participation started off with western democracies providing citizens with a seat at the table during planning processes (Maier, 2001). Fagotta and Fung (2006) attest that civic engagement within planning began to increase after policies were implemented in the United States in the 60's and 70's, which were intended to foster community participation in neighbourhood planning. Citizen participation therefore sprung up in a climate of rising participatory democracy and bureaucratic transparency (Docherty, Goodlad & Paddison, 2001). However, critics find that the states uses participation to 'off-load public responsibilities' and 'impose social control'. According to Allmedinger (2009) citizen participation is used as a tool from the top (bureaucrats and politicians), to steer planning in their favoured outcome. Silver, Scott and Kazepov (2010) reiterate this sentiment by stating that citizen participation initiated from top-down has a more controlling aspect as compared to participation initiated from bottom up:

'Government or elite efforts to elicit citizen participation are thinly veiled attempts at securing legitimacy for and cooperation with policies already adopted that favour capitalist growth.' P. 454

They further state that citizen participation is then used to manage and control communities, and different forms of participation such as public consultation meetings, only target certain community groups, or community based organizations comprising of the same interests, and that community representatives who have a mediating role between governmental institutions and the residents often times do so with their own interests in mind.

The level in which participation can take place however varies in different degrees. Arnstein (1969) therefore states that citizen participation is an issue about power and empowerment. Moser (1989) wrote that participation is both an end, and a means. It's an end in the sense that it gives people a voice, which is a necessary and empowering step since they it will affect their lives in a profound way, and should have the right to participate in the various stages of the project. Participation becomes a means when it is used to improve projects. When citizens, especially those who benefit from projects, participate and share their knowledge and skills, projects outcomes will be enhanced (Watson, 2014, p. 64).

Referring back to Arnstein's contribution to this debate, her 'ladder of participation' is probably the best-known attempt to categorize different levels of citizen involvement in urban development projects. The ladder consists of 8 levels, classified in 3 ranks, Non-participation, degrees of tokenism, and degrees of citizen power.



The ladder of citizens' participation in planning has often been seen as a useful guide for determining to what degree citizens are engaged in the planning process however it lacked universality and Arnstein herself admitted that meaningful participation is influenced by social, political, and psychological factors (Swapan, 2016, p.71).

Figure 1: Arnstein's Participation Ladder

Source: Arnstein (1969, p. 217)

Choguill (1996) criticized Arnstein's participatory model, and stated that using the model in developing countries leads to debatable results. To start of, Choguill attests that many developing countries experience rapid growth, leading to a situation whereby public and private sectors are unable to provide basic services/ infrastructure and housing to the entire population. Whereas Arnstein's ladder took on participation from a citizen's activist perspective (Bishop & Davis, 2002), Choquguill made a modified version of the ladder stipulating a government's willingness in including participation within community development projects (Swapan, 2016).

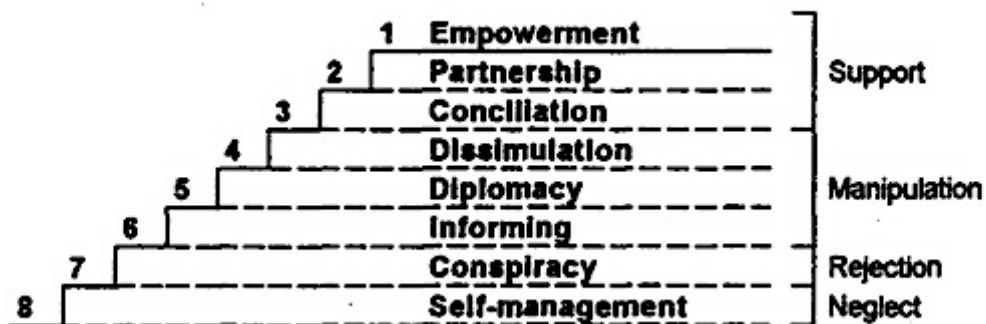


Figure 2: Choquill's Participation Ladder

Source: Choguill, 1996, p. 442

The bottom component, self-management or self-help is, unlike Arnstein's bottom level, not seen as non-participation. With self-management, as well as the top level,



empowerment, basic needs can be achieved without support from the government (Choguill, 1996). Self-management means the process of a community organizing themselves, and providing themselves with basic needs that other institutions failed to provide them with. This for example is the case of the old city county estates, where overcrowding in estates led to a large number of residents being accommodated in illegal housing extensions being built by local residents. This issue translates further to informal water management and vending systems to supply families and individuals with water, and both legal and illegal connections to the energy main grid. In other words, informal service provisions step in where the formal market fails to provide.

Shand and Arnberg (1996) attempted to create a participatory ladder of their own, from the perspective of the government, i.e. different levels in which government officials can involve the public in government programs. First level being *information*, which merely conveys or educates the public on policies and offers little participation as the flow of information is only one way. The next level is *consultation*, where the public can provide valuable input for policy development however decision-making remains in the hands of the government. After consultation comes *partnership*, which offers joint-decision-making, and is usually collaboration between the government and a continuous advisory board made up of community representatives. At the point of *delegation*, control is handed over to a community committee, however they still operate within an operational framework set up by the government. Lastly, *control* equates to the public making the decisions, for example through a referendum.

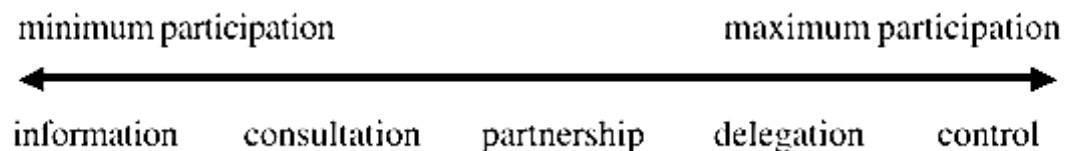


Figure 3: Shand & Arnberg's Participation Scale

Source: Shand and Arnberg (1996, p.21)

The use of participatory rankings however has received criticism from Bishop and Davis (2002), who argue that a ranking of participation presents a continuum, whilst they feel that participation is discontinuous in nature and therefore the level of participation is dependable on the issue at hand:

'Participation is shaped by the policy problem at hand, the techniques and resources available and, ultimately, a political judgment about the importance of the issue and the need for public involvement. Participation arrangements tend to be local and ad hoc, and any realistic categorization will reflect diverse and unrelated practices.' (2002, p.21).

Nonetheless, there are different models for participation within planning, each offering different modes of participation. They also, as suggested by Cornwall (2008, p. 270) 'carry with them implicit normative assumptions which place these forms of participation along an axis of good or bad'. With maximum level of participation being the desired goal, whilst low levels of participation suggest the government is trying to restrict participation. This however only brings into view the governments willingness to adopt participation. Swapan then argues:

'There is, therefore, a tendency to ignore potential impacts on the participation spectrum associated with the attitude of the community, which is very much contextual and has remained unexplored. From a good governance perspective, it can be ascertained that these models do not take into account the significance of institutional credibility affecting citizens' attitude towards participation.' (2016, p. 71).

Arnstein and Choguill's participatory models don't take into account the political instability developing countries face, either currently or at some point during or after colonization. Therefore the application of such models in planning, and more importantly the effectiveness is limited. In addition, participation is usually measured based on to what extent a government is inclined to include it in their system of planning, but often times fails to rate participation based on citizen's willingness to participate with the state. Which then leads to the concept of participation in 'hostile' environments.

### *Citizen Participation in 'Hostile' Environments*

Developing countries have seen a shift from top-down planning, to participation in planning from the late 90s heading into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In Kenya for example, the government issued the National Development Plan 1997–2001, which encouraged Community Based Organisations (CBO's) to assist in the planning of long-term shelter upgrades.

Silver, Scott and Kazapov (2010, p. 462) find that there has been 'little interest in language, culture, or the social, spatial and physical contexts in which deliberation takes place.' Connelly (2010, p. 333) reinforces this sentiment by stating that 'although public participation can have progressive results, its ability to realize this potential is strongly influenced by the social, policy and political context in which participation takes place. Since its inception, citizen participation within planning has had its roots in North and Western countries with advanced economies, whereby the involvement of the public in

areas such as sustainable development and democratic governance became increasingly important (Watson, 2014, p. 62).

Citizen participation was then exported to developing countries in the south through agencies such as The United Nations (UN), and the World Bank (Williams, 2004). The UN advocated for Agenda 21, a non-binding sustainable development action plan urging governments to adopt an enabling approach to the housing shortage faced by most developing countries. However, Rosenberg (2006) claims that developing countries experience a different view on the relationship between the state and society as a consequence of the political trajectories, and interactional experiences these countries underwent during the post-colonial period. The main question then becomes, what has participation been like in the global south under such an environment? Gaventa (2006) argues that the process of participation in developing countries is not always a smooth process and is often unfamiliar terrain for both the government and the citizens. A point, which is reinforced by Walker and Shannon (2011) who state that there is a 'lack of competence in such uncharted territories' (Walker and Shannon, 2011, p. ii64). For example, the overthrowing of authoritarian regimes in African nations, such as the Daniel Arap Moi dictatorial regime in Kenya, paved way to a multi-party system, however true democracy was missing as explained by Watson (2016):

'...historically determined social and political conditions permitted the emergence of a dominant group able to exclude major elements of civil society and allow the resurfacing of corruption, nepotism and 'spoils politics.' (2016, p. 37).

Tensions between state and society, as mentioned earlier, have also influenced citizen's perception of participation, and issues such as distrust towards governmental bodies hinders efficient participation. From the state's perspective, as a result of corruptive practices, governments only encourage participation for their own benefit, and according to Kickert, Kleijn, en Koppenjan (1995) can be identified as an 'instrumental approach to participation, i.e. a somewhat manipulative steering approach with selected actors. These selected actors could be politicians or civil servants.

Cornwall & Coelho (2007) say this 'hostility' often stems from bad experiences from the citizens perspective when dealing with government projects. Not only do the social, political and cultural contexts differ in developing countries, 'the mass poverty, rapid urbanization and informalization, and inadequacy of service provision' in these countries make western planning practices i.e. citizen participation in such environments rather difficult (Watson, 2009). Instead of directly adopting citizen participation into planning projects, Williams (2004) suggests a need for 'situated analysis', examining the social and institutional context of a country, and working on citizen participation techniques that best suit the given situation. Or as framed by Watson (2014) that there is a need for:

‘...planning ideas more attuned to those parts of the world where urban areas feel the pressures of rapid urbanization under conditions of poverty, unemployment, poor infrastructure, unstable political conditions and weak public institutions’. (p. 62)

The situated analysis entails the observing, understanding and mapping the local context, and its main aspects ranging from the socio-cultural-context to the political, economical and institutional climate, in particular the tensions between the various local ethnic groups both at the community level and the local political and decision-making.

The question then becomes how citizen participation can be shaped within a ‘hostile’ environment. On the basis of the ‘situated analysis’, possible scenarios can be developed to initiate, enhance, and support the participatory process through a combination of (outlined below but further elaborated in chapter 5). The following also includes some possibilities for participation in developing countries according to literature:

1. More advocacy at the decision-making level for academia, international and local organizations, and development banks such as World Bank, who can act as mediators and facilitators between the government and participation citizens.
2. Civic education on human rights, in women’s groups; church groups; youth groups, labour groups; schools at the primary, secondary and tertiary cycle of education, to optimize citizen engagement in projects.
3. Adopt wide-scale media services for dissemination of information to encourage participation. Media services also act as a platform for citizens to express their concerns on urban developments (Chado & Johar, 2016). Chado and Johar claim media acts as a motivator for participations since it allows them to speak freely on issues that affect them. Such a public platform can also garner greater public support.
4. Guarantee and assurance, which aims to ensure citizen concerns are not only collected but also taken serious and incorporated into actual planning designs. Opinions should be recognized and complaints need to be resolved in public dialogue discussions. This increases the likelihood of more people participating in future projects (Chado & Johar, 2016)

5. Adopting participatory urban micro planning (small-scale neighbourhoods planning rather than large-scale regional planning) combined with community development sessions that focus on visioning with children, youth and adults. This entails design-thinking sessions (inspiration, ideation and implementation) and therefore facilitating local community groups to participate in the thinking, designing and making of their own environment. This then creates turns participation in a '*partnership*' rather than the '*informing*' or '*consultation*' step of the ladder.
6. Involving citizens in various forms of mapping, such as manual city and neighbourhood mapping, GIS-based mapping, to create neighbourhood scenario design through virtual design applications. This allows participants develop practical solutions and translate these designs to the actual on-the-ground situation, and addresses the gap between what Watson refers to as 'urban master plans' versus realities on the ground.
7. Possibly moving from participation to co-production. Society can mobilize themselves and form 'city development committees' (Watson, 2014) that follow all the steps of the planning process including the ones outlined above, starting from baseline assessments, moving on to visioning and design, and onto execution and management. This form of city development is carried out by members of the public, but in consultation with the government and universities for financial and technical assistance. The role the government would have is providing land and tenure rights, as well as developing larger infrastructure (bigger scale development such as roads).

## 2.2 Research Objective & Research Questions

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Since Williams (2004) expressed a need for ‘situated analysis’, the research objective of this dissertation is to analyse the historical planning context of Nairobi City, as well as the political, social and cultural climate in which citizen participation within the Urban Renewal Process is taking place. Furthermore, the opinions and concerns of citizen on the project’s intentions and their participatory role within the given context will also be analysed to deduce whether the use of citizen participation is able to overcome the problems associated with top-down planning. The research question then becomes:

*How does Nairobi’s context (historically, socio-culturally, and politically) shape the participatory process in the current Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project?*

Sub-questions:

- How have the previous urban planning policies and development schemes influenced the current housing crisis in Nairobi and what implications did past top-down renewal schemes have
- What urban priorities do participants in the NURP have?
- How does citizen participation within the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project compare to the top-down strategies in previous urban renewal schemes in Nairobi?

Based on findings, this dissertation will come up with some recommendations on how to facilitate and sustain the participative urban process in a local hostile (political, business, and decision-making) environment.



## 3. Methodology

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### 3. Methodology

This chapter outlines the methods used to conduct the research in this dissertation. The chapter is divided in the following sections: first the research design and data collection methods will be elaborated; followed by data analysis and conceptual framework for analysis; and lastly the chapter will deal with validity and reliability.

#### 3.2 Research Design

The research carried out in this dissertation is qualitative of nature. Kothari (2004) states that ‘qualitative approach to research is concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behaviour’ (2004, 5). This means that the data that was gathered is not statistical, instead it explored people’s knowledge or opinion on a given topic (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), for example people’s opinions on their role within the project, or their interests fit within the urban renewal themes that are being addressed in the ‘Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project’.

Furthermore, the dissertation makes use of a case study, which provided context-dependent knowledge (Golofshani, 2003), and through the use of multiple data sources different viewpoints were recorded (Tellis, 1997). Different types of case studies were identified. This dissertation will essentially be an *intrinsic case study*, which simply indicates that the researcher had an interest in the case (Tellis, 1997; Yin, 1994). The exploration is therefore driven by an eagerness to learn more about a topic or case. In relation to this dissertation, the interest was to understand the process of citizen participation in the ‘Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project’, within a development climate shaped by the historical, political, and socio-cultural context.



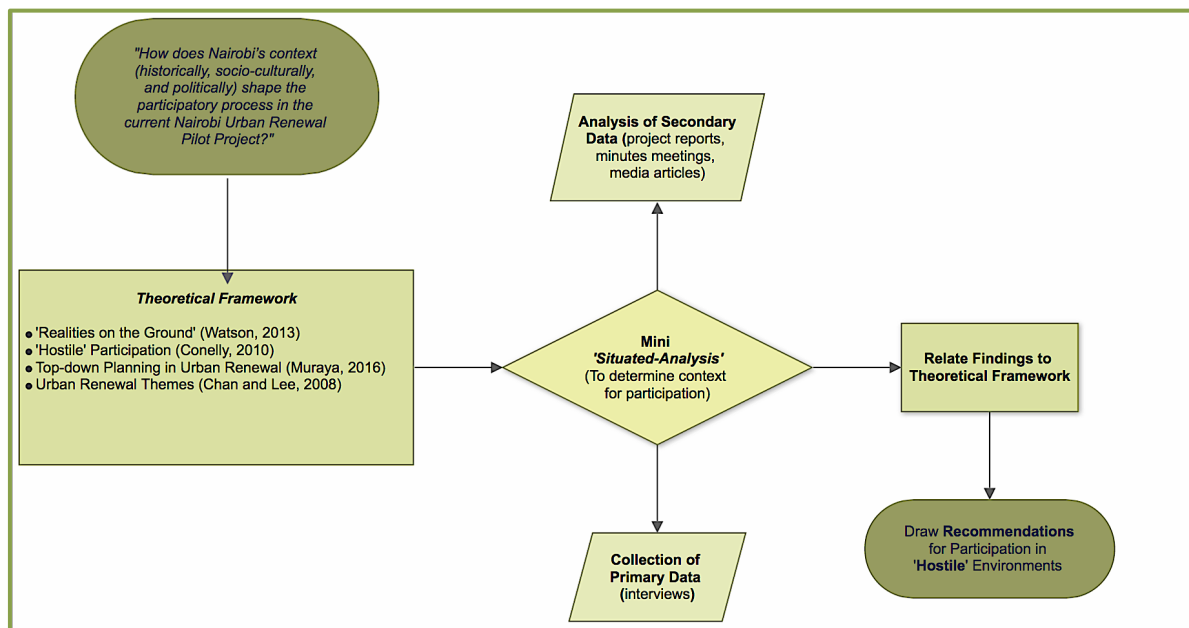


Figure 4: Flow-Chart of Research Design

### 3.3 Data Collection Methods

As for the data collected, the dissertation makes use of primary and secondary data. Primary data is original data that has been collected by the researcher him/herself (Hox and Boeije, 2015). They also state that within qualitative research, primary data will typically be gathered through in-depth interviews with a relatively small sample. Secondary data on the other hand refers to the use of already existing data gathered by other researchers (Hox and Boeije, 2005), for example documents such as publications and archival records.

The primary data collection method in this dissertation was the conduction of 20 semi-structured interviews with the target group (current tenants of the estates undergoing renewal and prospective tenants), and 1 interview with a NCC employee who is one of the project developers. The semi-structured interviews consisted of pre-planned questions, with follow-up questions. The course of the interview and choice of follow-up questions varied, and depended on the response given by the interviewee, as some interviewees were more elaborate in their responses, while others gave short answers with little insightful information.

For the interview with citizens, interviews were randomly selected during field visitations at 6 of the 7 estates. The interviews initially were supposed to be recorded, after reconsideration, answers to the questions were only noted down on paper and interview results were treated anonymously. The reasons for this change of approach are touched upon in the limitations of research section.

Furthermore, the primary data collection was supposed to include multiple interviews with project developers. Due to unforeseen circumstances only one interview was held with a NCC employee actively engaged within the project. There was a lot of difficulty in making appointments, as emails and follow-up text messages went unanswered. Interviewees would furthermore turn up hours later or cancel meetings. I was referred to two additional consultants in the project, however this did not yield any results as they were away for fieldwork during the time I was gathering data. This too is elaborated further in limitations section. To enrich the data obtained through interviews, I opted for secondary data collection, i.e. desktop research. One thing I had to be aware of was biased selectivity, which means the search for specific documents that support my train of thought whilst omitting others that might give contradicting information. Therefore multiple valid document sources were analysed. These include project documents, and public consultation minutes made by the NCC, as well as news articles on the project.

Another important use of a document study was to verify information given from interviews (Tellis, 1997; Yin 1994), for example did it corroborate the answers given by the NCC employee. Documents that went under review were policy documents, project plan reports, and other publications such as newspaper and online media articles. The document study also helped explore how the urban renewal themes defined in the theoretical framework are dealt with in the project.

Research Sub-Question	Theoretical Link	Data source
1. How have the previous urban planning policies and development schemes influenced the current housing crisis in Nairobi and what implications did past top-down renewal schemes have?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Citizen participation in 'hostile' environments. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Connelly (2010)</li> <li>○ Cornwall &amp; Coelho (2007)</li> <li>○ Watson (2014)</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Failed top-down policies in Urban Renewal. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Muraya (2006)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policy documents</li> <li>• Secondary literature on historical planning context</li> <li>• Secondary literature on past urban renewal schemes in Nairobi</li> </ul>
3. What urban priorities do participants in the NURP have?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Urban Renewal Themes. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Chan and Lee (2008)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interviews with current tenants in 6 estates</li> <li>• Newspaper and online media articles</li> <li>• Stock of minutes of public meetings</li> </ul>
4. How does citizen participation within the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project compare to the top-down strategies in previous urban renewal schemes in Nairobi?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Failed top-down policies in Urban Renewal. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Muraya (2006)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interview with NCC employee</li> <li>• Official Project Proposal</li> <li>• Newspaper and online media articles</li> </ul>

**Table 2: Sub-Questions and Their Relevant Data Sources**

### 3.4 Data Analysis

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After the data was collected, it needed to be classified into usable categories (Kothari, 2004). The processing of data refers to the editing, coding and classification of data so that is workable during analysis. Firstly, the interview were field edited which consisted of reviewing and rewriting what has been recorded/noted (Kothari, 2004). This was the case in some interviews where there wasn't enough time to note everything that was said, instead catchwords were jotted down, and further expounded on after the interview when I would reflect on the answers with the interviewee. This initial analysis of data allows for further insights that could be questioned during follow up data collection. This back and forth is an on-going process referred to as iterative data collection (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2013).

After field editing, the data was coded. Coding is the processing and organizing of data through labelling. This allows for easy linking and interpretation of the data, but also highlights the iterative relationship between data and the theoretical framework, as it becomes evident that theories used emerge from the data but also provides a framework for analysis (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2013). Firstly a pre-set list of codes was formulated based on the theoretical framework, and attached to the data. However, whilst scanning through the data, a list of emergent codes that differ from the pre-set codes became apparent. After the initial coding, the codes were assembled into suiting themes, and the coded aspects were then compared (see figure 4). The analysis of documents will follow a similar path of coding the content, and assimilate the coded aspects into themes.

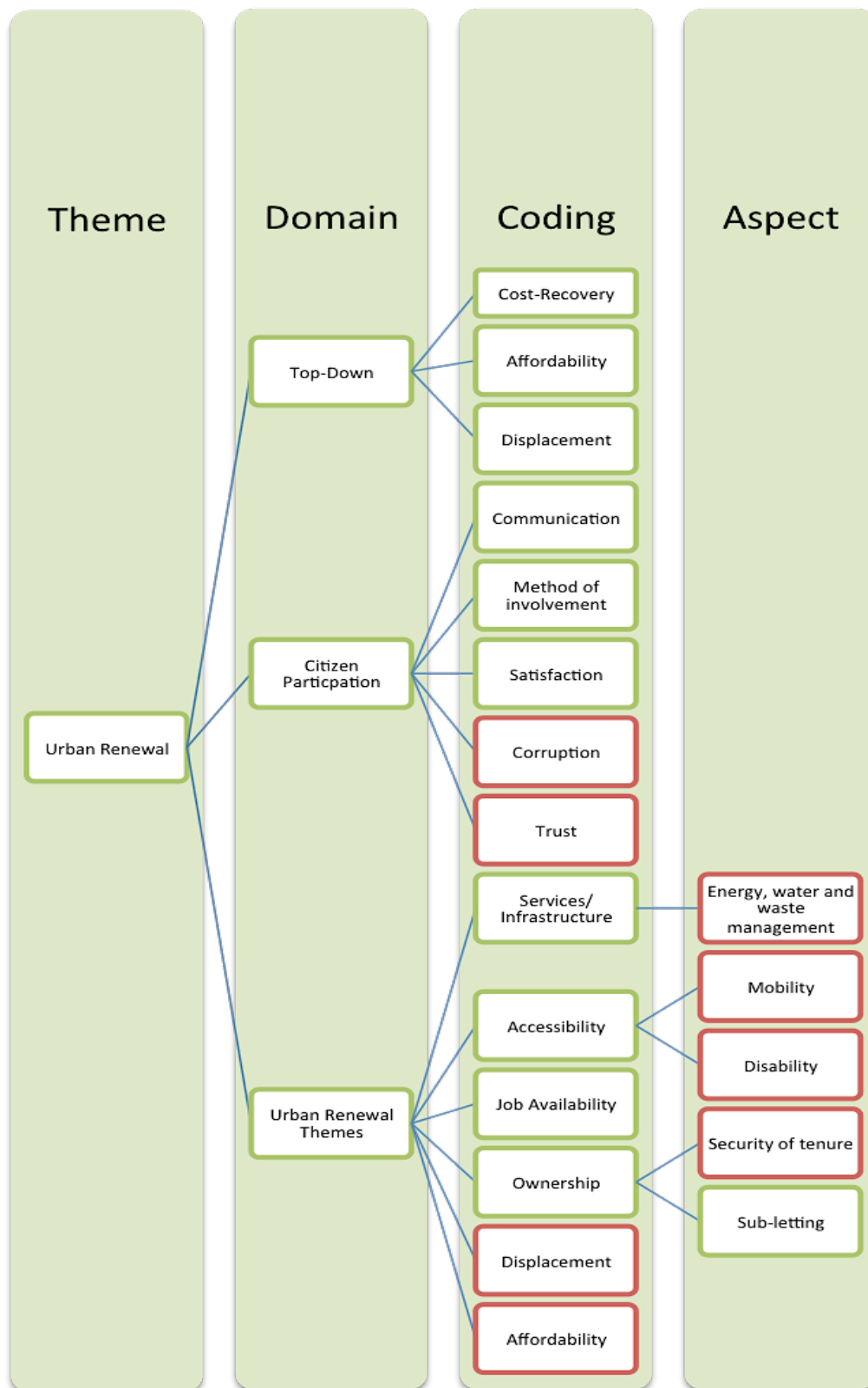


Figure 5: Conceptual Framework for Analysis

The initial codes were emergent from the following:



- Top-down: the codes '*cost-recovery*', '*affordability*' and '*eviction*' were drawn from Muraya (2006) where she outlined the reasons as to why top-down urban renewal schemes had failed in Nairobi, and since Muraya suggested citizen participation as a way of overcoming those shortcomings, they were chosen as means of comparison with the NURP.
- Citizen Participation: '*communication*' (method of communication and frequency), '*method of involvement*' (methods including meetings, workshops, etc., as well as their role), and '*satisfaction*' (satisfaction with their involvement in the project), were formulated as part of the interview guides, as well as when analysing secondary data. After the data was collected the following emergent codes were formulated: '*corruption*' and '*trust*' which during research became important factors influencing the way the local government has adopted citizen participation within the NURP, but also how it influences citizen's attitudes towards participation.
- Urban Renewal: '*services & infrastructure*', '*accessibility*', and '*job availability*' were codes formulated from Chan and Lee's (2008) classification of topics of importance during urban renewal, while '*ownership*' was added since it's linked with evictions during urban renewal. During research, it was determined there were two aspects to '*ownership*', the importance of '*security of tenure*', and the problem of '*sub-letting*', whilst emerging aspects under '*accessibility*' included mobility accessibility (roads and mobility infrastructure), and '*disability*' accessibility. Under '*services and infrastructure*' many aspects emerged, however the scheme only limits it to '*energy, water and waste management*', as other aspects such as '*street lighting*', or '*playgrounds*' had little concern from citizens during this particular research.

### 3.5 Validity Strategies

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Validity has become an integral part of qualitative research from an ethical standpoint. The validation of research refers to research that is credible and trustworthy (Johnson, 1997). Various methods and strategies can be adopted to ensure the validity of one's work. Creswell (2003) identified 8 strategies, some of these are: prolonged time in the field, triangulation, peer review, member checking, thick description, etc. Creswell (2003) recommends that any researchers should adopt at least two of these methods in their research, which is the case for this particular study.

Amongst the various available strategies, this dissertation made use of triangulation of data and member checking. The first is triangulation, which arose due to the ethical need to verify the credibility of data (Yin, 1994). Patton argues that triangulation reinforces a study by combining different methods or data (as cited in Golafshani, 2003). Triangulation

of data indicates the use of different sources of information to reveal multiple perspectives on a topic (Golafshani, 2003). In the case of this particular research, multiple sources came from different informants and documentation. Informants included personal interviews with 20 citizens from 6 of the 7 estates as well as 2 interviews with NCC personnel within the department of Housing. In terms of secondary data, several documents and news articles were analysed. Documents included the NAMSIP project document, which was a collaboration between the NCC and the Japan International Cooperation Institute (JICA), several internal reports by the NCC of the aims and execution of the NURP including a detailed compilation of minutes made during public meetings with various media houses. Other sources of documentation include multiple news and media articles reporting on NURP that contain views of the public. Through triangulation, of various positions, perceptions and opinions on a specific matter, a certain level of credibility of the research can be attained.

The second strategy to be adopted is that of member checking, which involves feedback from informants on the data, and the analysis of the information given during interviews to determine the 'accuracy' of the data (Johnson, 1997). Through member checking, the researcher is able to crosscheck the answers 'from the perspective of members "natives" to the situation under study' (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2013). At the end of the interviews, I summarized the statements made by the informant during the interview, to counter check with them and ensure correct data is used for analysis.

### 3.6 Scope And Limitations Of The Study

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As much as this research employed validity strategies to ensure credible research, there were some limitations to the research design as well as methodological aspect of the research, which could have influenced results. These limitations are highlighted in the following sections.

#### *Practical Limitations To The Study*

Despite the overall outcome of the study, there were some practical limitations that may have affected the quality of the results, which were briefly discussed in the methodological chapter but will be elaborated further in the following section. The first shortcoming was the time limit of the data collection phase, which was initially set at a period of 2 months, then shortened to a period of 1.5 months due to delays in acquiring a Kenyan research permit. A second shortcoming that ties in with the issue of time limit was the general sensitivity of the topic. Land and housing cases are a contested issue in Nairobi and Kenya at large. Hostility in Pangani estate led to that particular estate being omitted from the data collection process. Furthermore answers provided by informants of

the other estates could have been biased as the due to distrust towards the NCC and amongst residents themselves. Answers provided were relatively short, despite being pressed for more elaboration. The study therefore would have yielded better results, had time allowed for more rapport building between informants and the researcher. Thirdly, location wise, the estates and the NCC were located in different areas of the city, than where the researcher lived. Much time was spent navigating between the areas with public transport, in addition getting in contact with potential informants in the NCC was proved difficult. Miscommunication and time-management on the other party's side led to wasted time. The allowance of more time and more importantly efficient time planning could have resulted in more interviews with NCC employees, and other experts engaged in the project, which would have yielded more relevant results.

### *Research Design Limitations*

Theoretically, the main research question and sub-question changed course, even after data collection. This resulted in a slight disconnect between questions in the interview guide and the ultimate objective of the study. The initial research question was:

*What are the consequences of citizen participation in the 'Eastlands Urban renewal project in Nairobi'?*

Firstly the questions looked at phase two, the Eastlands Urban Renewal Project, but due to project delays which the researcher was only aware of once in the field, phase 2 had not commenced yet and the NCC was still executing phase 1, which were the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Projects. Secondly the question was too broad and vague, and would prove difficult to research as the project was still in the beginning phase whilst the question intends to look at the consequences of citizen participation within the project, something only possible after completion of the project. The research question there shifted towards:

*How does Nairobi's context (historically, socio-culturally, and politically) shape the participatory process in the current Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project?*

This new line of focus was still possible with the available primary data that was collected through the interviews, however it needed to be supplemented with additional secondary data. Had the final research question been there prior to go to the field, the interview guide would have included questions more in line with the focus, providing the research with better data for analysis.

Methodologically, the initial approach to documenting the interviews was to do audio recordings. However many informants indicated not wanting to be recorded, again due to

sensitivities around the topic, and fear of personally being reprimanded by the NCC for their opinion, even though the researcher felt answers provided were still on the 'safe' side. Stronger opinions were revealed in the minutes made during the public participation meetings, most probably because they aired out their concerns as a group instead of individually. Therefore data collected during interviews was limited since all the answers had to be handwritten on the printed out interview guides, which were later hand, coded. This lack of information, as mentioned previously, was enriched with secondary research including the meeting minutes shared by the NCC as well as media reports. Future research should aim to include audio recordings, if not typed out notes on a media device as it captures more information, which was lost due to handwritten notes, and would also allow for easier coding through software such as Atlas.ti.

### *Influence Of The Researcher*

As the research is qualitative in nature, the researchers position is often interwoven within their research. Personal assumptions and other biases often times influence a studies outcome. It is therefore important for researches to be aware of their own subjectivity, and assume an objective position.

In light of this, Frost et al (2010) explains the researchers personal biography influences the researchers perception of the findings. Hence it is relevant to disclose my personal background as it could have influenced the study as a researcher. Having resided in Nairobi for 8 years, I was already aware of the political / historical climate in which urban housing projects take place, which led to my interest in researching the topic. The study however allowed me to do more in-depth research and compare it with literature. As the researcher I did try and remain as objective as possible by nuancing statements made by informants with opposing statements from the NCC. For example analysis of the results already indicated some of the problematics with top-down were overcome, however Nairobi's 'hostile environment' still deters the process of citizen participation from being successfully implemented. Another aspect that one may think would influenced the results is the requirements to acquiring a research permit was that final copies of the research was to be submitted to the NCC, however the researcher did not let this aspect influence the results in favour of the NCC.

Furthermore, my role as a female researcher might have influenced results as well as I was accompanied by a male student from Kenyatta University for safety purposes, as well as help linguistically in translating the interview guides to any informants who felt the questions were unclear. Informants might have felt more uncomfortable and answered different if it was a one on one interview.



### *Reflections On Theoretical Framework And Findings*

The initial concepts used at the start of the research were that of citizen participation, and 'social themes' deemed important in urban renewal projects. This framework was considered to be too general, and more concepts were needed that were more in tune with participatory processes in the urban context in the global south. Hence, Connelly's 'hostile environments', as well as Watson's 'realities on the ground' were used as the theoretical lens with which research was conducted. The research furthermore followed Williams 'situated analysis approach' looking at the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project through the examination of the social and institution context of the country. These new concepts were able to steer the project and fulfil the research objective.



## 4. Results

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## 4. Results

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Nairobi is the textbook example of an African colonial city, initially starting as a railway town, which laid the foundational layout of the city today. Before Nairobi made an attempt at town planning, both the pastoralist Masaai tribe, and the agriculturalist Kikuyu tribe inhabited the brackish swampland. Upon realizing the lands potential, both tribes were displaced by the British Empire to pave way for a railway town, in order to open the area up to regional trade and create colonial settlements.

The following section highlights some of the major city plans of Nairobi, as it is important to take into account the prevailing conditions of the city when analysing the Nairobi Urban Renewal Project.

### 4.1 Past Planning Schemes And Policies

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#### 1. The 1906 Railway Town Plan

In 1905 Nairobi replaced Mombasa as the Capital of Kenya, mainly due to its topographical location, as the flat terrain was suitable for the construction of a new town. The geographical location was also optimal as Nairobi lays in-between Mombasa and Kampala in Uganda (Owuor and Mbatia, 2008). With this change a plan had to be drafted for Nairobi, which first served as a railway and industrial depot for the Uganda Railway line that was being built. Living quarters of railway workers surrounded the railway station. The 1906 Railway Town Plan initially covered an area of 18 sq. km, which was later increased to 25 sq. km in 1920 (Owuor and Mbatia, 2008).

#### 2. 1927 Settler Plan

The plan to turn Nairobi into a settler's capital was formulated by F. Walton Jameson and Eric Dutton (ETH Studio Basel, 2008), who were leading planners in the British African Empire. Under this plan Nairobi was expanded from 25 sq. km to 77 sq. km, and measures such as traffic regularization, building regulations, and improved swamp drainage and clearance were implemented. It also emphasized on turning Nairobi into an administrative centre (Owuor and Mbatia, 2008). Within this plan, the town became racially segregated with low-income living in squatter settlements in close proximity to the station in the eastern part of the city, whilst residential neighbourhoods further away were reserved for colonial Europeans who owned roughly 90% of land in the city (Owuor and Mbatia, 2008; Muraya 2006, Myers 2016). Amis (1990) attests that the effects of the

racially segregated areas are still visible in the current population density as well as demographic distribution. Furthermore, the settler plan intended on zoning the city, not only according to class and race, but also according to town functions, serving to the interests of the colonial settlers. The development of Nairobi's urban form was, despite the plan, very incoherent and the town's expansion merely followed the layout of the street patterns.

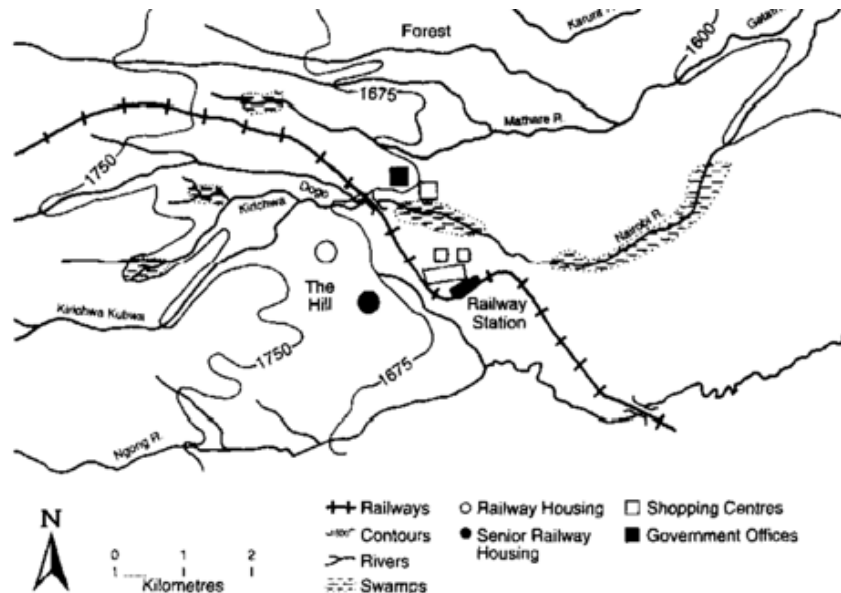


Figure 6: Map of Nairobi City 1906

Source: White et. al. 1948, p. 11



Figure 7: Map of Nairobi City 1927

Source: Mazingira Institute, 1993, p. 2

### **3. 1948 Master Plan for a Colonial Capital**

The 1948 master plan was designed and planned by architect and town planner L.W.T White, civil and town planning engineer P.R. Anderson, and sociologist L. Silberman (ETH Studio Basel, 2008). Funded by the Municipal Council of Nairobi and by the Railway Authorities, the colonial Capital Master Plan followed the concept of functionalism, and intended to create a modernistic city by further developing the secondary and tertiary industries, and encouraging investment (ETH Studio Basel, 2008). The plan also drew on the 'Garden City' concept, which divided residential areas in neighbourhood units (Owuor and Mbatia, 2008). One intended aim of doing so was to continue the racial segregation of the city by introducing neighbourhood-zoning schemes for different citizens. Residential estates closest to the train station and the industrial area were allocated to citizens of Kenyan heritage. These areas were characterized by poor soil foundation (non-porous black cotton soils) and poor drainage often resulting in flooding and increased frequency of malaria. Parklands was allocated to citizens of Indian descent. European settlers resided to the North and West of the city, which were areas with higher altitudes and rich red soils (Owuor and Mbatia, 2008).

Both the 1927 Settlers Plan and the 1948 Colonial Capital plan were never fully implemented, as there was a shortage of financial capital (ETH Studio Basel, 2008; Muraya, 2006). As a result, the Kenyan citizens were marginalized and the spread of informal settlements pursued.

### **4. 1973 Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy**

Post-independence, Kenya inherited many challenges, which are still prevalent today. The 1963 independence put ease on the rural-urban migration restrictions during colonial rule. This resulted in an influx of rural dwellers into the city at an explosive rate (Owuor and Mbatia, 2008). This immense population growth called for immediate action and planning in areas of housing, transport, and economic opportunities. Another priority was integrating newcomers and old residents into a new city rather than keep the patterns of a segregated colonial city.

The Nairobi Urban Study Group (NUSG) formulated the 1973 Nairobi Metropolitan Strategy, which was funded by the newly formed Kenyan government; the Nairobi City Council (now referred to as Nairobi City County); The World Bank; and the United Nations (ETH Studio Basel, 2008). The strategy consisted of long-term policies and possibilities for the growth and development of Nairobi to the year 2000 on both city and regional levels. At city level the strategy proposed:

- a. The development and decentralization of service centres to reduce the high employee density in the CBD.
- b. The zoning of industrial, residential, commercial and administrative districts.
- c. Creation of neighbourhood models whereby residential and commercial offices were in close proximity of each other, (not mixed).
- d. Newly developed residential areas: Dagoretti, Eastlands, and Karen-Langata.

Whilst the regional strategy proposed the expansion of Nairobi towards the North along Thika road, and to the West along Mombasa Road, thereby encouraging the growth of Satellite cities Thika and Machakos, as well as Athi River, situated in-between Nairobi and Machakos. The intent was for these cities to develop as independent cities, each having their own industrial, commercial, and administrative sector.

Myers (2016) however finds that the 1973 Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy failed to check the problem of rapid urbanisation, urban planning efforts were mainly ineffective due to the political economy of the city. Muraya (2006) analysed the human settlement policies implemented in the 1973 Nairobi Metropolitan Growth Strategy and identified the reason's as to way it failed to curb the housing crisis. The main factors affecting the provision of low-income housing:

- Rural-urban migration: As previously mentioned, Nairobi experienced a rapid influx of African Migrants to the city. The population growth rate pre-independence stood at 6% (1948-1962), post-independence the figure rose to 9.3% between 1962-1969 (Muraya, 2006).
- Lack of a proper national housing plan before the 1970's: The inrush of migrants created an unavoidable housing crisis as there had not been a plan detailing housing provisions in the city.
- Unequal distribution of land: due to the racially segregated nature of Nairobi's make up during the colonial period, the city experiences unequal land distribution. In 1972, there were 8 persons per acre in the previous European zones north and west of the city, while the Asian zone in parklands counted 32 per acre, and the African zone in the east totalled to 400 inhabitants per acre (Muraya, 2006).
- Rigid building standards: many low-income earners could not afford the cost of a two-roomed housing unit. The government therefore opted to introduce sites and service schemes and lower the building code. This resulted in units of subpar standards.
- Lack of funds: the site and services scheme never fully realized and not all units were completed due to a lack of funds. The government then took drastic

measures phasing out the sites and service schemes, and focus on developing low-income high-rise flats.

- Poor management and planning resulting in expensive units: the failed site and services schemes were also too expensive for low-income earners, and many original residents who could not afford the units were forced to reside elsewhere. Beneficiaries of some of the units ended up selling the units and moved back to squatter settlements.

## 4.2 Current Planning Policies

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### 5. Kenya Vision 2030

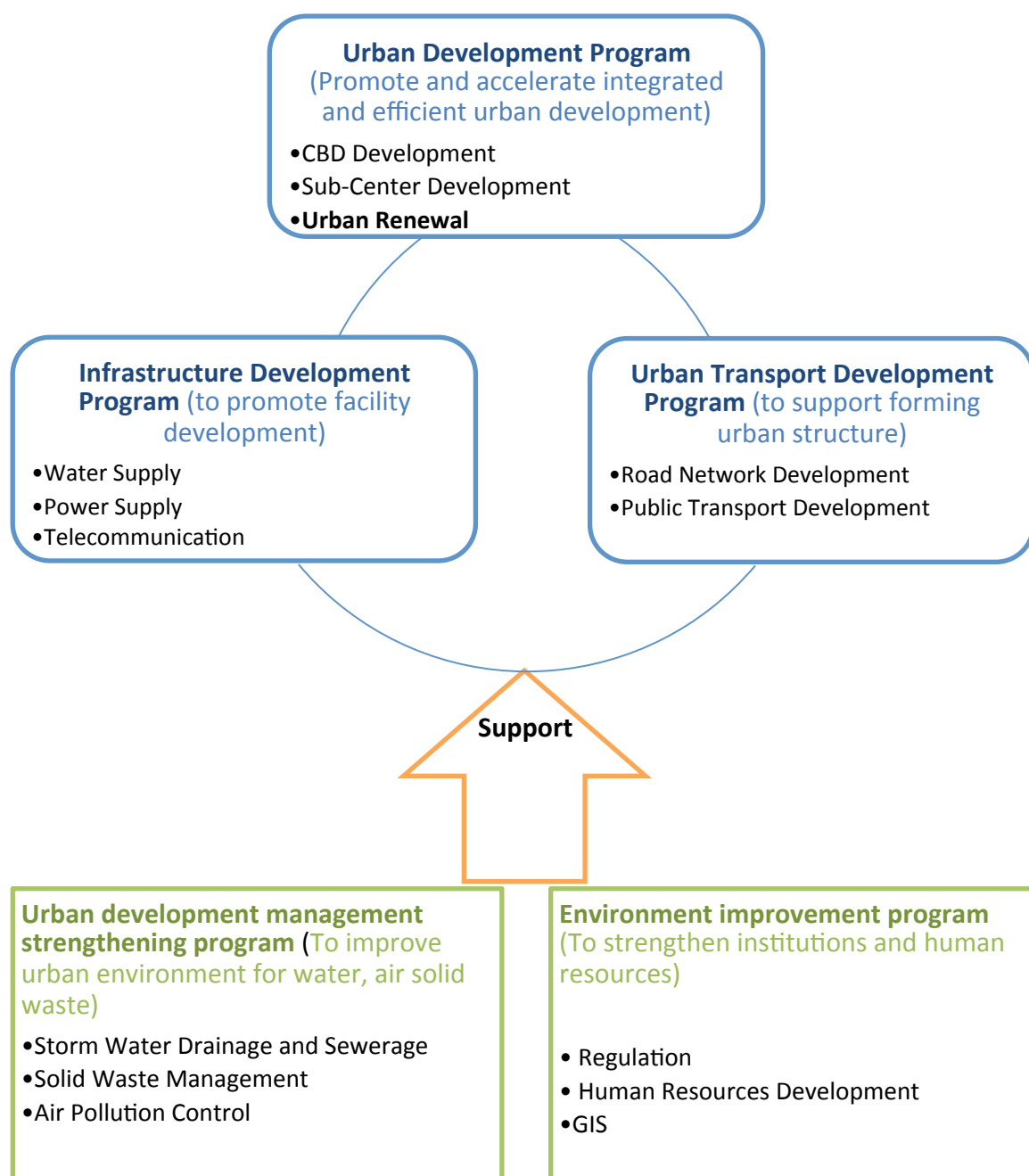
Kenya Vision 2030 is a long-term vision aimed at transforming Kenya from a low-income country to a middle-income country, and increasing the quality of life for all citizens. Vision 2030 focuses on 6 key areas for development based on the three pillars (Economic, Social, Political): infrastructure; land reform; science, technology and innovation; security; public service reform; and human resource development. Under infrastructure and land reform falls the Urban Renewal plan, which 'is envisioned to boost Nairobi's housing stock, enhance optimal land utilization and promote infrastructural development' (Government of the Republic of Kenya, 2007, p. 6)

### 6. Nairobi Integrated Urban Master Plan (NIUPLAN [2014-2030])

The current city plan for the urban development of Nairobi is NIUPLAN. This plan consists of a framework with guiding policies and strategies to achieve the goals set in Kenya Vision 2030. Some of the proposed policies and strategies as stipulated in the plan (Japan International Cooperation Institute, 2014) are:

- a. Continue the decentralization of service centres, business and commerce.
- b. The central business district should be redeveloped to increase its vitality.
- c. Land-use regulations for sub-centre areas, i.e. residential areas around the old train station and industrial areas, will be revised to accommodate the vastly growing population in these areas.
- d. New industrial areas will be developed towards the south of the city, whilst the current industrial area will be redeveloped for new urban function.
- e. Create a blue and green ecological network, through preserving existing forests and restoring rivers, to enable citizens to use these ecological areas for recreational purposes.
- f. The renewal and mixed-use developments in old city county estates, and Eastlands region.

NIUPLAN has selected 5 priority programs, as a first step of implementation. The 5 priority programs are: 1. Urban Development Program 2. Urban Transport Development Program 3. Urban Infrastructure Development Program 4. Environment Improvement Program and 5. Development Management Strengthening Program.



Source: JICA, 2014:11-12

Figure 8: Priority Program Framework

The Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Projects and the Eastlands Urban Renewal Project fall under the Urban Development Program.



## **7. NAMSIP**

The Nairobi Metropolitan Services Improvement Projects (NAMSIP) is a project that falls under Metro 2030, and is sponsored by the World Bank. The project aims to strengthen and development urban services and infrastructure (The World Bank, 2013). It's main goals are:

- Mobility Development: Non-motorized Transport, management of roads and traffic.
- Storm water drainage
- Sewerage collection and disposal
- Development of fire fighting facilities
- Provision of street/public infrastructure: lighting, public markets and recreational parks.

## **8. Public Private Partnership (PPP) Policy**

This policy encourages the participation between the public and private sector in the financing, development, operation and maintenance of development projects initiated by the government. This way the government can mobilize resources through local and international private sector investment in order to address the monetary deficit for the development of services and infrastructure. A PPP unit has been set up to help initiate and implement the Urban Renewal Plan through coordinating the collaboration between the government, and the private sector which includes: transport; water and sanitation; solid waste management; health; reclamation; housing; sporting; ICT.

## **9. Public Participation Bill, 2016**

The continuing growth of Nairobi both in size and populations means the provision of urban services and infrastructure has in the past not been able to move at the same pace as the demand. This resulted in residents themselves resorting to informal community-led initiatives as a way of providing access to basic services such as improved water supply and sanitation, solid waste collection, and neighbourhood security.

The NCC however had the intent to formalize these self-help efforts, and include residents in future urban development projects. Under the new constitution that was implemented in 2010, a new system of governance was proposed in which Kenyan citizens are placed at the centre of governance. The Public Participation Bill, was a proposed bill that passed in 2016, which provides a framework for public participation in

order to uphold the constitutional principles of democracy (Republic of Kenya, 2016, p. 214). According to the bill, it's objective is to:

- a. Enhance and promote the participation of the public in governance
- b. Awareness amongst the public on governance processes
- c. Increase transparency
- d. Promote accountability and ownership of public decisions

The bill further stipulates that:

- e. The public must be consulted and directly involved in any governmental decision-making that directly affects them.
- f. The respected governmental bodies must provide the appropriate mechanism for the participation of the public (public meetings, workshops, etc.)
- g. The public must be given access to information prior to and throughout the duration of any given project so that they can effectively participate.

With the execution of NIUPLAN, and with that the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Projects, several methods were employed to foster public participation. Initially, a comprehensive public advertisement scheme was set up using various media (poster, TV, radio, newspaper), in-depth information was provided through the Nairobi City County Website and the NIUPLAN website (JICA, 2014).

Based on a report by Nairobi City County Housing Department, (NCC, 2016) the NCC has involved the public since the start of the project in 2014, however consultations with the affected tenants of the estates began in February 2015. The report further states that over 60 meetings have taken place so far. The purpose of the meetings have been to:

- Sensitize the current and future tenants and identify the most efficient ways in which the target group can be involved in the project.
- Respond to any queries or issues of the target group.
- Involve the target group in the planning and design of the new estates. Design and develop according to the needs of the residents.
- Identify site-specific issues, which can be incorporated into the Memoranda of Understanding (MoU).
- Set up communication channels, and update the target group on project progress.

### 4.3 Case Overview: Proposed Developments of the Estates Undergoing Renewal

The next section gives a brief outline of the current situation in each estate and the proposed development according to a project report by the NCC (2018), presented by Simon Malonza during the East Africa Property Investment Summit. The accompanied pictures/maps give a better understanding of current state of affairs on the ground and highlight the dilapidated state the estates are in. What can be seen in most estates are single story, or multi-storey units, indicating low density. Considering there is a shortage in the housing supply the project intends to build high-rise units in order to reach efficient urban density.

#### Bachelors/Jevanjee



Source: Google Maps, 2018

Figure 9: Site Map of Bachelors / Jevanjee



Source: Malonza, 2018

Figure 10: Current Situation of Bachelors / Jevanjee

Bachelors/Jevanjee sits on an 8.8 acres piece of land, situated next to the city centre. It has quite a prime location, as it is located next to Kirima Market, Muslim Girls Secondary School, and Ring Road, which serves as a connection to Thika highway. The current dwellings in the estate are characterized by low-density bungalows, which under the project will be transformed into high-density apartment buildings of 24 floors. The high-rise units will consist of 1470 apartment units of different sizes:

- 1 bedroom: 420 units
- 2 bedroom: 840 units
- 3 bedroom units: 210 units

During the field visit, the reception was positive and residents claimed to be well aware of the on-going project due to the NCC effort to inform the residents since the inception of the project in 2014. One aspect that came out strong from the residents is that despite the frequent meetings between NCC and the estate, the level of agreement is still low on pertinent residents' concerns.

## Ngong Road Estate



Source: Google Maps, 2018

Figure 11: Site Map of Ngong Road Estate



Source: Dierkx, 2016

Figure 12: Current situation of Ngong Road Estate

Ngong Road Estate is situated further away from the city centre, next to the Kenya Meteorological Department Headquarters. Sitting on a 15-acreage piece of land, the estate is characterized by low-density bungalows, which houses current and former Nairobi City County staff. Adjacent to the estate is a field used for sporting activities, whilst schools and shopping facilities are found within its proximity at Dagoretti corner.

Under the project, 12 floor apartment buildings will replace the bungalows, with an approximate 2,520 apartment units classified as follows:

- 1 bedroom: 720 units
- 2 bedroom: 1440 units
- 3 bedroom: 360 units

The compound where the estate is located also houses the department of engineering and a City Council Health Unit. Despite the existence of the engineering facilities at close proximity to the estate, the estate does not have maintained access roads to navigate around the estate, and the entrance road is potholed. There is a feeling amongst residents that if the NCC has not been maintaining the estate, which accommodates its employees, they doubt whether the NCC will even follow through on the Urban Renewal Project.

## Old Ngara Estate



Source: Google Maps, 2018

Figure 13: Site Map of Old Ngara



Source: Malonza, 2018

Figure 14: Current Situation of Old Ngara

This 3.28-acre site is located North of Nairobi River and South of Ngara Road, next to Ngara Market. Other social amenities such as school and health facilities are also within the estates proximity. The current dwellings are characterized by deteriorated apartment buildings as pictured in figure 9. The current apartments will be replaced by 24 storey apartments totalling 840 units broken down into:

- 1 bedroom: 240 units
- 2 bedroom: 480 units
- 3 bedroom: 120 units

The roads surrounding the estate will also be improved to ease mobility at Ngara market.

## New Ngara Estate



Source: Google Maps, 2018

Figure 15: Site Map of New Ngara



Source: Dierkx, 2016

Figure 16: Current Situation of New Ngara

New Ngara (4.12 acres) is located south of Old Ngara Estate alongside Ring Road. Both old and New Ngara can be served by the same social amenities. The site is currently



houses dilapidated apartment buildings, which will be replaced by 24 story apartments totalling roughly 1050 units:

- 1 bedroom: 300 units
- 2 bedroom: 600 units
- 3 bedroom: 150 units

Off the record comments from Uhuru estate indicated that Old and Ngara estate has been 'infiltrated' by corruption. There was a high sense of rejection from potential informants during the field visit, which indicated there was fear or uncertainty surrounding the whole project.

### Pangani Estate



Source: Google Maps, 2018

Figure 17: Site Map of Pangani Estate



Source: Malonza, 2018

Figure 18: Current Situation of Pangani Estate

Pangani estate sits on a 5.2-acre plot about 2.2 km from the city centre. 3 main roads bound the estate: Juja Road, Ring Road, and Muranga road, thus making it easily accessible. Ring Road also serves as an important connection to Thika Highway. Social amenities such as schools, health facilities, and shopping opportunities are within the vicinity.

The current housing stock consists of 2 storey buildings, with a centre courtyard. The project proposes 24 story buildings instead with a total of 1050 units:

- 1 bedroom: 300 units
- 2 bedroom: 600 units
- 3 bedroom: 150 units

## Uhuru Estate



Uhuru Estate Boundary

Green Field Boundary

Source: Google Maps, 2018



Source: Malonza, 2018

Figure 19: Site Map of Uhuru Estate

Figure 20: Current Situation of Uhuru Estate

Uhuru Estate, pictured in figure 14 will not be renewed in its entirety. Only the 7.5 acre green field marked by the white boundary in figure 14 will have newly built 15 storey apartments totalling 1050 units:

- 1 bedroom: 150 units
- 2 bedroom: 600 units
- 3 bedroom: 300 units

The site is easily accessible through Buruburu road, and lies adjacent to the estate is Uhuru Secondary School. Other social facilities and shops are also nearby.

During the field visit, a committee member of Nyumba Kumi (community policing initiative) indicated that the Urban Renewal Pilot project only targets the green field, however the Phase 2 Eastland's Urban Renewal project targets all 4 sections of Uhuru Estate (red boundary in fig. 15). According to the committee member, many residents aren't aware of the geographical scope of the Phase 2, as they were only informed about the green field developments during community meetings.

## Suna Road Market



Source: Google Maps, 2018

Figure 21: Site Map of Suna Road Market



Source: Malonza, 2018

Figure 22: Current Situation of Suna Road Market

The last plot to undergo renewal is Suna Road Market, located off Ngong Road. The 5.2-acre plot is currently characterized by informal market stalls, and is part of the larger Toi Market. It is adjacent to Uchumi Supermarket / Adam's Arcade, and a short distance away from Kibera slum.

The proposed development for Suna Road differs from the other estates because the project aims to renew and build a formal market hall, neighbouring the market will be new housing units.

These merchandisers are also on the opinion that they should be allowed to continue with their trading without the project. This is because of the fear that the project is going to be marred by corruption at the expense of the market traders. Earlier attempt to improve the market by modifying the stalls was rejected by the traders because of corruption and the uncertainties about the motive of the exercise. Uncertainties stem from past injustices committed to the traders by the previous authorities (demolition of market stalls), hence traders feel the renewal of the market is a ploy to evict them from the space.



ESTATE	ACREAGE	CURRENT NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS	PROPOSED NO. OF UNITS (APPROXIMATE)
<b>Bachelors/Jeevanjee</b>	8.8 acres	80	1,644
<b>Old Ngara</b>	3.28 acres	78	1,057
<b>New Ngara</b>	4.12 acres	136	1,224
<b>Pangani</b>	5.2 acres	48	1,268
<b>Ngong Rd</b>	12.5 acres	276	3,500
<b>Uhuru</b>	5 acres	Green Field Site	1,890
<b>Suna Rd (market)</b>	5 acres	Approximately 1000 sellers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3289 market stalls</li> <li>• 585 Housing units</li> <li>• 429 parking spaces</li> </ul>

**Table 3: Current Housing Stock + Proposed Developments**

Due to land scarcity in and around the estates, the proposed developments focus on the densification of housing units and compact development through high-rise buildings. This also allows for the provision of green space within the estates. The new developments also target mixed income-groups by offering different apartment sizes, and further aims to establish community amenities such as playgrounds/recreational grounds, community centre, commercial facilities, etc.

Furthermore, during execution but also upon completion, the project is said to:

- Increase the provision of affordable housing
- The improvement of off-site infrastructure and services: water, sewage and storm water drainage systems, mobility, educational facilities, markets, and community centres.
- Create employment opportunities during construction, and offer employment possibilities after the realization of the project.
- Promote innovate construction technologies
- The production and utilization of sustainable local building materials.

#### **4.4 Project Intentions Versus Previous Urban (Housing) Renewal Schemes**

The project seems to address certain areas where other housing or urban renewal projects went wrong. For example previous housing schemes that failed to complete construction due to limited fiscal resources. The Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project

makes use of PPP's, both local and international, to combat any financial deficits. Muraya (2006) also stipulated some policies and strategies which she believed could help overcome the obstacles during previous housing schemes. Such as the use of non-conventional and low-cost building materials, as well as the issuing of title deeds. The Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project (NURPP) already proposes the use of sustainable local raw materials for the construction of the new units.

NURPP also seeks to issue title deeds to all homeowners in the 7 estates, pre-construction to ensure the proper allocation of units post-construction. Muraya (2006) however, advocated for the renovation of buildings rather than demolition: 'upgrading low-income housing instead of demolishing these settlements will avoid the displacement of the target group' (2006, 127). NURPP however already has a scheme in place to deal with the relocation of tenants during construction. Firstly the tenants association makes an inventory in conjunction with the Department of Housing, which will aide in moving tenants to the relocation facility, as well as assigning the new units to the appropriate owner. Secondly the NCC will pay the fee (rent) for the relocation facility on behalf of existing tenants as compensation for the disruption of their socio environment for a period of 2 years. Should the timeframe be longer, the private developers will cover additional costs. Thirdly tenants are given a 60-day's notice. After the first 30 days, tenants are expected to move into the relocation facility, and developers will take possession of the site after the 60-day's notice is over. To further ensure security of tenure, tenants are issued with and will sign a letter of offer for a new unit, as well as a Tenant Purchase Agreement (TPS) (will be elaborated further on) prior to vacating their homes. However, there is a group of tenants that isn't protected, and those are the ones inhabiting the illegal extensions built on properties, or those who are sub-renting an apartment. Landlords or the sub-tenants are expected to demolish the illegal structures before vacating the premise. Sub-tenants however, are not permitted to move to the relocation site, and are not considered for the prioritization over any of the newly constructed units.

Chan and Lee (2008) stated that the creation of employment is also important during urban renewal, as the availability of jobs is one of the biggest drivers for rural-urban migration (Byerlee, 1974). Rural-urban migration in Nairobi has been the main culprit in the lack of provision of housing (Muraya, 2006), as demand far exceeds supply, and the NCC in the past had limited resources to keep up with the demand. The high unemployment rate furthermore leads to a large number of migrants taking up residence in low-income areas, or the informal settlements. Chan and Lee stated that an increase in employment alleviates social problems such as poverty and crime. NURPP has indicated that the project will create employment opportunities during construction, and offer employment possibilities after the realization of the project. Besides offering construction jobs, the project will offer people the chance to supply raw materials and

the provision of food for labourers. Post construction jobs include opportunities at the new market facility.

#### 4.4 Findings on Key Urban Renewal Themes

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The following chapter describes and analysis the key arising issues from: (1) minutes made during public consultation meetings, (2) news media articles (3) interviews held with current tenants, and NCC personnel.

##### 4.4.1 Ownership

During the public consultations meetings held as from February 2015, the issue of home ownership appeared to be a significant concern for sitting tenants. All the estates expressed worry about different aspects. Firstly the possibility of eviction as the project commences building, to which the NCC guaranteed residents that construction will take place on empty spaces next to the old buildings, and upon completion tenants will be moved into the new apartments before the old buildings are demolished.

The second concern brought up during the public consultation meetings was the fear that tenants will not be given priority for the new housing units. The NCC ensured tenants that under the memorandum of understand (MoU) which has been signed by both parties, the agreements made on the allocation of new houses will be upheld. Tenants further inquired on whether dependents of current homeowners will also receive priority. NCC's response states that dependents and possible new tenants will compete for the allocation of the remaining houses after current homeowners have been prioritized. In addition however, the NCC did express that 10% of the newly constructed units in each estate will be reserved for NCC employees, a decision that tenants opposed as voiced by the following resident:

*"There are Nyang'aus (dirty dogs) in there waiting to grab every chance...You say an inventory of the estate tenants will be released to the committee; trust me, we tenants will be replaced." (Tenant 1, 2015).*

NCC again referred tenants to the agreements made in the MoU, and insisted tenants to involve a lawyer to assist in the comprehension of the document before signing.

The third concern amongst residents is the issue of sub-letting. Some of the tenants expressed their fear of eviction as they are sub-renting the current apartments, and are being threatened by homeowners to vacate their homes. NCC addressed the issue by declaring the subletting of apartments as an illegal practice. Therefore, sub renters have no priority and can't put forward a claim on the new housing units, which

will be given to the actual homeowners instead. NCC also expressed they are not responsible if sub-renters are asked to vacate their homes by the owners. In such a case the NCC is ignoring the basic human right to safe and habitable housing. Sub-tenants who may not be the original owner but are residents in the estates become the victim, since the NCC criminalizes their subletting, but also fail to provide them with adequate, safe and affordable housing. The sub letters who live there are then put on a waiting list and could possibly miss out on any of the new units being built and are then forced to rent whatever else is available on the market.

Current homeowners also had the expectation that their dependents would also get priority for the new apartments, which the NCC refuted and attested that dependents would have to apply for housing just like other citizens and compete equally. This indicates that some owners have unrealistic expectations or a sense of entitlement, are of the opinion that since the government now owes them after failing them for so many years.

*“Residents should remember other citizens e.g. those living in slums yet they also have a right to housing services; that the former are privileged to have a preferential treatment already” (NCC, 2015)*

In response to this tenants asked the NCC not to sell off all the apartments, instead reserve some units for rental services, giving succeeding generations the option to buy them off in the future. The notion of not putting up all the apartments on the market is being reviewed by the NCC.

Existing tenants also made queries on repair and maintenance, as they expected the NCC to continue to service the apartments after construction. The government however issued a statement declaring any repair or maintenance work to be undertaken after the 6-month legal obligation by the contractor, will revert to the new owners. This includes the cleanliness of the compound since the estates will be considered private property and will no longer be managed by NCC.

The interviews revealed that almost all informants mentioned they want first priority on the new housing units, which is something the NCC already agreed to. Informant 2 further articulated that residents should be given houses according to the size of the family, NCC however stated housing allocation would proceed according to the financial means of the tenant.

#### 4.4.2 Trust

Past experiences with urban renewal, or any governmental decision on housing, which directly affects the public, have coincided with a lot of distrust amongst citizens towards the NCC. Reasons for the distrust stems from a history of corruption particularly on land cases. As for the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Projects, there has been resistance amongst some tenants as they fear eviction/take over of the new apartments by NCC personnel as previously mentioned. In order to combat this and ensure transparency the MoU can be challenged in a court of law should tenants feel there has been a breach of contract.

With the Nairobi Urban Renewal Projects, tenants feel as if NCC employees will undermine current tenants and allocate themselves apartments at the expense of current residents. The NCC openly addressed this concern by disclosing that 10% of newly built apartments will be allocated to NCC employees, and that there will be enough units left to be divided amongst current tenants and outsiders who wish to purchase an apartment. To ensure this agreement is upheld, a resident committee is formed in each estate, which will help oversee the allocation of units to eligible new tenants. Eligible tenants however are not picked based off any particular criteria, for example household formulation or vulnerability aspects i.e. the elderly or disabled. Instead houses are allocated on a first come first serve basis.

Despite assurance from the NCC on full transparency of each stage during the project, tenants expressed that the minutes of public meetings that were held were not shared with residents who were not able to attend the meetings. This instilled fear as tenants noted they needed an official record of the meetings to deter the NCC from disclosing issues in the meetings one way but executing it differently behind closed doors.

During a public meeting in Jevanjee/Bachelors on 12/7/2015 there was fear that the project would be halted or dismissed should a new government come into office after the presidential election, which was held on October 26th 2017. The NCC however ensured service delivery in the event of a new government.

There was also a request made by citizens for the NCC to come up with means of resolving the existing mistrust residents have, and the NCC acknowledged this problem and made clear that citizens will be involved in the project at various levels, and agreements will be made between citizens, the NCC, and private investors/developers.

Another issue that was mentioned during the interviews by informant 1 and 2 was the political influence of estate representatives, who represent the residents at various meetings with the NCC. Some residents felt that these reps have their own interests and

agenda's that they are trying to push forward, not really taking representing the needs and wants of the residents themselves. Besides the estate representatives, the residents were initially informed about the project by the Member of County Assembly (MCA), who is a politician and therefore has his own vested interest in the project. In Ngara Estate, residents believed the estate representatives are colluding with the area MCA's and the NCC, and that the project is part of a wider political scheme to chase the residents who are from the lower income bracket in favour of the more financially able outsiders. Informant 2 therefore stated that current residents want to maintain their local networks by only allowing houses to current residents, and that no outsiders are wanted. However there would be a surplus of housing units after current residents have been already been assigned prioritised housing, which would be distributed fairly amongst other Nairobi residents who have applied for the new units.

#### 4.4.3 Affordability

Affordability appeared to be an important theme during public meeting discussions. Most existing tenants feared and questioned whether the cost of the new units would increase. The pilot project however stipulates that the monthly rent will be the same until the initial cost of the unit is cleared, and will fall under a *tenant purchase scheme (TPS)*. New tenants will be able to buy units through a bank mortgage, and only the construction fee is factored in.

Citizen's were furthermore concerned that the younger population may not have enough finances to buy a unit of more than 1 bedroom, and asked what arrangement the NCC has for such incidents. The NCC did not have any plan of action to enable the youth to purchase units, and simply responded with: 'take advantage of the offer and purchase houses' (NCC, 2015).

As for Jevanjee/Bachelors market, current traders complained the proposed monthly fee of Ksh. 15,000.00 ( $\approx$  €128.00), and explained that most traders earn as a little as Ksh. 200-300 a day. The NCC responded by saying a market committee made up of traders could consult with the NCC and the private developer to come up with a more viable proposal for affordable stall rates.

The interviews made it clear that most residents feared a rent increase, and urged the NCC to maintain the same rental price for the new units. One issue that did come forwards from the interview with informant 4 was that despite the NCC vowed not to increase the rental price, however landlords who will be assigned new units but decide to rent them out may increase the price, which is a matter the NCC has no control over.

Nonetheless, media articles reported the objection of tenants to a 5% mark up on the new apartment units, despite earlier promises by the NCC, and the then Governor Evans Kidero, that apartments would be sold at zero profit. This was met with suspicion from residents as described by former Ngara Welfare Association Official, Martin Njoroge:

“The Sh7.9 million cannot be the cost of the construction. It is too high, but we can’t verify because they have not given us the documents.” (The Star, 2016, December 6).

After talks with tenants, the NCC concluded that the price of Ksh. 7.9 million ( $\approx$  € 67,580.00) euro was too high, as the new apartments units are meant to fall under low-cost housing. Nairobi County’s Housing and Urban Renewal Executive Richard Kerich stated that the NCC is renegotiating with project developers on the appropriate price, which should range between Sh1 million and Sh3 million.

“We are renegotiating some of the contract because the houses are so expensive. We want their prices reduced to what an ordinary Nairobiian can afford over a long period of time,” (Richard Kerich, as cited in Standard Media, 2018, August 8).

#### *4.4.4 Services/Infrastructure & Safety*

The fourth theme of importance is services and infrastructure. The estates are dealing with run-down infrastructure and urban services. The public meetings minutes as well as interviews revealed that all the estates issued complaints about a lack of electricity and power outages, as well as unreliable water provision or solid waste management. The lack of street lighting also increases insecurity at night. Informant 6 from Ngara estate, stated that the project needs to provide security not only through street lighting, but also through implementing ‘nyumba kumi’ (community policing), which also aids in social cohesion. So not only target physical aspects in the estate, but address social issues by actively engaging the community in the improvement of their own living environment.

Citizens also asked for the provision of recreational facilities such as a youth centre or playgrounds. The NCC expressed the pilot project addresses all of the concerns, and will also allow for the development for some recreational facilities.

#### *4.4.5 Accessibility*

Accessibility within the urban renewal project can be approached in two different ways, the first being disability access. The current buildings have no disability infrastructure in place and during the public consultation meetings tenants asked whether the high-rise apartments will put senior citizens and the disabled into consideration. According to

NCC, apartment buildings with more than 5 levels will be quipped with an elevator, and ground floor units will be reserved for the elderly/disabled tenants.

Most informants during the interviews indicated that there needs to be better accessibility into the compound, as well as around the neighbourhood and links to public transport. As the current feeder roads into the estate and the surrounding region need repairing, and there is bad drainage during rain seasons leading to a lot of flooding. Informant 3 however, stated that there already is good accessibility to public transportation. The researcher notes that the informant may have had little or no comparison and seems not in the know how on how/what good public transport should be like.

#### *4.4.6 Livelihood/ Job Opportunities*

The public meetings minutes as well as interviews revealed a big concern surrounding livelihoods/job opportunities. Citizens inquired about community contracting whereby the youth would be given skilled and unskilled labour jobs, for example in construction but also meal provisioning for labourers. The NCC said there where be possibilities of hiring community members for jobs during the project, and the project would also source local sustainable building materials. However these are short-term prospects as the developments are estimated to take around 2 years. The NCC should create long-term jobs for the community.

The interviews indicated that some people operate informal businesses/corner shops from their homes, and feared the demolition of old structures and erection of high-rise units will lead to a loss of livelihoods. Informant 3 further stressed that other existing informal jobs often referred to as '*Jua Kali*' (meaning 'hot sun', indicating the people doing informal work, do so outdoors in open spaces), such as informal auto garages and wood and metal workshops will be lost.

Informant 1 took it a step further and stated that participants should be financially compensated for their involvement/participation in the project; the NCC however has no response on this.

#### *4.4.7 Displacement/Eviction*

The issue of displacement came to the forefront, as residents were concerned about being evicted from their homes prior to construction. The NCC initially made it clear during the public meetings that the new housing developments will occur in not a decanting but infill style whereby construction begins on empty spaces within the estate. All the existing tenants would then be moved into the new units after which the old



buildings are demolished. This decision followed fears by the public, as articulated by informant 19:

‘The temporary relocation is one way they want us not to come back to the estate. I don’t support temporary relocation, instead let them build on the existent open spaces within the estate’. Informant 19. (2016, November 5). Personal interview.

This would then create more space for extra units. Existing traders at the Jevanjee/Bachelors market also feared relocation, which would disrupt their daily business, however they were assured this would not occur.

The NCC now however has backtracked on their decision to commence developments on empty spaces citing it would disrupt livelihoods and pose a safety risk. As mentioned earlier, the NCC has opted to house current tenants at a relocation facility, and be further compensated with 24 months rent (the duration of the project).

During Mashujaa (Heroes) Day Celebrations at Pumwani Secondary School, the now Governor Mike Sonko, announced the commencement of the first developments, starting with Pangani Estate, which would start redevelopment in November 2018. (Nairobi News, 2018, October 21).

“We have had meetings with Pangani tenants and 80 percent of the tenants are in support of the development which will begin next month. The president will launch the construction in November,” Governor Sonko on Saturday during Mashujaa Day celebrations at Pumwani Secondary School grounds. (Mike Sonko, as cited in Nairobi News, 2018, October 21).

This statement however is in contradiction to statements made by tenants through their lawyer, who in actuality oppose the project as they are of the opinion they have not been involved in the project as reported by Nairobi News (2018, October 21). They further state the project has undergone many changes since they were first informed about the project in 2015, and that throughout much of the decision-making on these changes they were not involved in the planning process.

There are conflicting statements made by both parties. The NCC, through the Country Executive member for Lands, Housing and Urban Planning Charles Kerich, stated Pangani residents have been involved in several public participation meetings, but that they have brought forth their own terms and conditions as to how the project should be carried out which is in disagreement to what the NCC had proposed in the plan.

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The Star (2018, August 23) reported that the Pangani residents have been threatened with the termination of their tenancy if they do not co-operate with the renewal plan. This indicates the NCC will enforce the project even if there is no agreement with the public. This questions the level of influence citizens really have in the project, and what their participation in the project actually means.

The above findings show that the original categorization of citizen priorities during urban renewal, as outlined by Chan and Lee (2008) which are: social services and infrastructure; accessibility; and job availability; are less prevalent compared to emerging issues such as ownership, affordability, trust, eviction and displacement, and therefore could suggest and back up the notion by Clark and Wise (2018) that urban renewal, and planning strategies in general are context specific, and that western planning practise cannot be applied by default in developing countries. It also suggests that past top-down schemes instilled fear and distrust amongst citizens, which affects the issues that they deem important during urban renewal, but also influences how they view the current project, as well as their role as a participating citizen in the project. The findings on the latter are elaborated in the following section.

#### **4.5. Findings On Citizen Participation**

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A brief on public participation written by the NCC stated that public meetings and workshops have been held since the inception of the project in 2014. In Ngara estate however, residents were informed about the project through watching the national news on television, instead on being briefed on the project and its intentions by the NCC first-hand. This commenced and heightened the level of scepticism of the project, and amongst further developments, which will be discussed shortly, contributed into the community losing faith in the process of participation.

Some informants indicated they would like to have more influence, i.e. that goes beyond the scope of consulting, for example monitoring and evaluating. Information gathered from the interviews and public meeting minutes, showed a great deal of confusion about not only the aims of the project, but also uncertainty on how the community would be involved, as expressed by the following informant:

‘The information that is available to the community is not enough for one to tell where he/she fits in the project’. Informant 4

There were more complaints about the level of communication and the sharing of information. Many informants felt their opinions during meetings weren’t taken into consideration, and both the public meeting minutes and personal interviews indicated that participants wanted the NCC to record and share minutes made during participation sessions to increase transparency. Informant 16 for example, stated that he was pleased with the level of participation, and satisfied with the frequency of communication between existing tenants and the NCC, but that issues raised during meetings have not been documented. The NCC however, has recorded minutes of each meeting, as shared with the researcher, although the minutes have not been made public or shared with participating tenants, which is what they demand. Furthermore, there had been many complaints on the lack of available information both on the project itself, Informant 2 and 4 suggested the creation of a website where residents can access information on the project and further sharing of documents.

#### *4.5.1 Opinions On Citizen Participation*

The notion of citizen participation within urban planning was met with positivism from all of the informants, and they were all in agreement that the use participatory methods (if done correctly) produce better project results and enhance a sense of ownership, as expressed by the following informant:

‘It encourages locals to be part of the project instead of showing resistance if it was only led by the government’. Informant 1. (2016, November 1). Personal Interview.

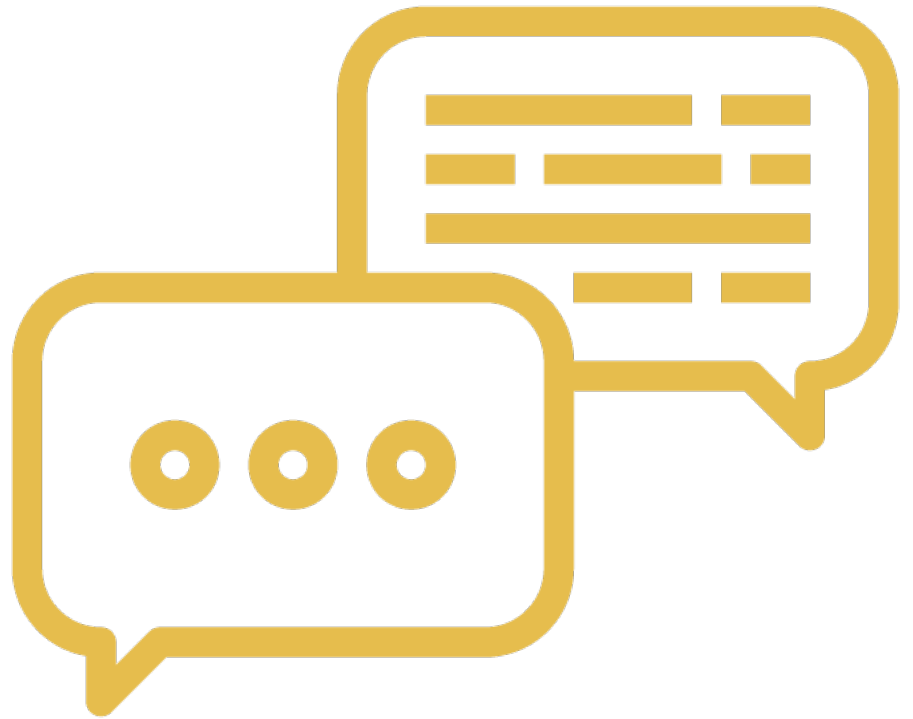
However, opinions on the process of participation within the Urban Renewal Pilot Project have been cynical. Many informants indicated a lack of coordination between tenants and the NCC about the project and its intentions. This hampers the reach of amicable solutions. The community itself is also disjointed. Some tenants are accepting of the project, or at least the idea of a renewal plan for the estate, whilst others have voiced the estates should remain the way that they are. There was also a conflict in the prioritization of development. For example tenants want a social hall, but original owners/landlords do not, (informant 4).

Another informant indicated that there was lack of leadership in the estates to help steer the issues that affect the residents and market operators, (informant 10). As mentioned earlier, estates have a representative, however many tenants feel the representative is ‘politically’ involved in the project, along with the area MCA’s, and have no trust that the

estate representative or MCA will safeguard their interests and will influence only attempt to influence the community according to their benefit.

In addition, informant 5 voiced that community committees need to be set up to represent tenants at all stages of the project, especially monitoring the allocation of housing after the implementation of the project, Informant 4 also reiterates that statement by claiming the community is represented 'politically' (through the estate rep, or just tenants being present in public information meetings) but not 'technically'. Some informants expressed interest in joining technical meetings with the NCC and private developers.

In summary, there have been conflicting statements made by the NCC and citizens involved in participation on how the process is going. With the NCC firmly asserting they have involved the public through all stages of the project, whilst most residents have expressed concern on their level of involvement as seen in the media articles and the interviews. The reasons of concern expressed by citizens indicate a high level of distrust amongst themselves but also towards the NCC, which can be attributed to past injustices to citizens during various housing schemes. They did express positive attitudes towards participatory methods in general, should the NCC implement and execute it correctly.



## 5. Discussion

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## 5. Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore how the political, social and cultural climate influences the way in which citizen participation within the Urban Renewal Process is takes place. Furthermore, the opinions and concerns of citizen on the project's intentions and their participatory role within the given context was also analysed to deduce whether the use of citizen participation is able to overcome the problems associated with top-down planning.

The theoretical framework consists of theories on participatory methods in developing countries, also referred to as 'hostile environments', and participatory methods seen as the answer to failed top-down housing strategies. Historical events, culture, and politics all shape the context in which participation takes place and influence its effectiveness. It furthermore influences how participants view the process; therefore the following main research question was devised:

*How does Nairobi's context (historically, socio-culturally, and politically) shape the participatory process in the current Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project?*

Four sub-questions were constructed to answer this main research question. The following section showcases the findings of the results in relation to the theoretical framework and thereby aims to answer the main research questions.

### 5.1 Results Versus Theoretical Framework

*1. How have the previous urban planning policies and development schemes influenced the current housing crisis in Nairobi and what implications did past top-down renewal schemes have?*

As stated in the theoretical framework, Silver, Scott and Kazapov (2010) argue that in cases of citizen participation, factors influencing the process such as cultural, social, and physical context are often overlooked. Connelly (2010) reiterates this sentiment, and states the social and political contexts are of great importance when realizing effective participation. This first sub-question therefore acted as a mini 'situated-analysis', delving into Nairobi's urban complex, reviewing the above-mentioned aspects.

In the case of Nairobi, the pre and postcolonial period in Nairobi have led to a divided urban environment. As shown earlier, Nairobi experienced segregated residential patterns, which turned into urban development along class lines. As a result, there has

been unequal distribution of land, with the densification and rapid expansion of informal settlements, and areas of the city where the estates in the Nairobi Urban Renewal Plot project are located.

Post-independence, the Nairobi City Council (NCC), lacked the financial capacity and resources to keep up with the rapid urbanization rate, and failed to provide decent and affordable houses, along with basic services and infrastructure. As a result of a poorly functioning local government, and the weakening of local public institutions, forces, the privatization of public services ensued which was encouraged by international development banks. Often considered an impact of globalisation, the commercialization of services combined with the political/cultural context of Nairobi meant private service delivery favoured the elite areas of the city, simultaneously making it unaffordable for lower-income groups.

#### *Failed policies*

Spatial and urban development has only been under the legal mandate of the Department of Physical Planning in the Ministry of Lands since 2013. Prior, land development fell under multiple institutions, all with their own spatial plans and planning policies. Poor coordination and conflicting interests between the different institutions complicated the execution of the spatial plans. In addition, decision makers ignored citizen's interests, therefore developed policies failed to address the realities on the ground. When analysing these schemes in terms of participation ladders, Choguill's (1996) ladder seems to fit, which highlights participatory levels based on a government's willingness to engage participation. Nairobi's planning history has mainly seen a pattern of the ladders bottom level 'self-management', which refers to a community's self-reliance on issues such as housing and basic services. With this step on the ladder, the Nairobi government neglected the target group and their needs, which has led to many citizens resorting to self-management, i.e. the construction of informal settlements and slums as well as illegal extensions built onto formal but dilapidated housing; and the self-servicing of water provisioning, waste collection systems, and illegal connection to the power grid. In other words, past planning practices and failed urban housing schemes have led to unequal access to housing and services, and '*self-management*' was the answer.

#### *Corruption*

Land Governance in Nairobi has historically been paired with immense corruption. Many times characterized by issues such as land grabbing, by the business-and political elite, the governing of land has followed a process of 'power and exclusion', a phenomenon seen across other African cities as well (Watson, 2016). Powerful actors, (often times the political and business elite) push for individual land titling to their benefit, obstructing other claimants. Land ownership is there for based on individual ownership, and excludes

poorer residents. As for housing, private developers ignore zoning regulations not only due to the city's weak bureaucratic land laws and judicial system, which allows land cases to carry on for years, but also due to widespread corruption at the Ministry of Lands that are run by 'cartels' who control the issuing of permits and land titles. The consequence of this is the lengthy process in verifying homeowners and allocating the correct title deeds in the current but also future housing schemes. A history of corruption, especially one that has not gone unnoticed by members of the public. The political instability, which in this case is corruption and hostility towards those who are meant to be on the receiving end of government service, have resulted in tensions between the public and the NCC which have surfaced in the NURP. These tensions have been a result of repeated bad experiences between government and the public (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007), and led to citizen's unwillingness to participate (Mitullah, 2012).

#### *Affordability & Mismanagement*

The top-down urban master planning approach has been unsuccessful in tackling the housing shortages for the lower-income bracket. This stems from the obsession with 'modernistic' housing development, which has been prevalent in the history of planning post-independence. Thus far it has focused on conventional planning standards, which failed to recognise and take into account low-cost housing models, and even in cases where projects were intended for low-income groups, the intended target group were eventually displaced by middle-income residents as the cost of housing were determined by private developers, and therefore unaffordable for the poorer populations. This context gives understanding to fears of eviction by residents in NURP, as even in previous housing schemes such as the Kibera Urban Renewal Scheme, the intended target group either did not end up being beneficiaries of the new housing units, or unaffordability drove them back to their informal settlements as middle-class residents took over the new units. Currently in the NURP, residents fear the project might follow a similar trend.

Muraya (2006) also revealed that many urban renewal and redevelopment projects experienced a lack of monetary funds, which led to most projects not fully being realized. Of the newly built units, some did not have working electricity and water supply in place. Lack of funds combined with the unaffordability of two-roomed housing units, and in addition, a building code that had never been revised since it was adopted during colonial rule meant rigid, material-specific building standards (prescribing concrete blocks, quarry stone and so forth), worsening the affordability of habitable housing by the lower income groups. Affordability was therefore seen as a major factor of importance and concern by residents in NURP, as they heavily objected any raises in rent.

The summary above highlights Nairobi's distinct history, and how planning has been shaped by socio-cultural, political and institutional constraints. It also provides context to how Nairobi citizens view current and potentially future housing development projects.



## *2. Which urban renewal themes do participating citizens within the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project deem important?*

Watson (2013) stated African cities develop grand urban master plans, which do not take into account the urban complexities these cities face. One of the urban complexities is the political but also the business context, and the linkages between the two, and their vested interests that block the way to a more inclusive and participatory urban development which were explored in the first sub-question. However other complexities such as services, unemployment, and unsecure tenure also pose major problems for urban development. Urban Renewal Plans should therefore resonate with the actuality at hand. The theoretical framework in chapter 2 identified 4 concepts, which it considered as important factors that need to be addressed in the case of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Plan. They furthermore give insight on whether citizens' interests differ from the perspective/interests of the project developers of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project. Citizens can identify more realistic concepts as they actually live on the ground, whereas as project developers might identify factors of importance, which are influenced by 'un-realistic' expectations of urban master plans.

### *Ownership*

The initial 3 concepts identified by Chan and Lee (2008) were social services and infrastructure; accessibility, and job availability. A fourth concept emerged from literature by Weinstein & Ren (2009) and Power (2008), which was that of 'ownership'. In terms of what citizens were most concerned about, it was that of ownership, but another concept, of equal importance and also related to ownership was that of eviction/relocation. Firstly, the process of securing title deeds of original homeowners held back the project significantly. Secondly, historically both in Nairobi and the rest of the world, urban renewal has been paired with the permanent displacement of residents. Current tenants in the old city country estates have therefore approached the project with high levels of scepticism and fear of being evicted, despite assurances from the NCC that current tenants are guaranteed a unit before they are temporarily relocated. Permanent eviction however could occur in instances where tenants are subletting, or live in illegal extensions, as they would not be given priority to new housing and could miss out on the remaining available units as they compete with other citizens.

### *Infrastructure and Services*

Physical developments such as the social infrastructure and improved accessibility weren't aspects mentioned as much unless probed on them during the interviews. Despite being of high importance, as it pertains to directly improving their living environment, the project covers these aspects fairly well, therefore not raising much concern from current residents. Aspects that were mentioned included things such as

street lighting, solid waste management, water/electricity infrastructure, playgrounds, etc. Accessibility outside the estate isn't covered under the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project (Urban Development Program), but falls under the Urban Transport Development Program, and other informants didn't mention the concept as a highly important factor in urban renewal. The only concerns on accessibility were that of flooding, and potholes in feeder roads. In terms of disability access in the estate, some residents voiced the need for disability infrastructure to be put in place, but otherwise wasn't given a lot of attention.

### *Job Availability*

Job availability was not as big of a concern as ownership, eviction, or affordability, but still a factor citizens wanted to see addressed in the project. Chan and Lee (2008) argued that job creation increases social-wellbeing and alleviated social problems such as poverty, crime and social exclusion. Phase 1 of the urban renewal project mainly addresses housing needs; the renewal of Jevanjee/Bachelor estate however seeks to build a market for current and potential market vendors. Previous housing projects such as the Pumwani-Majengo Slum Upgrading And Redevelopment Project revealed that even though improvements in living environment was noted, residents cited a lack of economic empowerment which is needed in order to maintain their new living standards. NURP, besides the creation of a market, focuses on short-term employment strategies, either in construction or catering, or through the supply of raw materials sourced locally. This fails to address long-term solutions to reduce unemployment.

In summary, the initial urban renewal concepts that according to Chan and Lee are of priority from a citizen's perspective were concepts citizens in this particular case were less vocal about. Instead, other emerging concepts such as ownership, affordability, trust, eviction and displacement, were more prevalent, and just as mentioned before, reinforces the statement by Clark and Wise (2008) that urban renewal is not a one size fits all strategy, and therefore context specific shaped by historical planning strategies, and the past political economy of the city which has carried on to present times. The focus on ownership trust, eviction and displacement also highlights the tense relationship between society and the state, and offers insights to how a city's context influences how citizens participate in projects as they are less focused on potential improvements to their living environment, and instead vocalize their fear on the project disrupting their lives.

### *3. How does citizen participation within the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Project compare to the top-down strategies in previous urban renewal schemes in Nairobi.*

NURP has seemingly rectified some of the problematics that arose from top-down strategies in urban renewal. Firstly, the issue of lack of monetary funds is overcome by the NCC engaging in PPP's with private housing developers. The issue of unaffordability was initially overcome through TPS whereby new units are sold at construction cost only, and rent/mortgage remained the same, despite media reports indicating there would be a 5% mark-up. The issue of 'neglecting the needs of the poor', according to Muraya (2006), can be overcome through participatory methods. These 'needs' usually refers to housing needs, including basic services and amenities, and through residents being engaged in the planning and design stages of housing schemes, their input reflects the true realities on what's on the ground.

Therefore, the inclusion of citizen participation within planning practices, or urban renewal has been seen as the answer to many shortcomings in top-down planning schemes, which historically has been the planning narrative. Prior to the Nairobi Urban Renewal Project, there have been notable efforts to incorporate participation from the public in projects. Owuor et al (2006) found that, urban development programs such as the 2001 Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP), promoted participatory planning approaches but after evaluation, this did not result in any significant improvement in the state of housing and basic services. Other past participation efforts were coined as "citizen non-engagement", referring to the informing/consultative role of citizens on the participatory scale, and was mostly limited to the more affluent areas in Nairobi where the resident associations had a stronger influence.

#### *Influence of Urban Context*

Mitullah (2008) further attests that amongst the lower income communities, people were not willing to participate due to suspicion and indifference. Different political, cultural and religious beliefs of residents also contribute to suspicion amongst the residents themselves, thus impeding ownership and decision-making. Fear and suspicion also led to a lot of resistance to any relocation plans in past renewal schemes, and often automatically leads to rejection of new policies and projects by the public (Njoh, 2002).

This backs up Cornwall & Coelho (2007) view on public participation in developing countries, as they state that participation is often met with 'hostility due to citizen's bad experiences with the government, as the public increasingly becomes dissatisfied with development projects. They state this hostility stems from a history and urban context of poverty, growth of informal settlements, and inadequacy and unaffordability of service provision for the lower incomes'. In Nairobi, a history of corrupt land and tenure

practices; privatisation of urban services; and overall oppression of marginalized, vulnerable communities, make the adoption of participatory methods in future planning projects challenging. The NCC developed participation strategies that are more in line with the current urban context, and takes into account any lingering sensitivities of the target group, as suggested by Watson (2014), or William's (2004) with his 'situated analysis' approach to citizen participation.

### *Ownership*

A UN-Habitat study (2017) revealed that residents are unlikely to take ownership of completed projects, and fail to maintain their newly developed residential area. In previous cases, beneficiaries of new housing rent out the units to outsiders, mostly middle class residents, and move back into informal settlements. The most notable case is the Kibera Slum Upgrading Project undertaken by the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) whereby newly erected high-rise units were meant to house 600 families, but were unable to move in due to an unaffordable \$1300 deposit. Many residents resorted back to their previous squatter settlements whilst the middle-class took possession of the units. The new residents further did not take up maintenance, hence the Kibera high-rises have deteriorated, and experience failing electricity, water supply, and blocked sewerage. Therefore, the idea that citizen participation in housing projects increases ownership and responsibility seems to be distorted. In the NURPP, residents are expected to form management committees.

### *Participation*

With the 2016 Public Participation Bill there was new hope in improving urban governance, as one of its aims is to enhance participation of the target group in decision-making. In the context of Nairobi however, certain trends emerged which suggests otherwise. There have been many complaints about the communication between the NCC and participating residents, which includes misinformation and inconsistent statements on issues such as the relocation plan, and price of the new units. The fact that the estate representative and area MCA's are meant to be channels through which the people represent and air their views have been met with a lot of suspicion. Furthermore there has been much resistance from residents, citing the NCC has concealed vital information on the project. The resistance has now been met with hostility from the NCC by threatening that non-cooperation with the project will result in the termination of their tenancy.

The NCC tries to adopt participatory methods in their urban renewal project, but either do not have the proper experience and tools to do so, or use it as a 'mask' to continue corruptive practices. This supports Gaventa's (2006) view, that participation in developing countries is an unsteady process as governments and citizens are unfamiliar with the concept of cooperation and dialogue. Or the notion that the inclusion of

participation in planning practices is used as a 'mask' follows Kickert, Kleijn, en Koppenjan's (1995), instrumental approach to participation i.e. manipulative steering approach. Kickert, Kleijn en Koppenjan (1995) further state that this particular approach is done with selected participants, which they define as politicians or civil servants. In the case of NURP, participation has followed a path of consultative meetings often led by estate representatives and area MCA's. Residents however have a lack of trust in the estate representatives, as they believe their involvement is to influence the rest of the residents only for personal gain. This narrative has shaped much of Nairobi's land developments, whereby the NCC blindsides citizens. Hence there are many concerns that the NCC makes empty promises and only intends to undermine the social rights to housing.

## 5.2 The Way Forward

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The participatory process in urban planning and development in Nairobi has largely failed due to Kenya's historical, cultural and political foundation, i.e. the colonial past and foreign administration that was imposed on the country. Following, Kenya's independence in 1963, the administrative process, including urban planning, housing policy and land administration was largely taken over by the new Kenyan Government. There's a lack of a proper institutional framework to support civic engagement, despite the 2016 Public Participation Bill, as the participatory framework fails to translate into practice.

The Nairobi municipal administration (often overruled by the Central Government in its decision-making), overpromises during political campaigning but lacks in delivery of basic services to its citizens, while simultaneously having strong linkages with the business community as they safeguard each other's interest. These political and business elites sustains corruption in housing, land and property administration, development and administration at all levels.

Furthermore, the political-and business elites consider Nairobi merely as a backyard for business investment and growth without giving the welfare of Nairobi's citizens in general but particularly those of other ethnic communities that are not aligned or represented in the political administration of the day much thought. Against the backdrop of such a hostile environment, the achievement of longer-term outcomes and impact of urban planning and development projects to be planned, developed and rolled out while factoring in participatory processes is a serious challenge. Other challenges, what Rebecca Abers (2000) refers to as "inequality problems" are issues such as time and money. As Abers (2000) suggests, lower-income groups largely do not have the time or monetary funds to travel to and engage in public meetings. Another issue is that of

expertise which reflects the question on what level knowledge is needed for effective participation. Issues of illiteracy, language barrier (project documents are in English), as well as (the lack of) technical knowledge might impede participatory processes. Abers further observes that low levels of expertise (and or education) not only affects participation but also de-empowers citizens as it affects their confidence to raise their opinions, which she noticed happened amongst vulnerable groups.

Other more general practical limitations include scale, time, and communication. As Nairobi already exhibits a complex urban environment, the larger the scale of the region undergoing development, the more participation within the given scale will prove difficult. The NURP primarily focused on small-scale neighbourhood estates, targeting residents and prospective residents as participants in the project. The second phase of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Program targets the whole of the Eastland's region, which geographically comprises of different estates, and business and commerce areas, the question then becomes who gets to participate when working on such a large scale. Time wise, participation has shown to be time consuming even in developed nations, adding to the complexity of decision-making. Nairobi has had history with delayed projects (delays often resulting in failing to finish projects), and the NURP has already exceeded time-lines mainly due resistance from the public, and the lengthy process of verifying homeowners and allocating the correct title deeds. Lastly, ineffective communication strategies have led to many citizens not being aware of public talks therefore claiming they have not been part of the project, and in addition led to many misconceptions and conflicting statements, increasing distrust towards the NCC. Access to information has also been a problem, as many participants indicated they do not know where to find and read up on project documents.

Besides the above constraints to participation there is also the sentiment that participation is a two way street, a dialogue between government and civil society. Levels of participation are usually assessed based on how and at what level a government chooses to engage citizens. In the case of NURP, even though the government is seemingly steering participation in their favour, citizens' unwillingness or disinterest to participate also poses a problem. Swapan (2016) expresses that attitudes by participating actors (which are contextual), are often ignored when analysing participatory models. The research in this dissertation has partly sought to examine how Nairobi's history has potentially impacted citizens' stance on participation.

According to Myers (2016) other projects implemented under Nairobi Metro 2030, such as the commuter train from Nairobi-Mombasa, or the now completed Thika Superhighway also failed to garner public interest and attendance at public events, leading to low levels of participation. Other research by Owuor and Mbatia (2008) indicated that these low levels are attributed to a repetitive history by the NCC of inviting

citizens to public discussions on urban planning projects, collect their queries and concerns as a false way of showing they value public opinion, only to disregard any input given. Due to a repeated pattern of neglecting valuable contributions made by participants, citizens are more likely to not participate in future projects, despite efforts made by the NCC to invite the public to discussions and workshops. In other instances the public is not aware of said invitation, which relates to ineffective communication strategies that are being implemented to sensitize and engage citizens.

### *5.2.1 State-Led Participation Or Bottom-Up?*

Despite some critiques there is optimism around the application of participatory processes in physical planning. One of these critiques, which was briefly mentioned in the theoretical framework, is that Arnstein and Choguill's participatory models fail to take into account any political instability a developing country has faced either currently or at some point in its history, therefore limiting its effectiveness when trying to adopt it in current planning schemes. Another critique highlighted by Swapan is that these models think too much from a government's standpoint, and not from a citizen's standpoint. One seemingly easy way to change this, is to see participation not from a government's perspective, but from a community perspective and focus more on bottom-up approaches which would give more empowerment to the community compared to collaborations. However, focussing on 'bottom-up' initiatives also highlights the notion that civil society is:

'...sufficiently organized to be able to: recognize the need for planned intervention; commit themselves to an organized process of planning which is accepted as well by those who will ultimately be affected by action; engage in a process of consensus-seeking which is democratic and equitable; negotiate any processes or outcomes with formal structures of government; mobilize resources and capacities to carry forward decisions; and maintain involvement with processes of implementation.' (Watson, 2002, p. 43)

Based on findings from this research it is evident that Kenyan society is deeply influenced by ethnic alliances leading up to internal conflict, therefore any propositions are often motivated along tribal lines, and according to Watson (2002) 'cannot necessarily be relied on to take forward issues of broader public interest' (2002, p.43). Civil society has further shown intense resistance to government initiatives stemming from a past of injustices, which could hinder effective communication and joint decision-making. Findings further reveal the linkages between the state and private sector (business elites), as well as suspected political ties between the NCC and estate representatives, which indicates civil society is not entirely a separate and self-determining entity, and

therefore its capabilities to influence the state to act according to their needs are questionable. In short, civil society lacks the cohesion and coordination to carry forward issues that are translated into actual projects.

That being said, participation should not explicitly follow a bottom-up approach as a measurement of democratic governance. Bishop and Davis (2002) argued that the level of participation depends on the issue at hand:

‘Participation is shaped by the policy problem at hand, the techniques and resources available and, ultimately, a political judgment about the importance of the issue and the need for public involvement. Participation arrangements tend to be local and ad hoc, and any realistic categorization will reflect diverse and unrelated practices.’ (2002, p.21)

For example, big projects such as NURP, and the following phase 2, would be more effective when government initiated, and then take form of a *partnership* whereby both parties have negotiating power, joint planning and joint decision-making. Currently the level of participation falls more under *consultation* through public meetings, and *placation*, whereby there is a residents committee engaging with MCA’s, however the NCC still holds decision-making power.

There are still opportunities for grass-root initiatives and bottom-up approaches when planning on a smaller scale (neighbourhood or street level). For example, UN-Habitat’s Slum Upgrading Program has community development tool called Community Managed Funds (CMF) 10% of slum upgrading funding is given directly to the community for them themselves to self-organize, and solely have the power to plan, decide, and execute proposals for spatial development (UN-Habitat, 2017). This tool stimulates community-led projects, thereby empowering the community. Overall, the possibility for bottom-up approaches, or co-production in planning depends on the government’s but also civil societies’ willingness and capability to create an environment under which such approaches can exist.

### 5.2.2 Practical Solutions For Phase 2 And Other Future Projects

General shortcomings of the current Phase 1 of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Program include project delays, staff increases, conflict of interests, and inefficiency in project execution due to inexperience with participatory methods. More in-depth hindrances detailed earlier include discrepancies in information, mistrust amongst the target group, conflicting interest between the state and society as well as within society itself, etc. In preparation of phase 2 of the plan, which is the urban renewal of the region Eastlands,



the NCC could address some of these difficulties currently present in phase 1 to ensure effective participation to enhance project results.

Nairobi faces the task of overcoming many barriers to citizen participation, by reforming government institutions and addressing socio-cultural differences that have been embedded in the urban fabric. Concrete steps need to be taken to gradually work towards avoiding past mistakes and pitfalls of the “people’s process” in Nairobi. In preparation of phase 2 of the plan, some possible ways in which participation can be shaped to effectively serve the given context were briefly outlined in the theoretical chapter, but further elaborated below.

1. As Nairobi aims to work towards the New Urban Agenda through the Nairobi Metro 2030 master plan, the NUA offers governments the opportunity to a more inclusive approach to urban development, but attempts at engaging citizens has not been proven effective. In order to reshape participation moving forward, there needs to be a focus on the ‘Right to the City concept’, which aims to shift societal attitudes towards development through inclusion and equity. With this, citizens need to be made aware of their human rights, i.e. the right to basic services, education, security of tenure, etc. Civic education and civic responsibility needs be taught in various community groups (women, church, youth, labour), as well as at different levels of education (primary, secondary, tertiary), in order to increase levels of participation and ensure there is sufficient engagement and awareness on what participation looks like.
2. The NCC needs to build trust and confidence and simultaneous empower low-income communities by strengthening its presence in a positive manner by creating an open and constructive dialogue about its past performance and the lessons learned in order to avoid the same pitfalls and shortcomings in the strategy and methodology of urban planning and development projects in factoring in participatory processes. This would help steer citizen’s attitudes towards participation in a positive direction, and encourage greater levels of participation as trust plays a big factor in the level of involvement from the citizen’s perspective (Mitullah, 2018; Swapan, 2016). To help facilitate this trust-building process, other actors such as academia, international and local organizations can act as mediators between the government and participating citizens as well as introduce a third point of view.
3. Planners need to use ‘situated’ knowledge, and recognize the importance of inherited differences in society. They must be aware of local historical processes (politically, socially, economically, etc.), and understand the underlying causes of

community resistance in order to facilitate new planning ideas. Accordingly, planners need to act as a neutral point between state and society.

4. The next step would be the correct dissemination of information and use of effective communication strategies. Swapan (2016) discovered that respondents, who did not participate in planning projects, claimed they were deliberately given inadequate and incomplete information, in efforts to reduce resistance to projects. This sentiment rings true in the case of NURP as well.
5. To enhance levels of ownership and decision-making by citizens (end-users), citizens must be enabled to go through a process of human-centred design thinking (inspiration ideation and implementation); undergo visioning exercises by all age-groups i.e. children, youth and adults, including vulnerable groups; and take part in urban and neighbourhood planning and positive place-making. The final mapping plan will be analysed by end-users and facilitated by professional planners, and will inform the formulation of scenarios and strategies for neighbourhood development i.e.: i.e. residential renewal and refurbishment, safe, public playgrounds linked to street-scale parks, low-motorized traffic roads, walk-ways, pedestrian crossings, secure and safe bus-stops, youth-and community centres, and social infrastructure such as schools and health centres and link and embed these in the urban and neighbourhood fabric. This places citizens on the step of '*partnership*' on the participatory scale and gives them the opportunity to make conscious decisions when it pertains to their living environment. In the current Nairobi urban Renewal Program, the cost of such a participatory approaches can be factored into the project and operational budgets. End-users can be organised through existing structures of neighbourhood committees and CBO's in the targeted neighbourhoods.
6. To instil a culture of responsibility with regard of the maintenance and repair of new neighbourhoods and individual housing, neighbourhood committees need to be set up (focusing on equality i.e. ensuring representation by women, youth, elderly, and persons with disability), their terms of references be drafted of the roles, responsibilities and functions, their capacity be raised through offering a training program, equipping the committees with the administrative and communication means to carry out their functional role of oversight, and compliance and factor in the urban renewal program a budget line to finance the activities of the neighbourhood committee for an initial period where-after the outcomes are being evaluated to sustain the continuation of the committees

7. To encourage more 'bottom-up' approaches, the NCC can include tools such as UN-Habitat's CMF model, whereby the NCC could encourage and help facilitate small-scale local community-led development projects by providing funding and possibly technical assistance. Communities can either form a resident committee who then submits proposals for funding, or already existing CBO's can do the same. With this, citizens can still increase their agency in a hostile and constrained system.
8. Another bottom-up approach is the enhancement of more participatory governance by creating children and youth development councils, which address urban issues affecting the empowerment of said group in their direct living environment. Urban issues would include those of public safety (on the street), public spaces (playgrounds, social centres), mobility (bicycle paths, pedestrian paths and crossings), and public health issues (public toilets, open waste dumps, nuisance from bars in neighbourhoods). Local governments (for example the NCC) can provide the budget for the establishment of children and youth councils, and help facilitate meetings and workshops. Such an approach has proven successful in Jericho Palestine (Tamimi, 2007), as it builds confidence and fosters political governing abilities from an early age. This gives them an early understanding of what participation in the development of the urban environment looks like.

Hence, for any future project, which requires citizen participation, effective communication strategies need to be developed to: I) sensitize communities and create awareness, as well as continuously updating them on project developments; II) the NCC must refrain from providing citizens with unambiguous information, so as to avoid confusion and reduce the risk of resistance to projects; III) further encourage participation of all residents, including those who are vulnerable (women, youth, elderly, person with disabilities, those and for those with low education levels, or low proficiency in English, project documents should be translated, and IV) the NCC need to set-up, train and equip neighbourhood or resident committees to carry out a neighbourhood oversight and compliance role and in coordination with members of resident committees with a more educated background, facilitate meetings in such a way that it is understood by everyone, so they can contribute valuable input. In undertaking the above steps, in a well-planned manner and in the right sequence, past weaknesses and pitfalls in citizen participation can be eliminated if not significantly reduced.



## 6. Conclusion & Reflection



## 6. Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation was to analyse the historical planning context of Nairobi, and determine how the political, social, and cultural context of the city influences how participation is carried out in the Nairobi Urban Renewal pilot (NURP) project. The theoretical lens used to examine this process was Connelly's 'hostile' environments, and drawing on comparisons between NURP, and previous top-down urban renewal schemes in the city. The study showed a complicated urban environment that seems almost impenetrable by citizen participation processes. A city so complex that any previous attempts at urban renewal or land developments (top-down) resulted in a mismatch between intended urban development interventions and the actual urban situation on the ground, and showed the failures of such top-down initiatives. The study sought to examine two main questions, firstly how the urban context both past and present shapes the manner in which participation takes place, and discover citizen's attitude towards this process. Secondly how and if the inclusion of participatory processes could correct the failures of top-down housing schemes by examining people's attitudes towards NURP and the process of participation within the project.

The study revealed that long-term oppression and neglect of the low-income population during pre-and post colonial times have built up distrust amongst citizens, and fear of any government initiatives on land and housing developments. NURP indeed rectify some past mistakes, including issues of unaffordability, monetary deficits etc. But the implementation of citizen participation has shown to be challenging with regards to meeting the longer-term outcomes of ownership, sustainability and behavioural change towards responsibilities of maintenance and repair of neighbourhoods and housing.

Complications in communication strategies between the NCC and citizens resulted in the target group feeling that they have not been included in discussions with county government, despite the NCC claiming that they have been involved in every step of the project thus far. Participation has also been hindered by conflicting information and statements made by the NCC on the projects aims, which decreased public support of the project even further.

In moving forward, with Phase 2 of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Plan, but future city plans as well, the NCC needs to address the tense climate between them and citizens of Nairobi, enable them to participate human-centred design thinking processes, visioning exercises and participatory urban planning, and raise citizens capacity and equip and fund them to carry out their oversight and compliance role if they would like realise successfully and

sustain over the longer term projects through participation. However, effective participation is only one factor in successful land developments.

On the larger scale the Nairobi Metro 2030 needs careful revision. As it stands now, the urban master plan, along with its high-rise buildings, modern infrastructure and networks, and green public spaces, has received wide local critic as being out of touch with the reality on the ground. The city lacks a proper framework to execute current land and housing policies, and the majority of citizens live in informal settlements, yet there is hardly any mention of informal settlements in the Nairobi Metro Plan 2030. In conclusion, citizen participation is merely a tool to facilitate planning projects, if planned and rolled out in the right sequence and with the adoption of the formulated recommendations outlined in this research, could be successful if the intended project outcomes, outputs and objectives resonate with the realities on the ground.

## 6.1 Reflection

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### *Future Research*

Besides suggested changes to the methodological approach of the study to enrich the quality of data, such as additional time; careful time-management; rapport building; audio recordings, etc. Additional interviews with residents would be of benefit to get supporting or contrasting information, as the number of 4 interviews per estate was insufficient. With this different age groups, social groups, as well as vulnerable and minority groups should be interviewed to also see if there are differences and patterns in the answers provided by the different groups which could add a whole different perspective into citizen concerns. More interviews with NCC personal, as well as public participation consultants and housing developers would also make the results more holistic.

The scope of the study was limited to Phase 1 of the Nairobi Urban Renewal Scheme, which was the Nairobi Urban Renewal Pilot Projects, phase 2 being the Eastlands Urban Renewal Project. However, results could provide useful insights and recommendations for phase 2 of the urban renewal scheme. The same study could also be conducted for phase 2 (with the adjustments made above) in which future comparisons can be made. Both studies could provide the NCC with the necessary information to develop citizen participation techniques that are best suited in the given situation, and develop urban planning strategies that coincide with the actuality.

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## Appendices

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### Appendix 1. Informant Profile

I #	Sex	Age	Estate	Description
1	F	N/A	Uhuru	Is a home owner and has lived in the estate since 1996
2	F	46	Uhuru	Is a renter and has lived in the estate since 2006
3	F	N/A	Uhuru	Is a homeowner
4	M	N/A	Uhuru	Is a homeowner and has lived in the estate for 22 years
5	M	36	Ngara	Is a homeowner and has lived in the estate for 5 years
6	M	33	Ngara	Is a renter and has lived in the estate for 10 years
7	M	25	Ngara	Is a renter and has lived in the estate for 2 years
8	M	N/A	Ngara	Is a renter and has lived in the estate for 35 years
9	M	N/A	Suna Road	Is a business owner
10	F	36	Suna Road	Is a business owner and has lived in the estate for 18 years
11	M	N/A	Suna Road	Is a business owner and has lived in the estate for 3 months
12	F	58	Suna Road	Is a business owner and has lived in the estate for 58 years
13	F	37	Jevanjee B.	Is a business owners / renter and has lived in the estate for 37 ys.
14	M	17	Jevanjee B.	Is a casual labourer and has lived in this estate for 4 years
15	M	68	Jevanjee B.	Is a renter and business owner has lived in the estate for 45 ys.
16	F	39	Jevanjee B.	Is a renter and has lived in the estate for 1 year
17	M	24	Ngong Road	Is a renter/student and has lived in the estate for 20 years
18	M	30	Ngong Road	Is a renter/water vendor and has lived in the estate for 13 years
19	M	28	Ngong Road	Is a renter and has lived in the estate for 5 years
20	M	32	Ngong Road	Is a business owner /renter and has lived in the estate for 24 ys.
21	F	N/A	NCC	Marion Rono (head of Department of Housing)

## Appendix 2. Interview Lists

### 2.1 Question List for Citizens

#### Introduction

- First and foremost I would like to say thank to agreeing to do this interview with me. My name is Dorien Dierkx and I'm a master student in Urban Environmental Management at Wageningen University in the Netherlands.
- I'm currently doing research for my thesis on the topic of citizen participation in the Urban Renewal Project, so I would like to interview a number of local citizens, including you about your opinion on this participation, and the issues addressed in the project.
- Information gathered during the interviews will be used to analyse how citizen participation is carried out in the project, and IF the use of citizen participation might result in the same consequences as with urban renewal projects without community engagement.
- I will first start off with some general questions about you. This will be followed about your views on the problems your estate is facing. I would then like your opinion on whether your interests are being given enough attention within the project, and lastly I would like your opinion on the process of citizen participation itself within the project.
- The interview will last approximately 30 to 45 minutes.
- I would like to ask for permission to record the interview. All the information given will be strictly confidential and no names will be reported.

#### Background Questions:

1. How long have you lived in this estate for?
2. What made you move to this estate? (Family, proximity to work, rental price, etc.)
3. Are you a homeowner or renter?
4. Through which manner did you learn about the Urban Renewal Project?
5. Have you been invited to any workshops arranged by the project developers to discuss the project?

Concept	Main Question	Possible Follow-Up Qs.	Notes
Urban Issues	1. In your opinion, what are the main problems your estate, and the region as a whole is facing?	How would you like these (mentioned) issues to be addressed?  How about the accessibility in/to the area? (Roads, public transport)  How about social services / Infrastructure? (Leisure facilities, basic amenities, playgrounds, disability infrastructure)  Are you of the opinion that the renewal project pays enough attention to these (mentioned) issues?	

<b>Project Phases</b>	2.What are your major concerns for the region as the project is being carried out?	What consequences will the project have for your daily life, as it is being carried out?  How do you feel about the temporary relocation plan that has been set up in the project?	
	3.What are your main concerns after the project has been completed?	What are your hopes in terms of job availability in the area?  What are your concerns about the allocation of housing after the implementation of the project? (Ownership)	
<b>Citizen Participation</b>	4. Could you tell me about what the process of citizen participation within the project has been like for you?	How often, and in what ways do the project developers reach out to the community? → vice versa?  Are you satisfied with the rate of communication between the community and the project developers? Incase no → How would you like this to be improved?  Do you think the interests of the community are being taken serious by project developers? Incase no →	
	5.In what ways has the community been involved in the project?	What role would you have liked to have within the project?	
	6.What is your opinion on the process of citizen participation as a whole?	Are you of the opinion that the use of citizen participation produces better project results?	

### Closing Statement

- That was it for the main questions. To close the interview I would like to ask some background questions.
  - Could you tell me your age?
  - What is your Occupation?
- Thank you for taking the time to have this interview with me.
- As a reminder the information gathered will be treated confidentially and no names will be is reported.
- If you are interested in the results of my research I could send you a copy of my report upon completion.
- Lastly I would like to ask if you are able to refer me to any one else who is aware of the Eastland's project and its aims? Or someone who has been involved in the workshops held with the community?

## 2.2 Question List for Project Developers

- First and foremost I would like to say thank to agreeing to do this interview with me. My name is Dorien Dierkx and I'm a master student in Urban Environmental Management at Wageningen University in the Netherlands.
- I'm currently doing research for my thesis on the topic of citizen participation in the Urban Renewal Project, therefore, I would like to interview project developers who could provide me with further insight into issues addressed in the project, and the way citizen participation is arranged.
- Information gathered during the interviews will be used to analyse how citizen participation plays a role in the project, and analyse if the use of citizen participation results in the same outcomes and consequences as compared to urban renewal projects without community engagement.
- I will first start of with some general questions about you. This will be followed with questions about the key issues in the project, and how they will be dealt with. Thereafter, I will ask questions about citizen participation, and how this plays a role in the project.
- The interview will last for approximately 45 to 60 minutes.
- I would like to ask for permission to record the interview to make analysis more convenient.

### Background Questions:

1. Could you tell me about your role within the Eastlands Urban Renewal Project?

Concept	Main Question	Possible follow up Qs	Notes
Project Background	1. What is the background that led to this project and what does this project entail?		
	2. What are the major areas of concern that will be addressed/improved?	What about accessibility? (roads, public transport system).  What about social services/infrastructure? (basic amenities, leisure facilities, playgrounds, disability infrastructure).  After implementation of the project what type of jobs will become available? And how will the inhabitants of the region benefit from this?	



<b>Ownership</b>	3. How will the project affect the housing ownership structures currently in place?	What will happen to tenants of the illegal extensions?  How will the project deal with the transfer of new housing to previous tenants?	
<b>Citizen Participation</b>	4. What is your view on the use of citizen participation in urban renewal projects?	How has the process of citizenship participation been like in this particular project?	
	5. In which ways does the community contribute to the project?	How frequently do you engage the community in the project?  Which methods do you use to reach out to the community? Vice versa?	
<b>Citizen Concerns</b>	6. What are the citizens most concerned about in their region?	What aspects of the projects are the citizens less concerned about?  Have there been any disagreements and or conflict between citizens and the content of the project during workshops held?	

### Closing Statement

- That was it for the questions. Thank you for taking the time to have this interview with me.
- If you are interested in the results of my research I could send you a copy of my report upon completion.
- Is it okay to reach out to you again for a follow up if need be?
- Lastly I would like to ask if you are able to refer me to any one else who might be useful to my research, either within your organization or someone else directly involved in the project?  
Consultant groups, NGO's, community organizations.

