CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY OF SUBALTERN COMMUNITIES: LIVED EXPERIENCES OF MUKURU KAYABA INFORMAL SETTLEMENT COMMUNITY, NAIROBI COUNTY, KENYA

BY

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DECLARATION

Declaration by the Student:

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DEDICATION

To God Almighty alone be all the glory and honour for this far only He has brought me.

Dedicated to the memory of my Mother, Florah A. Murumba who died when I was six years old. Our Journey together ended in my first term and second month of Standard One. I hope you can see this and it makes you proud.

Dedicated to my Father, Murumba E. Werunga. Thank you for always being there for me through the highs and the lows. Our Journey to Moi University began in 1999 for my undergraduate course and culminates in this project. Thank you for modelling diligence, patience and persistence. You always said that your expectations were higher. I hope I have tried in some ways to move your red pen along!

To my brother Barnaba for his invaluable assistance when my laptop was brought to its knees. Many thanks to my brother Yohana, the IT guru and my sister Florah for her encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

This study was based on the informal settlement of Mukuru Kayaba in Nairobi County. Informal settlements are a common feature of the urban landscape in developing countries; raising unique challenges in tackling their social, political and economic problems. The new Kenyan Constitution (2010) recognises, institutionalises and entrenches citizen participation in Kenya. The study was problematized around examining the lived experiences of the informal settlement community as they attempt to leverage their citizenship and participate in improving their communities. Lived experiences refer to the knowledge gained about events through personal, first-hand involvement of people in everyday events. The objectives of the study were: to determine existing provisions for citizen participation in social sustainability of subaltern communities; to examine how citizens in subaltern communities, access, interpret and utilise existing provisions for citizen participation in social sustainability of their communities and to assess the views of the community on provisions for and the extent of citizen participation in enhancing social sustainability in subaltern communities. Theories of citizen participation, the public sphere and power framed the discussion of this research. This study adopted a relativist-interpretivist paradigm, a qualitative approach, using the transcendental phenomenology research method. The target population was the people living in Mukuru Kayaba; the unit of analysis was the individual who has lived there for more than one year. A sample of thirty individuals was selected using criterion sampling. The data was generated using in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis. Data was analysed thematically from the codes generated by the process of transcendental phenomenological analysis and presented narratively. Ethical issues were addressed and appropriate measures were taken to ensure trustworthiness of the study. Among the major findings of the study was that the members of the Mukuru Kayaba community had mixed perceptions of the utility of citizen participation for social sustainability of their communities. Their lived experiences expressed by their reactions, gave a picture of people perceiving their apathy and exclusion; low levels of citizenship and public trust; high dependency on local social networks; their scepticism of *'barazas'* and the role of the public administration; the importance of projects in informal settlements and also as spaces for contestations of power. Finally, the findings highlight the importance of devolution in enabling citizen participation and the lack of policy coherence between the national and county governments. The study concludes that meanings and practices of citizen participation in subaltern communities are an important determinant on the sustainability of development initiatives in informal settlements. The researcher recommends that further studies on the role of the chairpersons in informal settlements would be necessary. This should include analysing the role of chiefs, being administrators in the settlements as key enablers of the government agenda and the role of community health volunteers' (CHVs) work in informal settlements as both social and political mobilisers. Finally, there is a need for further research on sustainably transiting projects initiated by international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to scaling by local NGOs and Community Based Organisations.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CBO	Community Based Organisation
KNBS:	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
NACOSTI:	National Council of Science and Technology
NGAO	National Government Administrative Officer
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PA	Public Administration
SACCOs	Savings and Credit Co-operative Societies
UN-HABITAT:	United Nations Human Settlement Programme

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Citizen/Public Participation: A process through which ordinary people take part as individuals or as part of a group, on a voluntary or obligatory process; with the goal of influencing decisions involving significant choices that will affect their community (André *et al*. 2015). In this study, the term will be utilised to provide a tool as well as evidence of the engagement of slum communities in the agenda and actualisation of desired change.

Community Participation: This is the capacity to enable people to influence decisions in the political arena that affect them and also the means of obtaining through mutual help together with external assistance, basic needs which would have been out of the reach of subaltern communities (Choguill, 1996). It is a strategic term that denotes the harnessing of individual needs for the benefit of an organised community. In this study it depicts the need to contextualise participation to fit the unique needs of developing country urban subaltern communities.

Created/Invited/Institutionalised Spaces: These are spaces created by the state for the purposes of providing an avenue for the inclusion of the public (Cornwall, 2002). In the context of this study, these are the formalised arrangements created by the state in an effort to make the processes of governance more inclusive. They are meant to create fora for engagement between agents of the state and local communities of which subaltern communities are a part of.

Forms of Power: Power 'to': The form of power that refers to the capacity to act and exercise agency and realise the potential rights, citizenship or voice (Gaventa, 2006). **Power 'with':** The form of power referring to the gaining of self-

identity, confidence and awareness that is a prerequisite for action (Gaventa, 2006). These are applied in tandem with citizen participation to animate the institutionalised spaces for the desired progress of subaltern communities.

Sustainable Development: Development that meets the needs of the present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to do the same.

Social Sustainability: Social sustainability refers to the processes and plans that improve the dignity and governance of the most vulnerable populations, both future and present. This is the improvement of the living conditions of people and future generations and the quality of the governance of the development process (Boström, 2012). This term highlights the desired end of the process of citizen participation practised in the arena of institutionalised spaces and undergirded by the forms of power that strengthen and improve the position of subaltern communities.

Subaltern Communities: A term coined by Gramsci (1971) that refers to a group that has an inferior status in society. It is made up of individuals living in close proximity to one another and subjected to deplorable living conditions, lacking in agency and voice; existing on the periphery of the main society in terms of agency, location, provision and access of basic services and general status. They also experience difficulty in activating social mobility to achieve lasting, positive social change. This term will be used in the study to depict the position of the slum communities in relation to the mainstream communities.

Lived Experiences: Lived experiences refer to the knowledge gained about events through personal, first-hand involvement of people in everyday events.

Informal Settlements/Slums: Slums are informal settlements commonly found in urban areas and are characterised by poor shelter, low service provision and are lacking in security of tenure (Cronin,2011; Cities Alliance,2021)

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Overview

This initial chapter provides a detailed layout of the study. It seeks to situate the study in light of historical as well as current developmental realities. The background of the study locates the area of study academically and socially. It also highlights the local situation in light of the main theme of the study. The other sections of this chapter include the statement of the problem which highlights the main problem to be researched. The research questions derived from the problem under study focusing the research to draw relevant answers that address the problem. Other sections in this chapter are the scope, limitations and the rationale for the study.

1.2 Introduction

Kenya is the regional leading economy in East Africa. It has made steady progress economically but still faces challenges in dealing with issues such as environmental degradation and disasters, unemployment and corruption. These challenges have affected human development and increased dependency levels of about eighty percent (KNBS, 2011). High levels of social and economic inequality exist and social safety nets are almost non-existent. The capacity of the formal economy has been severely constrained and most of the jobs in the country are created in the informal economy (KNBS, 2011).

Nairobi, the capital city creates most the country's wealth in terms of the GDP, which stands at fifty percent of national figure (KNBS, 2011). In search of better prospects, the movement of people is skewed as they travel to the metropolis. This seat of the national government and the main trade hub attracts large numbers of businesses that

cluster in order to benefit from the facilities available. Agglomeration leads to the development of various amenities that meet the needs of the businesses. It also creates an environment that makes it easier for businesses to source for labour. Costs also rise with these conditions affecting the poorest members of the society lowering their quality of life. The city has the largest slums in the country and on the African continent. Informal settlements such as Kibra, Mukuru, Mathare and Korogocho are home to more than half of the population (KNBS, 2010). These informal settlements as defined by the term, are different from the norm and breach formal conventions. They are viewed by many people as inferior, irregular and undesirable (UNHABITAT, 2003).

In a bid to deal with the poor quality of life in these slums, various projects have been initiated. They address issues of pollution, sanitation, water distribution, health, education, domestic, housing quality and land tenure. *Muungano wa Wanavijiji* is a vocal actor in the dialogue of the narrative of the individual slum dweller and their communities. It is active in all the slums of the city and in other parts of the country.

1.2.1 Sustainable Development: Sustainability and Social Sustainability

This study focuses on the areas of sustainable development, urban citizenship and urban studies, disciplines of development studies. Sustainable development is a process of addressing human needs without interfering with the capacity of the resources to meet the needs of future generations. The debate of sustainable development is expressed in the debate on the fact that natural resources are non-renewable. Scholars have argued that this is a factor that curtails production and negatively affects economic growth due to environmental degradation and pollution. This led to the convening of the UN Conference on the Human Environment in

Stockholm in 1972. There was the apprehension that industrial production was eroding the resources required for long-term economic growth was of major concern at the environment.

The concept of sustainability emerged in the 1980s due to concerns about environmental degradation. Basiago (1999) explains that the term sustainable development first appeared in the World Conservation Strategy drafted by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN). The environment became a global issue and sustainability a common political goal (Mackenzie, 2004). The release of the Brundtland report in 1987 known as "Our Common Future" together with the Rio conference documents (1992) provided a working definition of sustainable development. This combined ecological, economic, social and institutional aspects of development (Littig and Griessler, 2005). The report defined sustainable development as:

> *"…development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (Mackenzie, 2004:2).

Sustainable development as a concept has been criticised because scholars believe that many actors using the term only pay lip service to the actual need to protect the environment. Various models have been created by scholars in a bid to explain the importance of sustainable development. For example, the three concentric spheres model in Figure 1.1 which is different from the linear models that gave more credence to the study of environmental aspects of sustainable development (Littig and Griessler, 2005). The overlapping circles showed that all the aspects of sustainable development should be considered equal. Scholars such as Sutton (2000) opine that sustainable development is about the sustenance of something so that the focus of

concern can be identified. Even with the recognition of all the aspects of sustainable development, the social aspect is still undervalued. So, in the 1980s international actors invested extensively in various projects in developing countries. These projects included hydroelectric power plants, dams and roads. However, it was evident that most of these projects had a detrimental effect coupled with other programmes such as the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). There was an increase in economic destabilisation, environmental degradation and social breakdown. This led to a consensus on the importance of development in developing countries that was all encompassing in its consideration of economic, environmental and socially sustainable development.

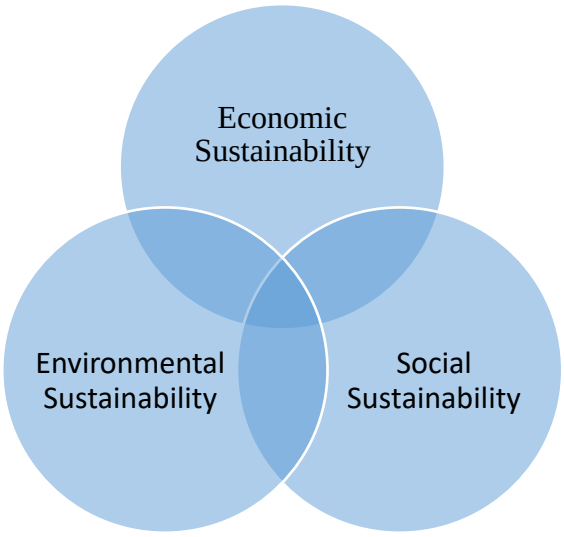

Figure 1.1: Forms of Sustainable Development (Littig and Griessler, 2005)

Mackenzie (2004:3) defines social sustainability as:

> *"…a life - enhancing condition within communities and a process within communities that can achieve that condition*".

Social sustainability is an important aspect that warrants study because it deals with aspects such as equity of access to key services, equity between generations, political participation and community responsibility (Mackenzie,2004). Linking social

sustainability and citizen participation is important because it addresses a key aspect of political participation. This is associated with governance defined as the systems by which other policy areas are implemented (Mackenzie, 2004).

This study intended to investigate how linkages between citizen participation practised through institutionalised spaces girded by the two forms of power; 'power to' and 'power with' (Gaventa, 2006). This can be used to achieve socially sustainable development of subaltern communities. The emergence of 'sustainability' in development studies led to the consensus over the need for the revitalisation, development and reformation of cities. Some scholars actually regard urban social sustainability as the ultimate end of the urban development (Basiago,1995). Urban social sustainability refers to the life of a city, the quality of life of its citizens and the capacity of the local environment to support local activities in the city (Polèse and Stren,2000). Basiago (1995) argues that urban social sustainability is an organising principle that governs activity at all levels of an urban system; a process that is used to select urban alternatives that will yield vitality.

Social sustainability covers the notions of equity, empowerment, accessibility, participation, sharing, cultural identity and institutional stability (Basiago, 1999). This means that it is an important aspect of urban development crucial in the improvement of livelihoods in informal settlements. Slums are informal settlements commonly found in urban areas and are characterised by poor shelter, low service provision and are lacking in security of tenure (Cronin, 2011). In many instances, these communities operate on the periphery of the mainstream. They are also wrongly viewed as homogeneous and often labelled as either the 'urban poor' or 'slum dwellers. They are

a community that is constituted by diverse individuals who may share the same locale but experience its effects and their own citizenship differently.

Urban agglomeration and the expansion of slums are a continuing phenomenon especially in the developing world. Indeed, statistics indicate that more than half of the global megacities will all be in the developing world by 2050 (UN-HABITAT, 2000). However, these burgeoning megacities of the global South lack the capacity to provide decent and affordable housing and sanitation for the urban poor. This leads to the proliferation and expansion of slums as people earning low wages mostly from daily contract labour seek housing that is within their means. They end up settling on the edge of the built-up areas out of necessity.

As the cities of the developing world continue to expand, slums are an inevitable feature. What is required of opinion shapers and policy makers is to address these settlements in the context in which they exist. They must take into account and include the opinions, ideas and agency of the people who live in these settlements. It is important to acknowledge the fact that these settlements are engines of innovation and growth. The lives of the local people have served as an avenue and motivation for the development of various products aimed at serving the needs of these communities. These 'bottom of the pyramid' communities also serve as fountains of agency for the improvement of local livelihoods that are brought to bear on the rural poor as well.

1.2.2 Citizen Participation and the Public Administration in the Constitutional and Governance Processes in Kenya

Following the repeal of section 2(a) of the constitution which turned Kenya from a one-party state to a multi-party state, various actors began to agitate for a change in the constitutional order. As a result of Kenya's 'second liberation'- the liberation from

the oppression of a one-party state- the country went through a period of consultative democracy to seek lasting reforms. This was a long, gruelling process that lasted over twenty years with a failed attempt at changing the constitution through a referendum in 2005. Post-election violence after the 2007 election further precipitated the need for change because it was an eruption of long-held antagonism in the society. Through a process of compromise and consultations, the draft was presented to the public in a referendum early August 2010 and the new constitution was promulgated on 27 August 2010. The document laid the ground for a two-tier system of government, the entrenchment of citizen participation and devolution in the country's constitutional order; these were the central promises of the new constitution. Borrowing heavily from some of the tenets of Anstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation and the constitutions of other countries, the country started the process of making governance more inclusive and participatory. Through this new system, at the national and county levels, participation in the matters of governance was localized (Kenya School of Government, 2015).

The Constitution of Kenya (2010) recognises, institutionalises, and strengthens the position of public participation in Kenya (Kenya School of Government, 2015). This enables citizens to take part in the processes that affect them and their communities (Odhiambo and Opiyo, 2017). All the legal frameworks of the constitution are part of the strategy to accelerate growth and to address long standing inequalities in economic opportunities, investment, and service delivery in different parts of the country (ibid, 2015). The constitution also establishes the framework for public participation and makes participation mandatory for policy and law-making processes. It also establishes the key institutions for public participation and directs the establishment of statutory bodies and the enactment of legislation for effective

participation. The expected performance and accountability gains of decentralization are often diminished by factors such as elite capture, clientelism, capacity constraints, weaknesses in performance monitoring, and competition over power between levels of government (ibid, 2015). The World Bank (2012) opines that effective decentralization depends on balancing the increased discretion of local governments with an increased accountability at all levels. Kenya's devolution project is one of the most ambitious that involves large scale political, fiscal, and administrative decentralization.

The Provincial or Public Administration (PA) is a creature of the colonial era. It was established as an instrument of the state whose activities included general representation of the authority of the executive at the local level, co-ordination of government activities in the field and chairing several committees at the local level. Under the old constitution, the co-ordination of central government policies and development programmes at the local level was done by this department. The Provincial Administration was a department in the Office of the President. The system divided Kenya into eight provinces; and then into districts, division, locations and sub-locations. They supervised central government ministries at the provincial and district levels but also co-ordinated their programmes and policies. They served as the representatives of the President in local areas and exercised upward accountability because they served at the pleasure of the president. One of the reasons activists and architects of the new constitution sought for the scrapping of this outfit is that they followed the orders of the executive without question. This meant that even when people were disenfranchised as a result, they could not change their actions. They, therefore, came to symbolise repression, dictatorship, impunity and authoritarianism (Bagaka, 2011).

The new constitution phased out provinces and introduced forty-seven counties which are further sub-divided into sub-counties, wards, locations and sub-locations. Some of the powers that the PA had have been taken away and given to the County Executive Committee (CEC). The CEC is headed by a governor and has a cabinet of county executive committee bureaucrats (Bagaka, 2011). The transfer of powers from a central government bureaucrat to a locally elected governor is meant to establish a culture of accountability. The fear of arbitrary uses of power in Kenya is still eminent with the retention of the PA (Mbai, 2003). Even the restructuring of the outfit has not led to better sentiments. Some reasons give observers pause; such as the fact that under the Constitution of Kenya (2010), the functions of the CEC and the PA bear a resemblance. The 2007 Scheme of Service for field administrative officers within the PA lays out their roles in the field. Some of the roles are in conflict with those of the CEC as mentioned above. Scholars such as Bagaka (2011) have argued that they now form the basis of the intergovernmental relationship between the central government and the county governments.

Intergovernmental relations are the complex network of overlapping and interlocking roles with different levels of government. They go deeper and are more involved than the formal understanding of devolution (Peters, 2004). They also refer to the set of policies and mechanisms by which the interplay between different levels of government serves a common geographical area (Shafritz, *et al.,* 2011). Inter-governmental relations are oriented towards governmental issues rather than political ones. In Articles 176, 186 and 189 of the Constitution of Kenya (2010), provision for a political structure is made. Underneath this constitutional structure, there is an administrative structure which is created to carry out specific functions of governance.

The reality is that both the political and administrative structure are important in governing the country.

Although the Constitution of Kenya (2010) enumerates the functions of both the national and county governments, implementing a constitution is more than ceding and sharing authority. There are issues such as education, health, terrorism, security, disaster management and peacebuilding that have both national and local implications. They are then in the purview of different levels of government. This system in Kenya then acts as a nexus between national and county governments (Bagaka, 2011). In 2012, following the signing of an Executive Order by the then President Kibaki, officers from the former arrangement were formally designated as national government administrative officers (NGAO) (The Standard, 2014). They included 47 County Commissioners, Deputy County Commissioners, Assistant County Commissioners, Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs.

Section 17 of the COK (2010) stipulates that within five years the 'new' formations should have undergone a restructuring. This, however, has not happened and the administrative operatives function as they did before. Therefore, to an extent, they maintain the same aloofness in their operational history (ibid, 2011) Also, the vestiges of the past in the form of consolidation of power by Kenya's post-colonial rulers has affected their ethical standards (Mbai, 2003). This has exacerbated the marginalisation of local administration and led to weak accountability and capacity to respond efficiently to all residents. The inability to devise effective strategies to deal with informal settlement communities has affected the lives of the residents (Menon, 2003).

The use of created or invited spaces as entrenched in the new constitutional dispensation is a contested notion. However, these 'new' spaces can be contextualised and used to achieve social sustainability of these communities. The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 entrenches the concept of citizen participation as well as the expansion of social and economic rights (Article 213). These second-generation rights are further girded by the articulation of civil and political rights. This is a departure from the ideas of Marshall (1950) which mostly dealt with political and civil rights. This is by virtue of the Constitution of Kenya (2010) emphatically laying out in Article 1 that all power and sovereignty lies with the people. This greater enunciation and articulation of the bundle of rights due to an individual serves as the bedrock on which there can be a contextualisation of the articulation of the rights, powers and spaces that the urban poor can agitate for.

The urban poor are also a significant bloc whose needs stand at the periphery of the mainstream. The problem of marginalisation and exclusion affects how the needs and rights of these communities are addressed. As noted by various scholars such as Kabeer (2002) and Lister (2003); it is important that the rights of such subaltern communities are organised from the bottom through the applied agency of these communities. Through the lens of research in the Mukuru Kayaba slums in Nairobi County, the study explored how citizen participation through the created and invited spaces for participation and the application of the forms of power, 'power to' and 'power with' can be used to achieve an environment for the social sustainability of subaltern communities.

One of the most significant contributions to the debate on participation and the well-being of communities is from Choguill (1996). She views this phenomenon from her

discussion on infrastructure and housing for the urban poor. The communities are considered entities that develop both politically and socially and therefore cannot be uprooted without loss. The community is therefore considered an important source and point from which the development of the individual must begin. Drawing on examples from countries in South America and Asia, she postulates that citizen participation should be thought of as community participation. This is crucial in her studies as the desired change is located in the community which in turn changes the individual's well-being.

Houtzager *et al.* (2003) look at civil society actors and the way they use institutionalised spaces in Sao Paulo, Brazil. The aim of their study was to find out who actually participates in the various arenas designated for engagement between governments and citizens. They argue that citizen participation is aimed at fostering inclusion and the redistribution of resources to ensure that the most vulnerable members of society are not left out or left behind. They conclude that it is easier for collective actors rather than individuals to engage in these spaces. Their design in terms of factors such as location, approachability and language have an impact on participation.

Lizarralde and Massyn (2008) explain the issue of housing upgrades and the failure of citizen participation for such projects in South Africa. They argue that in their view citizen participation is not a panacea for many problems affecting subaltern communities. From the perspective of low–cost housing projects in South Africa, they show that the process of community participation is not enough to provide positive outcomes. In the instances described in their study, the communities may see the ceding of their decision-making power as a way of accessing short term benefits

during project implementation. They depict the failure of the projects as being due to a complex web of relationships between the stakeholders and various factors. In the end, they conclude that urban interventions in developing countries must be designed in a manner that provides sustainable environments which lift the poor out of their exclusion and poverty (ibid, 2008).

From the academic studies presented above, most studies on citizen participation have looked at the issue through the lens of developing political and physical infrastructure. Also, a lot of the literature on informal settlements focuses on the evaluation of slum upgrading projects undertaken by the government and its partners (Nzau and Trillo (2020). This provides a basis for this study in the sense that there is evidence of a gap due to the reported developmental interventions that fail to account for the missing factor of social sustainability. A case in point is the failure of Kenya National Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) in Soweto East village of the Kibra informal settlement in Nairobi between 2004 and 2005(Nzau and Trillo, 2020). This is the sense that there is a need laying fundamental social infrastructure that will serve as ladders to ensure the success of development programmes whose impact is long lasting. As Lizarralde and Massyn (2008) have shown in their study, the urban poor in this context have their own considerations when it comes to the implementation and completion of projects. Using their own judgement, they decide on what outcomes they consider most important. They are able to cede other interests in order to receive those that they consider necessary for their daily or immediate well-being.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The statement of the problem is articulated in terms of: the academic problem and the social problem. In defining this problem in social and academic contexts, the study

aimed to depict the benefits of the study to these key stakeholder groups. The idea behind devolution and citizen participation is to enable individuals and communities to grasp the gains of the constitutional dispensation. In the social context, sustainability addresses the issue of inequality and the resilience of these communities. The peripheral position of the subaltern communities informs this study because their existence is usually ignored. The gentrification of urban development has taken place in areas set aside to upgrade slums has occurred in places such as Kibra where the beneficiaries of these projects have sold off the properties designed for them returning to a life, they are familiar with (Nzau and Trillo, 2020).

With specific reference to Mukuru Kayaba slum, the problem under study was the need to address the knowledge, capacity, utilisation of created spaces for the social sustainability of informal settlement communities. This is instrumental in dealing with the quality of life and sustainable development for the community, and in turn, individuals as well. Many of the residents being low-income earners have to rely on erratic assistance from actors such as the government and non- governmental agencies. In many instances, projects and programmes are developed without their input. This affects the sustainability of these initiatives as they are unable to meet the most basic needs of these communities.

Most of the existing literature on sustainability addresses the economic and environmental aspects. Also, as in the case of authors such as Dempsey *et al.* (2011) and Colantonio (2009) who are geographers and planners, examine social sustainability from a geographical planning and developed country perspective. This study addressed the often-forgotten aspect of social sustainability in developing countries which is a key aspect in the continuum of sustainable development and

urban citizenship. There is very little knowledge on social sustainability, and by extension, social sustainability of informal settlement communities. By linking social sustainability with citizen participation, the study will seek to create knowledge on the issue of subaltern communities. Participation remains a key component in contributing positively to the sustainability of communities (Spangenberg and Omann, 2006; Dempsey *et al*.,2011).

1.4 Research Objectives

This study had the following objectives:

1. To determine the existing provisions for citizen participation in the social sustainability of subaltern communities.
2. To examine how citizens in subaltern communities' access, interpret and utilise the existing provisions for citizen participation in social sustainability of their communities.
3. To assess the views of the Mukuru Kayaba community on provisions for and the extent of citizen participation in enhancing social sustainability in subaltern communities.

1.5 Research Questions

The specific questions of the study were:

1. What are the existing provisions for citizen participation in the social sustainability of subaltern communities?
2. How do the citizens in subaltern communities, access, interpret and utilise the existing provisions for citizen participation in social sustainability?
3. What are the views of the main stakeholders on provisions for and the extent of citizen participation in enhancing social sustainability in subaltern communities?

1.6 Scope of the Study

The scope of the study was articulated in terms of the content, context and the methodology of the study.

1.6.1 Content Scope

The first research question was: What are the existing provisions (opportunities) for citizen participation in the social sustainability of subaltern communities? It addressed the following issues: existence of programmes and projects, the existence of spaces, the methods for citizen participation, the government officials and offices, the work of local organised groups (women's groups, youth groups, CBOs, NGOs, business community, religious leaders) in raising awareness, the place of formal and informal educational institutions.

The specific field questions were:

1. Have you ever heard of citizen participation …? What does it mean to you?
2. What are the existing methods (e.g., public meetings, public hearings, workshops, surveys, direct mail, newsletters, public submissions, partnerships and collaborations, internet platforms) for citizen participation in the slums?
3. What are the projects or programmes that support citizen participation by creating awareness of the existing provisions for citizen participation in slums?
4. Which forums exist where your communities can give their views on the existing provisions for citizen participation in slums?
5. Which formal and informal educational institutions have been used to create awareness of citizen participation?
6. How are local organised groups involved in creating awareness of opportunities for citizen participation in this area?

7. What has been put in place by local government institutions (e.g., Chief's Office, Assistant County Commissioner) for citizen participation to take place in this area?

The second research question was: How do the citizens in subaltern communities' access, interpret and utilise the existing provisions for citizen participation in social sustainability? Issues arising from this question include the access to the provisions, utilisation of the provisions in terms of the language used and engagement in the designated spaces, interpretation of the provisions, who speaks on behalf of individuals and their communities, whether gender, age, social status and education affect participation in the designated spaces. The specific field questions were:

1. How do people access the spaces for citizen participation?
2. What language and format are used?
3. What are the projects or programmes that support citizen participation in accessing, interpreting and utilising the existing provisions for citizen participation in slums?
4. How do local organisations support access, interpretation and utilisation of the provisions …...?
5. How do communities participate in any kind of forum highlighting the issues of this community?
6. How does gender, age, social status and education affect the participation of subaltern communities in the designated spaces?

The third research question was: What are the views of stakeholders on provisions for and the extent of citizen participation in enhancing social sustainability in subaltern communities? The question raises the following issues from the definition of social

sustainability: issues of access to service provision and spaces of influence, how their voice can be heard and used in the spaces for citizen participation, whether slum communities are fully represented in their own local spaces, the extent of the participation of slum communities in these spaces and the views of the community on whether they are empowered by the citizen participation for the good of their community. The specific field questions were:

1. What are your views on how the provisions for citizen participation address:

i. empowerment
ii. participation
iii. voice
iv. representation
v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation

2. What are your views on the extent to which the provisions for citizen participation enhance social sustainability by addressing:

i. empowerment
ii. participation
iii. voice
iv. representation
v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation

3. What are your views on the extent to which citizens have access to opportunities for:

i. empowerment
ii. participation

iii. voice

iv. representation

v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation

4. What are your views on the extent to which citizens can utilise opportunities for citizen participation for:

i. empowerment

ii. participation

iii. voice

iv. representation

v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation.

5. What are your views on the extent to which citizens can interpret opportunities for citizen participation for:

i. empowerment

ii. participation

iii. voice

iv. representation

v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation

1.6.2 Contextual Scope

Previous studies on social sustainability have been conducted by scholars in developed countries. They have been carried out in countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and the United States (Dempsey, 1993; 2001); (Colantonio, 2009; 2013 and 2014). They usually focus on social sustainability in the

face of rapidly changing urbanisation and the gentrification of certain areas. Other studies in the global South have addressed the informal settlements in India and Mexico. This study notes that the conditions and experiences are different. Also, most of the studies of social sustainability have been conducted by geographers and urban planners in developed countries. This study intends to provide the perspective of the global South as well as that of development studies practitioners in the context of an African developing country. It will address the lived experience of subaltern communities in utilising invited/ created spaces to harness grassroots power to achieve the social sustainability**.**

The study was conducted by the researcher in Mukuru Kayaba slums of Nairobi County. The researcher chose this area because the slum is located in an urban area and due to the continued efforts of various stakeholders such as the government and non-governmental organisations to improve living conditions. These organisations which include community-based organisations are carrying out various projects in the area such as clean water, sanitation and healthcare and educational projects. However, these projects seem to have had limited success. This study aimed to explore the perceptions of the slum communities towards the created/invited spaces for their social sustainability. The study will seek the perceptions, opinions, narratives and descriptions of the local inhabitants, their leaders and other key informants.

1.6.3 Methodological Scope

Interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis which are qualitative methods of data generation were utilised to address the link between citizen participation and social sustainability. Purposive sampling methods of criterion sampling and snowball sampling were used in the selection of the participants for this

study. This ensured that the choice of participants was in line with the criteria set by the research questions. This will ensure that the researcher will be able to gain thick description from the informants. It is the most suitable way to draw out the relevant information as the study adopted a transcendental phenomenological research design that is bounded by a realist - interpretivist philosophical paradigm. This investigated the lived experiences of the participants living in Mukuru Kayaba slum.

1.7 Rationale for the Study

The proliferation and existence of slums is a global problem of marked importance especially to the developing world. It is therefore imperative that development practitioners and scholars find lasting solutions to deal with the issue. This study lends itself to research whether lived experiences of subaltern communities can be incorporated in the development of such answers. This need to find constructive solutions to the existing problem requires that the context and perceptions of the people living in these areas should be taken into account.

The dynamism and innovation that exist in slums makes a major contribution to regional and national development. In the exercise of their entitlement and right as citizens and not beneficiaries, there is need to raise the living standards of the local communities. They also serve as pools of labour for various firms located within the urban areas which make them important to budding and established entrepreneurs. By politicising the idea of the social sustainability of subaltern communities through citizen participation in created and invited spaces, it develops the ‘teeth’ it requires to effect meaningful change in these areas (Meer *at al.*, 2004). The communities are able to develop agency and gain voice as a foothold to press for the agenda that increases their visibility and addresses their issues.

The Urban Areas and Cities Act No.13 (2011) and its iteration, the Urban Areas and Cities (Amendment) Act (2019) and the Public Participation Bill (2019) as well as other pieces of legislation and documentation; do not fully address informal settlements as actual communities. These legislations perpetuate the marginalisation of these communities by failing to provide clear guidelines on how to engage with them. From the perspective of Choguill (1996), for instance, the Act is at the level of partnership. At this point, there is government involvement and that of the local communities in the process of decision making and planning through joint policy boards and planning committees. Government involvement is intense and partially successful. It has been bounded by the politics of the day which leads to the stalling of projects. It is helpful that the extension of the bundle of second-generation rights that have their basis in the rights – based approach to development has taken place. This serves as an attempt pf fleshing out of the idea of inclusion of marginalised groups as part of the national agenda. It also serves as a basis for the participation and inclusion of the ideas of the subaltern communities in improving their living standards.

This study is significant at this time because it acts as a source of contemporary knowledge on citizen participation in the twenty–first century. This contribution to the generation of knowledge will further inform the discussion on exclusion of the most vulnerable members of society. It can also provide direction in the development of responsive policies and programmes seeking to sustainably and positively impact subaltern communities. The understanding and knowledge of subaltern communities on the opportunities availed to them will enable to hold the state accountable in an informed manner.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter presented foundational information of the problem under study. It attempted to introduce the problem to be researched and has provided background information on the area where the study will be conducted. The specific research questions in the context of the study were utilised to address the identified problem. The scope, limitations and rationale of the study depict the challenges and opportunities that this study presented. The basis of the study was derived from both empirical and theoretical studies undertaken by various scholars and practitioners.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This chapter reviews the relevant literature underpinning this study. This is important because it serves as a base for the research and provides a rich body of material that contextualises the study. It enables the reader to situate the problem under study based on the ideas generated in the relevant literature.

2.2 Definition of Key Concepts

This section will attempt to explain the key concepts in the context of the study. These concepts are the basis for understanding the importance of research on the defined problem as expressed in the first chapter of this thesis.

2.2.1 Citizenship

The emergence of citizenship studies is associated with post modernisation and globalisation. This has been manifested as the reconfiguration of classes, emergence of international government regimes, new rationalities of government, new regimes of accumulation of different forms of capital, new social movements and the struggle for recognition and redistribution (Isin and Turner, 2002). Most social issues such as the status of immigrants, aboriginal peoples, refugees, diasporic groups, environmental injustice and homelessness have been increasingly expressed in the language of rights and obligations and hence citizenship. The three fundamental axes of citizenship are being redefined by: the extent (rules and norms of inclusion and exclusion), contents (rights and responsibilities) and depth (thickness or thinness) (Isin and Turner, 2002). The modern concept of citizenship as merely a status has been broadened and contested to include various political and social struggles of recognition and

redistribution as a way of making claims. As a result, various struggles based upon identity and difference have found new ways of articulating their claims to citizenship by understanding it not simply as a legal status but as a political and social recognition and economic redistribution

The history of citizenship can be traced back to the rise of the nation-state in the Greek city -states. It is understood in terms of rights and duties associated with the membership of the nation – state. The individual was empowered to be able to take part in the public life in the public sphere. This was the idea of rich men taking part as equals; a republican notion of the citizen that excluded women and slaves. The Romans had an expanded view of citizenship by granting it to people in places they had conquered except the lowest, rural groups. They developed a two – tier system of citizenship, passive and active citizenship. Contemporary changes began to take place during the Industrial Revolution that provided the modern idea of citizenship based on the rights of the individual (Kabeer, 2002).

The ideas of scholars such as Descartes (1596 – 1650) who argued that the individual had free will and inner conscience; hence, responsibility for his own actions laid the groundwork for the bedrock of modern citizenship. The modern conception of citizenship includes: civil citizenship which covers free speech ad movement, and the rule of law. Political citizenship deals with voting and seeking electoral office and social citizenship which talks about welfare, unemployment, insurance and healthcare rights (Isin and Turner, 2002). Fraser and Gordon (1994), posit that people began to be viewed as individuals able to act on their own as per agreed contracts between individuals who had no relational ties such as kinship. Marshall (1998) argues that the process of the expansion of citizenship status was through the expansion of old

rights to new sections of the population in response to their struggles. The first people to be granted civil and political rights were the rich and then gradually extended to the rest of the population. The granting of economic and social rights for the working classes would make the functioning of civil and political rights more effective and enrich their status as citizens (Kabeer, 2002).

The account by Marshall on citizenship is based on notions of his own society, i.e., white, male – dominated and bounded by British internal history. His idea is silent on gender and race. Women attained citizenship rights later than men in almost all Western societies such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America. This was regardless of differences in social status, class or race. At the time, beliefs were held those males as the heads of households represented the female or the wife in the public sphere. Heater (1990) then explains the changes taking place as the institutionalisation of citizenship through the establishment of various government apparatus.

In the South, through the process of colonisation, the basis of colonial policy was utilised by the principle of association and the use of local intermediaries for indirect rule (Kabeer, 2002). Political power was absorbed into the centralised state apparatus of colonial rule, replacing the diversified political arrangements which had previously existed. The British who were the main colonisers in Sub Saharan Africa used divisive strategies to extend the colonial customary law to personal matters and also to land issues (Mamdani, 1996). They used the traditional forms of authority to strengthen their domination of the natives. In this way, their colonisation project was entrenched and created a two – tier system where the natives were governed by native customary law and the white officers and settlers had their own laws (ibid,1996). The

colonised populations achieved national independence as religious, ethnic and tribal communities rather than as individual citizens. The rights of citizenship were bestowed by the elites who had led the struggle for independence and modelled the new constitutions on those of the 'mother' countries (Kabeer, 2002).

There were problems that arose due to the fact that rapid changes taking place in sub–Saharan Africa had taken centuries to take place in Europe. This led to an urban and a rural divide and the inability of most states to provide social welfare for a majority of its populations Asymmetries in social relationships both between and within social groups translate into inequalities in access to resources and opportunities including those provided by the state and the public sector. This creates a cyclical relationship between the social relationship and the inability of minorities to access resources of various kinds (Kabeer, 2002).

The recognition of positive freedoms to the practice of active citizenship explains the adoption of economic and social rights in developed countries. These freedoms are more critical in developing countries due to the extreme forms of deprivation and insecurity. These may take place making even the most basic civil rights beyond the reach of the poor regardless of their formal status (Kabeer, 2002). The absence of basic economic security worsens the inability of the poor to act as citizens and affects their agency. These constraints further reveal themselves in the success of the elites or government officials in ensuring the non – involvement of the poor in issues which might pose a threat in the status – quo. Lukes (1974) defines this as the manifestation of power in "non – decision- making".

The absence of voice and participation by the poor in the processes by which agendas for local development and governance are defined effectively serves to reproduce the

social inequalities which led to their dependent status in the first place (Kabeer, 2002). The poor are then unable to participate in processes that make their formal rights 'real'. The denial of respect and recognition is one of the most powerful levels of power available to dominant groups. Lukes (1974) 'three-dimensional view of power' focuses not only on the observed exercise of power in influencing social outcomes and in the suppression of resistance and conflict, but it also includes the exercise of power in the most insidious form. That is:

> "… preventing people to whatever degree from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they see it as natural and unchangeable or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial" (page 24).

Citizenship performs an allocative function within the politically – constructed boundaries of the nation – state and it controls access to scarce resources. According to Kabeer (2002), it affirms and legitimates 'social standing' within a society. In more contemporary form, Lister (2003) departs from Marshall's (1950) definition of citizenship as being fully realised in liberal democratic welfare state that guaranteed civil, political and social rights to all members of the state. Instead, she postulates that citizenship is both a status and a practice. Citizenship as a status is both a right and an obligation; as a practice, it would require fulfilment of the full potential of the status of a citizen (ibid, 2003).

2.2.2 Participation: Citizen Participation and Spatial Dimensions

> *"The human person is the central subject of development and should be the active participant and beneficiary of the right to development." (The United Nations Declaration of the Right to Development, Resolution* 41/128 of 4 December, 1986)

The opening up of closed spaces enables citizens to play a more active role shaping the decisions that affect their lives. Invited spaces that are created are essential for

creating and improving dialogue, feedback and the responsiveness of the state and communities to the process of development. They also increase the quality and intensity of their interaction (Aiyar, 2010). The decisions that are made with the direct participation of citizens are more acceptable and lead to better governance and governments. Participation should be viewed as a way in which the practice of development can be improved. It is also associated with the organised struggles of those who are on the periphery, i.e., the excluded from accessing their rights, resources and recognition. Cornwall (2002) defines participation as the way in which people are able view and use the fact of their citizenship and entitlement. Participation is a situated practice that requires the location of spaces for participation in the places in which it occurs. Feminist and alternative development scholars view participation as a process through which oppressed people recognise and use their agency to create new spaces, occupy existing ones and revalorise negatively labelled spaces (Price – Chalita, 1994; Lister, 2003).

The involvement of the public opens up avenues for voice, influence and responsiveness. Utilisation of terms such as ‘opening up’, ‘widening’, ‘broadening’ all have spatial connotations – meaning these are spaces where actors jostle for attention (Cornwall,2002). These connotations reflect a particular way of thinking about society and in themselves are bounded by power. Lefebvre (1991) postulates that even newly created spaces have in them a reflection of past spaces. The creation of new spaces does not mean it is not affected by old associations. These spaces are usually affected by existing power relationships. Those spaces created by the powerful are used to limit the poor and suppress dissent. Although the rules of free exchange and mutual understanding inform the creation of spaces for participation, inequalities of status, space, class and social position are often reproduced in the ways

in which people communicate with each other within them. Cornwall (2002) therefore contends that any act of space making is an act of power. Spatial practices are associated with empowerment and participation; they are linked with specific ways of thinking about society and are in themselves, acts of power. In light of this statement, it is clear that those who make and fill these spaces are positioned actors (Lefebvre, 1991).

Citizen participation follows in the liberal democratic tradition that views citizenship as both a status and a practice (Lister, 2003). It also takes participation as a form of agency that is by nature political and politicised (Cornwall, 2002). It requires that the individual and communities gain agency through the invited spaces created by state organs. It has had great influence in the modern and post – modern definitions and practice of developmental interventions. Citizen participation is a sustainable tool that enables the entrenchment of development programmes and interventions that aim to change the lives of citizens and communities. It is viewed as the best alternative to expert – driven processes. The act of participating brings spaces to life as well as carving out new spaces and creating new social forms. Lefebvre explains thus:

> *"Space is a social product, it is not simply 'there', a neutral container wanting to be filled; but it is a dynamic, humanly constructed means of control and hence, domination of power*" (Lefebvre, 1991:24)

Lefebvre (1991) defines the spaces for participation as the ways in which opportunities for engagement might be conceived or perceived; these are the actual sites that are entered into to be animated by citizens. The development of new ideas of citizen participation creates new forms for voice, influence and responsiveness.

The ideas of Habermas (1961,1989) are used in the concept of making space to enhance participation usually in various forms: from participatory methodologies to

the creation of committees and other organs of decentralised governance. These spaces are believed to have the desire for reaching a consensus and free, fair and open deliberation and decision making in the public space. The assumption is that these spaces are open to all. The emphasis of participatory methodologies has been changing these rules by creating new kinds of spaces and seeking to bring about new forms of interaction within them.

Participatory development has focused on issues of exclusion around age and gender. However, there is opening up of arenas for issues leading to evidence of differences in the pursuit of the notion of consensus or community interests. This leads to the exclusion of less powerful groups and individuals. Cornwall (2002a:5) notes that:

> "The principle of institutional design or intentions motivating the use of participatory approaches may seek to create open, free and equal spaces or may equate the use of such mechanisms with such kinds of spaces. Yet issues of power and difference may not only undermine the very possibility of equitable consensual decision – making, they may restrict the possibility of 'thinking outside the box'; reinforcing hegemonic perspectives and status – quo reinforcing solutions".

Through his conceptualisation of the public sphere, Habermas (1961,1989) exposes some of the assumptions that remain implicit in efforts to engage in participation. In his account of the public sphere, he provides useful ideas about the nature of public spaces as well as about interactions within these spaces; that is, what the public sphere comes to represent as well as how it is constituted.

Arendt (1958) conceptualises the idea of space differently. She calls this space the 'spaces for appearance' defined as those areas in which people and ideas come into public view, from which people derive a sense of belonging. This takes place when people come together to pursue common goals. This public space is durable as the common space in which all humans exist. It is the space that connects and separates

them. She views the public spaces as places that allow for diverse ideas and not arenas of consensus. This space has enough room allowing people to express political freedom and realise citizenship. The perception of the active citizen is then of one whose entitlement are contingent on the act of becoming a part of a political community.

On the other hand, Lefebvre (1991), offers a contrasting view to that of Arendt. His view emphasises the interplay of power and difference in making spaces and the micro - politics of interaction within them. Lefebvre (1991) posits that the social space that is produced is an outcome of past actions and permits new action to occur enabling some and blocking others. His work draws attention to the importance of analysing the social and power relations that constitute spaces for participation. He argues that social relations only exist in and through space; they have no reality outside the sites in which they are lived experienced and practised. Particular ways of thinking about society he argues are played out in the way in which spaces are organised and occupied as well as how they are conceived and perceived. Categories such as 'women', 'the poor' do not exist outside of the spaces made for them by the development agencies that engage them in participatory initiatives works to create a collective entity (Escobar, 1995). Such groupings end up identifying with the labels they are given. Also, they note that every space has traces of its past. They are affected by past assumptions and meanings as well as past expectations and experiences of traces of social relations in other spaces.

Officialised spaces such as user groups and public consultations exist alongside unofficial spaces and the spaces of everyday life. Invited spaces exist alongside those that are claimed and shaped by various actors. Lefebvre's work illustrates that these

spaces cannot be separated; what happens in one space affects the others and the relations of power within and across them are constantly changing. Also, existing institutions and relations can be replicated within any newly created arena through the way in which spaces are managed. For example, having people sit in rows facing the front with women behind in men, an initial address from a local leader, among others. This can limit the agency and involvement of people without confidence, familiarity and status. New ways in old spaces can transform their possibilities just as old ways in new spaces can perpetuate the status – quo.

Literature on participation in development largely focuses on methodologies and mechanisms and how they are supposed to work. Less attention has been paid to who takes part, on what basis and with what resources –knowledge, material assets or social and political connections. Instances of participation must be situated in the participatory sites in which practices associated with them take place, the contexts of their production and with regard to the multiplicity of other spaces with which they are intertwined. Invited spaces and created spaces are never neutral. There is a need to make sense of power relations that permeate and produce these spaces in order to make sense of participation in any given space. It is critical that we investigate who determines the form that participation should take in any given space. This refers to who initiates, chooses methods or techniques, facilitates, takes part which is key to assessing the contribution participatory initiatives can make to democratic practice and the understanding of power dynamics. Lynch (2010) explains that Foucault emphasises the fact that the presence of space is important to the practise of power in any form.

There is a constantly shifting ground upon which struggles for control are waged. Power works through every space where it creates and entrenches particular institutional forms, patterns and practices. The labels that are placed on individuals such as beneficiary, client and citizen influence what people are perceived to be able to contribute or entitled to know or decide as well as the perceived obligations of those who seek to involve them. Cornwall (2002) adds that power relations are present and affect any space where participation is meant to take place. The intervention of powerful actors in creating ever – expanding number of spaces into which citizens are invited to participate may have the effect of neutralising energy for engagement outside them and may render other spaces for voice illegitimate. Participatory processes should be used to amplify alternative 'bottom up' perspectives that they are claimed for.

In many former colonies there already existed a template for these kinds of institutions and they have been used as part of development administration (Cornwall, 2006). These 'new' forms of participation are consistent with neo – liberal reforms. Although in many instances, those that are created are completely free of neutralised political agency. Cornwall (2002a:13) notes that:

> "… community organising may facilitate excluded minorities to mobilise around rights, yet in the process may rely on creating social forms such as women's' groups which have little connection with how people organise or even perceive themselves and their common interests."

The creation of Community Based Organisations (CBOs) can be viewed as the creation of new spaces for participation. These can be used by marginalised and excluded individuals to find presence and voice. For example, organisation for disability rights, AIDS treatment activists and slum dwellers. These are examples of organising from the margins to affect mainstream policies and institutions (Barnes,

1999; Geffen, 2001). There is the creation of a new type of public servant – the 'civil society' professional. These individuals are able to develop and disseminate participatory approaches and take them into government and use them in parallel institutions for needs assessment and planning (Cornwall, 2002b).

There has also been the use of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) as a tool of democratising decisions and discussions. It created new kinds of spaces such as user groups and sectoral committees. This changed beneficiaries and communities to 'users' and 'choosers' who contributed through active engagement (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2001). In the 1990s the role of the state and its role in public policy discourse created new spaces for public involvement as citizens. Participation was a feature of the narrative about enhanced equity and efficiency of decentralised governance. Good governance reforms promoting decentralisation added another layer of local institutions to an ever – complex local institutional landscape. This gave rise to a range of new officialised spaces for citizen participation. These were accompanied by the transfer of resources and decision – making power in some areas.

Lefebvre (1991) argues that simply creating new spaces is not enough for greater participation or equity in resource distribution and decision – making. Cornwall further reiterates that:

> *"… situating the creation of many new spaces in local government levels within existing relations of patronage and power is critical and is a closer understanding of how people perceive these spaces and how the rules of the game within these spaces circumscribe the boundaries of public involvement on deliberation and decision* – making" Cornwall (2002a:15)

Therefore, as Cornwall (2002) notes, it is imperative that citizen participation views participation as a form of agency that is by its nature political; and must be politicised. Citizens are then engaged to develop political capabilities that enable

them to take part in shaping the practice of governance. Fung and Wright (2001) conceptualised the term ‘empowered democracy’ that places the state at the centre. This changes the boundary between the citizen and the state and opens up new ways of interaction. It provides new forms of practice and changes formal government institutions. Furthermore, it leads to the creation of durable institutions rather than those which are just created to function for a short period of time for a certain purpose.

There is also the utilisation of new ideas of the rights–based approaches that view participation as a basic right. Once this fundamental right is appropriated, it acts as a gateway for all other rights. This casts communities and individuals as agents of their own development (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2001). It lays emphasis on the fact that the citizen has obligations as well as responsibilities and opens up arenas to examine the root causes of poverty and power relations that sustain poverty, exclusion and inequity. Exclusion then, is a denial of basic rights and the basis for active citizens to make demands that are backed by legal instruments (Habermas,1989; Roy, 2005,2011). Highlighting the emphasis on rights – based approaches serves as an entry point that enables people to find a place within both claimed and invited spaces (Cornwall, 2002).

In her study of citizen participation and the sites or spaces for participation, Cornwall (2002b) postulates that there are four types of spaces: Regularised Institutions / Invited Spaces: These serve as an interface between people and authorities of various kinds. They make citizens part of the machinery of governance. They are usually created by the state or by actors assuming some functions of the state. Some of these statutory bodies are conferred with powers to allocate resources and they exist

through statutory provisions that are created through administrative or constitutional reforms. Democratic decentralisation processes are the most significant of these reforms and can take the form of user groups and deliberative health councils in Brazil. These spaces are bounded in the sense that certain kinds of individuals are the only ones that can take part in them. Usually, they are used to legitimise the agenda of the implementing agency and the intended direction of the policy it is developing and is seeking to implement. Participation is limited to representatives – nominated, elected or co-opted. The democratic potential is found in their processes of deliberation which serve to produce consensus or to enable people to assimilate the plurality of opinions and perspectives.

Transient Institutions: These are usually one – off meetings, events or exercises aimed at opening up over policies or over service delivery priorities rather than making decisions. These spaces are very conditional and fleeting, for example, participatory appraisals, workshops and public consultative meetings. Some of them may be investigated by external agencies progressive civil servants, non – governmental organisations (NGOs) and bilateral donors. Who is invited and for what purpose is important and these spaces can then be used by those who are usually excluded to influence policy and open up spaces.

Chosen Institutions/Spaces: These are sites for self – actualisation and people usually take part in them through membership of organisations. This involves an act of identification. These spaces are seen as vibrant and providing a check for state excesses. Also, they serve as a more effective route for the satisfaction of the needs of the poor. Choosing to join such organisations is quite different from being given a place on the basis of assumptions about interests associated with ascribed identities,

such as ‘women’ ‘the poor, among others. However, these spaces can be more exclusionary than others because they are only open to those who share a particular identity excluding others by implication.

Spaces for Appearance: These are temporal spaces which are rarely inclusive and rely on oppositional processes of identity formation to build a sense of common purpose. They lend visibility to identities, issues and interests. Although they may be transient in nature, they are a critical space for the exercise of citizenship and the realisation of rights.

Regularised institutions in which citizens take part in priority setting and policy formation is the closest to the kind of ideals of popular participation that scholars such as Arendt (1958) espouse. The citizens become a part of the process of governance but on the terms set by others. Cornwall (2002a:24) then asks questions such as:

> “How and on what basis do people participate?” “How can the rhetoric of participation be used by and with marginal and excluded groups as a lever to shape strategies and tactics to turn spaces for consultation into opportunities for deliberation, inclusion and accountability?”

Cornwall (2002a:25) quoting Moore and Putzel (1999) explains that:

> *“… Poor people often lack an organised base from which to make demands and the kind of collective presence that demand – making relies upon; they also tend to be poorly served by those organisations that claim to speak for them.”*

An example arising from Kenya’s recent history is the victims of post –election violence. Marginalised communities or minorities seem to have more of a voice through voting rather than the deliberative spaces dominated by those who are more powerful and articulate. Kohn (2000) argues that inequalities of status, class and social position are reproduced in the ways in which people communicate with each other in any social space, including those created with the ideals of free and equal deliberation in mind.

In conclusion, Cornwall (2002b) notes that the enhancement of citizen participation will require a lot more than inviting people to participate. It will also need to give people access to information on which to base deliberation or to mobilise to assert the rights of individuals and demand accountability. There must also be active engagement in nurturing voice, building critical consciousness and advocating for the inclusion of women, children, the illiterate, the poor and excluded people. Widening the space for citizen involvement in decision–making and building political capabilities for democratic engagement is also essential. Strategies to enhance the political capabilities of citizens in the public policy domain: from the ability to make sense of complex budgetary or expenditure information to having the language with which to argue with technical specialists or equipping ordinary people with the 'weapons of the powerful' (ibid, 2002).

2.2.2.1 The Right to the City

UN (2017) defines the right to the city as:

> "…the right of all inhabitants present, and future, to occupy, use and produce just, inclusive and sustainable cities; defined as a common good essential to the quality of life".

Harvey (2008) also explains that the right to the city is a notion that was first reactivated in the global North by Neo-Marxist scholars as part of a body of knowledge critiquing neoliberal capitalism. Harvey critiques the socio-spatial effects of neoliberal policies such as gentrification and disconnection of urban services for poor households for lack of payment. It was then applied in the global South by authors such as Roy (2011). In most cities of the global South, the lens of poverty is used to view the issues of inequality (Parnell and Pierterse, 2010). Parnell and Robinson (2012) opine that poverty that is found in Africa cities has historical links that have given the state a weak capacity to control urban spaces and also the forced

alignment to neoliberal policies that leads to strong social polarisation of urban spaces. This economic and social divide limits the capacity of political expression which has remained unequal and speaking out in public or in the presence of pubic space can be challenging (Morange and Spire, 2019).

UN-HABITAT (2003) identifies social segregation manifested through exclusion of slum dwellers in planning, upgrading processes and job allocation as hurting the local economy in informal settlements. Most programme and projects concentrate on housing improvements to the detriment of affordable housing provision, micro and small-scale enterprise support and local employment which would enhance the acceptability an impact of these programmes. This means that there is a need for comprehensive and integrated interventions.

According to UN-HABITAT (2014), the policy response to informal settlements in Kenya have ranged from ignoring them, using them for political purposes, eradicating them, evicting and displacing communities, relocating communities, constructing low-cost public housing and slum upgrading. Although the Kenyan government has made attempts to improve housing standards and providing affordable housing for the low-income segment, this has always been hampered by a lack of financial resources. As far back as the 1960s, these ineffective actions have accelerated the proliferation of informal settlements. The government has responded to the informal settlements which they viewed as eyesores by eviction and clearance. These punitive strategies did have the desired effect. Instead, mass clearance and evictions led to further growth of slums because demolition did not take place in tandem with replacement with affordable low-cost housing.

In the 1970s, the government began to recognise informal settlements as urban realities requiring adequate solutions. The policy shift of the 1980s called for regularisation of land tenure, site and service schemes as well as slum upgrading programmes were implemented with the assistance of development partners. The 1990s heralded the arrival of housing finance, strategic policy designed for housing development and infrastructure improvements. The early 2000s saw the implementation of the Civil Servants Housing Scheme which was established to facilitate housing provision for civil servants.

The Affordable Housing Project (AHP) was introduced in 2017 as part of the 'Big Four Agenda' of the Kenyatta II government. This programme encourages public-private partnership and offers incentives such as tax breaks, provision of serviced land, standardised housing designs, amongst other benefits. As noted by Seeta (2019), these housing units that have been constructed in areas such as Ngara, are being sold at prices higher than those proposed initially at the planning stage of the project. Policies on slum improvement are now formulated with recognition of the informal settlement dwellers' 'right to the city' (El-Hadj, *et al.* 2018). The right to the city means that there is the promotion of equal access to the city's potential benefits for all urban dwellers and encourages their democratic participation in decision making processes in their city (ibid, 2018). The ideas of slum improvement have seen governments re-imagine the place of slums. They have sought to implement this by slum relocation to the outskirts of the city through the construction of high-rise apartments. Even when these developments are done, as in the case of Kibra, these communities find themselves unable to fully access and utilise basic social and economic activities which made their existence as low-income earners in the city affordable (Mutisya &Yarime,2011). UN-HABITAT (2014) notes that because of the

minimal and insignificant attempts at slum improvement in Nairobi, the city is still dominated by informal settlements which have poor living conditions and a high population density.

The right to the city is considered to be a new paradigm for urban development that seeks to address the major challenges in cities and human settlements of rapid urbanisation, poverty reduction, social exclusion and environmental risk (UN-HABITAT, 2017). Through the lens of its pillars: land for housing and livelihoods, the decommodification of the urban space, inclusive governance, inclusive urban planning, citizenship, enabling participation, transparency and democratisation and the recognition of social actors. The New Urban Agenda seeks to address the key issues of urban poverty and social exclusion that have persisted in many cities. By 2050, it is projected that more than two-thirds of the global population will be living in cities (UN, 2017). The New Urban Agenda seeks to extend and enhance the human rights perspective in their application to cities and human settlements. The right to the city attempts to provide an alternative framework to rethink cities and urbanisation. It envisions the effective fulfilment of internationally agreed human rights, sustainable development objectives as expressed through the SDGs and the commitments to the Habitat Agenda.

The principles and approaches of the right to the city (UN-HABITAT, 2017) are that: It covers all civil, political, social, cultural and environmental rights as enshrined in existing international human rights treaties, covenants and conventions in accordance with the 1993 Vienna declaration; It considers cities as commons and it sees respect and protection of human rights for all, full exercise of citizenship for all inhabitants, transparent and accountable political participation; the social dimension of land,

property and urban assets, cities without violence, etc.; It builds on existing international and regional human rights treaties and instruments and it builds on the commitments of the 1996 Habitat II. The right to the city is a collective and diffuse right that belongs to all inhabitants, both present and future generations. This approach is consistent with other rights that have been enshrined in international legal instruments and national laws. Recognises that urban space and its functions are both contributors and expressions of social and gender exclusion and thus the need to address spatial exclusion to ensure all inhabitants have the ability to access urban resources, services, goods and opportunities, enabling effective citizen participation in local policies with responsibility, enabling governments to ensure just distribution of services and acknowledging sociocultural diversity as a source of social enhancement

For implementation, the right to the city calls for the strategic alliance of key urban actors including all of the local inhabitants at local, national and global levels. It also calls for an enhanced role of all citizens particularly women, marginalised groups and the urban poor.

The right to the city further implies responsibilities on governments and people to claim, defend and promote this right (ibid, 2017; El-Hadj, 2018). At least two of the components as what the city as a common good is resonate with the area of study of this thesis. First, that the city as a common good for all is one of inclusive citizenship in which all the inhabitants, whether permanent or transitional, are considered as citizens and are granted all and equal rights. Secondly, that such a city has enhanced political participation in the definition, implementation, monitoring and evaluation and budgeting of urban policies and spatial planning in order to strengthen the transparency, effectiveness and inclusion of the diversity of inhabitants and their organisations.

Although the right to the city has three pillars: spatially just resource distribution, political agency and social, economic and cultural diversity (UN-HABITAT, 2017); the pillar of political agency more closely aligns with this research. The pillar of political agency looks at how the right to the city is realised when structures, processes and policies enable all inhabitants as social and political actors to examine the full content and meaning of citizenship. There is a need for specific policies to ensure that marginalised groups have effective agency to political agency. These processes should take place at a standard that meets the everyday needs and aspirations of inhabitants which is able to confront those challenges faced by inhabitants. It requires transparency and accountability and democratisation of data for decision making and the allocation of opportunities and resources (UN, 2017).

A core dimension to the right to the city is the idea of inclusive citizenship; that is, recognising all inhabitants as legal citizens of the city (El-Hadj, 2018). This concept highlights that fact that the city is made up of multiple actors including urban inhabitants, civil society organisations, governments, and the private sector as well as national and international actors. Some actors may exert greater influence than others (UN-HABITAT, 1996). While there may be others that bring either positive or negative impacts on the city. The challenge is to create effective participation in all city place making and governance processes through processes such as the prioritising of the needs of the vulnerable and marginalised groups (Harvey, 2008). There is also the need for the integration of the needs of multiple actors, embedding of participatory and sustainable urban development processes in all governance mechanisms (UN, 2017). This will enable responsible private social sector participation, support for civil society participation, to foster co-responsibility of participating actors (World Bank,

2019). In the end, it will promote integrated governance and capacity building of key government staff and to promote the utilisation of deliberative urban processes.

2.2.2.2 'Graying' of Spaces and Subalternity

Acknowledging and conceptualising space as both abstract and a spatial phenomenon, scholars have theorised, acknowledging that space takes various definitions. For the purposes of this study, space is defined as a social construct by Lefebvre (1991); a product of politically-charged human interaction through politics as people have sought to ensure that politics plays an allocative function. Other scholars such as Arnstein (1969), Choguill (1996), Cornwall (2002), and Lister (2003) have argued that it is a conceptual space of belonging that may include or exclude individuals and communities. It is a 'place' that can be formed, captured, utilised to meet the interests of the strongest, authoritative and resourceful individuals or groups. In the context of this study, the concept of the graying of spaces looks at the positionality of the subaltern in urban society.

The Subaltern Studies Collective espousing post-colonial theory, took up the term 'subaltern' in modern Indian historiography. This was expressed through the work of Sarkar (1985) and Spivak (2005). They also appropriated Gramsci's idea of the 'Southern Question' to call into question the way in which history is expressed. This is because the explanations for Indian history and culture were appropriated and expressed by the British; relegating native Indian articulations of the history, culture and consciousness to the periphery. They emphasised the fundamental relationship of power, domination and subordination and the term 'subaltern' in their context came to mean a 'space of difference' (Sarkar 1984:273; Guha (1988:44) and Spivak,

2005:476), in the same vein emphasising the space of difference, define subalternity as the condition of the people who did not and could not belong to elite classes.

These scholars also looked at the agency of change in the sphere of subaltern politics and therefore subalternity became a theory of agency (Guha, 1988). The subaltern then becomes the agent of change having been granted a distinct identity and is associated with a distinct territory; in this case, the informal settlement. By virtue of the entrance of the subaltern into urban studies through association with the slum or informal settlement, it led to the emergence of subaltern urbanism (Roy, 2011). She also opines that there are two prominent themes in subaltern urbanism: economies of entrepreneurialism and political agency. Under the theme of political agency, the slum dweller who is the subaltern, is viewed as a subject of history through the lens of the argument advanced by Davis (2004). Davis (2004) explains that the subaltern is oppressed and forced to work for the urban rich which lessens their capacity to agitate as a collective labour group to receive remuneration commensurate with their labour. Other scholars have typified the subaltern urbanism as a place of informal life where there is a constant struggle for survival (Roy, 2011 quoting Bayat, 2007).

Benjamin (2008) delineates three distinct political arenas; one of which is ‘occupancy urbanism’ where the urban poor assert their territorial claims, practice vote bank politics and penetrate the lower reaches of the state bureaucracy; is relevant to this study. This assertion grants the urban slum dweller a differentiated form of agency that empowers the individual with the ability to occupy spaces and use their voices to articulate their desire to utilise those spaces to benefit their communities (Benjamin, 2008). It is a subtle power that emboldens the individuals and communities in practice to find and use created spaces to contest and negotiate their relevance, status and

legitimacy as citizens of the city. This distinctness of identity and power elevates the informal settlement communities as equal beneficiaries and actors in the discourse on belonging and participating in the life of the city (Roy, 2011).

In theorising about space, participation and informality, Yiftachel (2009) analyses the political geography of globally expanding informality which he defines as '*gray* spaces. In his argument, he places the *gray* spaces between legality or approval of 'whiteness' and the 'blackness' of eviction, destruction and death (ibid, 2009). He opines that as informal settlements expand, there are new types of regimes that facilitate what he calls a 'creeping apartheid' (Yiftachel, 2009). This is in his writing from the perspective of his research in Israel on the contested relationship on housing and settlements between the Israelis and the Palestinians. He argues that there is a separation between the more formal and informal areas of settlements. Those in the informal settlements are neither integrated nor eliminated; they just form a margin of the urban regions.

Gray spaces contain a multitude of groups, bodies, housing, lands, economies and discourses lying literally in the shadow of the more formal, planned economy, city and polity (Roy,2005,2011; Yiftachel, 2009). They exist partially outside the gaze of the state authorities and city planning. So, the informal settlement is a *gray* space because they are usually shanty towns made of corrugated iron sheets, and increasing high rise buildings in the slums of the city of Nairobi. They are quietly tolerated and encouraged and exist on the periphery of planning policy. There is a separation along class lines that looks like the caste system. This creates boundaries that divide urban groups according to their status. This means that *gray* spaces are preserved by the separation of the formal and informal. They remain in a state that Yiftachel (2009)

describes as ‘permanent temporariness’. *Gray* spaces define and contain a range of marginalised classes of people. Drawing on the work of scholars such as Mbembe (2005) and Roy (2000), Yiftachel has adopted a neo-Gramscian framework to analyse the stories of marginalised communities. The ideas of Gramsci speak to the description of the marginalised individual as a subaltern; an individual disenfranchised in terms of both physical and spatial realities (ibid, 2009).

In typical fashion of urban realities where the more powerful individuals and communities marginalise the urban poor - the graying of spaces from above – they organise, mobilise and advance their own needs (Morange & Spire, 2019). As has been witnessed in the city of Nairobi with destruction of property and the eviction of individuals from the Kariobangi North informal settlement in 2020 at the height of the global pandemic of coronavirus; these actions are carried out to preserve and promote the interests of the rich and powerful. This speaks quite clearly to Yiftachel’s (2009) concepts of ‘whitening’ which is the cleaning up of *gray* spaces from ’above’ while the ‘blackening’ of spaces refers to solving the problem by destruction, elimination or eviction.

Despite the contestations on the legitimacy of *gray* spaces, they are potential zones of societal transformation (Roy, 2005). In many instances, the rich perceive that their entry would give them enormous benefits. These include economic and political gains. For the urban poor, their entry into these spaces carries the potential of upgrading them and stabilising their way of life. However, this is usually affected by professional denial by the planners, as well political denial by politicians. This is a denial of their status, of services and legitimacy. The partial inclusion of these *gray* spaces is an important aspect of the local economy as well the exclusion from full

membership serves political and identity interests. This means that the *gray* space is caught between the logics of capitalism: governance and identity (Yiftachel and Yacobi, 2003).

Urban planning which is the combination of relevant spatial policies is often behind both the existence and criminalisation of *gray* space (Roy, 2011). Urban plans design the 'white' spaces of the city which create little or no opening for inclusion of most informal localities and populations while their discourse continuously condemns them as a chaotic danger to the city (Yiftachel, 2009). Membership in the urban economy is stratified and essentialised creating a range of unequal urban citizenships (Yiftachel &Yacobi, 2003). The inequalities between the residents of the same city are most typically found in basic rights to property, services and political power. The gradation of rights and capabilities are commonly based on inscribed classifications such as race, ethnicity, class, caste and place of birth (Yiftachel, 2009). For planning theorists, the tools they have for classifying and stratifying groups comes from the grids and categories laid down by urban planning. Urban planning provides the authorities with an array of categories to define and treat *gray* space and bodies such as 'illegal resident' or 'immigrant', 'unapproved development' and 'illegal housing'(ibid,2009). Alternatively, the more acceptable terms include 'necessary development, 'new employment provider" or 'urban regeneration' (Roy, 2005). These categories translate planning regulations into a system of civil stratification; whereby, those occupying *gray* spaces are either streamlined or have separated membership.

The protests of the marginalised in cities around the world have been mobilised to agitate for their own local demands but also to assert their own urban citizenship. They have protested and negotiated the terms of 'whitening' their *gray* spaces; these

minority movements have staked a claim to belonging to the city to the city and its political community (Lindell and Ampaire, 2017). Marginalised *gray* spaces and populations are not just passive victors in the process of urbanisation (ibid, 2017). They often use their territorial and political exclusion to develop a strong sense of identity and mobilise persistent struggles (Spivak, 2005; Lindell and Ampaire, 2017).

2.2.3 The Concept of Power

Power is a highly contested concept that can have diverse meanings. Some scholars view it as an asset that is held by various actors, some of whom are powerful while others are not. It is also viewed in terms of the winner takes all. It is a resource that can be used, shared and created in a variety of ways. Also, others view through negative lens as a tool used to control and compel others to act in ways that favour those wielding that ability.

Dahl (1957), a noted political scientist provided one of the foundational definitions of power. He defined power as a source of subordination and control. It is a matter of influence that causes the individual to adopt and change course and act in the interests of the more powerful actor. It was an illustration of the prowess of the West and the East as they jockeyed to dominate the global scene and win the hearts and minds of their respective blocs. Lukes (1974), on the other hand opines that governments have literal and abstract control over individuals and communities. The control of the government is powerful enough to affect private as well as public spaces. He also argues that governments have perfected the art of exerting their power covertly and overtly.

Gaventa (2006) argues that over time the number of actors able to exert their power has increased. These actors are both state and non-state. Therefore, power cannot be

understood and examined as theorised by past scholars. Its analysis has to take into account the increased number of actors and the various forms and arenas in which power can be displayed and exerted. He explains that power has been diffused from the older models and its effects can be felt at local, national and global levels. Power serves as the driving force in the interaction of individuals, communities and nations. It is a powerful resource that can be procured by any means. This ensures the agenda of the actors acquiring it in the form of voice and audience can influence the most important issues of the day.

2.3 Review of Related Previous Research

This section looks at the work of various scholars in the areas considered to be key in synthesising the research problem. The aim of this review is to illustrate the prevailing gap in the literature that this study seeks to address.

2.3.1 Subaltern Studies

The concept of the subaltern arises from the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971) who coined the term to describe the individuals unable to utilise agency to improve their lot. Bounded up in its meaning is the concept of subordination and the class system as explained by scholars such as Marx in the *Communist Manifesto* (1844). This concept was adapted by scholars from South Asia beginning with Guha and Spivak; who used the term to depict the need for the local people to rewrite their own history on their own terms. It was an acknowledgement that most historical writers and historical figures were expressed and expressed their ideas in Eurocentric terms (Spivak,2005).

Using this term meant that the local people would express their reality in their own terms and in time; they would be able to reclaim their agency. Writing or representing themselves in their own voice is a way of understanding themselves and finding a

basis for the improvement and growth of their communities based on their own narrative. The expression of the subaltern as one of inferior rank, status or office as defined by Guha (1982) was used to express the subordination, exploitation and exclusion of various marginalised groups in society. It implies the inequalities of status and class in society that affects the agency of those members of the society existing on the periphery.

Globally, subaltern studies have been embedded in post – colonial studies. This refers to the communities that are distanced from the power arrangements of dominant states. It depicts the power of the former colonisers over their colonies and continued resistance and struggle to break free from this hold. Subalternity can also be explained through the inferior position of the global South in relation to the global North. This is due to the system of neo-colonialism that reduces and reproduces the position of poorer developing countries to dependence on the developed countries. It is also clearly seen in the relationships that exist in economic terms where the poorer countries continue to have a lower rank or status. For example, on the issue of membership and the exercise of veto power in organisations such as the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

In India, using the example of peasant revolts, Guha (1982) expresses the need for subjected people to retake their voice. It is an account of resistance against the separation of people based on gender, religion, class and caste. Spivak (1994,2005) also argues that although subaltern communities could retake their agency through the rewriting of their history, it may be difficult for the individual to do so devoid of the Eurocentric narrative. Spivak mentions the entrenchment of foreign ideas in the Indian narrative and gives the example of the banning of burning women on their

husbands' funeral pyres. Many people did not see this as a protection of the rights of women, rather, that white men were doing it for their own advantage, to control the populace and inculcate British values.

The resistance and the recognition of the rights of these communities – peasants, women and the poor – served as a backdrop for the spread of Subaltern Studies. In February 2016, the resistance of subaltern communities continues in India. Through protests against the caste – based quota system, the Jat farming caste in the state of Haryana blocked and diverted the flow of water to Delhi, the state capital. This community was protesting the allocation of public service job quotas and higher education slots for their community. In the end, the state government relented and agreed to a review of the terms of the quotas. The hurried acceptance by the government was to lead to a return of water connection to the city of almost seventeen million people (The Guardian, 2016). The Dalit movement also came to the limelight at the same time as the launch of Subaltern Studies in the 1980s. This has also led to an improvement in the status of this 'untouchable' community in the Indian society.

In South America, it has been used as an expression of the struggle between the moneyed class and the poor. Systems of feudalism favoured the rich as the landowners over the poor. In such instances, the poor resorted to banditry in the early years. This was a sort of protest against the rich. Mallon (1994) also speaks of the revolution in Nicaragua and the abolition of slavery as instances where subaltern communities have broken free from the hold of dominant classes. In Africa, subaltern studies have been used to depict the struggle that exists when there are classes that are ignored in society. These ordinary people – women, the poor, disabled, lower rank workers – are the ones whose story and aspirations remain untold. Lewin (2003)

presents a comparative study of labour as a struggle from ‘below’. Organised struggles by lower rank workers who use the available spaces to create changes for themselves. Others such as Makombo (n.d.) present a narrative of the struggle of ordinary people and the impact they had during the antiapartheid period. He seeks to highlight the narration of the unheard of the stories in the global South, especially that of the unsung heroes of the struggle in South Africa.

Locally, subaltern communities have been distanced geographically, politically and socially from the mainstream classes. The most distinct of these distances is depicted in Kenya through vertical social distances where there is the formation of classes based on economic status. In the context of subordination, the poorer members of a society also exist on the periphery of the mainstream. They form communities of individuals with limited social mobility. In many instances, this leads to the proliferation of generational poverty and stagnation. Although the dominant classes may interact with them, it may be as a way of locating their identity. They may also do so as a way of seeking votes. With the knowledge gained from the formation and interaction with civil society organisations such as the *Muungano wa Wanavijiji* engage and articulate their social, economic and political needs (Lines and Makau, 2018). Organisations such as the workers collective, the Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU), are visible in the continued class struggle. These communities are made up of dynamic individuals that seek to improve their lot but their progress is affected by the lack of skills and knowledge to do so. Even with the new constitutional dispensation on institutionalised spaces; these communities must be equipped with the language, knowledge and skills to animate these spaces. Effective use of these spaces may serve as the starting point for the social sustainability of subaltern communities.

2.3.2 Citizenship Studies: Citizen Participation and the Creation of a Political Culture

Dalton (2005) carried out a study on data generated from advanced economies into levels of trust in government held by individuals in these countries. He concluded that it was due to the changing expectations of citizens rather than the failure of governments in leadership that led to a loss of political support in these countries. He also noted that in most instances, it was the upper classes that seem to unfairly benefit and also have a greater appreciation and understanding of the workings of the political system.

This is in contrast with the developing country situation in the sense that governments have actually failed to provide even the most basic needs. This has led to the erosion of political support and good will especially among the lower classes that are most desperately in need of government largesse. Efforts to improve the situation have led to radical changes in national constitutions. These legal, economic and social documents have been altered as a reflection of societal desire for equity and justice. The legal thresholds and definitions enshrined in the supreme law of the land are meant to act as a lever to open up spaces; especially invited spaces. The challenge then becomes making the citizen an active participant in the process of governance.

Verba and Almond (1963) identified three types of the orientation of the citizen's attitude towards participation. They theorised that the first orientation was parochial; this individual does not participate and has no knowledge or interest in the domestic political system. The second individual was described as a subject; one that has some interest and awareness of political institutions and rules. The last individual is a participant who indeed, has a strong sense of confidence and influence in

understanding the domestic political system. This typology goes hand in hand with their definition of political culture. They define the political culture of a nation as a pattern of political attitudes that fosters democratic stability (Almond and Verba 1963). These are attitudes towards the entire political system as well as how the individual perceives their participation in the political system.

Political culture is a tool that fosters stability of the democratic system. It is a key component that leads to articulation of the political, social and economic rights of individuals within the existing political system. An environment that fosters the right political culture is important in improving the perceptions and participation of individuals of low social classes. Therefore, as Dalton (2005: 150) notes, the reforms that are made in the political system are not needed to change citizens' negative attitude towards government. Instead, they should improve the democratic process. This will make the system more inclusive and participatory for the more vulnerable classes in society.

2.3.3 Studies on Participation

Participation caught the attention of mainstream development agencies in the 1970s as they sought to make their interventions more effective. In the 1980s, it was associated with community participation that paid little attention to empowerment or capacity building. It emphasised the organisation of people into local self-help groups in order for them to have an input in project implementation leading to establishment of local level institutions. Beneficiary participation was a matter of pragmatism rather than a principle to achieve cost effectiveness and compliance. The creation of the institutions used in the 1980s can draw back to the history of participation in the colonial era. There was the use of functional participation and participation for incentives together

with forced labour for public works. These spaces were used to ensure that the ideas of the colonial government gained traction and not to listen to the ideas of the local communities (Cornwall, 2000).

Furthermore, in the years after independence, the created spaces for participation were also used to reduce the financing burden on the government, to legitimise the government and gain political capital. In many instances, dominant interests also utilised these spaces to reinforce existing power relations. As a way of representing and servicing the needs of the marginalised, Community -based Organisations (CBOs) were created (Cornwall, 2002). These were part of the process of creating new spaces. This was done in the 1990s and it included the growth in the use of participatory approaches.

A number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) viewed participation as about developing the capacity of the poor and the powerless to negotiate on new terms with the powerful in the state rather than inserting people in development (Stiefel and Wolfe, 1994). New spaces were generated for public involvement as citizens rather than as consumers; for example, decentralisation reforms. The effective use of these opportunities requires an effective and responsive state and an aware and organised citizenry (Gaventa, 2001). The rights – based approach - which advocates for participation as a basic right that leads to the realisation of all the other rights – enables marginalised communities to be ‘makers and shapers’ rather than just ‘users and choosers’ (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2001).

The gist of the discussion becomes how to make these rights real for all people. It is therefore important that invited, created and chosen spaces should be situated alongside each other. This will ensure that the citizens develop political capabilities,

tactics and confidence to pursue meaningful engagement in the invited spaces (Cornwall, 2002b). Also, it is imperative to understand that these spaces do not immediately become sites or places where citizens can participate. Instead, they require that the citizens gain voice and the avenues to question the accountability of the creators of these invited spaces.

2.3.4 Studies on Social Sustainability and Informal Settlements

Sustainable development was birthed and popularised by the Brundtland report (1987) titled 'Our Common Future'. It can be viewed as a process of change towards achieving sustainability goals. There are various definitions to the concept of sustainability. For example, scholars such as Sachs (1999) argue that the definition must rest on the basic values of equity and democracy; Koning (2001) focuses on maintaining social values such as culture and equity. Littig and Griessler (2005) highlight the importance of gaining employment and meeting the needs of the communities. Stren and Polèse (2000) define the concept as referring to an ideal; a state that can be sustained over time. The concept of social sustainability of the city is derived from sustainable development which is rich with connotations of ecological perspective of development (Blowers and Pain, 1999). This view is based on minimising pollution, dealing with the depletion of energy and other resources and how they adversely impact on the environment. Early debates also equated sustainability in cities with ideas that dealt with limiting the ecological blueprint of human activity (Bromley *et al*. 2005). Also, scholars believe that social sustainability was merely treated as an add-on to the economic and environmental aspects of sustainable development. In the twenty-first century, the focus has shifted to deal with social cohesion, cultural values, economic stability and growth, access to employment, services and education, health and well- being (Colantonio,2009).

2.3.4.1 Sustainable Development Goals: Sustainable Development Goal 11

Globally, more than eight hundred million people live in slums in cities (UN, 2015). According to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which came into force in 2015, the issue of social sustainability becomes relevant. The SDGs also known as Agenda 2030, are a global compact that differ in their perspective from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs focused on sustainable development in developing countries while the SDGs adopted a more comprehensive approach in seeking sustainable development in both developed and developing countries. The seventeen SDGs seek to address wide ranging global issues such as education, poverty, health care, gender equality, water provision, decent work, sustainable urban areas, climate change and the development of international partnerships for sustainable global development.

The aim of SDG goal eleven (11) is to make cities inclusive, safe resilient and sustainable (UN, 2015). Target 11.3 specifically states that by 2030, to enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanisation and capacity, integrated and sustainable human settlements, planning and management in all countries (UN, 2015). That is, by 2030, there should be a significant improvement in the lives of at least one hundred million slum dwellers. This will build upon the 'Cities without Slums' initiative of the Cities Alliance (Nabutola, 2004). This study highlights the little knowledge that exists on social sustainability as well as seeking further academic understandings of social sustainability and contribute to the literature on urban social sustainability as a whole. This will play a part in the 2030 agenda for sustainable development contributing to the body of knowledge on this area of discussion. It will also address the problem of utilisation, perceptions and benefits of the created spaces for the social sustainability of slum communities.

2.3.4.2 Traditional and Emergent Themes in Urban Social Sustainability

In urban sustainability and development, social sustainability is related to the stakeholders, that is, to which actor is responsible for formulating the aim and taking action; who are described as agents for change, and those who are affected by the change. In this case, an individual in a subaltern community can be both an agent for change and a recipient of the same. Ghahramanpouri *et al.* (2013) conducted a study positing that most studies on social sustainability had taken place in the urban areas of developed countries. Their view is supported by the studies of scholars such as Dempsey *et al*. (2009) who conducted their study in London, United Kingdom, McKenzie (2004) in Australia and Colantonio (2009) in Vancouver, Canada.

Spangenberg and Omann (2006) identified three analytical views that surrounded the discussion on social sustainability: Functional Approach which is popular in studies of rural, urban or community sustainability; Capital Approach which views social sustainability through economic lens and the System Approach which views each domain as a system that should be capable of reproduction.

Ghahramanpouri *et al.,* (2013) argue that most of the definitions of social sustainability are based on the functional approach. Also, that some definitions of social sustainability are based either on the portrayal of conditions or defining the principles and measurement framework. Some of these definitions include: Yiftachel and Hedgcock (1993) who define social sustainability of a city as its continuing ability of a city to function as a long-term viable setting for human interaction, communication and cultural development. Stren and Polèse (2000: 15-16) define social sustainability as: "…the development (and /or growth) that is compatible with harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to

compatible habitation of culturally and socially diverse groups with improvements in the quality of life for all the segments of the population".

These two definitions emphasise the reduction of social exclusion. They highlight the need for building cohesion through policies that bring people together and increase accessibility to public services and employment. The second set of definitions use measurement frameworks. They are based on main principles and definitions. They also involve a series of indicators which can either be positive or negative; although it is positive indicators that are usually applied. For example, Bramley and Brown (2009) argue that social equity and sustainability are the two recognisable overarching concepts at the core of the notion of social sustainability.

On the other hand, scholars such as Colantonio (2009) opine differently. He argues that the intangible nature of the aspects of social sustainability make it a difficult area to study. Using the city of Vancouver in Canada as a case study, he believes that traditional 'hard' social sustainability themes such as employment and poverty alleviation are being replaced and complemented by emerging 'soft' and less measurable notions such as happiness, social mixing and 'sense of place'. He depicts in tabular form the traditional and emerging themes in social sustainability to support his argument.

Table 2.1: Key Traditional and Emerging Themes in Social Sustainability

Traditional Themes	Emerging Themes
Basic needs including housing and environmental health	Demographic change (ageing, migration and mobility)
Education and skills	Social mixing and cohesion
Employment	Identity, sense of place and culture
Equity	Empowerment, participation and access
Human rights and gender	Health and safety
Poverty	Social capital
Social justice	Wellbeing, happiness and quality of life

Source: Colantonio, 2009

In this study he reinforces the view that social sustainability is a socio-historical process rather than an event. He also elaborates that future focus and process are important aspects in the discussion on urban social sustainability. Future focus is based on the idea that improvement of the society benefits future and current generations (ibid, 2009). Process, on the other hand defines social sustainability as a process of urban development that is supported by policies and institutions that ensure harmonious social relations, enhance social integration and improve living conditions for all groups (Holden, 2012).

Ancell and Thompson-Fawcett (2008) suggest that social sustainability should incorporate social equity and justice so that cities can be suitable places to live. They can also facilitate a fairer distribution of resources and a long – term vision. Interpreting social sustainability in three ways, Chiu (2003) begins by equating it to environmental sustainability limited by social limits. Secondly, she provides social preconditions for achieving environmental sustainability. Thirdly, her 'people-oriented' interpretation explains the improvement of the wellbeing of people and the

equitable distribution of resources while reducing social exclusion and destructive conflict.

In essence, then from the views of these scholars, a robust definition of social sustainability must involve both future focus and process. For example, Barron and Gauntlett (2002) who define social sustainability as: a process that occurs when formal and informal processes, systems and structures and relationships actively support the capacity of future generations to create healthy and liveable communities. They contend that socially sustainable communities are equitable, diverse, connected and democratic and provide a good quality of life.

Urban social sustainability has been discussed from various levels such as at the Macro level(regional) (Spangenberg and Oman,2006); the City (Barron and Gauntlett, 2002) ;(Colantonio,2009); Urban units/ districts (Yung Chan and Xu, 2011); Neighbourhood (Dempsey et al. 2009) and Chin (2003); Project (Enyedi, 2002) and at the building level (Bollo, 2012).

2.3.4.3 National Slum Upgrading and Prevention Policy (2012) and the Mukuru Special Planning Area (SPA)

This Kenyan government policy aims to transform informal settlements into more liveable environments. The implementation of the policy requires collaboration between all stakeholders. This is an important factor in ensuring that the process is participatory and inclusive and complies with the provisions of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010. This policy emerged out of the desire of the national government to address MDG 7 target 11(Nabutola, 2004). It was also informed by the aspirations of Vision 2030 and the recognition of housing as a basic right according to the extended bundle of rights due to an individual articulated in the Constitution of Kenya, 2010.

Article 43, 1 (b) of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 explicitly states that every person has a right to accessible and adequate housing. It also states that every person has the right to reasonable standards of sanitation.

Although there is a vast network of informal settlements in the city of Nairobi that are known as the Mukuru slums, most of the attention has concentrated on the three more well-known settlements of *Mukuru kwa Njenga, Viwandani* and *Mukuru kwa Reuben*. Collectively, together with the *Viwandani* slums, they are known as the 'Mukuru Belt'. It is with these three informal settlements that the Nairobi City County government has undertaken a large-scale planning process. The process, involving over forty organisations such as the local community organisations, civil society, academia, and the private sector. This large-scale collaborative planning process was mobilised and co-ordinated by the *Muungano wa Wanavijiji, Akiba Mashinani* Trust and the Slum Dwellers International (SDI). It is interesting to note that Mukuru Kayaba is not part of this development process.

This 'Mukuru Belt' covers over six hundred and fifty acres of land and has a population of three hundred thousand people. The high population density coupled with poor service provision has contributed to high levels of pollution and poor sanitation. The residents also face a high poverty penalty because access to basic services such as water, toilets, bathrooms, housing and electricity is restricted by cartels. This means that the residents of this community actually incur a higher cost in the process of acquiring and utilising these basic services and spend a significant part of their earnings paying for them. In keeping with the process of collaboration and learning between the various stakeholders, it was evident that the area met the

conditions laid down in the Physical Planning Act of 2012 (Cap 286) Section 283 that defines a Special Planning Area as:

> "…*an area which has unique development and environmental potential while also raising significant urban design and environmental* (social, economic and physical) challenges"

The Physical Planning Act of 2012 provides legal, institutional and procedural context for making physical development plans. It also facilitates the government in its consideration and facilitation of the utilisation of innovative and creative planning responses to the unique challenges of informal settlements. This was also in line with the provisions of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010. Article 66 on the regulation of land use and property declares that:

> "…*the State may regulate the use of any land, or any interest in, or the right over any land in the interest of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health or land use"*

The SPA planning process was collaborative in the sense that *Muungano wa Wanavijiji* worked for over ten years with the community to mobilise them, organise the consultation process and to co-ordinate over forty organisations to draw up an integrated development plan. The iterative process sought to ensure that there was robust community participation at every stage of the planning process. It also required the incorporation of local enterprises into the upgrading process and service delivery chain. For the SPA process, the Nairobi City County convened the over forty organisations into eight thematic consortiums (Muungano wa Wanavijiji, 2021):

i. Housing, infrastructure and commerce
ii. Education, youth affairs and culture
iii. Health services
iv. Land and institutional frameworks
v. Water, sanitation and energy

vi. Finance

vii. Environment and natural resources

viii. Co-ordination, community organisation and communication

Together with the County government, these thematic consortiums developed the integrated development plan for the 'Mukuru Belt' (Lines and Makau,2018). The main aim of the collaborative planning process was to find a workable response to the main problem of exclusion. By acknowledging the unique attributes of the area, it could then be transformed into a functioning, healthy city neighbourhood and improve peoples' lives (Muungano wa Wanavijiji, 2021). The SPA provides flexibility in the process of planning and initiates better responses to developmental problems. For Mukuru Kayaba, the 'Mukuru Belt' SPA provides an example of how the agency of local communities can be harnessed in tandem with collaborative action with various external actors to ensure that local problems find local solutions. It remains to be seen whether this collaborative planning process will translate into long-term change for these three informal settlement communities.

2.3.4.4 Vision 2030 and the Big Four Agenda in Relation to Informal Settlements in Kenya

Vision 2030 aims to provide the country with adequate and decent housing in a suitable environment. One of its flagship projects was the improvement of housing and urbanisation by installing physical and social infrastructure in informal settlements. This was to be carried out in twenty urban areas to formalise these settlements, to permit construction of permanent houses and attract private investments (Vision 2030 Secretariat, 2020). Examples of these projects are the

Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project (KISIP) and Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP).

In tandem with Vision 2030, the Government of Kenya adopted the 'Big Four' Agenda in 2017 (Vision 2030 Secretariat, 2020). The policy instrument is based on the pillars of food security, affordable housing, manufacturing and affordable healthcare for all Kenyans. The government is set to launch the construction of thirty thousand low-cost houses in Nairobi's Eastlands Area, five thousand in Shauri Moyo, twenty thousand in Makongeni, three thousand in Starehe and two thousand in Park Road. Through the National Housing Corporation, the government has set up a portal for the allocation of these houses to paying customers. However, as in earlier instances, these houses may be out of reach for the most deserving and vulnerable populations living in informal settlements. The fact that allocation depends on an individual having the funds to put down a deposit as well as to have the tech- saviness required to open an account on their online portal. These barriers still lock out the poorest and most vulnerable such as women, the disabled, those living within HIV and AIDS and other chronic diseases and female-headed households (Seeta,2019).

2.3.4.5 Housing Policy, Participation and the Place of Informal Settlements in Kenya: 1964 – 2021

Kenya's first attempt at a National Housing Policy was the Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1966/67 which was the result of an investigation into the short-term and long-term housing needs in Kenya (Nabutola, 2004). It was conducted by the United Nations Mission on behalf of the Government of Kenya. One of the main recommendations was that there be a creation of a National Housing Authority to implement the government housing policy. The Housing Programme Principle No. 4 briefly

elaborated on low-income housing and slum clearance. This is actually the only mention of informal settlements in the policy document (Nabutola, 2004). They viewed informal settlements as an eyesore and the government position was to demolish them and evict the communities living in them as soon as possible. The problem that arose from this situation was driving the poor into further destitution and the shifting of slums to other areas of the city. In a nutshell, this was not a viable solution. The Housing Principle No. 4 also talked about: How to ensure that towns do not deteriorate into slums by building low-income housing; The initiation of a slum clearance programme; The responsibility of the local authorities and the National Housing Corporation (NHC) to supervise projects to ensure that there was plan approval and that specifications were followed to avoid the prevalence of informal settlements

The Economic Recovery Strategy Paper for Wealth and Employment Creation was launched by the government of Kenya in 2003 sought to introduce a National Housing Policy to address the shelter problem including that in informal settlements. This policy document highlights and targets urban housing, slum upgrading and vulnerable groups. It also proposes solutions such as poverty alleviation and facilitates the position of adequate shelter and a healthy environment at an affordable cost for all to foster sustainable human settlements to prevent the proliferation of informal settlements. The paper also proposes the harnessing of the pragmatic approach that poor people have to housing. This will allow for applying maximum utility by local community organisations through effective participatory approaches.

The government also recognised the security of land tenure as well as the availability of adequate quantities of land in a suitable location and affordable prices is important

for housing of the urban poor (Mutisya and Yarime,2011). Another indicator of the policy paper was the pursuance of housing programmes on a scale that is in tandem the need and availability of resources. The document also sought to give high priority to slums and the upgrading of informal settlements with minimal displacement to cater for proper planning and provision of necessary infrastructure and related services (Nabutola,2004). The government also sought to commit to funding slum upgrading and the streamlining of the acquisition of land for housing the poor, to adopt an appropriate tenure system and planning standards that suit informal settlements(ibid,2004).

The Revised National Housing Policy, Sessional Paper No. 3 of 2004 was intended to address deteriorating housing conditions in the country (Nabutola,2004; Mukeku,2018). There was a need to bridge the shortfall in housing stock and to enable the poor to access housing, basic services and basic infrastructure. Experts also called for the introduction and application of integrated participatory approaches to slum upgrading. The government also saw the need to harmonise existing laws governing urban development so that this could facilitate increased investment by formal and informal actors in the production of low- and middle-income urban dwellers (Mutisya and Yarime,2011; Mukeku,2018). This policy document also called for the creation of a Housing Development Fund financed by budgetary allocations and financial support from development partners. This Housing policy was problematic; first, because it had difficulties in its design to enable the process of moving from formulation to implementation (Nabutola, 2004; Cronin, *et al*, 2011). Secondly, it recognised the crucial role that NGOs and CBOs play but not how to operationalise them in the process of project implementation. The policy commits to the amending or enactment of legislation related to housing to facilitate the

development of shelter and slum upgrading without a timeframe or assigning specific responsibilities to facilitate the process which will affect the implementation process. Also, no commitment was made for the specific delivery of all key result areas related to informal settlements, that is: land tenure, building materials, research and construction technology, legal and financial frameworks and infrastructure (this includes roads, water, electricity and healthcare) (Mutisya and Yarime, 2011; Lines and Makau,2021).

The proliferation and the complexity of informal settlements since the first attempt at crafting a national housing policy is an indicator of the deficiency in the process to address the root causes of the establishment and growth of these settlements (Mukeku, 2018). According to UNHABITAT (2017), the urban slum population increased from 689 million in the mid- 1990s to 881 million in mid-2014 and about 1 billion people currently live in informal settlements. This number is almost one third of the urban population and is projected to double by 2030 (UNHABITAT,2017). Internationally and locally governments and development agencies have implemented a wide range of slum upgrading projects and programmes of varying scale and scope that have improved the lives of slum dwellers. However, the size, scale and complexity of problem in informal settlements is worsening. Cities in the global South lack the institutional, infrastructural and financial capacity to accommodate all slum dwellers unless there is the development of alternative approaches to improve them. Tito and Sonik (2008) opine that there is a lack of clarity in the slum regeneration approaches in terms of: the most effective interventions; the sustainability of alternate programmes and their cost effectiveness and the city-wide consequences of these interventions.

Mutisya and Yarime (2011) have studied the Kibra informal settlement in relation to its dynamics of urban sustainability and slum development. They have reviewed historical perspectives and realities and concluded that there is a lack of ideas to tame the runaway growth of slums. In fact, studies such as Cronin and Guthrie (2011), Mukeku (2018) have concentrated on evaluating slum upgrading programmes undertaken by the government. Mahabir *et al*., (2016) opine that the failure to design appropriate informal settlement policies while historically accounting for all problems affecting these areas, they will continue to grow. An example is the relocation of informal settlement communities away from the proximity of sources of employment is not viable (Cities Alliance, 2020). There are also challenges in organising all the stakeholders to achieve coherence and long-lasting solutions as different needs and demands arise. They all have competing and conflicting interests. This contributes to suspicion, mistrust and conflict which slows down decision making. Some of the decisions may favour the politicians as noted by Elmhirst (1999) who argues that those programmes and projects in the informal settlements form part of the political survival strategies of politicians and are means by which the urban poor are manipulated for the selfish interests of the political class.

2.4 Theoretical Framework\

This section reviews literature on the foundational theories of the study. They provide the basis on which to build the conceptual framework of the study.

2.4.1 Theory of Citizen Participation

This research utilised the ideas of Arnstein (1969) and Choguill (1996) on the process of citizen participation. These two scholars provide important perspectives on utilising citizen participation for the social sustainability of subaltern communities.

Their theses highlight the fact that the urban poor have political as well as social needs. Arnstein's thesis has a stronger political leaning in seeking to clarify and address the needs of the urban poor. Choguill, on the other hand emphasises the fact that communities are the basis for socially sustainable change. She argues that it is only through the effective and meaningful participation of these communities that they are able to effect particular change addressing their specific needs. Basing on feminist perspectives of development they depict the urban poor as having both political and basic needs. Through the gender lens, these can be termed as strategic and practical needs that can be addressed through citizen participation.

Drawing on the ideas of Arnstein, Choguill proposes a ladder of community participation for developing countries. Lizarralde and Massyn (2008) explain that Arnstein's thesis is an evaluation of urban and antipoverty initiatives in the United States of America. Using this seminal work, Choguill classified participation in a way she argued was more suited to the developing world in eight steps. She postulates that the poor need political inclusion as well as meeting their basic needs. With the greater constraints in developing countries, there is a need to redesign and rename the levels of the ladder. The levels are: empowerment, partnership, conciliation, dissimulation, diplomacy, informing, conspiracy and self-management. Empowerment is the highest rung of the ladder she develops which is arrived at progressively from self-management as the lowest and least participatory point.

At the lowest level of self-management, local communities with help of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), take care of their own needs. They do so without government support. The kind of participation and interaction that takes place goes through various forms that give little input for local communities. Empowerment

enables the communities to control the situation and to make allies with governmental support (Choguill, 1996). This indicates the interplay of the government and non – governmental organisations (NGOs) in improving the lives of the poor. The research emphasises that success can only be achieved when all the stakeholders collaborate. Therefore, with this kind of engagement, communities can meet their basic needs and participation becomes not only a political tool but also a practically strategic tool.

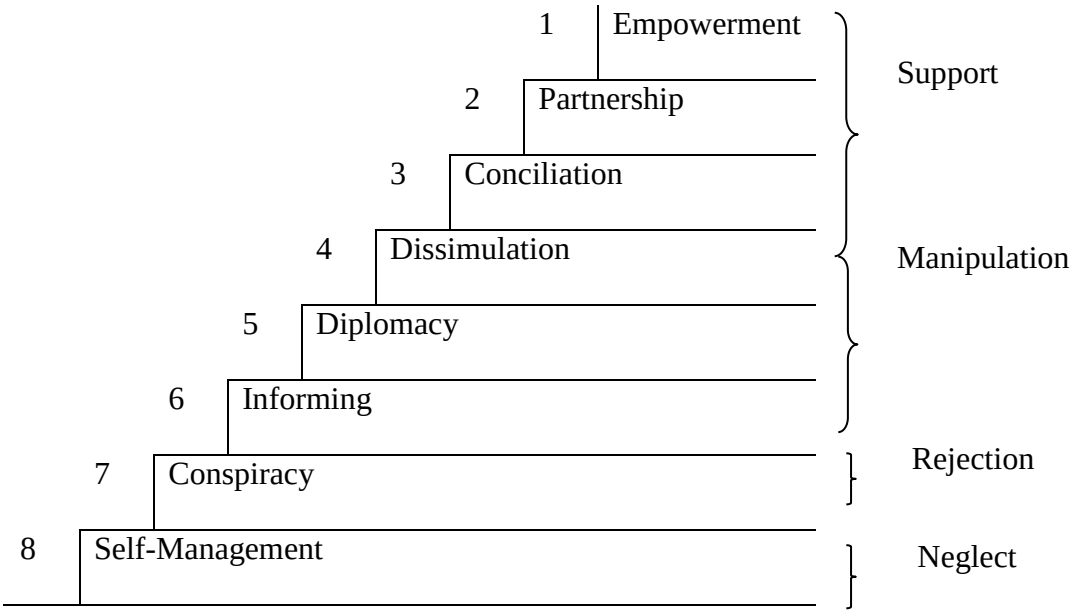

Figure 2.1: Choguill's (1996) Ladder of Community Participation for Underdeveloped Countries (Choguill, M, 1996).

Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969) is a critical component of the study that illustrates and explains the evolution and empowerment gained from actual or full citizen participation. This theory argues that citizen participation enables the distribution of power that allows those excluded to be included. In a nutshell, it aids the poor in bringing about significant social reform that enables them to be partakers in the gains enjoyed by the members of the mainstream society. A simplified typology of eight levels of participation is in tandem with the extent to which citizens' power

determines the end product. The gradations of participation begin with non – participation, onwards to tokenism and finally citizen power.

The lowest rung of the ladder associated with non – participation is an indicator of how the participation of citizen is stifled. Instead, the power is held by those in authority to the detriment of the poor. The second level of tokenism allows only a minimal involvement of the poor. Even if their views are articulated, they are rarely incorporated into the grand plans. The third level of citizen power begins to provide the highest and strongest forms of participation. It is at this level that individuals and communities have more grounds and opportunity to take part in the actual process of decision making and planning. They are able to involve themselves in forms of participation such as partnerships, delegated power and citizen control (Arnstein,1969; Choguill,1996). The researcher seeks to use this theory to illustrate if there is citizen power exercised through the practise of citizen participation.

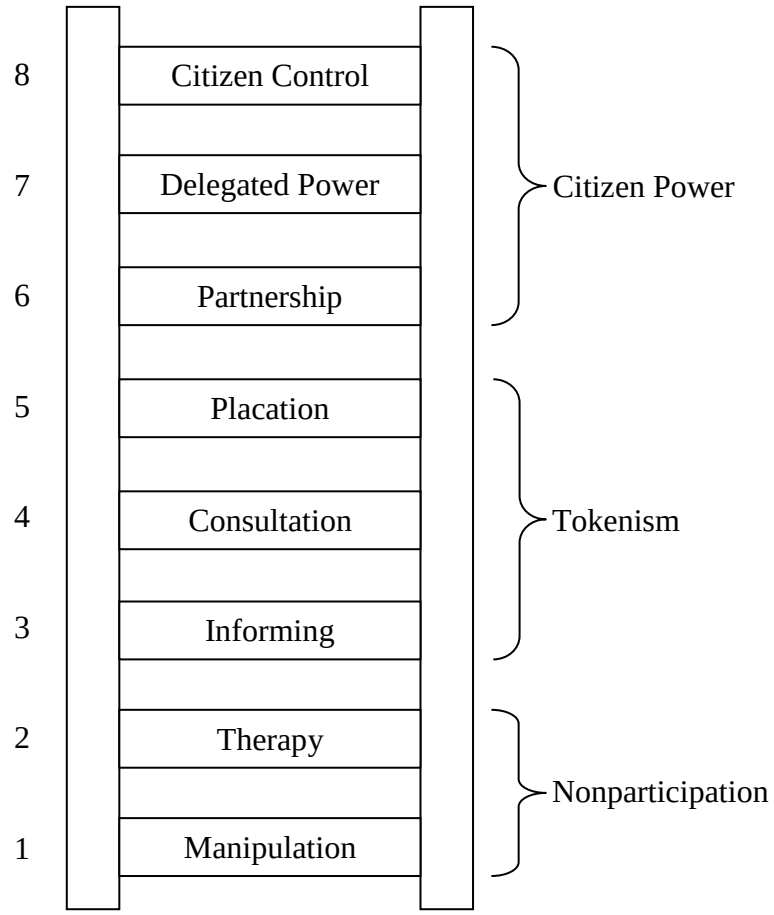

Figure 2.2: Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, S.1969)

2.4.2 Theory of the Public Sphere

The theory of the Public Sphere posited by Habermas (1961, 1989) and articulated in contemporary form by Cornwall (2000, 2002a) in various articles is also applied. This theory expounds on the idea of institutionalised spaces. Habermas (1961, 1989) based his theoretical approach on the idea that there had been a public sphere that had lost its ability to cause meaningful change. Following the phenomenal growth of capitalism, citizens had become more of consumers rather than agents of the change they wished to see. Modifying these ideas, Cornwall (2000, 2002a) argues that with the formal institutionalisation of spaces, citizens of various groups are able to restore their agency to direct the affairs affecting them. She concurs with Habermas that there is a need to re-politicise the public space in order to ensure that there is a return to the

place of citizen participation and engagement. The degeneration of the public sphere in the mid twentieth century led to control in the thoughts and actions of the citizens as directed by the governments and its agents that took over the public sphere and therefore toppling the place of the collective and individual agency of the citizens. Through the use of the public space and the control of the media, governments and their agents were able to strip these arenas of their citizen participation. This theory is appropriate to this study because it validates the existence of public spaces, their capture and importance as places where people can utilise their voice.

2.4.3 Theory of Power

The third theory to be utilised as part of the theoretical approach of this study is the theory of power. It draws on the ideas of Robert A. Dahl (1957) who defined power as "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do." This operational definition of power is often cited as instrumental in the understanding of the concept of power but incomplete. In an effort to further clarify the concept of power, Lukes (1974, 2005), critiques Dahl's definition and defines power in terms of the 'three dimensions of power'. He opined that governments control people in three ways: through decision making power, non – decision making power and ideological power. Decision making power is considered the face that governments like to project as it does not portray coercion. Ideological power is the most hidden and pervasive form of power. This is because it influences the decisions and perceptions of individuals even about things that could be harmful to them. It is an insidious form of power.

This theoretical understanding of power was further re-worked by Gaventa (1980, 2006). As a student of Lukes, he argues that power should be viewed not only in its dimensions or forms, but also in terms of its levels and spaces. In collaboration with

other scholars, Gaventa developed the ‘Power Cube’. This three-dimensional representation of power views in the concept of power in its forms, levels and spaces in which it can be found. In terms of the levels of power, he theorises that power can be practised at the local, national and global levels respectively. The forms of power in the cube are articulated as invisible, hidden and visible. The final dimension of the cube posits that power can be practised in closed, invited and claimed spaces.

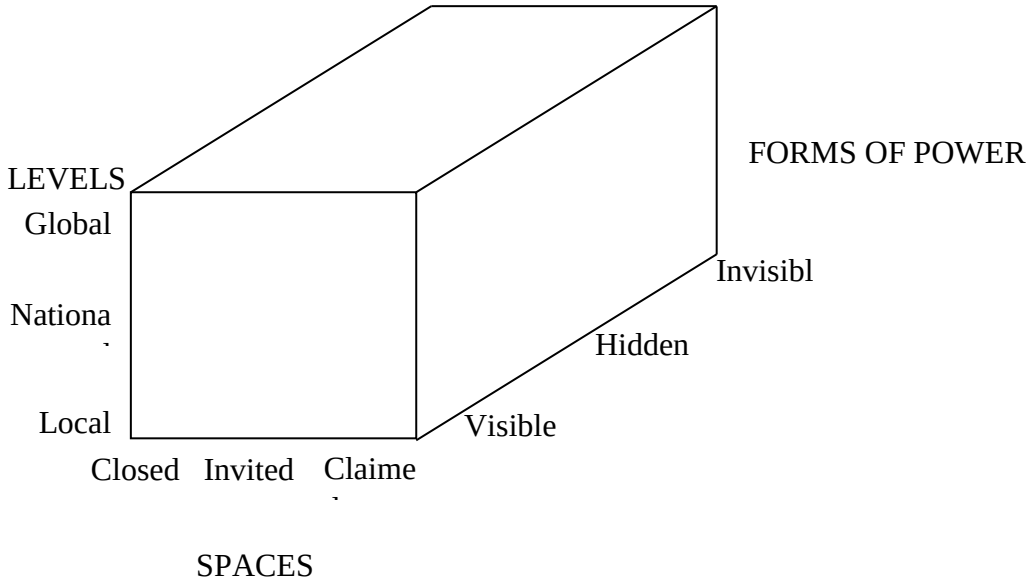

Figure 2.3: The Power Cube **Source: www.powercube.net**

The theoretical basis of this study is underpinned by the combination of the theoretical understandings of citizen participation, the animation of the public sphere in form of institutionalised spaces and the utilisation of the forms of power. The theory of citizen participation provides an important contribution to the theoretical framework through its articulation of the levels of participation. This is essential in increasing the understanding of how space and positionality affect the contribution and sustainability of informal settlement communities. It highlights how individuals and communities are disenfranchised by existing systems and the difficulty in in

attempting to by-pass or negotiate with gatekeepers of the status quo to establish meaningful social sustainability in subaltern communities.

The Habermassian theory of the public sphere (1961,1989) distinguishes between the private and the public sphere. By articulating the loss of power and space due to state capture of the public sphere, it highlights the situation in informal settlements where individuals and the community at large have little recourse. They are at best, in a tokenistic system that pays little attention to their nuanced needs on the periphery. The concept of reanimating the public sphere finds its relevance in the Bill of Rights and the deeper, clarified articulation of citizenship (COK,2010). This then empowers the citizen, whatever their status in society. Its contribution to the theoretical framework is that it provides a theoretical basis by explaining, ideally, how even the most disenfranchised citizen can infuse created spaces for participation with the power of the citizenship to drive beneficial change.

The theory of power illustrated by the power cube, depicts the levels, spaces and forms of power. This study concentrated on the local level of power practiced in an invited space and having a hidden form of power of the people. The utilisation of the forms of power in the form of ‘power to’ and ‘power with’ looks at the hidden potential of the power of the citizen. It is also an attempt to examine the bottlenecks that exist in the practice of citizen power in subaltern communities. This research sought to understand the lived experience of subaltern communities within the context of the creation of ‘new’ invited spaces and their utilisation of the forms of power also known as vital power for socially sustainable development of their communities.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework can be defined as a tentative theory of what the researcher thinks is going on with the phenomenon under study. It is a simplification that is used to clarify how an aspect of the world works. Becker (1986) also postulates that it is something that is constructed from borrowed pieces. It can also be defined as a visual or written product that explains graphically or in narrative form the main things to be studied and the presumed relationships among them (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The conceptual framework below is a graphic description of the proposed problem under study in this research. It consists of the following concepts.

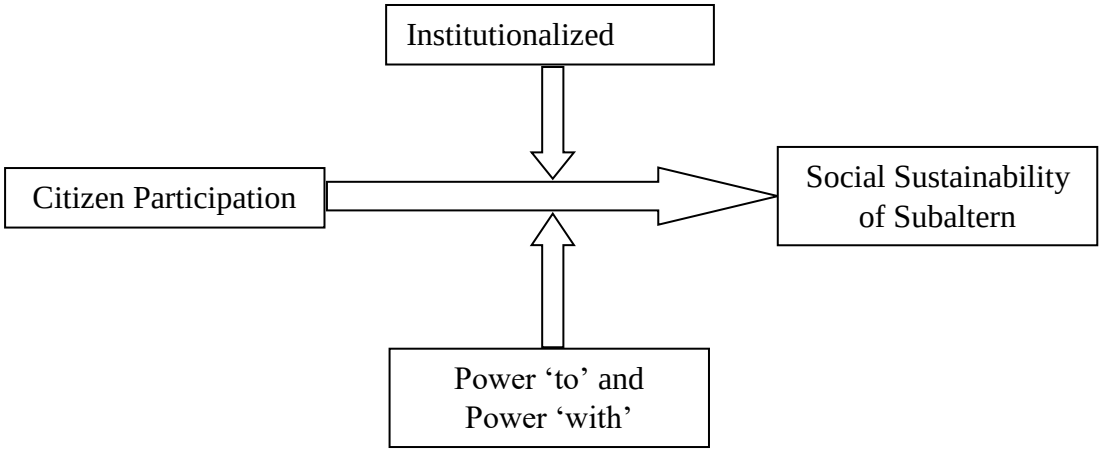

Figure 4: The Conceptual Framework

Source: *Researcher (2015)*

Citizen participation which is a critical element for the actualisation of the aspirations of subaltern communities in this study is the starting point. It can be defined "...as a process in which ordinary people take part, whether on a voluntary or obligatory basis and whether acting alone or as part of a group, with the goal of influencing a decision involving significant choices that will affect their community" (André *et al*. 2012:1).

The concept of institutionalised spaces arises from the ideas of Habermas and refined by scholars such as Cornwall. Institutionalised spaces refer to those spaces that are creation of the state for the purposes of providing an avenue for the inclusion of the public in the process of governance. Cornwall (2002a) refers to them as regularised spaces which are meant to legitimate the agenda of the implementing agency and the intended policy direction. As André *et al.* (2012) opine, these are usually voluntary spaces for participation that are defined by the law or by an administration. People are invited to take part in a given process but they are not obliged to do so. These spaces exist due to administrative and constitutional reforms and democratic decentralisation is the most significant of these (Cornwall, 2002b).

The concept of power acts to undergird the framework. In this context it is defined through the exercise of two forms of power. According to Gaventa (2006), these forms of power are not static and can be used in various combinations to unravel the connections between power, participation and development. In this case, the researcher will use two forms of power out of the three that are part of the 'Power Cube'. The first form of power is referred to as Power 'to' which is the capacity to act and exercise agency and realise the potential of rights, citizenship or voice. Power 'with' is the form of power referring to the gaining a sense of self identity, confidence and awareness that is a prerequisite for action (Gaventa, 2006).

In light of this problem under study, it is imperative that the term 'social sustainability' should be defined. Most research on sustainability usually takes the form of environmental studies. There is a dearth of information especially in the developing world on the social sustainability of subaltern communities. Social sustainability is defined as the improvement of the conditions of living of people and future generations and the quality of the governance of the development process

(Bomström, 2012). It is a notion that refers to the social aspects of human life such as social welfare, quality of life, gender issues, social cohesion, diversity, participation and workers' rights. As a concept, it has both substantive and procedural aspects. The substantive aspects refer to the goals to be achieved and the procedural goals refer to how these goals are to be achieved for the social sustainability of communities and individuals (ibid, 2012).

The conceptual framework of the study highlights what the researcher views as the ideal process that would lead to the social sustainability of informal settlements communities. This study theorises that the concepts described in ideal situations can be harnessed and synthesised to precipitate ideal situations for social sustainability. It is also a depiction of the existing gaps and lack of clear application of the strengths required for meaningful change in subaltern communities.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to provide a detailed integration of the relevant available literature on the main concepts of the phenomenon under study. Key concepts for the comprehension of the problem under study have been elaborated as they provide operational definitions for the study. An understanding of the key concepts builds on theoretical knowledge to expose the gap in the literature. This gap highlights the weaknesses of various studies that towards the physical, tangible aspects of sustainability at the expense of the more foundational, intangible aspects of sustainability. This creates a niche for this study to address itself to the need to address sustainability of subaltern communities in the face of rapid urban change.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

The overall aim of this chapter is to explain the research paradigm and design, the ontology, the approach and methodology of the proposed study. Research design and methodology refers to the overall plan for the research project that includes the paradigm, approach, sampling, data generation and analysis and tools to be used in the course of the study.

3.2 Research Paradigm

The guiding paradigm of this study was the relativist – interpretivist paradigm aligned with the relativist ontology. An ontology raises certain key questions about the nature of reality and the nature of human beings in the world (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). A relativist ontology is confined to a subjectivist epistemology. Epistemology is the study of knowledge and seeks to explain how an individual knows the world (Levers, 2013). A paradigm is a "…set of basic beliefs that deals with ultimates or first principles. It represents a worldview that defines for its holder, the nature of the 'world', the individual's place in it and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994:107). The relativist – interpretivist paradigm accepts multiple meanings and ways of knowing. It focuses on recognising and narrating the meaning of human experiences and actions (Fossey *et al*. 2002). These go hand in hand in the context of this study because the relativist – interpretivist paradigm deals with socially constructed reality based on multiple realities. This is the view that there are no universals; things such as truth, morals and culture can only be understood in relation to their own localised context (Benoliel, 1996; Fossey *et al*., 2002).

3.3 Research Approach

This study adopted a qualitative approach because the nature of the question under study is a social problem. The use of qualitative approach was appropriate because the study was conducted in a natural setting and sought to understand the perceptions of human beings about their social world. Mack *et al.* (2005) postulate that a qualitative study has the following strengths: first, it provides an understanding of the problem from the perspective of the local population. It is also a good way of acquiring culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviours and the social context of particular populations. This approach also depicts in a textual manner how people experience a given research issue. Finally, in utilising a small number of in-depth cases, it is especially relevant in investigating issues of social complexity

3.4 Research Method

This study is situated in the qualitative research approach under the phenomenological method. There are two main approaches to phenomenological study: hermeneutic phenomenology and transcendental phenomenology. These two approaches had two different historical advocates, i.e., Heidegger (1963) and Husserl (1930); methodological procedures and current advocates - van Manen (1990) for hermeneutic phenomenology and Moustakas (1994) for transcendental phenomenology, respectively; (Moerer-Urdahl and Creswell (2004). While meaning is at the core of transcendental phenomenology, hermeneutic phenomenology requires an interpretation of a study to achieve meaningful understanding. (Moustakas, 1994).

Transcendental phenomenology as a qualitative research design method draws heavily on the writings of the German philosopher, Husserl (1859 – 1938). It is defined as the study of phenomena as they present themselves in an individual's direct awareness and experience (O'Leary, 2010). Therefore, in this case, perception rather than socio –

historic context or even supposed reality is the focus of investigation (ibid, 2010). It is a tradition in German philosophy with a focus on the essence of lived experience. The aim of this kind of phenomenological research is to collect data from people who have experienced a phenomenon.

Christensen *et al*., (2010) explain that such a phenomenological study is meant to explain the meaning, structure and essence of the lived experiences of a person or group of persons around a specific phenomenon. A complete description of the actual thing experienced by all individuals consists of 'what' they experienced and 'how' they experienced it. (Moustakas, 1994). The focus of such research is an in-depth study on the meaning of a specific experience. Language is viewed as the main way in which meaning is developed and articulated (Holstein and Gubrium, 1994). This research tradition is appropriate when trying to deal with the meanings and perspectives of research participants. It is therefore important for the researcher to look at the individual from a singular point of view in order to understand human phenomena as a lived experience (Giorgi, 1985).

The central question in phenomenology according to Moustakas (1994) is often in the form of:

1. What are the lived experiences of (a group) around a specific phenomenon)?

   Or
2. What are the meanings, structures and essence of the lived experiences of (a specific phenomenon) by individual experiencing the phenomenon?

Creswell (2007:60-62) proposed certain procedures for conducting phenomenological research:

a. A phenomenon of interest to study is identified

b. The researcher recognizes and specifies the broad philosophical assumptions of phenomenology
c. Data are collected from the individuals who have experienced the phenomenon
d. The participants are asked two broad, general questions (Moustakas, 1994): what have you experienced in terms of the phenomenon? What context or situations have typically influenced or affected your experiences of the phenomenon?
e. Data analysis occurs through organized "clusters of meaning" and from these clusters evolves both textural and structural descriptions of the experience which leads to a composite description that presents the "essence" of the phenomenon.

In this study, the researcher used transcendental phenomenology as described by Moustakas (1994). This approach deals with the descriptions of the experiences of the participants. It focuses on the use of one of Husserl's concepts of bracketing or *'epoche',* where the researcher distances themselves from their experiences to gain a clearer picture of the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 1998). According to Moustakas (1994), transcendental means that everything is freshly perceived as if for the first time. He still contends that this may not be completely achieved but serves to provide clearer descriptions of the lived experiences of the respondents.

3.5 Study Area

The study looked at the informal settlement of Mukuru Kayaba which is one of the villages that make up the Mukuru slums, that is, the 'Mukuru Belt' of Mukuru Kayaba, Mukuru kwa Njenga, Mukuru kwa Reuben and Viwandani. The area is located in the County of Nairobi and is part of Starehe sub – county. The entire Mukuru slum has an estimated population of 527,526 people living in 193,539 households and occupying 52.5 sq., km of land (KNBS, 2010). Sixty percent of the inhabitants earn less than ten thousand shillings per month and live on less than half a

dollar per person per day. The poorest fifteen percent of the population earn less than five thousand shillings per month and live on less than half a dollar per person per day (Save the Children 2003). This area was selected for the study because unlike the other informal settlements of the 'Mukuru Belt', it receives less attention. Also, it is situated close to the Industrial Area which acts as a job – seeking hub for the casual labourer residing in this area. This study site as well as other slums witnesses higher interaction between the subaltern communities and the local administrators in form of assistant county commissioners, chiefs and assistant chiefs. There is also a clear indication that due to the existing poverty and lack of basic amenities, the locals rely on the government as well as non - governmental organisations for subsistence.

The slums arose from land previously owned by white settlers. Some of the land was acquired by their former workers and in collaboration with other individuals; they began to put up shacks made of cartons and polythene papers. The local government in the 1970s declared that the land was condemned and unsuitable for human habitation (Muungano wa Wanavijiji, 2021). However, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, people began streaming into the city from the rural areas in search of employment. Many of them ended up in these areas because they were unable to find cheap housing (Lines and Makau, 2018). There was steady growth of the slums as the number of people and their dependants increased. These areas were especially beneficial to the job seekers due to their proximity to the industrial centres of the city. It made it easier for job seekers to access these potential sources of employment at minimal cost in terms of transportation.

As the size of these settlements grew, they were organised into villages. The villages served the purpose of easing the provision of security, services and administration as well as accessibility (Bagaka,2011). There was also the designation of leaders for the

villages. These leaders were the overall headmen, women's' leaders and youth leaders to address the needs of the local population. There has also been the proliferation of local organisation especially for social and economic empowerment. These covered local needs such as the unity of traders, women and local saving and credit societies (SACCOs) (Lines and Makau, 2018). The government through local administration maintains its presence in the area in form of Assistant Commissioners, Chiefs and Assistant Chiefs. There are also security installations in the form of Administration Police Posts in the area to boost the security of the areas (Bagaka, 2011).

The area is characterised by high levels of congestion, has an unplanned urban layout, a lack of proper sanitation, drainage as well as areas for trade and recreation. Access is made difficult because the internal roads are unmotorable and most people use these secondary tracks for daily movement (Muungano wa Wanavijiji,2021). The horrific dangers of the problem of access are depicted by the frequent occurrences of fires that consume dwellings, property and cause death. Due to this problem, rescue services such as the Red Cross and the Fire Brigade cannot carry out their functions effectively (Lines and Makau,2018). In some instances, pregnant women, the disabled and the dead are transported by wheel barrows when there is a need to access essential health and social services (Nabutola,2004). It is common for the residents to face sanitary and respiratory diseases such as typhoid, diarrhoea, tuberculosis and pneumonia. The lack of proper ventilation and sanitation exacerbates occurrences of these diseases (Cronin, 2011).

Despite the numerous challenges faced in the informal settlement, there is vibrant daily life. Many economic activities take place such as the sale of water, food, health clinics, day care centres, salons, kiosks, green grocers, tailoring, shoe repair and barbershops. Research has shown that although the returns for many of the traders

may be minimal, they are always hopeful for improvements and face challenges in satisfying their daily needs from the businesses (CUIR, 2013).

It is important to note that the social context is the setting in which the actors are situated. These actors – the subaltern communities, local administration and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) – all have a stake in the wellbeing and governance of the communities. In this setting -pervaded by economic, social, political, cultural and technological aspects- that is where the problem under study is situated. The new constitutional dispensation serves as a manifesto, a socioeconomic and political contract between the rulers and the ruled. Through its provisions, these citizens are afforded, social, economic and political rights. The access and utilisation of these rights is crucial for the well-being and governance of subaltern communities. It is also important for addressing issues around the concepts of economic and social exclusion that disenfranchise millions of individuals and communities in slums. This study then addresses inclusion and participation as fundamental rights that contribute to the dignity of the human being. It espouses principles articulated by Sen (1999) who viewed development basically as the freedom to choose and chart the destiny that improves the well-being of individuals and their communities; especially the poorest in society.

3.6 Target Population and Unit of Analysis

According to O'Leary (2010: 161), the target population is *"*...the total membership of a defined class of people, objects or events". The target population of this study was the population of the Mukuru Kayaba slum. Therefore, the unit of analysis were the individuals who inhabit this locale. In this case, these are adults both male and female who are eighteen years and above and have lived in the area for one year or more.

3.7 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

A sample is a subset of the population. The objectives of the researcher and the characteristics of the study population will determine which and how many people to select (Mack *et al*, (2005). This study utilised purposive sampling to investigate the phenomenon under study. According to Polkingthorne (1989), for a phenomenological study, the researcher can use a sample size of between five to twenty-five individuals. Englander (2012) and Ellis (2016) also agree with this view by positing that five to twenty participants would be sufficient for better appreciation of the variation of the phenomenon. Other scholars such as Boyd (2001) argue that in the case of transcendental phenomenology which seeks to describe lived experiences, research saturation can be typically attained with two to ten participants. Creswell, 2013) recommends that a phenomenological study should involve long interviews with up to thirty people. Strauss and Corbin (1998) opine differently. They argue that in a phenomenological study the sample size will be determined by informational saturation. This view is further buttressed by Mack *et al*., (2005) who argue that sample sizes are also determined by the point of theoretical saturation which is the point at which new data no longer provides additional insights to the research questions.

The thirty participants were selected using two types of purposive sampling based on the concept of informational saturation (Strauss and Corbin,1998) for a small sample study such as this one. Maxwell (2005) argues that purposive sampling is common in qualitative research and that it is a strategy for selecting specific elements or units of analysis due to the unique information only they can provide. Rubin and Rubin (2005) suggest three guidelines that can be applied when designing a purposive sampling strategy: first, the units of analysis must be knowledgeable about the experience being

studied. Next, they must be willing to talk and they must represent a range of points of view. This sampling procedure was used to achieve representativeness and authenticity of the settings, the individuals and the phenomenon to be studied. Also, it adequately captured the heterogeneity of the population in order to ensure that the conclusions arrived at adequately represent the entire range of variations than only a subset of the population.

This study sampled from the population of Mukuru Kayaba to gain a sample of thirty individuals was based on two forms of purposive sampling: criterion sampling and snowball sampling. The use of a small number of units will be helpful on maximising the diversity relevant to the phenomenon under study. It is important that sampling strategies use the weakness of a small sample's variations in the common patterns that emerge into strength (Patton, 2001). Criterion sampling is where the participants closely match the criteria of the study (Rudestam and Newton, 2007). Palys (2008) also points out that it is a search for units of analysis that meet certain requirements of the study. This selection of cases is done to ensure that they meet predetermined criterion of importance (Patton, 2001). It also aids in gaining an understanding of cases that are likely to reveal weaknesses requiring system or programme improvement (Patton, 2001). In this case, those participants who live in the area whether from birth or having migrated to the area within one year. They are those individuals that are expected to have the possibility of accessing and utilising the institutionalised spaces for participation. Criterion sampling was applied in this case to enable the generation of data from information – rich sources who live and work in the slum for one year or more.

Snowball sampling was used to identify participants who would be good interview participants especially those who are local leaders from local Community – based

organisations (CBOs) and community leaders. These three key participants were key to the gaining access to the other participants of the study. An initial question according to Nastasi (2017:2) postulates would be put to the relevant key informants asking: 'Who knows a lot about…' These are well – situated participants who can provide rich and in-depth knowledge. Many referrals may be received as Patton (2001), notes but in the end key figures will arise. The researcher employed this method because the study sought an appropriate number of respondents not a strict quota as in the case of other types of sampling such as quota sampling (Mack *et al.*,2005). The case for sampling using the two sampling techniques provides the diversity and information – rich sources required to generate data on the research problem. Teddlie and Yu (2007) support this assertion by providing an example from Poorman (2002) who studied the abuse and oppression of women. Using four different types of purposive sampling in combination with one another, he selected participants for four focus groups.

The table below, is a descriptive representation of their demographics. It captures participant information in terms of their gender, age, occupation and the number of years they have lived in the settlement. In terms of their gender, the researcher found that it was easier to access female participants as compared to male participants. This could be due to the fact that most of the female participants run small business concerns close to the area where they live. The researcher also attributed this to most of them being mothers who had young children or grandchildren. Also, the attendant costs of starting businesses in areas where renting and transportations costs were higher made it an easier choice to start their businesses in their locality. There is also a significant number of the participants who are community health volunteers. The researcher found that community health volunteers play a key role in this informal

settlement. They act as gate keepers and mobilisers of various initiatives such as health, sanitation and immunisation. Their ability to access certain areas of the settlement that many people are unable to gives them an inner understanding of the needs of this area.

Table 3.2: Background Information of the Study Participants

Description	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	11	37
	Female	19	63
Total		***30***	***100***
Age	18-29	06	20
	29-39	09	30
	40-50	09	30
	51-60	06	20
Total		***30***	***100***
Economic Activity	Small business owners	06	20
	Teachers	02	6.7
	Students/youth	06	20
	Community health volunteers	10	33
	Employed	02	6.7
	Pastors	01	3.3
	Chairmen/ladies	02	6.7
	Housewives	01	3.3
Total		***30***	***100***
Number of Years Lived in Mukuru	1-5 years	02	6.6
	6-10 years	09	30
	11-15 years	10	33.4
	More than 15 years	09	30
Total		***30***	***100***

Source: Researcher (2019)

3.8 Data Generation Techniques

This study will utilise the following tools for the generation of qualitative data:

3.8.1 Interviews

Interviewing is defined as a method of data collection that involves researchers seeking open – ended answers related to a number of questions, topic areas or themes

(O'Leary, 2010). Scholars such as Creswell (1998) and Boyd (2001) have argued that interviews are particularly important in the conduction of phenomenological studies. They seek to build complex meanings out of simple units of the direct experience of the participants (Merriam, 2002). In total, the researcher conducted sixteen individuals, face to face interviews which included those with three key informants: one woman and two men. The men are chair persons appointed by the Chief to serve as local leaders. They are also known as headmen or headwomen especially in rural administrative settings. The lady is a leader of the local Community Health Volunteers and plays a key role in local CBO activities. Key informants are individuals whose role or experiences result in them having relevant information or knowledge that they are willing to share with a researcher (O'Leary, 2010). They are generally useful in the course of research because they can be used in the preliminary stages of investigation. Also, they can be used to confirm the accuracy of generated data. They serve as a source of primary data during in depth interviews (ibid, 2010). From the interactions with these key informants, the researcher was able to access other participants using snowball and criterion sampling.

The researcher conducted informal interviews to seek data relevant to the study. Through the use of an interview schedule, the researcher articulated the themes and any boundaries that could affect a conversation. The questions generated in the interview schedule guided and provided direction for the interview process. In order to have a successful interview process, the researcher ensured that official channels and protocols were followed. A second step was establishing the identity of the main contact people. Also, to ease the process of data generation, gatekeepers and insiders were used. The most important element of the entire process was establishing rapport with the local residents.

Maxwell (2005) explains that in a phenomenological study, the researcher seeks to ask two broad questions: What have you experienced in terms of the phenomenon? What contexts or situations have typically influenced or affected your experiences of the phenomenon? Other open – ended questions can be asked although these two questions focus attention on gathering data that will lead to a textual and structural description of the experiences and an understanding of the common experiences of the phenomenon (Polkingthorne, 1989; Maxwell, 2005). The transcendental phenomenological approach ensured that although fewer participants made up the study, they were interviewed for longer periods of approximately one and a half hours. Also, the researcher prepared interview questions beforehand. These could be altered during the interview if deemed appropriate by the researcher.

3.8.2 Focus Group Discussions

These refer to a group interview of between five to eight people (Patton, 2001). The interviewer acts as a facilitator and a moderator. Casey and Kreuger (2000:11) note that:

> "The focus group presents a more natural environment than that of the individual interview because participants are influencing and influenced by others – just as they are in real life".

Usually, they are comprised from a homogeneous group of people which levels the playing field and reduces inhibition (Morgan, 2013; Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). They are cost efficient and effective because the researcher can have multiple sessions with the groups and collect a lot of data. The data is generated by interaction between the group participants (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). They are very helpful because they facilitate further discussion between individuals. People also find them less intimidating than interviews. They also enable the researcher to receive deeper insights from the group as the setting enables the individual to feel free and speak

more openly. Focus groups also useful because they do not discriminate against people who cannot read or write. They also encourage participation from individuals who are reluctant to be interviewed on their own or those who feel they have nothing to say (Kitzinger, 1995). They are used to explore peoples' knowledge and experiences as well as how they think and why they think that way (ibid, 1995).

There are three types of questions: engagement questions, exploration questions and exit questions, Engagement questions introduce the topic and make the participants comfortable (Elliot *et al.,* 2005). Exploration questions are the main part of the discussion and exit questions ensure that all the bases were covered during the discussion. It is also important that the questions are short and to the point, they must also be specifically focused on one dimension each. The language used should be unambiguous and the format of the question is open-ended and be sentence completion types. One of the Key Informants; the female CHV was key in the search for participants of the FGDs. Through the use of criterion and snow ball sampling, methods of purposive sampling, this study formed two focus discussion groups where one group had six participants (two men and four women) and the other group had eight participants (six women and two men); therefore, there were a total of fourteen participants for the focus group discussions. Elliot et al., (2005) and Morgan (2013) recommend that the formation of two or more focus discussion groups is appropriate in generating rich data. Therefore, in total, this study utilised two FGDs to generate data on the lived experiences of citizen participation and social sustainability of the informal settlement community of Mukuru Kayaba.

3.8.3 Document Analysis

This refers to the use of pre –existing documents as a source of secondary data. Texts refer to any human or social artefact that covers a large amount of data types that might be derived from various sources such as organisations or schools. This information may be in various forms and be held by various individuals or organisations. (O'Leary, 2010). There are various advantages to use these texts such as the fact that most of the information is generated in the real-world settings. Also, most of these texts are rich, in-depth qualitative data (ibid, 2010). This research reviewed texts from the following sources:

i. Official data and records such as those of the Kenya School of Government, Ministry of Housing, State Department of Devolution, County Government of Nairobi;
ii. Non – governmental data that is collected through self – directed or commissioned research such as local and international NGOs;
iii. The media and contemporary information sources in the form of newspaper articles, online journals.

This type of data collection required that the researcher continues to maintain the same ethical and professional standards as in the case of the other methods of data collection. These include protecting the uninformed respondent, questioning the agenda and the origin of the availed texts (O'Leary, 2010). In this study data was generated from thirty-five documents. As per the description of documents above, came from diverse sources but most of them were authored from scholars and practitioners in informality, citizenship and social sustainability (List of secondary sources attached in the Appendices).

3.9 Trustworthiness of the Study

Generally, qualitative studies rely on the integration of data from a variety of methods and sources of information. This reduces the risk that the conclusion arrived at by the researcher will reflect only the systematic biases or limitations of a systematic method and allows one to gain a better assessment of the credibility and dependability of the explanation developed by the researcher (Maxwell, 2005). In this study, trustworthiness was achieved by triangulation- the use of various methods of fata generation. In this case, face to face interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis.

3.9.1 Credibility

Ong'ondo *et al*. (2009), posit that, the credibility of qualitative research is the extent to which the study actually investigates what it claims to investigate and reports what actually occurred in the field. In light of this statement, this study sought to meet this criterion by using the research questions derived from the statement of the problem as the guiding basis. Also, the use of the data collection tools that were pre–tested by piloting which ensured the right kind of data required to address the problem under study was collected, analysed and presented. It required that the researcher spend sufficient time with the participants to check for distortions. This ensured that the experiences of the participants were explored in depth. Tentative findings would also be clarified with participants so that there are no ambiguities (Rudestam and Newton, 2007).

3.9.2 Transferability

Becker (1991) posits that in qualitative research, this is not based on explicit sampling of some defined population to which results can be extended but on the development

of a theory that can be extended to other cases. Yin (2003) refers to this as an analytic generalisation. The research relied on a small sample of participants to collect sufficiently detailed data from them which increased the transferability of the findings to other settings (Rudestam and Newton, 2007).

3.9.3 Dependability

It was imperative that the research used a procedure that was clear and consistent so that other researchers can replicate the study and get similar results (Yin, 2003; Rudestam and Newton, 2007) In this case this study went through the process of pilot testing in the Tetra Pak informal settlement to ensure that the procedure to be used could withstand the rigours of scientific testing. This ensured that data was systematically recorded and transcribed (Rudestam and Newton, 2007).

3.9.4 Confirmability

This term is used in qualitative research in preference to objectivity. The researcher usually takes steps to ensure that the findings arrived at are as a result of the experiences and ideas of the participants (Shenton, 2004). It requires that the researcher must be able to acknowledge their bias. In the case of this transcendental phenomenology study, the concept of *epoché*, or the positionality of the researcher. Where the researcher views the data generated from a fresh perspective and lays aside their previous knowledge and biases.

3.10 Data Analysis

Qualitative data can take various forms such as field notes, transcripts and audio and video recordings. This study generated data in the form of documents, interview transcripts and focus group discussion transcripts. This were generated during the processes of interviewing the informal settlement community members and

interrogating pre–existing texts. The nature of qualitative data, in that it is based on meaning conveyed through words and its collection results in non – standardised data, determined its analysis (Dey, 1993). Although qualitative analysis falls into three categories: categorising strategies, connecting strategies, memos and displays (Maxwell, 2005), this study adopted the categorising strategies method. Categorising strategies involved coding and thematic analysis. Coding is defined as the fracturing and rearranging of data into categories that will facilitate comparison between things in the same category and between categories (Maxwell, 2005). The categories were derived from existing theory, inductively generated during research or drawn from the categories of the people being studied (ibid,2005). Creswell (1998) also posits that the process of data analysis proceeds through a methodology of reduction, the analysis of specific statements and themes and a search of all possible meanings.

All interviews and focus group discussions were first coded manually through open coding. Document analysis was also carried out for the thirty-five documents collected for this study in the same way. Through reading and review of the documents, the researcher formed categories and codes derived from those categories. These categories then led to the derivation of themes (Bowen, 2009; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Saldaña (2009) defines a code as a word or a short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing and evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data. Coding is a transitional process between data generation and more extensive data analysis (Owen, 2013). From verbatim transcripts, seventy-three significant codes were derived. The first cycle coding used narrative coding to look at the verbatim transcripts. After first cycle coding, the codes were categorised to generate categories based on the underlying meanings across the codes generated from all the interviews (Saldaña, 2016). These

codes were analysed and their meanings were formulated. Using the formulated meanings, clusters of meaning were formed by grouping together leading to the emergent themes. There were six final themes that emerged from data analysis highlight the most powerful perceptions of the study participants and the document analysis. Each theme is linked to one of the three core questions of the study.

The themes are:

1. Apathy and Exclusion
2. Citizenship and the loss of public trust
3. Role of social networks in the processes of citizen participation and social sustainability in informal settlements
4. The Baraza and the role of the public administration
5. Projects as sites of citizen participation and contestations of power
6. Devolution as an enabler of citizen participation and the lack of policy coherence for effective citizen participation**.**

3.10.1 Coding Strategies

3.10.1.1 Face to face Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

All interviews were first coded manually through open coding. Saldaña (2009) defines a code as a word or a short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing and evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data. Coding is a transitional process between data generation and more extensive data analysis (Owen, 2013). From verbatim transcripts, seventy-three significant codes were derived. The first cycle coding used narrative coding to look at the verbatim transcripts. After first cycle coding, the codes were categorised to generate categories based on the underlying meanings across the codes generated from all the interviews. These codes were analysed and their meanings were formulated. Using

the formulated meanings, clusters of meaning were formed by grouping together leading to the emergent themes (Saldañ̃a, 2016). There were six themes that emerged from data analysis of the responses of the participants. These themes drew a picture of the perceptions that the participants find the practice of their citizenship through public participation for the social sustainability of their communities as problematic.

3.10.1.2 Data Analysis and Coding Strategies: Document Analysis

Documents form a field for research in their own right and are not props for other forms of data generation (Bowen, 2009). They are produced in social settings and are regarded as collective social products (Prior, 2003). For social scientific research, it is important to determine how these documents are utilised in more formal settings. Descriptive analysis is recommended for studies that involve document analysis because these types of studies often begin with general questions (Owen, 2013). The researcher collected thirty- five documents. They were identified by the emergent themes and what the researcher considered as key words to the study: citizen/public participation, informal settlements and social sustainability (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The aim of the process of data analysis by document analysis was to investigate whether the documents address the issues that are key to this study. By the use of the key words and emergent themes from the interviews, the researcher's data analysis depicts that the issue of nuance in terms of the needs of informal settlement communities are not addressed in the documents. Most of the documents conflate all vulnerable and disadvantaged communities together. For instance, legislation makes the point of including vulnerable populations without making reference to the various needs of different communities. The issue of informality and social sustainability remains invisible and is only made mention in passing without addressing and articulating the manner in which to deal with the specific needs of informal settlement

communities. It highlights the narrative of how legislation policy and other important documents ignore or side line informal settlement communities

3.11 Ethical Considerations

There are various ethical considerations that should be taken into account in a qualitative study. They arise from sources such as the interviewer, the literature to be used, the study site and the respondents. In this sense, a qualitative study is more complex than a quantitative study. One reason is due to the intrusive nature of the research methodology. Also, there is greater interaction between the researcher and the respondents (Stevens, 2013). The issue of researcher bias is one that must be addressed to ensure the integrity of the work presented. Issues to do with the study site such as its location were considered. The respondent's language skills were taken into account in the design of data generation instruments. This ensured the capture of relevant and useful data. Culture was considered in terms of the settings where gender roles may affect the generation of data.

This study ensured the anonymity of the respondents is maintained. Also, the researcher sought the informed consent of the respondents before the commencement of data collection. Furthermore, confidentiality of the information gathered from the respondents was maintained as it was only used for the purposes of the proposed study. The required protocols to enable the smooth running of the project were adhered to. These include the acquisition of permits to carry out the study from the University, the National Council for Science and Technology (NACOSTI) and of gatekeepers in the Ministry of Education and the public administration and the local informal settlement leaders. This research ensured that the dignity of the respondents

was maintained throughout the study. This was important in building sustainable relationships with individuals and communities.

3.12 Limitations of the Study

Limitations refer to the potential weaknesses of the study that cannot be controlled. On the hand, delimitations are the issues that limit the scope of and provide boundaries to the phenomenon under investigation (Bryan, 2018). In the case of this study, the participation of the researcher and their distancing through bracketing from the phenomenon was difficult to completely disassociate from. It was difficult to completely set aside the perceptions of the lived experiences of this community. Another issue was how participants offer socially acceptable response to questions. The researcher deduced that many study participants may have wanted to present their leaders or themselves favourably. To mitigate this, the researcher developed a set of questions with the assistance of the supervisors to elicit responses from the participants based on their own lived experiences. These are the type of questions that can ease the thought process to focus on their own examples.

The method of data generation of using interviews and focus group discussions is limiting. There were those who expressed those who expressed their discomfort with having the interviews recorded. That meant that that the researcher accepted their refusal and moved on to other participants. This is because it is only through listening to the interviews that one can deduce what and how the people experience their circumstances. This is mitigated by applying a hybridised transcendental phenomenology research design. This is to ensure the triangulation of data; which is an important feature of qualitative research. Also, the researcher ensured that the

participants understood that the interview and its contents was anonymous. So that nobody would follow up to ask them the reasons for their participation.

The location of the study was also a challenge. Mukuru Kayaba, which was the study area of this study was lacking in suitable meeting spaces. Instead, we met at the houses of the study participants or at their businesses. When it came to carrying out of the focus group discussions, the researcher got permission to use the hall facilities belonging to the womens' water group. Some participants were also nervous during the focus group discussion. It was therefore imperative for the researcher to mitigate this by mixing up groups and preferred to interview local leaders such as the chairmen and chairladies in the face-to-face interviews. The focus group discussion was used for the local community members who were not leaders. This allowed them to feel more comfortable and not intimidated by their leaders.

3.13 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the research design, approach and methodology of the study. The aim of this study was to examine the lived experiences in informal settlement communities in the utilisation of citizen participation as tool for their social sustainability. Using the relativist – interpretivist paradigm aligned with the relativist ontology, the study utilised a phenomenological approach. This is an important approach in researching the lived experiences of the individuals in the community where the study was undertaken. Also, it situated the study in a manner relevant to researching the problem that was identified. It ensured that the data generated and then analysed highlighted the perspectives of the local population. Through the methods and procedures discussed the research was then directed to the relevant units of analysis and increased its relevance and importance.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

This transcendental phenomenological study was conducted to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of people living in the informal settlement of Mukuru Kayaba. The study gauged perceptions and practices of their citizenship using created spaces for participation. Creswell (2013), describes a phenomenological study as one that describes the common meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon. This chapter also contains the analysis of the phenomenological data and this process is described by Peoples (2021:57-58) that:

> *"the goal of phenomenological data analysis is to present a description of essential themes of an experience in a way that is comprehensible and identifiable to anyone who has had that particular experience"*

4.1 Research Questions

According to Saldaña (2016), there are two main types of research questions: exploratory and confirmatory research questions. For this study, the researcher utilised exploratory research questions which are open-ended in nature. These exploratory questions can be further subdivided into ontological and epistemological research questions. In the case of this study, the researcher used ontological research questions which capture participant realities (ibid, 2016). The research questions were:

1. What are the existing provisions (opportunities) for citizen participation in the social sustainability of subaltern communities?
2. How do the citizens in subaltern communities' access, interpret and utilise the existing provisions for citizen participation in social sustainability of subaltern communities?

3. What are the views of stakeholders on provisions for and the extent of citizen participation in enhancing social sustainability in subaltern communities?

This chapter also includes a discussion on the analysis conducted consistent with transcendental phenomenology methodology.

4.2 Positionality of the Researcher

4.2.1 Epoché

Moustakas (1994) explains that the application of phenomenological research requires the process of epoché which is the removal of previous assumptions about an experience and to allow new knowledge to evolve. This is also the first step in data analysis and transcendental phenomenology research data generation. To properly analyse data, the researcher used the process of epoché by laying aside any past judgements, feelings and thoughts about the research topic (ibid, 1994). Sailor (2013) also opines that epoché requires the suspension of judgement and viewing of the phenomena with a newness and openness of a differing perspective. The researcher therefore set aside their past impressions on the study phenomena while consistently assessing and addressing biases in order to produce a purer description (Lopez and Willis, 2004).

4.2.2 Horizontalisation

This involves the researcher reviewing the interview data multiple times to highlight significant statements which provide insights into how the participants experience the phenomena (Creswell, 2013). The researcher laid aside the repetitive statements from the interviews leaving only the horizons: these are the significant statements in light of the phenomenon under study (Sailor, 2013). Peoples (2021) also notes that the process looks at the researcher's experiences during the process of data analysis. The

researcher acknowledged the fact that it is impossible to capture everything during the study and some issues may not be fully addressed by the study.

4.3 Setting of the Research

4.3.1 Vignettes: Textural Descriptions of the Lived Experiences of the Study Participants

Vignettes are narrative descriptions of the lived experiences of the study participants (Ammann, 2018). They are viewed as processes through which meaning is created and can be used to explain certain occurrences. Vignettes provide thick descriptions of lived experiences because they are narrated and articulated in the language and understanding of the study participants (Angelides *et al*., 2004; Jackson, 2017). In this study, the vignettes attempt to capture the reactions and understandings of the participants of the three research questions of this study. In this case, the first question seeks to determine their understanding of what citizen participation is and how it is practised in their community. This then extends to cover their understanding of how to undertake citizen participation and their opinions on its relevance and effectiveness in their community in the practice of their citizenship.

1. Joseph

Joseph is a middle-aged pastor of one of the local churches in the informal settlement. Previously, he has worked for both local and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs). He believes that people living in Mukuru Kayaba are marginalised because of poor access to service and poor service delivery; he said:

> "if there are any government projects to be implemented…county government projects or those of CBOs and NGOs, I think it is good if all the people living in that area are gathered together so that they can agree and give directions about the projects they want to be started". He also expressed his desire for more open and inclusive dialogue that is not moderated by the Public Administration (PA) or politicians: "There are those when they see the marks of the authority of the Chief, they are unable to express themselves… They are unable to speak".

Lack of participation and training have made the local population apathetic to the importance and place of citizen participation in their lives.

2. Alice

Alice is a middle-aged woman who has lived in Mukuru Kayaba for over ten years in Fuata Nyayo village. She is also a community health volunteer (CHV) and is in charge of cluster C in Mariguini village. She expressed her frustration on the limited opportunities for citizen participation because the Chief may hold barazas infrequently and relies greatly on the input of the Chairpersons. She said:

> *"We have not heard of citizen participation … it has not reached us here…because of what would benefit to us is like the funds given to women…the youth… therefore we have not been reached with access to any services that can assist us".*

She strongly expressed the need for better systems to protect the poorest and most vulnerable residents; that is, the sick, the disabled, the elderly and those living with cancer and HIV/AIDS. She was also unhappy with the unavailability of elected leaders as well as problems with the public administration who do not give room for the local people to participate more freely in the barazas:

> "He [the local MP] cannot be found…the person that is more visible in this area is the MCA. Sometimes she comes and listens to people's issues and the children crying; then she buys them some flour. When she doesn't have the support of other leaders, she will not come… he used to assist us when he wasn't an MP… even now sometimes we wonder whether it is like does he sit and recall (about us) the people of South B… the people (who live near the) of the shopping centre (and say to himself), 'let me support them with some flour' and then he (can think of) sends it over? Our MP… and yet he is the one who has all the money ... even just to see him or (for him to) receive a phone call (from us) … he is unavailable".

3. Anne

Anne is a middle-aged woman who is a community health volunteer (CHV) in the Cluster A and B of Fuata Nyayo village of Mukuru Kayaba. She argues that CHVs play a vital role in the community and should be compensated: *"We do unpaid work… it is voluntary but we still face many difficulties…without getting anything we can't survive, let us just say the truth"*. She also expressed frustration at the minimal government assistance that causes them to fundraise amongst themselves to assist sick people in the community. Anne explained that there was very little citizen participation in the barazas as most of the time decisions would already have been made and such meetings were just to pass information to the community. Corruption and nepotism are also rife in the appointment of young people for certain jobs such as at the chief's office, as sweepers for the Kazi Mtaani programme and the distribution of food and non-food items donated by well-wishers:

> "These are the people you should know. We are the volunteers here and through us you can get to the right people … if you go through the Chairman, they will bring their own people… their children and their own people to benefit". "…The chief has his own people …the jobs went just like that and they worked for 11 days and I felt very sad and really complained because I was here when the opportunities came up…because if the opportunity involves the payment of money, they shut us out".

Anne also expressed the fact that the community is apathetic to citizen participation because it has had little tangible, visible benefit on their livelihoods:

> *"The chief does not have any (assistance)…. to educate people about public participation… They don't know about it".*

4. Andrew

Andrew is a middle-aged business person who runs a greengrocer that sells food items such as potatoes, carrots, onions, cabbages, tomatoes and onions. He has lived in the

area for more than five years and is raising a family with school-going children. He has moved out of the old corrugated structures and now rents a small one-roomed dwelling in the new high-rise tenements. His view is that education has helped people to gain an understanding of what citizen participation is about and how to practice it:

> *"…citizen participation is the involvement of citizens in the project that is to be started … maybe like the Government… you take part and give your views" … "…it is the involvement…in giving views, to contribute, to bring your views at least they can come together with those of others to reach one conclusion".*

5. Alex

Alex is in his thirties and works at a local university as a subordinate staff. Having previously worked for an international NGO as well as local NGOs, he has an insight on the workings of citizen participation in rural and peri-urban areas:

> "*…We participate from the ground for the government to know… When we participate …let me come from the ground… that either we are suffering… either we need this…Participation to me…ah…what I can say …participation to me...it makes the greatness of the will …the people to come together…share…give issues…share issues and outline it…it is like a communal thing which brings people together to hear their views …".*

He has lived in Kisii village of Mukuru Kayaba for about two years. He emphasised the importance of the public administration, especially the Chiefs and the chairmen and chair ladies in local governance. He talked about the pervasive nature of gender-based violence (GBV) and the lacklustre response to protect women and children by the public administration:

> *"…Mostly…in one meeting I attended …it was like being objected but I said they have to talk… the men were not happy but they (the women) were given time… mostly, they were talking the violation… GBV in the family…because I even have one that I am pushing …I want to push to… what do you call it? The women rights whatever…: I was pushing to FIDA* (Federation of Women Lawyers-Kenya) *because the husband is being violent… thereafter she was denied, why? Because the husband who had learned that she had made a report to the Chief's office, he came back to the Chief's office and he was given a letter to say the lady is bad…and they had not taken time to sit down and yet the Chief had not taken time to learn the problem."*

6. John

John is over sixty years and is in the last few months before he retires as a watchman at a local church and school. He has lived in Fuata Nyayo (one of the villages of Mukuru Kayaba) for over twenty-five years. He tied citizen participation to the involvement of people in projects that improve their livelihoods in the informal settlement:

> *"Not a lot but sometimes they talk about projects but it cannot be seen… If they mention projects, they must come and show them …if they don't show them, the men and women will continue to suffer…they are not guided so that they know how the projects are…H/She has participated …meaning that I have helped there …to participate means to get involved and to work"*.

He emphasised the importance of the Chief, the Chairmen and Chairladies in local governance. He explained that due to the nature of his work, he was unable to fully engage in the gaining knowledge and participating effectively in citizen participation in the area: *"They are there but I do not know the names because of the way I leave early in the morning* ". Also, that collective problems may be relegated to the periphery as local people approach the Chief, Chairmen and Chairladies individually to address personal issues: *"I have not seen a place where they meet because if a person has their problem they rush to the MCA or to the MP".* In his view the interaction between local groups and the public administration serves as one of the spaces and places for citizen participation in the informal settlement.

7. Rose

Rose is a middle-aged female who is a primary schoolteacher who has lived in the area for over twenty years. She has lived in the community for over ten years. She describes citizen participation as people playing certain roles in the community to uplift the lives and livelihoods of the community:

> "*citizen participation is whereby you as a person takes part in whatever is happening around you. For example, if there's anything needed around your area or around the community…you come out… it might be you alone or you and your family or you and a few other people who want to take part in a certain thing".*

She explains the importance of the baraza as a tool for mobilisation and sensitisation of the community on various issues: "it is the Chief who called the baraza…and he was trying to ask which way or what we can do so that we see these children… because most of the parents here… are working… they leave in the morning and they are not there to take care of them… and that's how that Malesia Bora came about by the way". She mentioned that teaching about the public administration and citizen participation is part of the school curriculum in Environmental Studies:

> *"Yes! It comes in what do you call it… Environmental Studies… that is the hierarchy of authority… they need to know the Chief, they need to know about participation and the elders in their community… and then from the elder, they need to know about the District or the DC's office at least… eh… that's the far they go, these three (3) officials because they are still young…at the local level… yeah as they keep moving to grade II others are…… introduced".*

8. Mary

Mary is a female community volunteer (CHV) who is the head of the group. She lives in Kisii village and has lived there for over ten years. She believes that citizen participation should be defined in a manner that the local community would understand it and the benefits they would gain taking part in it:

> "If it is about finance, it has not benefited people…but if it is about healthcare…people just listen and walk away and say that they that have heard…as long as they have heard…because you will come to their doorstep and you will not find dirt; meaning that they have heard what we said". Most of the outreach to people is carried out through projects initiated by local NGOs and international NGOs: "Participation is important and takes place in many ways… It helps in many ways…you know when you are in any group…like those projects… like those of us who are CHVs…there is Nyumba Kumi…also there are Wanaafya vijijini. We see that those projects work very well and are really useful".

This gives them a mandate to work with the public administration for the success of the projects. She explains the importance of CHVs as mobilisers and of people and community resources that can be used for citizen participation:

"To participate in groups?…if an individual is interested, they join but most people ignore or dismiss them by saying it is just a place people go to waste time, there is nothing there…like for us the CHVs… they told us that that they would pay us … that they would start paying us ..they have not paid us…so when you ask some to join , they will tell you that they cannot work with us …even removing a sick person from their house to transport them to hospital , we use our own funds" Also, that there is a lack of mobilisation of people to create awareness on citizen participation*:*

> *"…Like those ones can't come to the village …if it is coming …it can either come just once…during the election period ...but I have never seen such staying for long* Yeah…*like another one that came and we were informed to organise ourselves and then go to see [Nairobi County Women Representative] …to talk to her…"*

9. Jane

Jane is above fifty years and has lived in the community for thirty-one years. She now lives with her grandchildren and is a community health volunteer (CHV). She likens citizen participation to people taking part in various activities in their community to improve the livelihoods:

> *"*We usually have participation…personally, I am part of the CHVs…we usually participate in very many things here…there are seminars that we attend…there are activities that we go to…most of the time, we usually participate"... "Participation most of the time in the village is about development in the area…sometimes disasters in the village …outbreaks of certain diseases, so we have to create awareness and talk about it …, we organise …if we are going to do clean ups to prevent the spread of disease that has spread in the village". For her, citizen participation is organised through the public administration (office of the Assistant County Commissioner and the Chief):
>
> "We go to the Chief…village elders…and then sometimes to Nyumba Kumi…then others come to us because we are CHVs… because we are well known and have been assigned to take care of this area of ours, because CHVs

> carry out their work in their own communities… in the areas where they are well known and are understood…and everybody has their own cluster …a place where they are supposed to work.". She highlighted the importance of NGOs to the local social fabric; especially in the areas of healthcare, education, the environment and gender-based violence (GBV): "Nilinde is an NGO, Wezesha is an NGO and then Red Cross is also an NGO... so most of the time is NGO …and then there are the government ones …let us say the ones like the MCA who calls a baraza sometimes …we tour the area with her … she appoints us and we go round with her … we pass by looking at places where there is a problem and then she corrects it…if a road is required, she creates awareness… she informs us of upcoming changes or what she intends to construct…just like that…plus chiefs and the government …meaning that they are working together as the government".

She explains that citizen participation has been negated by lack of empowerment, voice, access and poor representation:

> "Opportunities for participation are not readily available…there are not many opportunities because most of the time …you know participation of the local people living in the village , they feel like if they are gathered in one place for a participating exercise , they know that there is a stipend there… so most of the time, they do not want because… most of the people live here take part in informal employment especially odd jobs …now many of them are thinking about what they would gain from going for that exercise …and waste their time and they could be sitting at their kiosk and selling their wares (vegetables) to at least one person and they get at least Ksh 5 (kobole-slang for Ksh 5) to buy paraffin to use in the evening , to buy something like soap to wash the children's clothes…it is not easy".

10. Christine

Christine is a female youth who is twenty-one years old. She has lived in the community for over ten years. She is studying for a diploma in mechanical engineering. She described citizen participation as people working together in the community and is a process initiated by the Chief:

> *"I would say that it is togetherness…the way people come together…maybe they want to announce something …like they want to make something public as in…so that people are informed" … "The first thing is that it starts at the Chief's office and if it is about the hospital, Access Afya then the chairmen go and they talk to those doctors who are there or those who are in charge of that hospital and they inform them".*

She spoke of the discrimination and silencing of the youth at barazas: *"they only take those people who are learned …obviously when you go in search of a job …they ask*

that you present your Form 4 certificate ...if you don't have it, they will say that you have not studied yet". She explained the use of the life transforming water token that enables individuals in the community to buy water at a cheaper price as compared to the acquisition of the commodity from private providers. The introduction of the water token is however faced with the limitation of unavailability all over the settlement:

> *"Those one always belong to some people…you cannot access them just like that …for example, the one for water, there is a token …it means that someone has to look for the token and to get that token…before you get it in your hand…it is a real struggle. They register and then after all that you load cash on the token…for example, if you load it with Ksh 100, it can last up to five (5) months …Ksh 100. Because one 20 litre jerry can of water costs Ksh 0.50 cents"*

10. Janet

Janet is a middle-aged female who is a community health volunteer (CHV) and runs a small clothes business. She has lived in the community for twenty-six years. She relates citizen participation with participating in projects:

> *"It is participating in projects like for example, ...let us say like a certain group that wants to launch a certain project…for example, to put up a tank (water tank) ...for water…they sell and deposit the cash in the bank and after a short period they can decide to plough it back and expand the business and divide the cash amongst themselves …they will see what to do".*

She also emphasised the use of the Chief and the local chairmen and chairladies in assisting the local people as they work towards better levels of participation :

> "I mean these posters ...they post them somewhere informing that there will be a baraza at the Chief's office on a certain date…and people are requested to attend …I saw that last month, it was here at St. Veronica's (ACK Church)I saw that many people had gone there but most of the time it is usually held at the Chief's office …or sometimes they advertise in the churches…something like that". "If they want to talk about government projects, they use the Chief's …like in the baraza and then those who are present in the baraza pass the information to others"

Janet explained that women's empowerment projects were an important way for women to participate and also benefit to improve the livelihoods. Also, that corruption at the grassroots was frustrating and denied the poorest people access to services and critical assistance:

> "In my opinion, the opportunities are there but the problem is gaining access to them …because even if they are there those who are in charge of them are biased…let me give to someone from my own tribe…I will not forward a person from a certain tribe…right there then it becomes difficult to address…the issue that causes all the problems is tribalism". Janet had a wealth of information but she confessed to have never attended a baraza: "I wouldn't lie to you …I have never attended a baraza, but I know that they are usually there…I have never gone there:" … "I haven't …although I am usually with one of the chairmen. He is the one who comes and says that it has been announced in the baraza that people should conduct themselves in a certain way or that there will be a certain event".

12. Pauline

Pauline is a middle-aged female who is a housewife. She has lived in the community for over ten years. She acknowledged that participation of the local people in projects is a tool for the improvement of livelihoods in the community:

> "They usually explain it to us …they call us and tell us about it …or they announce it to us". "I have never attended a baraza…but I usually attend the project meetings when it is there…I go." "Those projects are beneficial …let us say …like the children …those of us who have girls, they are especially supportive of the girl child because I see that they are given Always (sanitary pads) …they get it and it is distributed here at the project...Access Afya is supportive…we usually see that they are very active".

Although she is not a CHV, she acknowledged their important contribution in the community: *"That role of theirs is beneficial…even when somebody falls ill in the house, they are quick to respond and assist …if they are not able to assist themselves …or if a child is raped, they respond quickly …they have helped".* Pauline was also excited to explain that NGOs have personally assisted her in educating her child: "…for them to join and experience the benefits of being part of it...and if they find

another person, they also do the same, explain it to them…let us say like the project called Hope Worldwide Kenya, I found somebody who explained it to me …then I asked what I should do so that my daughter could join …they explained to me and told me to go to a certain place …and then my daughter joined, so every term they give me 3,500,4,000,5,000,6,000…like that…until she completed Form 4".

13. Matthew

Matthew is a male youth aged over eighteen and studying for a diploma in catering. He has lived in the community for over ten years. He believes that citizen participation is the assistance that people can extend to each other in the community:

> *"citizen participation is……it is like assistance between people, like the way the government assists people."*

He described his view that projects are important in empowering the youth:

> *"There is one that calls itself Wasafi …Wasafi family …where it is the youth that have come together and they organise themselves and clean the village together…they usually meet on Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday...they organise themselves and meet to discuss and then you find like two of them entering a plot, knocking on someone's door and they ask if they have garbage they can dispose for them…and they discuss with that person he small fee they will pay*".

He explained that in some of the spaces, there was the marginalisation of the voice and the input of the youth: "I think there are restrictions. So, if it speaking …if it is young women, they are put aside and they are assigned an older lady who will then speak on their behalf".

14. Peter

Peter is a pioneer inhabitant of the community, having settled in Mukuru Kayaba in 1978. He has lived in Mukuru Kayaba for over forty years. He is a landlord as well as a chairman of one of the clusters in Kisii village. He is a rich repository of history on

the phases of transformation of the community. As a chairman, He views citizen participation through the lens of his role in as a chairman (Headman) of one of the villages in the informal settlement; he mobilises the community to utilise the created spaces to present their views in consultation with the Chief:

> *"The chief is the one who informs us that he/she wants to speak to the people…and he sends somebody like me and I come to the village and I inform the people…all of them… I act as a mobiliser" "…and* all the problems are addressed at the baraza".

He maintains that the best arena for the practice of citizen participation is the existing opportunities for participation through projects:

> "They have embraced them …even us we have taken them up …because we have realised that we are getting something small …because if you wait for jobs from government …it will be difficult…so it means that …like these houses ...it forces us that when we get a place where the government has said that construction will take place there …you apply your force, depending on your financial ability…because iron sheets cost a certain amount…and another person may not be able to afford …like I can have Ksh 20 and the other person does not have ; so it means that it will just be me going and sometimes if I see someone of lesser means and I direct them to where to start construction and give them building materials…pieces of off cut wood as he adds one piece of iron sheets at a time so that they can be empowered…that is what we do here".

15. James

James is a chairman of one of the clusters of the settlement. He also runs a small water supply business where people come to buy water from a water tank he has set up. He is a mobiliser used by the Chief to as part of the local public administration; acting as a conduit of information. He describes citizen participation as knowledge for peaceful co-existence:

> "You know us, we mobilise people because they know us and we get authority from the chief and DO (ACC)…we must be closer to the people …I must go deep in the village informing people that there will be a meeting on a certain day…at a certain venue …like that because we do not have PA systems…I just go around myself through the neighbourhood, informing them of… the meeting so that everybody knows that we will have a meeting."

He spoke of the challenges of living in informal settlements – lack of proper water, electricity connections, landslides and fires:

> "Right now , we have had some difficulties…people have drowned and their homes have been washed away because of the rains …there is also another challenge of fire…these houses are made of corrugated iron sheets …sometimes they are engulfed by fire…we are usually affected by many things and we cannot talk about them…because if there is a fire…this lady's property for example, all of it will be burned…it is kind of like starting life all over again…a kind of life that does not make sense …that is the kind of life….we usually face many challenges in the village but we pray to God and He helps us".

James also explained the reporting role of the chairmen and chairladies who provide daily reports to the Chief on a daily basis:

> *"You know all of us hand in our reports there. If it is Mondays…like today, that is where we have been…I have just returned from there. We go in the morning from 9 and finish at midday".*

16. Mercy

Mercy is a middle-aged female who sells new and used clothes. She has lived in Mukuru Kayaba for twenty years and started her business five years ago. She has also worked as a CHV for over ten years. She defined citizen participation as meeting where people come together and express their views on the issues affecting them: *"citizen participation is meeting and then everybody expresses their views about what is going on …the challenges that we get in the village…or also the challenges that the government is facing".* These meetings are usually held at the Chief's office and give any individual the freedom to express their opinions:

> *"In the village …they are not there…but there are times when they are held at the Chief's office…when it comes to the chief's office, they usually call us. Usually anybody can speak and ask questions …like what it is about? They can tell you it is about CDF…then you can come and discuss it and also other issues".*

17. Gladys

Gladys is a middle-aged female who has been part of the community for over ten years. She describes citizen participation as the opportunities created for people to go to certain meetings and present their opinions. They also have the chance to use those spaces to explain the living conditions in the community:

> *"That is …the citizens can go somewhere and give your opinions …how we live in the village …our problems".*

She also lamented about the exclusionary nature of some of the activities of the Chief and Chairmen and Chairladies who deliberate and make decisions without community input:

> *"It is mostly among themselves…. and if they hold such meetings…you will only get to hear about it when the meeting is over …you will only get to hear rumours about it later"*

18. Esther

Esther has also lived in the community for over ten years and runs a small business. She describes citizen participation as the holding of meetings at the Chief's office which are used for creating awareness in the community: "*…citizen participation is also about meetings at the Chief's camp…we go for the meetings…sometimes there is awareness creation about something…we go and create awareness…we participate when we are many".* She also explained that in most instances citizen participation has little impact on improving the lives of the local people. This is because their leaders as well as the public administration pays little attention to their input. She said:

> "*…because when you attend the chief's baraza, you find the … but the chairman, the chief, his/her assistant and the D.O (ACC) so when you attend as two or three citizens, there is no way that your opinions will be considered …because they will have already made a decision… they are just waiting for you to speak and make your noise".*

Her narrative in the focus discussion group also highlighted the perceptions of corruption and nepotism when it came to employment for young people in government programmes. This served to create high levels of apathy towards perceived benefits of citizenship for their community:

> *"...Even if it is a project for the local community, you find that they will ensure that all the people they know in their group will be included before they now call other people ...to make sure that have their families and friends are part of it."*

19. Alfred

Alfred is a youth who has lived in the community for over five years. He is a university student who has had to defer his studies because of lack of fees. He survives on doing odd jobs and working as a youth volunteer. He describes citizen participation as a dialogue between the government, NGOs and the local community. He expressed his frustration with the fact that peoples' views are not taken seriously unless they have the 'right; connections: "…maybe they can consider your views if you are close to the senior people, they can listen and apply them…unfortunately sometimes you find that they decided themselves a long time ago". As a youth, he is unhappy with the situations where young people are exploited for their labour and receive little in the form of appropriate compensation:

> *"...How can you mix the have and the have-nots? ...if he/she is given something, he will put it in his pocket and say that there was little and then he will give the youth either 200/- or just 100/-...like the way we are here and the rest he will put in his pocket".*

20. Christopher

Christopher is a youth who has lived in the community for over ten years. He was able to complete his secondary education but was unable to proceed any further in his education. Of the three male youth in the group, he is the most vocal in his discussion

of how citizen participation is undertaken in the community. He defines citizen participation as:

> "*It is involving the public in development projects; they give ideas on how the projects should be done because they are the people on the ground."*

He also reflects on the individualistic nature of people in the community who may decide to approach the local leaders for their own personal advancement:

> *"*Most people just take it as a personal issue…it is not a communal issue. So, the benefits are only for them and not anybody else… transparency for everybody in the community does not exist… Even with the local groups that we have…like U-turn… they are there…but the only issue is that they only benefit themselves (the members)". He also gives a poignant reflection on the pervasive nature of corruption and its effect on funding for groups: "…to be sincere, I attended the programme and our group was given Ksh.100, 000 …but there was a lady who linked us up with them … do you know what she was saying? Do you know we gave her Ksh. 30,000 so that we could get the money?"

21. Hannah

Hannah is a in her thirties and describes citizen participation as the actions of local citizens to ensure that their views are heard. She laments at the fact that there is a lack of transparency and corruption. This affects the capacity of the public administration, local officials and their elected officials to assist the most vulnerable people: ": *Honestly, those offices do not help ordinary citizens, unless you have something to offer".* This is also evident in the process of recruitment for employment on the Kazi Mtaani programme*: "Let us just say that a project has been initiated by the government for the youth …like 'Kazi Mtaani', you would have to bribe to get a job".* In her estimation, some of the barazas are just meant to tick the right boxes without any transformational change in the community:

> *"…… if we get a straight forward person...it is possible…one who is transparent … that one becomes easy …but if among the top leaders at the top, there is a bad person…I don't think it is possible."*

22. Elsa

Elsa owns a small business where she sells new and second-hand clothing. She has lived in the area for over five years. She considers citizen participation a process that is inclusive for all the members of the community. She also was one of the few to confirm that her children have spoken to her about learning about citizen participation in school:

> *"yes, the schools usually do teach about that …the children usually come and tell us about it."*

There is also difficulty in accessing of services in the community. For one to progress and access them, requires that people must be ready to manoeuvre:

> "*…it is difficult…that one about the accessing of certain projects in the village is hard because the people you link up with …there must be confrontation…before you can get what you want."*

23. Wycliffe

Wycliffe is a youth who has lived in the area for more than five years. He is also a small business person as well as a youth mobiliser. He described citizen participation as a process of engagement with the local community to build their capacity for improved livelihoods. He also lamented that in most cases, the views of the youth were ignored by office bearers: *"…as a youth, you wouldn't even be given the same chance…* anybody can 'speak' but that chance to speak is not there". There are also perceived repercussions for those who speak out. It may be harder for the youth because they may need to apply for national identification cards; this is a crucial national document requiring direct approval and processing through the public administration starting off at the Chief's office:

> "*it has made many people timid to speak in public because if you say anything negative about them or about their office, there is nothing of yours…let's say like applying for an ID that you need to get from there …it will be hard to get it".*

24. Edna

Edna is a lady in her late thirties who runs a small food vending business and has been part of the community for more than ten years. She described citizen participation an opportunity for local people to speak on the issues that affect them. However, she lamented that even when people got the opportunity to present their views they were frustrated because they did not feel heard:

> "*… if you can give your opinions and they are not considered… even if you hear that there is a baraza, you don't take it seriously/ignore…what would you go back for?* This means that the impact of citizen participation is negligible; as she says: *"It does not make any difference so whether you participate or not…."*

25. Hezekiah

Hezekiah is a middle-aged man who has lived in the community for over fourteen years. He is also the secretary of the community health volunteers (CHVs) group. He has wealth of information about the evolution of various issues in the community. He describes citizen participation as a government –initiated process that can be carried out from the ward level. However, he notes that when citizen participation meetings are held at the county level either in City Hall or at Tom Mboya Social Hall or at Kariokor Social Hall, the cost of transportation may lock out those willing to participate:

> "*many times you can find that you get a message we have that citizen participation …and you have something to contribute but cannot because it is difficult to raise the transport needed to attend …it is difficult for your message to reach."*

From his knowledge of the past in contrast with the present situation, Hezekiah explains there are no grassroots organisations that aid in the agitation by citizens of their rights. He explained that in the past:

> "…we had an organisation that used to create awareness …but it was closed…it was called GOAL…they are the ones that most of the time used to create awareness ….what is required …what should we do so that when we go to the meeting…the baraza…you are informed earlier on …they used to educate people about issues such as the Children's Act , about sanitation so that when you get to the baraza …at least…you can be able to contribute in the meeting …but right now, it is 15 years since they closed their office here…so the people who are new to this area have not been made aware of such issues."

26. Marceline

Marceline is a middle-aged female who has been living in the community for over twelve years. She describes the changes that have taken place in the area such as the construction of an asphalt road, the construction of toilets and the increase in the overall population. She describes citizen participation as a government sponsored programme to find a place where there can be open dialogue on important issues of the day. According to her voice is important and a powerful tool when the community speaks in unity: *"...voice can also be that there is an agreement made in a certain group and people are able to speak out in one voice."* Marceline also mentioned how access to services such as water and electricity is severely constrained and expensive in their community. The control by cartels and illegal connections often serves to exacerbate the poverty penalty levied on their livelihoods:

> "Something like water and electricity, it needs to be available to everybody… in the village we pay separately for rent and electricity…as the local community, it would be better if we had proper connections instead of the ones that we have …because most of the time they are the cause of destruction …you find that it has exploded and houses are burnt down , so you find that we spend a lot of money…if we could find water that could benefit us …it can be very good for the community."

27. Miriam

Miriam is a female in her late thirties who has lived in the community for seven years. She describes citizen participation as a process that takes place at the Chief's office where people discuss their issues:

> *"We usually have citizen participation at the Chief's office or in Starehe…but they usually call people from the village…Starehe at the sub-county offices*."

The issues they discuss include the employment of the youth in projects such as the construction of the expressway:

> *"There was a time…they were discussing the construction of that road that is being built on Mombasa Road (expressway) …the one they are saying will be a highway…the DC (ACC) came and educated the local people.*"

Her narrative during the focus group discussion, highlighted the key role that chairmen and chairladies play in the community:

> "*…if it is the chief who has the baraza…he informs the chairmen to tell the people …they move around telling people that 'today the chief has a baraza' or maybe 'tomorrow the chief will have a baraza' so people come to know about it".*

28. Paula

Paula is a middle-aged female who has lived in Mukuru Kayaba for twenty-two years. She explained that citizen participation is important because local problems receive the targeted attention they require:

> "*What I can say is that if you go to those meetings, during the meeting, every area separates from the others to discuss their issues…when we get there and once, they finish the talks…people are separated …Kisii village, Fuata Nyayo …like that ….so that everybody presents the problems in their area…do you see how that is beneficial?".*

She highlighted the difficulties of participating as a citizen in the scheduled meetings due to the timing of the meetings and transport costs:

> "You know sometimes you can find that…you know the way we live here…sometimes you could be a vegetable vendor and it might be hard to walk all the way to the chief's office. …there is nothing you are going to get there other than sitting and listening …you decide that it is better to sit and your business and at least somebody can buy vegetables for Ksh 20 to boost your children in the evening …. that can help you …that can be a barrier. And then at other times, we can go to look for work in South C and then they keep you there until evening …will the message really have reached me? You leave late and you find the person that was able to attend, they do not explain anything to you …and you cannot find anyone to explain it to you".

29. Harriet

Harriet has lived in Mukuru Kayaba for over ten years and is a small business owner. She describes citizen participation as an invitation to attend a meeting at the Chief's office that is relayed by the Chairmen or the community health volunteers (CHVs):

> *"You can go to the chief's office in Hazina…when we are called. Sometimes it is held at the church or it can go to South B…there is a place to meet at the Chief's office…it is not far from here."*

The generational knowledge passed on to the residents after training received from GOAL Kenya has been instrumental in mobilising many residents as in the case of Harriet who says:

> "…you see now, we were trained by GOAL Kenya…if I hear that there is a meeting in Starehe, I will attend because I know that there are many contributions that I can benefit from …and the one who has never attended …if we call them for it so that they can be trained like me …do you see that both of us will be educated? But right now, we have nobody to train us …hat is the problem…we are appealing that if we get somebody to educate us…the men, women, youth…but since GOAL Kenya, we have never had such people …there are people who are newly settled in this area and they have never been trained…you know, sometimes we can tell the Chief and he may think that we are complaining because we have not had other people telling them about it …if it was possible, we need to get people to educate people in the village*"*.

30. Brigid

Brigid has lived in Mukuru Kayaba for over ten years and thinks that citizen participation as a way of ensuring that representation of the community meets certain standards. She views citizen participation through the lens of representation. This is

because in informal settlements the national government administrative officers communicate with the community through representatives such as the Chairmen and Chairladies. That is why in her opinion, the right representation is that which is:

> *"…representation should be open and transparent to everybody".* Brigid also believes that projects would attract more participants if they were designed from the start in a way that *"the ones that bring the community together. You see those trainings that we had together with the CHVs? They should bring such projects, then people will be educated and enlightened."*

4.4 Emergent Themes: Structural Descriptions of the Lived Experiences of the Study Participants

4.4.1 Exclusion and Apathy

The first theme that emerged from the data generated in this study was that of perceptions of exclusion and apathy towards citizen/public participation in informal settlements. Most of the participants expressed that in their experience their exclusion had led to apathy of the informal settlement communities. For instance, Joseph stated:

> *"…but that public participation, many times you will find out with surprise that something has started or has been agreed upon …you will find out that they have agreed between two or three people"*

Alfred also explains that:

> *"As we have said, there is citizen participation but people are tired of attending because even if you do attend, your ideas will not be used …also you can affect your CV (reputation) when you want to access something in the future …people take it positively and people know about it …."*

A lack of continuous civic education has led to a lack of awareness and understanding of what civic/public participation is. In the interviews, out of the thirty participants interviewed, I found that more than half of them expressed their exclusion from crucial meetings (Cornwall,2002). The levels of exclusion are evident in the expressions such as that of Alice who stated that: *"…we usually hear about public participation, but it has never reached us"*

They opined that the meetings to discuss crucial issues were only limited to a certain group of individuals (Lefebvre, 1991). This has led to the perception that the views of local people do not matter. The fact that public administrators only called for barazas to inform people on issues pertaining to flooding, water, public health and disaster management; does not present opportunities to provide clear information about citizen/public participation. Esther says that:

> *"…there are meetings but mostly it is amongst themselves, but for an ordinary citizen, it is not easy to be included …the Chief, the chairman, they just hold their own meetings, by the time an ordinary citizen is able to access such a meeting, it might be too late."*

A lack of continuous awareness creation means that there is a generational gap between in the passing of knowledge on citizen/public participation (Urban Areas and Cities Act,2013). As quoted from the views of one of the study participants, Hezekiah:

> *"… in the past we had an organisation that used to create awareness…it was called GOAL. They are the ones who used to create awareness like what we should do so that when we go to the meeting …the baraza…they used to create awareness about public participation so that when you go to the baraza you can contribute. It is now more than fifteen years since they closed their office."*

The passing of this key knowledge from one generation to another is disrupted. There is therefore a lack of a communal push for local development. Perceptions of apathy and exclusion are compounded when there is reluctance to speak in *barazas* (Habermas,1989). As Habermas (1989), postulates, the public sphere is captured making exclusion evident. Elections are perceived as the only sites for exercising citizenship and participatory rights. This limits the agency of individuals and communities making them susceptible to the influences of the agendas of politicians (Moore and Putzel, 1999). As their leaders, the politicians are unaccountable in the

way that they disburse and utilise development funds. Many of the participants expressed their frustration with how these leaders, especially the Chairpersons, MCAs and MPs carry out their mandate with limited input from the local community. This quote is an example of their views as opined by Alice, who is a community health volunteer (CHV):

> *"…our MP has disappeared and he cannot be found. He does not even pick our calls"*

Wycliffe further explains that:

> *"…but the other type of representation is where there is a go-between …you have somebody who accesses and brings those things…but this relationship is where you must exchange something…but a normal representation is a reciprocal relationship"*

Exclusion in informal settlements emerges as a key theme in the process of documentary analysis (Urban Areas and Cities Act,2011; KSG,2015)**.** This is because the documents analysed give instances of the exclusion of the communities in several ways. First, by highlighting geographical exclusion; the sites of these communities are always located on sub-prime, government and contested lands. The lack of the most basic amenities on these settlements serves as a sign of the depth of their exclusion. Geographic and service exclusion is the basis of the key representations of the communities. These communities are marginalised in terms of the policies and practices of urbanisation (IRTC, 2019). The arbitrary nature of their construction and their livelihoods further compound their peripheral location in society. Although the type of housing has evolved to more permanent structures, fundamental issues in the land tenure system exacerbate the precarious circumstances of all the main stakeholders of these settlements. The existence of policies that address vulnerabilities have had minimal impact on informal settlements because of their conflated context. What people fail to understand is that informal settlements provide important services to more formalised arrangements of urban areas (Min. of Transport, 2019 a, b, c).

4.4.2 Citizenship and Public Trust

The lived experiences of the study participants as citizens living in informal settlements are problematic. They are bounded by a lack of agency; in that, the individuals and the community do not know how and when to exercise their rights as citizens (Lister,2003). Their agency is diminished because it is confined to be expressed by voting only. They opined that even with voting, there is little improvement in their livelihoods. The representatives they elect exclude them by failing to engage with them directly, preferring to use agents. The study participants expressed the fact that their views were not taken seriously by their leaders; they may listen to them at the barazas but fail to act on their input (Moore and Putzel,1999, Kohn,2000;). This leaves the community with the perception that their views are not important. Joseph explained that:

> "…the first thing is that they lack voice and they can attend public participation and when they speak, they are asked to select two or three people to speak on their behalf…but those who are chosen do not follow up because each one of them has their own personal daily activities, so at the end of the day or the year, nothing happens to what they discussed"

Jane, a female CHV, says that:

> "Citizen participation is beneficial because they [the community] can understand themselves …but they don't have a lot of power …powers to act are what they do not have a lot of …because they have been captured mostly in the village …those powers have been taken over by the village elders and the Chief… Now, in the way that when they call for a meeting, they call for barazas…the Chief's baraza …then they create a …then people can discuss in the open forums…they talk. You see, the more they talk, the more it becomes beneficial…it widens peoples' minds…a person is able to know their rights…they know that if I do this, maybe it is not a mistake"

Hezekiah also finds that there is strength in number because:

> *"Voice to people requires that…we look at the number of people that live in a certain area …how many are they? Because this is what will give them a voice …. not the kind of noise that they can make on the streets …if you find that a*

> *certain area has many people …that is the voice they have they have that will affect anything they get from the government"*

The study participants expressed their lived experiences of viewing representation as an avenue of agency in their community (Fung and Wright,2001). It is an often-underutilised path to gain communal and individual agency. Joseph also stated:

> "…empowerment is very important and it is what is making the community lag behind …if public participation was present there would have been empowerment…people would get…the youth, even women will get the information about access, like the women fund, the youth fund…but you find that we have very many young people here…there are those who have moved a bit higher like the youth in other areas in Buruburu and other areas who have accessed public participation."

They opined that if they chose their own leaders directly, especially the chairmen and chairpersons, and the chief, they would select locals of integrity who understood their needs and had the local social networks to address them by accounting for local nuances (Barnes,1999; Geffen,2001. Although the Constitution of Kenya (2010) guarantees a 'new' bundle of rights- social, political, economic-the study participants expressed their views that politics of the day, the allocative function affects the availability of certain assistance. The views of Joseph and Alex, respectively are that:

> *"…awareness…people should be made aware; it should be explained to them. Public participation should be explained to them without any representation or any other people interfering in the process…"*
>
> *"…their rights are still low, they don't have it really in their hands…for many of them, their understanding is still low…they don't understand and that is why sometimes we do (sic) wrong elections"*

Miriam explains the importance of their participation as citizens:

> *"…like the meetings they usually call us for in Starehe, when we go there, they don't know where each one of us is coming from …once they open the meeting, it is up to us to open up and speak about the places where we have come from, so that they will know that people from a certain place have attended the meeting…so it is necessary that we attend and represent…and there are no restrictions…we are all free to speak."*

Associations and relationships between gatekeepers who are the chairpersons, and chiefs are well-connected individuals who will affect the ability of ordinary citizens to get assistance they need. It may require that they liaise with certain individuals to access the assistance they need (Escobar,1995). This introduces issues of corruption, bribery and nepotism. Wycliffe explains that:

> *"...these days, it looks like you need to bribe the chairman, then you bribe another one and then you go to the chief...you find that somebody can give up along the way"*

> *"If people hear about an empowerment programme that is originating from the chief's office, you just know that it is full of corruption ...in your mind you know it is corrupt ...you need to look for some money ...then I will get it ...I must have some money before I can access it."*

Loss of public trust is a major lived experience for people living in informal settlements. There is also a high level of distrust for government officials which many of the study participants expressed their frustration with their service to the local community (Dalton,2005; Verba and Almond,1963; Muungano wa Wanavijiji,2021); Alex says that:

> *"...you understand the chiefs don't like doing it, they only do it when it comes up as a security matter, only when things become bad do they call for a meeting"*

Together with other leaders, they have superficial reach and interaction with the locals. The study participants expressed the view that there are interior areas of the informal settlement that get little attention from their leaders (Roy,2005;2011; Lindell and Ampaire,2017); John who has lived in Mukuru Kayaba for over twenty-five years opines that:

> *"...the leaders just move on the main roads and claim that they have reached the locals but they have not gone into the interior to see...passing on the main roads is not the way to reach the local peoples..."*

This means that conditions in those areas are worse off than in other areas. There is also a perception of distrust in their welfare from their leaders (Gaventa,2006; Yiftachel,2009). This was strongly expressed by female participants of the study who

are CHVs as they spoke of the need for ARVs, cancer medication, contraception and the distribution of jobs to 'outsiders" Morange and Spire,2019); Anne who is a CHVs in Mariguini village explains:

> *"…even the way those ARVs [got here] …the foreigners said that they would not bring them, but when they came and had a meeting, that is when the medication started to flow again …we saw that people were receiving help"*

Rose, a local primary school teacher expresses the same frustration

> *"…you can even get that it is a whole family that is getting access…a whole family and the other members of the community are just left wondering"*

Christopher, a university student who has had to defer his studies says that:

> *"I can back him a bit…the issuing of bursaries here in Nairobi South, when you go to the chief's (office) the same people you find denying your application will serve in that office for years and that person lives with you here …and then one day you have a disagreement …a small one …and then you try and go for a bursary there …do you think that guy will give it to you? He will say 'that woman was rude to me"*

Information which is necessary for communal and personal decision making, is also at a high premium. It is only dispensed to a few select people. It may trickle down to a few members of the community, increasing levels of exclusion and distrust (Davis,2004; Benjamin,2008; Morange and Spire,2019); Rose adds that:

> *"…you need to get someone who already knows what people need in the area. You cannot bring an activity that will not do well at that time…you go around and speak to the women…and because you live in that community you are amongst them and you would know what they need"*

Elsa explains that accessing information on projects:

> *"…it is difficult…that one about the accessing of certain projects in the village is hard because the people you link up with …there must be confrontation…before you can get what you want"*

There is also a feeling of entitlement to compensation expressed by the study participants. They opine that the locals should be compensated for attending citizen/public participation barazas. This is because many of them are day labourers who wish to be paid for the time list attending barazas (Cornwall and Gaventa,2001;

Cornwall,2002). This is made worse by the fact that they perceive no tangible benefits from citizen/public participation. They opine that there are no visible outcomes of positive impact that enable people to value it. They perceive that external agendas and solutions are implemented which makes it difficult for the community to embrace the inputs and outputs of citizen/public participation as driven by their leaders (Davis,2004; Roy2011); Joseph says:

> *"...but representation is where one stands in the gap to represent in [public] participation, they can bring water here, construct drainage and maybe I didn't want it or you do certain things that I do not want ...that other people do not want, but when we come together in public participation own the issue and we can own the project"*

Janet, who runs a small food business says:

> "…If you look for a representative and you find them, they want a bribe…and ,maybe that bribe , you do not have it, so that means you have to stay where you are …for example, like me…I have a husband but he is jobless…he does not have a job at all …so it means that I have no choice but to struggle and sell my githeri…to pay rent and other needs…and you know there, that business is not adequate to meet our needs of the house and as well as the needs for food I have to also leave and go to look for casual employment …maybe doing laundry …so that it can assist me a little bit."

Christine, a student also adds on that:

> *"...someone like the MCA, you can tell them something here and then when they move ahead, they have forgotten and their focus has moved on to other things ...and then a person like the Chief... he judges the person who is sending the message ...let's say that you are just an ordinary person, he will tell that person that he will act on it so that he/she will go but he/she will not act on it"*

Jane, who is a CHV and is part of the team that runs the local women's water project says:

> " …you know participation of the local people living in the village , they feel like if they are gathered in one place for a participating exercise , they know that there is a stipend there… so most of the time, they do not want because… most of the people live here take part in informal employment especially odd jobs …now many of them are thinking about what they would gain from going for that exercise …and waste their time and they could be sitting at their kiosk and selling their wares (vegetables) to at least one person and they get at least Ksh 5 (kobole-slang)to buy paraffin to use in the evening, to buy something like soap to wash the children's clothes…it is not easy."

Accessibility also affects the availability of public goods. For instance, the provision of water through the use of the water token is difficult because of the initial costs of setting up the service (Yiftachel and Yacobi,2003; Yiftachel,2009). This acts as a barrier to its uptake by most of the people. Also, the study participants lamented about the long distances that would not allow them to access this cheaper water point. Instead, many rely on water points closer to them that sell water at higher prices. The costs of the project affect its expansion to other areas of the settlement. As expressed by the study participant, Hannah, the interests of various gatekeepers who may be owners of similar businesses have a role in stifling the expansion of the business:

> *"…honestly, those offices do not help ordinary citizens unless you have something to offer…"*

Jane adds that:

> "…on your own you see an opportunity and you feel it is the right place for you to set up a kiosk to sell vegetables so that you can get your daily basic needs…that kiosk will be pulled down …unless you enquire from the village elders…and the Chiefs and then maybe they will give you the permission, they give you that portion…if they give you that portion, there is a way that you have to pay for it …there is something small that you have to pay so that you can be allocated that space…so empowerment here in the village is usually difficult because most of the time it is the Chief and the village elders that take *control."*

As Christopher reiterates,

> *"…there is nowhere that you will go and find a straightforward process that will assist you and then it can also assist the community …all of them are corrupt…"*

Esther explains that:

> *"These government bursaries ...the chiefs and the chairmen will take them …the one who really needs them will not get them unless you go to the chief and give a bribe, then you can get it …or to the chairman who will come and offer a bribe on your behalf so that you can get it"*

4.4.3 Role of Social Networks in Citizen Participation and Social Sustainability

Social networks provide the grounds for developing local alliances to pursue grassroots development (Geffen, 2001; Satterthwaite *et al.*,2011; World Bank, 2020). These social networks are evident in informal settlements and they are the visible through the work of CHVs and the local Chairpersons. Alice, a CHV, states that:

> *"That is the problem here… the chairpersons, they are the ones who spoil our work … but if you work with the volunteers…"*

Anne adds:

> *"We are the volunteers here and through us you can get to the right people … if you go through the Chairman, they will bring their own people… their children and their own people to benefit."*

They provide the impetus for the practice of citizen/public participation for the social sustainability of the communities. This highlights evidence of social sustainability as a key enabler for improved livelihoods amongst vulnerable populations. These networks also develop partnerships to engage with governments and other actors such as local and international NGOs. The spaces created for citizen/public participation are important sites for the development of these networks as well as social capital required to harness and drive local development (Cornwall,2002; Lines and Makau,2018; Muungano wa Wnanvijij,2021). Social networks are also a source of developing the capacity of local leaders and improving their transparency and accountability.

The status and clout of individuals affects how people engage and whether certain social networks get more visibility that others (Mamdani,1996; Kabeer,2002; Lister,2003). There are also constraints to the implementation of projects by CBOs and NGOs (Barnes,1999). These are the lack of financing and opposition from the local community or more precisely, certain gatekeepers. Yet these organisations play an important role in the life of the informal settlement. However, the relatively short-

term nature of their mandates and budgetary constraints affects their level of effectiveness and affect public trust in their ability to deliver nuanced and considered development. Levels of power have also been noted in the documents as a sub theme affecting citizen/public participation and social sustainability. Personalities of leaders and their agents contribute to issues if the levels of power and its effect on the allocation of resources for development in the area (Gaventa,2006; Benjamin,2008). A lack of effective social networks means that people cannot gain protection from shock, weak patronage on labour markets, labelling and exclusion which is prevalent in minority groups (Nabutola, 2004).

Citizen participation is a key enabler of social sustainability in communities. As noted in some of the documents, specifically, the World Bank (2019,2020), they provide a platform through which individuals and communities articulate and address issues that arise in their communities. Social sustainability considers how people, communities and societies live with each other and their societal expectations for realising individual potential, participating in governance and decision making, citizenship, justice, the growth of knowledge and equitable resource distribution (Satterthwaite *et al.,* 2011; Das, *et al*.,2020). In informal settlements, citizen participation, is key in developing agency in the community to define and prioritise issues that affect them. The continuums of citizen participation and social sustainability, according to the document analysis is a nuanced and multifaceted process requiring tangible progress in order to find relevance in communities (World Bank,2014). They then become important processes in improving the livelihoods of informal settlements when viewed through their lens.

4.4.4 The Baraza and the Role of the Public Administration

As an aspect borrowed from the past, the *baraza* plays a crucial role in the practice of citizen/public participation in informal settlements. It therefore plays a key role in the provision of spaces for people to express their opinions and be heard (Lizarralde and Massyn, 2008; Omanga,2015; IRTC,2019). However, this space, the public sphere, has been captured and become a space for passing information and for consultation. The participants expressed their opinion that they would have preferred that the baraza is utilised as a space for discussion and prioritisation of community needs (Habermas,1989, Benjamin, 2008). The animation of the baraza as a space that creates lasting impact for the society is important in improving communal engagement of the community in the practice of public participation. Joseph reiterates the importance of the baraza to their community by saying that:

> *"Yes, it is easy to access and speak but most of the time, there must be a pressing issue to be dealt with in that meeting, for example insecurity so that when people meet, they will only address insecurity and not speak about any project. People will raise their hands and use the opportunity they gain to complain until the Chief gives the final word."*

Hannah says that:

> *"…because the person from Mariguini* (one of the 11 villages of Mukuru Kayaba informal settlement) *will not know the problems we have here (in Kisii village, one of the 11 villages of Mukuru Kayaba informal settlement) …so it is beneficial for the baraza…. to meet so that every area presents their own issues that exist in their area"*

The perception by the participants that the baraza is held less frequently is an expression of their frustration with the relevance of the baraza in their lives as they seek to eke a living. For example, Rose says:

> *"……being oppressed is also there …sometimes you might think you are not good enough…If I say something, how will people take me?"*

Christopher explains that:

> *"…because when you attend the chief's baraza, you find the chairman, the chief, his/her assistant and the D.O. (District Officer/Assistant County Commissioner-ACC) so when you attend as two or three citizens, there is no way that your opinions will be considered …because they will have already made a decision… they are just waiting for you to speak and make your noise …"*

The timings of the meetings also remain a contentious issue because of the precarious nature of the employment of many members of the community. Many of them are casual labourers seeking daily employment and others are small business owners (Davis,2004, Bayat,2007). The perception that the losses of attending a baraza outweigh the benefits of going to seeking daily bread or earning a small amount from the businesses; means that turn out at such events is usually low and is subject to the level of interest the locals place in the agenda of the baraza of the day (Haugerud,2006); Wycliffe opines that:

> *"…even that baraza, they hold it for the sake of the cameras but not because they want to listen or that people can give their opinions…views were given a long time and it is a done deal…"*

The Public Administration (PA) is a key actor role in Kenya's administrative infrastructure. Questions of the legality of the its operation even after the promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya (2010) may arise from time to time but it remains the main way of reaching the grassroots of this country (Bagaka,2011). This is especially true of the informal settlements where public administrators have major contact with the local community. Their presence in these communities is a sign of governmental presence that has both positive and negative connotations; Joseph explains that:

> *"…we need a good platform that is not dominated by the public administration …there are those who see the marks of the authority of the chief (on the Chief's official uniform) and they are unable to express themselves …they are unable to speak…"*

In certain instances, and circumstances, it may serve as a protector, arbiter and mobiliser of development (KSG,2015a). The government through the public administration sets the development agenda. Utilising the chairpersons as well as the community health volunteers (CHVs) who are mobilisers in their communities. They are also political and social actors who have significant clout in their communities. The local hierarchy provides as expressed by the interview participants, an important framework for social sustainability in the community. However, many of the participants expressed their dissatisfaction with the lack of political good will by the local public administrators to open up the baraza for greater citizen/public participation (Habermas,1989; Lefebvre,1991; Cornwall,2003).

4.4.5 Projects as Sites for Citizen Participation and Contestations of Power

The project is an important factor of the implementation of development initiatives in informal settlements (Fung and Wright,2001; Lines and Makau,2018). Most of the interview participants are beneficiaries of project initiatives. In fact, the social life in informal settlements revolves around the various projects; such as water projects, food banks, health projects and education projects. Economically empowering projects in the view of the interview participants are the most preferred because of their tangible impacts on individuals and the community (Stiefel and Wolfe,1994; Escobar,1995):

> "…through participation then someone can know the number of projects we have in this area and they can know which one they can be a part of to benefit from"

Christopher also adds that:

> "Participation is beneficial because of the way I spend time with the youth, what I usually see …when we tell our chairman the truth, you want us to come and strangle you and we don't have jobs …if you make him feel guilty with the truth and he just leaves …so I encourage them, let us tell him the truth…so that is participation…I see it is beneficial …because if you do not participate you will not get any help for your problems"

They are in important component in the empowerment of individuals, actions as an avenue for people to gain voice, participate in local activities. This in turn improves opportunities for representation and access to the various services that will benefit the community.

As expressed by some of the interview participants, the centrality of the projects as important site for citizen/public participation is threatened by several factors. First, projects by their organisational set up, may be exclusionary in nature (Elmhirst,1999). They admit only a limited number of participants and leave out others who may be interested in taking part; for example, 'Kazi kwa Mtaani' project, Alice opined that…

> *"…they are just employing other people and you can have a daughter who has completed form four and also has the right to receive that Ksh 2,000… [But] even the ones who are here are strangers, I was surprised to find out that all these people are not from South B."*

Christopher explains the high levels of corruption:

> *"… to be sincere, I attended… our group was given Ksh100, 000 …but there was a lady who linked us up with them … do you know what she was saying? Do you know we gave her Ksh. 30,000 so that we could get the Ksh. 100,000 …?"*

Second, most projects are reactive rather than proactive (Nabutola,2004; Cities Alliance,2020). They are initiated as a response to certain incidents such as water-borne diseases, fires and poor garbage disposal. They deal with the temporal effects of a deeper, much larger problem that requires long-lasting, sustainable solution. Third, projects are also affected by the project life cycle. Once the project has gone through the projected phases it gets to the point of termination. Project termination, with its attendant processes of evaluation of the project outcomes rarely leads to the continuation or the start of a similar project; Anne says that:

> *"…NGOs…you know their usual ways…you know when they come here it means they have received money for some time…a certain period of time, like three years…"*

The yawning gap that is left is problematic and as opined by the study participants, project termination does not take into account of the of the project's importance to the community. It fails to account for the benefits and the sustainability of the introduced inputs and their outcomes to the community (Kabeer,2002a). A generational gap develops between those who benefited from the project and those who did not. Mukuru Kayaba, by the admission of the study participants, is littered with projects that lasted for a few years and were later terminated once time and budgetary thresholds were met. One of the participants also spoke about exploitation from local and national NGOs; James, a local chairman explains that:

> *"…there used to be a school that we assisted them to build…they put up very many big things in there and these things did not help the people here, the white person photographs our children and then sends them to their people and then they send them money in return…"*

Local power contestations and entrenched inequalities have also led to lower levels of citizen/public participation and social sustainability. Power as a resource determines the allocation of resources. In the informal settlements, the status of an individual and the community as a whole affects the practice of citizenship and participation (Muungano wa Wanavijiji,2021). The levels of power in the informal settlement affect peoples' agency and ability to live their fullest lives as citizens. This is because those who have the resources, access and influence have the greatest capacity to gain, as Wycliffe explains:

> "It is beneficial … a project can be beneficial…but let us say it 10% beneficial and 90%...there is nothing about it that is beneficial…let us say if a project was initiated here, ...Like the water tank project by the Government …give it one month and after one month, you can be sure that it will be taken over by an individual, so it will not benefit the local people…the community…it will be for an individual"

This is often seen at the baraza where those people who receive the most opportunities to express themselves are people who may be rich, are business owners, relatives of local leaders and those who have offered certain incentives receive greater attention (Kohn,2000); John, who has lived in the area for more than twenty-five years states that:

> *"...you know being empowered ...the individual must speak out because an individual cannot be passive and have the ability to access opportunities"*

There are also difficulties in accessing local leaders. Coupled with the need to incentivise gate keepers to gain access; this means that people are disillusioned by the idea of accessibility to leadership; Christopher says:

> *"...you know before that empowerment; you must know somebody..."*

Wycliffe explains that:

> "If the chairman can be given a project to initiate and he comes to the village and says he wants 10 names …you know we have women, men and the unemployed youth …but you will only know about it when all the names have been submitted …a long time ago. An individual might be from Lucky Summer or somewhere else …the name was submitted…he just comes here to work and then you just to see them passing by…there is that corruption"

The levels and the layers of powers as practiced by the levels of leadership affects citizen/pubic participation and social sustainability in the informal settlements (Mbai, 2003; Bagaka,2011; Odhiambo and Opiyo,2017).

4.4.6 Devolution as an Enabler of Citizen Participation and Lack of Policy Coherence

From the document analysis, this last theme is fleshed out to highlight the importance of devolution in the process of citizen participation. Devolution in Kenya as well as other nations of the global South is viewed as a significant development (World Bank, 2020). The introduction of devolution has led to the ceding and sharing of power,

resources and responsibility between the various levels of government (KSG 2015b). Multi- level governance is an opportunity for the global South to effectively address local problems with local solutions (World Bank, 2019). In the context of this study, a study of the selected documents shows that decentralising powers, resources and responsibilities is important for Kenya (Mbai,2003; Bagaka,2011; Omanga,2015). It provides an opportunity to directly address critical problems that are endemic to certain segments of the society. It provides for better governance by devising opportunities for communities to exercise their agency and effectively prioritise and execute plans for issues that affect them (Benjamin,2008). Devolution enables citizen/public participation which leads to social sustainability by pooling all stakeholders together, as partners in local development (KSG,2015c). By devising protocols, programmes and projects that deal directly with local issues, devolution empowers communities by providing better access, representation, voice and participation (KSG, 2016). Implementation of citizen participation in line with the ideals of devolution, ensures that process and practices account for local needs and nuances which is important for social sustainability.

Although governments, scholars and development practitioners all agree that the conditions in informal settlements are unsettling, there is very little in terms policy development to address these problems effectively (Das and Espinoza,2020). Research has shown that African cities grow, most of their populations will live in informal settlements (Cities Alliance, 2020; World Bank,2020; World Bank,2017; UN-HABITAT,2016; World Bank2012; UN,2009; UN-HABITAT,2010). It is imperative that governments of the global South develop and implement policy that is responsive to the challenges of informal settlements. In Kenya, the Constitution of Kenya (2010) recognises the need for developing and improving the livelihoods of

marginalised communities. Informal settlements are both visible and invisible, in many urban areas present an opportunity to develop coherent policy to address their challenges. Nairobi City County, with its vast networks of informal settlements has the opportunity to engage with policy development that addresses the needs of a majority of people who live in the county. In Nairobi, more than 60% of its population lives in informal settlement; it is therefore important to address the needs of this segment of the populace.

The passing of the Public Participation Bill (2019) which is an important piece of legislation that will act as a framework for the formulation of county legislation on citizen/public participation. The literature also articulates the fact that various regulations have been developed. However, they lack the coherence in the meanings, rules and systems of citizen/public participation. Citizen/public participation, as an important component of delegated governance in Kenya, requires a coherence in policy as a driver of balanced local and national development.

4.5 Summary of the Findings in Relation to the Literature

Previously in Chapter Two, I presented a foundation of literature positioning the study within a framework of existing literature on citizen participation, social sustainability and informal settlements. Empirical studies that cover citizenship, the theory of the public sphere, the theory of citizen participation, the theory of power, social sustainability serve as the collective lens for vetting my findings.

4.5.1 Apathy and Exclusion

Apathy and exclusion which are key themes highlighted by both interviews and document analysis. In the case of subaltern studies further explains the peripheral position of informal settlement communities. Antonio Gramsci, coined the term

subaltern to explain the concept of subordination and inferiority of the poor and vulnerable people in society. It explains the geographical, political and social exclusion of subaltern communities which are echoed in the findings of this research. Guha and Spivak who also write on Subalternity point to marginalised groups in society, the poor, women and the disabled. The findings of the themes of apathy and exclusion in both interviews and document analysis are consistent with the literature on citizen participation. Cornwall (2002b, 2003) illustrate how the spaces created/invited for citizenship are bounded by both inclusionary and exclusionary tendencies that affect the participation of subaltern communities. The perception and the reality of living and practising their citizenship on the periphery is a reflection of the positionality of individuals and their community. The findings of the theme of apathy and exclusion in both the interviews and document analysis are consistent with the literature on citizenship studies. Dalton (2005) opines that changing expectations of citizenship rather than government failure are the reasons why there is an increase in apathy and exclusion amongst citizens especially those living in informal settlements. Verba and Almond (1963) also postulate that if a political culture were to develop, then there would be development and empowerment of a democratic process. However, for a citizen to become an active citizen, there needs to be perceptions that enable them to take up that place as active citizens who actively engage and take art in the life of the communities.

4.5.2 Citizenship and Public Trust

The meanings and practices of citizenship illustrate the problematic relationship between the essence of citizenship and the practise of citizen participation. This is consistent with literature from scholars such as Mamdani (1996) who articulate the dual nature of the African as both a citizen and a subject. This dichotomy is evident in

Lister (2003) who describes a citizenship as both a status and a practice. Cornwall (2002b) highlights the problems with the practice and meanings of citizenship especially for vulnerable communities such as the informal settlement communities. Citizenship as a theme is conceptualised because of the nature of the emergence of the meanings and practices of citizenship that by their very nature tied to the emergence of the nation-state which is a Western concept. This means that most of the people living in the informal settlements have little attachment to the practice of citizenship because it has yet to find full expression in their lived experiences as a marginalised community. Although citizenship has connotations of exclusion and inclusion; bound in the definitions, the struggle for recognition of marginalised societies is affected by how people experience these issues which are at the periphery of most governmental concerns.

Loss of public trust is depicted in the literature on the spatial dimensions of citizen participation (Lefebvre, 1991; Foucault, 1984) and the infiltration of the public sphere by government officials (Habermas, 1989). Communities lose trust in the administrators of the system and the system itself because it does not account for the needs of those it purports it was designed to assist. The findings of the research highlight the disillusionment of individuals and communities, with the officials, systems and processes that govern citizen publication. The spaces for citizen participation are affected by a lack of nuance and context of local communities to improve the adoption and effectiveness of policy changes and acceptance by communities. The loss of public trust as a theme is consistent with studies on participation by scholars such as Lefebvre (1991) who opines that these ‘new’ spaces are a reflection of the old spaces. They may sometimes be used to limit the poor. The participants of the study expressed that the opening up of these spaces may not be

viewed as an improvement. Cornwall (2002) notes that inequalities of the past are often reproduced in the spaces of participation. This is because the act of space making is an act of power. As Lefebvre (1991) explains that those who make up and fill these spaces are positioned actors. These are actors who may act as gate keepers and set the agenda for engagement in those spaces. Habermas, the pioneer of the theory of the public space expounds on the differences in what people consider as important or meeting community interests. Coloured by the meanings and practices of citizenship as a theme that carries the vestiges of the past. Because of the historical basis of the concept of citizenship, it means that implicitly, there are boundaries for the marginalised communities.

As Colantonio (2009) opines, which is consistent with the findings of the study, empowerment, participation and access are some of the subthemes linked to citizenship. Through these concepts, citizenship finds its expression in the lives of subaltern communities living on the periphery. The study participants also expressed their frustration with how to understand and practice their citizenship in light of the new realities as expressed through the extended bundle of rights – social, political, economic and cultural. The citizen who lives in the informal settlement faces numerous challenges as compared to those who live in more formalised arrangements. Their lived experiences as citizens are made even more difficult as they expressed by the difficulty in expressing themselves as citizens with all the rights due to the individual. Social sustainability studies research emphasises the fact of the loss of public trust which is a theme of the research. By incorporating social equity and justice so that urban informal settlements can be suitable places to live. This is consistent with the findings of the study where these concepts of social equity and justice are important for social sustainability of informal settlements. The

contestations of power as a theme in terms of the social sustainability of informal settlements in terms of the lived experiences of subaltern communities who want to participate are unable to do so.

4.5.3 Role of Social Networks in Citizen Participation and Social Sustainability

Social networks play an important role citizen participation. They are the embodiment of how informal settlement communities mitigate the difficult circumstances of their living conditions. The lived experiences of the informal settlement communities expressed by the study participants depict how these networks empower the local community. Through the work of the chairmen and chairladies and the leaders of the community health volunteers (CHVs), they have the capacity as drivers and mobilisers of citizen participation and social sustainability at the grassroots. By virtue of their positions, as links between the community, the government and other external actors, they are key enablers of citizen participation and social sustainability. However, their roles are affected by corruption, nepotism, tribalism and conflict of interest. As expressed by the study participants, there was nepotism where local leaders leveraged their position to access employment opportunities for their kin. Also, they explained that many of the local leaders also owned crucial service outlets such as housing and water tanks. In ensuring the continuity of their business, it was possible for them to sabotage more affordable availability of these services. Therefore, it is important to ensure the effective deployment of social networks to mitigate against the effects of corruption, nepotism, tribalism and conflict of interest for the social sustainability of development in informal settlements.

Social sustainability as a process is also key theme linked to sustainability studies. According to the literature, social sustainability is related to the stakeholders who are

the actors responsible for the formulation of action to be taken. Therefore, sustainability credits individuals and communities with the agency they need to improve their living conditions. Although most of the studies on social sustainability have been carried out in urban areas, there was no contextualisation of social sustainability in informal settlements (Dempsey et al. 2009; McKenzie, 2004). A nuanced process of social sustainability is key for inclusion; as Stren and Polèse (2000) opine that it must foster an environment that is conducive to the habitation of culturally and socially diverse groups so that there is improvement in the lives of all the segments of the population. Holden (2012) explains that social sustainability is a process of urban development supported by policies and institutions that ensures harmonious social relations, enhance social integration and the improvement of living conditions for all.

4.5.4 The Baraza and the Role of the Public Administration in Citizen Participation

The role of the Public Administration is another theme highlighted by citizenship studies (Cornwall, 2003). The PA is a key enabler of the understandings of citizenship. However, the PA lacks the incentives and the capacity to assist citizens to fully understand their lived experiences. Their proximity to citizens is used as a tool of control and facilitation of government ideas (Bagaka, 2011). This means that the main role of the public administration is one of control rather than dialogue. The historical context as administrators and enablers of government agenda means that all their actions and initiatives are met with greatest suspicion especially in informal settlements. The role of the public administration (PA) is a key theme linked to participation because the PA is an important part of the process of governance. It is a reflection of influence of the government and control in the country. The rights-based

approach that advocates for participation as a basic right enables communities to grasp their own agency and make decision concerning their communities. However, for the vulnerable communities to use these spaces, they will require an effective and responsive state (Kabeer, 2002b). It is therefore important that the central government through the PA must deliberately enable citizen participation especially in informal settlement communities.

4.5.5 Projects as Sites of Citizen Participation and Contestations of Power

Projects are key sites for the practice of citizen participation. As expressed by the study participants and in the literature, projects are an important and often utilised avenue for informal settlement communities to actualise their development priorities. These communities view projects and their outcomes as the most tangible expressions of enabling participation. Stiefel and Wolfe (1994) have explained that NGOs are important in developing the capacity of the poor to improve their negotiation skills. It is a way in which the local community becomes active participants in utilising the created and invited spaces for citizen participation. Another theme consistent with the issues of participation is the existing contestations of power. Contestations of power in informal communities and invited spaces have an effect on the social sustainability of development in informal settlement communities. Lynch (2010) explained that the presence of space is a crucial for the practice of power in any form. In the same way, Cornwall (2002) notes that power relations are present and they affect any space where participation is meant to take place. Also, that if there are any powerful actors, they may create man spaces in the form of groups and when they invite citizens to participate, this may have a neutralising effect on their engagement. It is consistent with the ideas that participatory processes; should be used to highlight and give voice to struggles from below but this does not happen.

4.5.6 Devolution as an Enabler of Citizen Participation and Lack of Policy Coherence

Devolution is an enabler of citizen participation is a theme that addresses the opening up of spaces for participation (Bagaka, 2011). This concept was adopted to fit the aspirations of Kenyans to bring the government closer to the people (World Bank, 2019). It is an important idea that owes its birth from Kenya's nascent stages. This iteration seeks to devolve services to the lowest possible unit in the grassroots. In the informal settlement, the study participants noted that they would have better representation if the MCA and the MP came from their locality. They also expressed the fact that the MCA was an in important link for informal settlement communities. Issues raised by this theme also highlighted the lack of policy coherence on the meanings, rules and systems of citizen participation. This affects the effective practice of citizen participation. There are several documents from various departments that provide guidelines for citizen participation. However, the overarching law, the Public Participation Bill (2019) has yet to be passed. It is an important piece of legislation required to provide a framework for contextualising participation in informal settlements. A lack of policy coherence is a theme that is consistent with the placement of subaltern communities. The lack of policy coherences in the meaning, policy and definition of citizen participation affects the lived experiences of subaltern communities. The inability of the two levels of government – the national and county through the national legislature are yet to ensure that there is a standardized national understanding of citizen participation (KSG, 2015; 2016). The lived experiences of informal settlement communities who are living on the periphery are affected by the lack of policy coherence because all the key actors are yet to fully understand the expression of citizen participation in communities.

4.6 Summary of Findings in Relation to the Research Questions

Six final themes emerged from the data analysis in chapter four from the interviews and document analysis. Those themes draw a picture of how weak citizen participation has adverse effects on the social sustainability of informal settlement communities. Those themes, named for the most powerful perceptions of the study participants and the document analysis. Each theme is linked to one of the three core questions of the study. These themes are: Exclusion and Apathy; Citizenship and public trust; Role of social networks in citizen participation and social sustainability; The baraza and the role of the public administration; Projects as sites of citizen participation and contestations of power and Devolution as an enabler of citizen participation and lack of policy coherence.

RQ1. What are the existing provisions (opportunities) for citizen participation in the social sustainability of subaltern communities?

This first research question sought to address whether there was an enabling environment providing provisions relevant for citizen participation in this marginalised community. This research question is linked to the themes of devolution as an enabler of citizen participation and issues of the lack of policy coherence; the baraza and the role of the public administration in citizen participation for social sustainability in informal settlements. The effect that policy coherence has is that citizen participation is not undertaken effectively. The myriad of provisions at the county and national level are lacking an overarching law. This is exemplified in the continued delays in the passing of the Public Participation Bill (2019) which has seen several iterations and is yet to become an Act of Parliament. The Bill is as a result of public participation in the counties. It is meant to give effect to the principles of public participation and participatory democracy as enshrined in the Constitution of

Kenya (2010) in Articles 1,10,35,69,118,174,184,196,201 and 232 (National Assembly, 2020).

Also, in terms of the work of the public administration as an enabler of citizen participation is greatly influenced by the past. Public Administration, in current iteration as the National Government Administrative Officers (NGAO) is a creature of Kenya's colonial past (Mbai,2003; Haugerud,2006; Bagaka,2011; Omanga,2015). As such, its functions and public perceptions to existence, relevance and utility are viewed from that lens. In their working, as expressed by the views of the study participants, there are patron-client linkages. They perceive the assistance of these officers is usually accorded when there is a transactional relationship sustained by corruption and nepotism. Such claims and the reality on the ground leads to the views of the PA as a source of the suppression of positive expressions of citizenship and citizen participation on in informal settlements. The study participants all expressed their frustration as they ended up acting as 'rubber stamps' for decisions already made by receiving information.

The baraza, which has its origins in the traditional history of Africa, was used in the colonial periods and post-colonial periods (Omanga, 2015). As a space for the transmission of information from the rulers to the ruled in the colonial era, it found new life in the post-colonial era in the government of Kenya's second president. The PA used this space as a semi-coercive space to compel residents to adhere to the directions of the central government (Haugerud, 2006). Programmes such as the District Focus for Rural Development and its 'Blue Book' of prescriptions mad this space one of passing information and tokenism. Persisting in this form into the government of the third president; the change began to take place after the

promulgation of the new constitution in 2010. The baraza then acquired new life through the provisions of the new dispensation that created opportunities to animate the space. The baraza plays an important role in informal settlements. It serves both as opportunity and a barrier to effective citizen participation. The opportunity arises in the chances that as a space infused with new 'power to' and 'power with' (Gaventa, 2006), it has the ability to move subaltern communities up the ladder of participation to experience the highest form of expressing their citizenship. However, the vestiges of the past continue to plague and conflate any efforts to positively utilise the baraza. The study participants noted that power contestations and interests affect the utilisation of these spaces in favour of the poor. Those who are able to leverage associations can bring their items on the agenda; locking out those addressing the most urgent and relevant needs of the majority.

RQ.2 How do the citizens in subaltern communities' access, interpret and utilise the existing provisions for citizen participation in social sustainability?

The second research question examines how citizens in informal settlements access, interpret and utilise the existing provisions for citizen participation to ensure the social sustainability of these communities. In this study, the researcher found that the themes of apathy and exclusion and the place of citizenship and public trust are linked to the second research question. From the findings of the research, it is clear that there is a lack of provision for the practice of citizen participation in informal settlement communities and other poor communities (Muungano wa Wanavijiji,2021). What exists is a conflation of the provisions of citizen participation into opportunities and resources available for all the citizens of a nation (Urban Areas and Cities Act,2011). They fail to take into account that context and nuance in informal settlements have a

great impact on the direction, context and priorities of citizen participation in informal settlements.

Apathy and exclusion in the context of subaltern communities is a serious deterrent Apathy means that in informal settlements, people are disillusioned by how they are unable to access, interpret and utilise the existing provisions for citizen participation (Cornwall and Gaventa,2001). It shows that individuals are not in a position to participate as citizens and this exacerbates their exclusion. Exclusion then takes various forms that further disenfranchises the poor and vulnerable (Das and Espinoza,2020). Apathy and exclusion in Mukuru Kayaba mean that people rarely attend barazas and other community meetings. In their estimation, the costs of citizen participation far outweigh any perceived benefits. People would rather find other ways of constructively using their time instead of sitting through the proceedings of a baraza that ignore and side-line their contributions (Bayat,2007).

Citizenship and public trust go hand in hand because the study shows that in subaltern communities, the concept of citizenship is greatly affected by the realities on the ground (Isin and Turner,2000). It is the effect on citizenship that leads to a loss of public trust. The idea of citizenship presupposes all of the citizens of a country experience their citizenship in the same way (Aiyar,2010). However, studies have shown that there is always a differentiation in the perceptions and practices of citizenship (Lister,2003). The exclusion of place, policy and lived experiences means that subaltern communities are affected in ways that their power of their citizenship is diminished by their circumstances (Lefebvre,1991). All of the participants expressed their dissatisfaction with their citizenship that is not in line with the letter and the spirit of the new dispensation of the constitution. The extended bundle of rights as

articulated in the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of Kenya (2010) seeks to ensure Kenyans from all walks of life live life to the highest standards possible. However, socioeconomic and political realities make it difficult to experience this ideal.

RQ3.What are the views of stakeholders on provisions for and the extent of citizen participation in enhancing social sustainability in subaltern communities?

The third research question is linked to the themes of projects as the sites for citizen participation and the contestations of power; the role of social networks in the processes of citizen participation and social sustainability in informal settlements. From this study, the research depicts that the project is an important site for citizen participation. It is in these spaces, whether public or NGO projects, that people in informal settlements practice their citizen participation (Satterthwaite *et al*., 2007; 2011). All the study participants agreed that projects play a significant role in improving political, economic and social outcomes in their community (Choguill,1996; Barnes,1999). From educational projects, water, healthcare and civic projects, people have an opportunity to get involved and improve their living standards. Many of the projects in Mukuru Kayaba empower people to earn a living and improve their living conditions. They also ensure that young people are gainfully engaged. All the participants also explained that projects are sites that enable the community to leverage their collective citizenship for meaningful socio-economic and political change (Satterthwaite *et al,*2011). Whether it is through NGO projects such as GOAL Kenya which empowered people to gain knowledge on lobbying; or water projects like '*Nyakwerigeria'* which are a source of income for the women who run it as well as suppliers of water and clean toilets.

It is instructive to note that these projects are not without their own constraints. Contestations of power in the project means that people do not always get what they want out of the projects (UN-HABITAT,2016). From the lens of dissatisfaction with project outcomes, communities face issues of corruption, nepotism and cronyism. Patron-client linkages mean that people have a tokenistic relationship with citizen participation. In order to benefit, they must give tokens to whoever is in charge. It means that they are also aware of the losses they would incur if they came up against those in power. In this way then, projects are both exclusionary and inclusionary in nature (Davis,2004). Although there are those who benefit from them, there are those who inadvertently by being excluded, do not benefit at all. The idea of citizen participation seeks to inclusionary in nature but still fails to address itself to problems that affect effective participation of subaltern communities (Collier *et al.* 2019).

Social networks play an important role in in informal settlements. The networks developed over time by groups such as the Chairmen and Chairladies (These are essentially what is known as 'headmen/women' in other jurisdictions) and Community Health Volunteers (CHVs) are an important element in providing linkages between the national government, county government and the local community. They also serve as avenues through which the local community can leverage for partnerships to improve levels of social sustainability for their community. Chairmen and Chairladies are used by the PA to gather information from the community and also to mobilise the community to participate in various activities (Bagaka,2011; KSG,2015b). Their proximity to the local administrators means that they wield certain levels of power. This power can be both an opportunity for good or continually entrench apathy, exclusion and disillusionment in the community (Odhiambo and Opiyo,2017). It is important therefore, to seek to harness the

opportunities and proximity of these local leaders to benefit their community. CHVs, on the other hand are mobilisers for socioeconomic outcomes.

Their work means that they have greater access to homes and individuals without the added pressure of government scrutiny like the Chairmen and Chairladies. They are in positions of trust that gain access in to the homes of the most vulnerable: the chronically sick individuals living with HIV/AIIDS, cancer, tuberculosis, serious malnutrition and those who are bed-ridden. From the collected information they have and the knowledge of the major problems in the locality, they are able to leverage for the improvement in health services, food distribution and youth employment. Their networks across the community make them powerful social and political actors whose position is in tandem or can rival, that of Chairpersons.

4.7 Conclusion

Chapter four has included the process of data analysis, the findings of the research and a summary of the findings**.** This chapter has attempted to coalesce all the information mentioned above to provide a coherent account of the lived experiences of the study community. This is through the personal accounts of the study participants as well as structural descriptions of the themes of the study in relation to citizen participation and social sustainability. Looking at the summary of the findings through the lens of the research questions centers the research. It provides the research with the starting point as a reflection of the thread drawn through the study to depict the relevance of the research questions and the research objectives.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

This chapter contains a discussion of the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the emergent themes that have addressed the research questions of the study. These research questions are:

1. What are the existing provisions (opportunities) for citizen participation in the social sustainability of subaltern communities?
2. How do the citizens in subaltern communities' access, interpret and utilise the existing provisions for citizen participation in social sustainability?
3. What are the views of stakeholders on provisions for and the extent of citizen participation in enhancing social sustainability in subaltern communities?

Also, this chapter examines the limitations of the study.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

This chapter begins by presenting the summary of the findings of this transcendental phenomenology study. The sixteen individual interviews and the two focus group discussions participants articulated their individual experiences that attested their common perspectives. This was in line with the findings of the document analysis. These commonalities revealed the collective essence of a weak system of citizen/public participation which greatly weakens the process of social sustainability of the informal settlement community. The findings of the research show that the participants perceived that a poor implementation of citizen/public participation has a great effect in strengthening forces that stagnate social sustainability of the informal

settlement community. By highlighting the themes of the study which depict the issues that arise in the practice of citizen/public participation for social sustainability.

The findings of the research addressed the three main research questions posed. The data generated represented by the six emergent themes, provided deeper insights into the weak meanings and practices of citizenship and citizen participation that have affected effective social sustainability in informal settlements. Participants clearly opined by expressing their understandings of the real and ideal meanings and practices of citizenship, they were able to clearly express the themes of the research which in turn address the questions of this study.

The first theme of the data analysis is apathy and exclusion. From this research, exclusion is a clearly identified theme affecting informal settlement communities. Exclusion as an issue that affects the quality of life of these settlements. This may be geographic, material and policy exclusion; in the sense that their location is far removed from the built up of the area causing them to be affected by a lack of access to basic human amenities. Secondly, material exclusion is reflected through the lack of physical assets required for socially sustainable development. Policy exclusion is also depicted by a lack of political will and expediency to pass Bills that would improve the practice of citizen participation in informal settlement communities.

Together with the themes of citizenship and public trust and the baraza and the role of the public administration, they can be clustered together. This is in the sense that they address the effectiveness of citizen participation. Citizen participation is affected by these three themes because they highlight the practice of citizenship in subaltern communities. The peripheral position of the informal settlement communities is depicted by the perceptions of apathy and exclusion in the functioning of their

citizenship. The meaning of their citizenship and its practise is bounded by their interactions with leaders and public administrators. A loss of public trust is evidenced by their expressions of a reluctance to fully utilise the baraza as a space for public participation. The baraza, bounded by colonial vestiges acts both as an opportunity and a constraint on public participation and social sustainability of their community.

The next three themes: the role of social networks in the processes of citizen participation and social sustainability in subaltern communities; projects as sites of citizen participation and contestations of power and devolution as an enabler of citizen participation and the lack of policy coherence for the practice of citizen participation can also be clustered together. They express the essence of the meaning of the phenomenon of citizen participation and bounded by the positioning of subaltern communities. Boundaries of power affect the practise of citizenship in informal communities because it infuses the created and invited space of the baraza with certain constraints that make it difficult for the spaces to be inclusive to all people. Also, the role of the public administrators through the lens of these communities is viewed as one of control and informing, rather than fostering citizen participation that addresses the concerns of the community.

Another invited and created site of citizen participation, the project, is also bounded by both inclusionary and exclusionary tendencies. Those who are able to join the projects and benefit from them, find them useful. Then there are those participants who expressed their views that the project activities may be limited to fewer participants and therefore some people feel left out. This is especially true of income generating projects, educational projects. Another issue was that projects are meant to benefit the entire community but issues of scaling up may be problematic. A good

example viewed through the lens of the study participants was the water token project; enabled by a partnership of the city's water and sanitation company and the local women's group. They expressed that the initial costs of acquiring the device are prohibitive to the locals (Ksh 400). This has affected the spread of the project into other areas of the settlement so that only those in close proximity of the women's' water project benefit.

Social networks play an important role on the practice of citizen participation in informal settlements. The documents highlight how building the capacity of local leaders such as the chairmen and chairladies as well as community health volunteers (CHVs) is important in improving citizen participation and social sustainability. Social networks also build good will and partnerships between the government, local leaders and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Citizen participation and social sustainability are the desired ends of this process for informal settlements. By building the understanding in communities that they are processes rather than evet is essential. The tangible benefits are meant to have a long-term effect on the community and its individuals

Devolution, a crucial cog in the articulation of the vision of the promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya (2010), is an enabler of citizen participation. Through the legislation of the delegated authority of the people in Article 1 of the constitution that explains that citizens can practice their roles directly or through their representatives, devolution is how the country has chosen to 'bring' government to the people. It opens avenues for the communities to participate in the developing local solutions to local problems. The ceding and sharing of power and resources between the two levels of government ensures that greater prioritising of local development needs.

Document analysis shows the importance of the public administration as an important enabler of citizen participation and social sustainability. However, there are concerns based on the historical foundations of the service. Bounded by contestations of power and lack of political will and incentivizing of the public administrators affects the full implementation of citizen participation in informal settlements. Lack of policy coherence in the rules and systems of citizen participation is an emergent theme of the sampled literature. This means that there is no single repository of national definitions and best practices of citizen participation. This causes practitioners to adapt their own standards in line with their realities.

5.2 Conclusion

The purpose of this transcendental phenomenology study was to examine the lived experiences of citizens in informal settlements as they utilise invited spaces for citizen participation for the social sustainability of their community. The research was carried out using interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis. This led to the identification of six key themes and related sub-themes. These themes affirmed important insights into the processes of citizen participation and social sustainability in informal settlements. The research questions of the study were:

Research Objective 1: To determine the existing provisions for citizen participation in the social sustainability of subaltern communities: The study participants expressed their experiences by their own voices that there is difficulty in actualising all the bundle of rights due to them as citizens. This is because of their subordinate position in society in geographical, political, policy and social terms. The research highlighted the existence of provisions for citizen participation in law but the utilisation of those avenues faced various hurdles. The study participants expressed

their frustration with a lack of communication and access of these spaces in a way that they understood. Many of these provisions were couched in language and practise that excluded the subaltern. For example, provisions on public participation that requires issues should be presented in writing as a memorandum in the case of the Urban Areas and Cities Act of 2011. Although the baraza seems to be a more accessible provision at the grassroots, it faced its own challenges. The contestations of power from the PA, the local chairmen and chairladies and the desires of the local community all affected interactions at the baraza. The jostling for space and relevance within the existing provisions was exclusionary to the locals.

Research Objective 2: To examine how citizens in subaltern communities' access, interpret and utilise the existing provisions for citizen participation in social sustainability of their communities: This has affected the social sustainability of any developments in their settlement. The conflation of the citizen by policy and the classification without clearly accounting for difference in the articulation of policy has led to the formulation and implementation of poorly designed policies and programmes. Therefore, the ability of the community access, interpret and utilise these spaces for local problems is severely hampered. In light of these difficulties, they pivot in using the existing provisions through negotiation with local leaders to provide the linkages and leverage they need to improve their community. They explained that the greatest leverage was gained in using projects and programmes and avenues for citizen participation. In engaging with various actors, they were able to articulate their needs. However, even that engagement is hampered by the more paternalistic articulation on Arnstein's ladder of participation and the issues of the Habermassian articulation of the capture of the public sphere. They are only formed

of coming programmes or to rubber stamp processes in favour of actors such as the government and NGOs.

Research Objective 3: To assess the views of the Mukuru Kayaba community on provisions for and the extent of citizen participation in enhancing social sustainability in subaltern communities: It was the intention of this research that the findings of the study contribute to the fields of urban studies and sustainable development. This is to ensure that informal settlement communities' lived experiences offer a lens through which internal and external actors can view the process of developing of nuanced policy. The study fills a gap in the research to provide better understanding of the processes of citizen participation and social sustainability in informal settlements. It also provides evidence of the meanings and practices of subaltern communities by highlighting their marginalisation in society. This is a gap in the literature where most of the studies on social sustainability and the lived experiences of citizen participation have been carried out by geographers and urban planners. This study therefore looks at this issue from the lens of development studies. The study also highlights the need for continued civic education and the further development of literature and policy on the meanings, rules and systems of citizen participation. This is an important undertaking at both national and county level to provide impetus for nuanced citizen participation at the grassroots with a uniquely Kenyan identity.

5.3 Recommendations of the Study

5.3.1 Recommendations for the Local Community

This study was conducted to explore the lived experiences of slum dwellers in terms of their meanings and understandings of citizen participation for the social

sustainability of their community. In terms of the theme of apathy and exclusion, the implications of the study are that communities and individuals voiced these perceptions that have made it difficult for citizens in these settlements to engage in development activities. There is a need for a clearer understanding of citizen participation so that the locals perceive that their views are taken into account and that they matter. It is important to implement greater civic education programmes so that communities can feel included having gained an understanding of citizen participation and social sustainability.

In terms of the baraza and the role of the public administration, the implication of the study for the main beneficiaries of development is that the greatest detriment is the lack of political goodwill. Animating and activating the role of the government is key for the government agencies in terms of setting the agenda and taking the initiative is ensuring that the baraza which is a site for addressing the issues of local communities is free of the vestiges of the past. This is important in setting standards so that local people are free to present their views. The implications for theses main stakeholders in terms of depicting the project as the site for citizen participation, is that projects provide locals critical spaces to actualise the developmental changes they prioritise. It is important for the local community to develop and build the capacity of local NGOs and CBOs to drive local development.

This research also brings to the fore the need to understand the meanings and the role of citizen participation and social sustainability. The stakeholders need to know when and how to exercise their rights as citizens. There is also a need to empower the youth as future mobilisers of change in informal settlements. As citizens, people need to highlight the fact that representation is a viable and valuable way in which citizens

can see the rights as ‘makers and shapers’ come alive for their families and communities. The lack of public trust is a key theme as voiced by the lived experiences of informal settlement communities. This is because they did not trust the government officials. This is due to the fact that there are superficial interactions with their leaders. They also expressed that had a limited reach into the community. Both of these factors meant that there was limited impact of any of their development impacts because of the lack of public trust. Many of the study participants expressed that in their view, it was necessary to incentivise citizen participation engagements. The explanation was that it was a way of compensating many of the locals who are casual labourers and always felt that it was a waste of time to attend these barazas. However, their idea of incentivising citizen participation is problematic in practice because it denotes wrong premise for community involvement. Any kind of monetary or in-kind compensation does not give the community the agency it requires to dialogue with external stakeholders. The local community need to find and perceive value for money in citizen participation. Contestations for power as a theme also has implications for the local community. The lived experiences of the local community as voiced by themselves, shows that their agency is affected in the spaces of citizen participation because of the manifestations of power as expressed buy those among them who wield a certain amount of power. As illustrated by the power cube and the work of Gaventa et al. (2006), “power to” and “power with” respectively are affected by the practice of power by government administrators, chairmen, chairladies, community health volunteers (CHVs) leaders, the MP and the MCA, reducing the spaces for local citizens.

From the document analysis, exclusion emerges a key theme related to the implications of the results of the study on the community. As key actors, the local

community voiced their perceptions that they had been side-lined even though they were the main beneficiaries of citizen participation. They noted that there is disconnect between the local community and other actors such as the public administration. They expressed the view that what is required is inclusion and visible and tangible implementation of citizen participation. This implies that for the local community, the creation of agency is critical in dealing with exclusion for social sustainability of their community. Another theme is that of devolution as an enabler of citizen participation highlights that the community has to hold accountable the public administration and other actors such as the MP and the MCA to ensure deeper, relevant implementation of citizen participation. Devolution is seeking to empower and place the individual and their communities as citizens as the main beneficiaries of development is important in optimising sustainable development of informal settlement communities. This implies that the local community requires capacity development and sensitisation on the importance and the implementation of citizen participation. For social sustainability.

In the context of the theme devolution as an enabler of citizen participation and the lack of policy coherence, in the meanings and systems of citizen participation, the implication for the local community is of the need for a standard protocol on the meanings and systems of citizen participation in Kenya. Nuancing local development that is fit for local goals is key for alignment with overarching national aims. Institutionalisation of citizen participation will affect the quality and the effectiveness of citizen participation. The public administration plays a key role in the practice of citizen participation on informal settlements. The implications of the study highlight the importance of partnerships between the local community and actors such as the public administration for effective citizen participation is important. It is an avenue

for the development of tools and indicators that serve as signposts for identifying and benchmarking citizen participation and social sustainability in informal settlement communities.

Social networks play a role in informal settlements as they provide the grounds for developing alliances to pursue grassroots development. The study participants voiced their opinions that local linkages help local communities develop trust and hold local leaders accountable. They are also a key avenue to fuel resistance against a lack of a sense of community by fighting apathy and exclusion. The implications for the local community are that social networks serve as a bridge for partnerships within the community and also with external partners. As noted by scholars in the literature in Chapter Two, both citizen participation and social sustainability are processes (Cornwall, 2002a; Kabeer, 2002). The implication for the local community as the main beneficiaries of these processes is that they provide the basis for both gradual and rapid development in informal communities. For instance, in the case of the work of Community health volunteers (CHVs) who are key enablers of social issues related to food, nutrition and healthcare. Their work is a constant process in assisting the community and acting as a bridge to deal with gaps in the healthcare of the most vulnerable members of the society who have certain challenges in accessing healthcare.

Therefore, as the community takes part in citizen participation in the baraza and through projects, CHVs use these spaces to agitate for change in healthcare, nutrition, gender-based violence and social development. The local community sees these individuals as focal points in their lived experiences as slum dwellers because they provide critical services that include the transportation of the sick to hospitals,

distribution of food rations and the cleaning and disinfection of drainages within the settlement. In this way, generational knowledge on the most critical issues for slum dwellers is built and passed on through the family because people are able to observe the tangible benefits of having Community Health Volunteers (CHVs). This is a gradual process that takes into account the levels of poverty in the community to design interventions suited to individuals. In the case of a rapid change, the provision of employment for young people through programmes such as *Kazi Mtaani* and the funding of womens' and youth projects, is a key response to the problems of joblessness, crime, insecurity and the provision of livelihoods. This is an acknowledgement of the critical importance of gainful employment which directly addresses a number of societal deficiencies almost immediately.

5.3.2 Policy Implications

The formulation and implementation of contextualised policy is crucial for informal settlement communities. Over the years, the policy discourse has been lacking in nuance and a targeted approach to defining and dealing with informal settlement communities. Much of the scholarly work by Cornwall (2002a; 2003), Kabeer (2002), Gaventa (2006); Choguill (1996); Yiftachel (2009), addresses itself to difference in, and of communities. However, government policy has yet to completely buck the trend; the evidence of which is found in the limited discussion and engagement with informality (Ministry of Transport, Infrastructure, Housing and Urban Development, 2019 a, b, c). Informality plays a critical role in the livelihoods of the urban poor by providing shelter, education, healthcare and employment. It provides them with an identity that differentiates and empowers them in their struggles for improvement of their living conditions. This study has highlighted the lived experiences of these communities through the lens of one such community. The essence of meaning here

seeks to address how and what they perceive about their citizenship and the social sustainability of their communities.

From the document analysis, it is clear that there are policy gaps to address. First, the issue of the passing of Public Participation Bill (2019) is an important starting point. This is because citizen participation or public participation is a constitutional requirement. The Bill (2019) lays out the reasons for its passing that are crucial for the practice of participatory democracy: To give effect to the principles of public participation as laid out in the constitution; To promote democracy and participation of the people; To promote transparency and accountability in the process of decision making; To enhance public awareness and the understanding of governance processes; To facilitate community ownership of public decisions and To promote public participation and collaboration in governance processes

If this Bill is passed, it will provide a constructive framework for the formulation of policy at the national and county level. However, the same Bill does highlight how place making is a critical component of the participatory processes of governance. In creating these spaces, the Constitution may have anticipated the need for a more nuanced process of citizen participation which Bill is cognisant of. However, for marginalised communities like the slum dwellers, the exercise of their full rights as citizens is critical in ensuring that the process is not one of 'rubber-stamping' of national and county government decision making.

5.3.3 Theoretical and Research Implications

Chapter Two included discussions of three theories or concepts. These are the theory of citizen participation, the theory of the public sphere and theory of power. In this section, I will discuss the implications of this study on the theoretical framework.

The theory of citizen participation has its origins in the works of Sherry Arnstein (1969), an American political scientist. Her seminal work was instrumental in defining people as both social and political beings that have social and political needs. She developed a ladder of political participation that had eight rungs; beginning with non-participation at the bottom as the most basic level to the highest level of citizen power. Her study is based on the evaluation of urban housing and antipoverty initiatives in the USA. Drawing on her ideas and expanding on them, Choguill (1996), then proposes a ladder of community participation to evaluate community participation in developing countries. She also posits that the lowest rungs of the ladder begin with neglect and the highest level is support. The most striking ideas of the highest rung of the ladder is that of partnership and empowerment between the local community and other actors. The findings of this study are consistent with this theory because they depict the lived experiences of the slum dwellers. They voiced their lived experiences of how their participation as citizens is curtailed in these institutionalised spaces because of the various level of participation. What the people in these informal settlements long for is voiced in the opinions that would give them self determination to define their own problems. Therefore, they would have an input in the prioritisation of those problems. This will make them have the decision-making ability they need to bring socially sustainable change in their community.

The theory of the public sphere is the second; it is based on the ideas of Habermas (1989), a German scholar also associated with the theory of communicative action. It also explained in more contemporary form by Andrea Cornwall (2002a, b). He defines the public sphere as a realm of social life where public opinion can be formed. It is a place where all citizens are guaranteed access (Durham and Kellner, 2006). It is a space where there is mediation between the society and the state in which the public

organises itself as the bearer of public opinion (ibid, 2006). Based on the data of institutionalised spaces infused with the governmental control, Cornwall (2002) explains that these spaces can be re-politicised. This is important for ensuring that the space returns to being a space for citizen participation and engagement. The findings of this study are also consistent with the premise of this theory. This is because, the history of citizen participation in Kenya shows the capture of the public space in the regimes before the 2010 when the new constitution was promulgated. The public sphere was a domain dominated by the agenda setting process of the government of the day. In fact, many of the participatory initiatives of that period were used to rubber stamp government initiatives. The baraza which had its origins in this period of time with the 'Blue Book' of the District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD). This was a space that had little to do with empowering the citizen, instead it was used for tokenism processes such as placation, consultation and informing people. The 'second liberation' of the country following the repealing of section 2(a) of the earlier constitution opened the door for multi-party politics. It was also the beginning of the agitation for change of the constitution through a process of national dialogue and consensus. The new constitution, in its foundation sets the stage for participatory democracy where it is explicit that the sovereign power belongs to the people (Art. 1 of the COK, 2010).

The theory of power draws foundational ideas from Dahl (1957) who explains the subjugation of an individual by another individual who has power, compelling them to act as the power holder desires. Lukes (2005) opines that governments have mastered the art of projecting a non-threatening stance in their exercise of power. In this way, the citizens the citizens are compelled to act in the way that the state desires. Gaventa (2006), a student of Dahl and Lukes goes further in depicting power as

multidimensional concept which means that power must be understood in terms of its forms, levels and spaces. This iteration of the theory of power is consistent with the findings of the study as voiced by the lived experiences of the slum dwellers. They expressed the fact the spaces of citizen participation are bounded by vestiges of power arising from external and internal actors. These actors could be the public administrators in form of chiefs, chairmen, chairladies, and wealthy individuals in the community, religious leaders and community health volunteers (CHV) leaders. As explained by Lefebvre (1991) spaces for participation as not empty, they all carry certain expressions of power as products of social processes. Therefore, these invited spaces at the local level are affected invisible and visible forms of power. However, as also expressed by the lived experiences of the informal settlement community, it is possible to animate these spaces through the practice of power 'to' and power 'with'; this is where the local people have the power to realise their identity, gain an awareness and then exercise their agency to realise the potential of the rights as citizens.

5.4 Recommendations for Future Research

This qualitative study was carried out to examine the lived experiences of citizen participation informal settlements to improve the social sustainability of their community. Although the study attempts to fill the gap in the field of study, there are recommendations for further research.

First, further research on the role of the chairmen and chairladies (the chairpersons) in informal settlements is important. This is because they play a key role in the lives of people in the informal settlements. Finding out more about their selection and the lived experiences of local community whom they serve is important for capacity

building and the improvement of social networks. Their tokenistic interactions with the local community have implications in improving the perceptions and acceptance of citizen participation in subaltern communities. By providing for greater transparency in their selection as well increased room for scrutiny and accountability of their roles, the communities they seek to serve may be more inclined to view them as effective links between the local government and the people.

It is also beneficial to examine the role of chiefs as public administrators in informal settlements. They are key enablers of the government agenda and also provide linkages and spaces for engaging with the actors to improve livelihoods. Research on the importance of their role in communities that continue to perceive their existence to be peripheral is key. This will provide schemes and strategies to improve their ability to gain trust with local communities. It is also important in improving training and engagement that is nuanced to address local needs. The research could also focus on the poor linkages between the citizenry and the Public Administration.

Another area of research could look at the ways in which community health volunteers (CHVs) work in informal settlements as both social and political mobilisers. Questions that could motivate such studies would look at the incentivising the role of CHVs as had proposed by the Nairobi County Assembly and the lived experiences of CHVs in informal settlements. From this study, it has emerged that CHVs play key social political and social roles in their communities. They are perceived to be neutral in the whole scheme of political machinations desired to capture power in these communities. By virtue of the fact that they address social issues as their priority, they can easily engage with the local people easily. Incentivising them is important in keeping their morale up and ensuring that they feel

they are appreciated for the thankless tasks they undertake for their community. The proposed Bill in the Nairobi County Assembly is a key starting point in empowering CHVs and improving the quality of the data and services they provide by their rich and in-depth engagement with subaltern communities.

Finally, further study is proposed on how to sustainably transit projects initiated by international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to sustainable continuity and scaling up by local NGOs and CBOs. This research has pinpointed the gap that arises when the tenure of certain projects ends and these communities over time, face negative effect. Arising from this situation is the issue of how to sustainably continue with projects and processes in communities to ensure that generational memory is not lost and is passed on to the next generation. The work of projects such as those that provide civic education should be embedded in the community. This provides a sense of ownership and prevent the loss if institutional memory on the communal development efforts.

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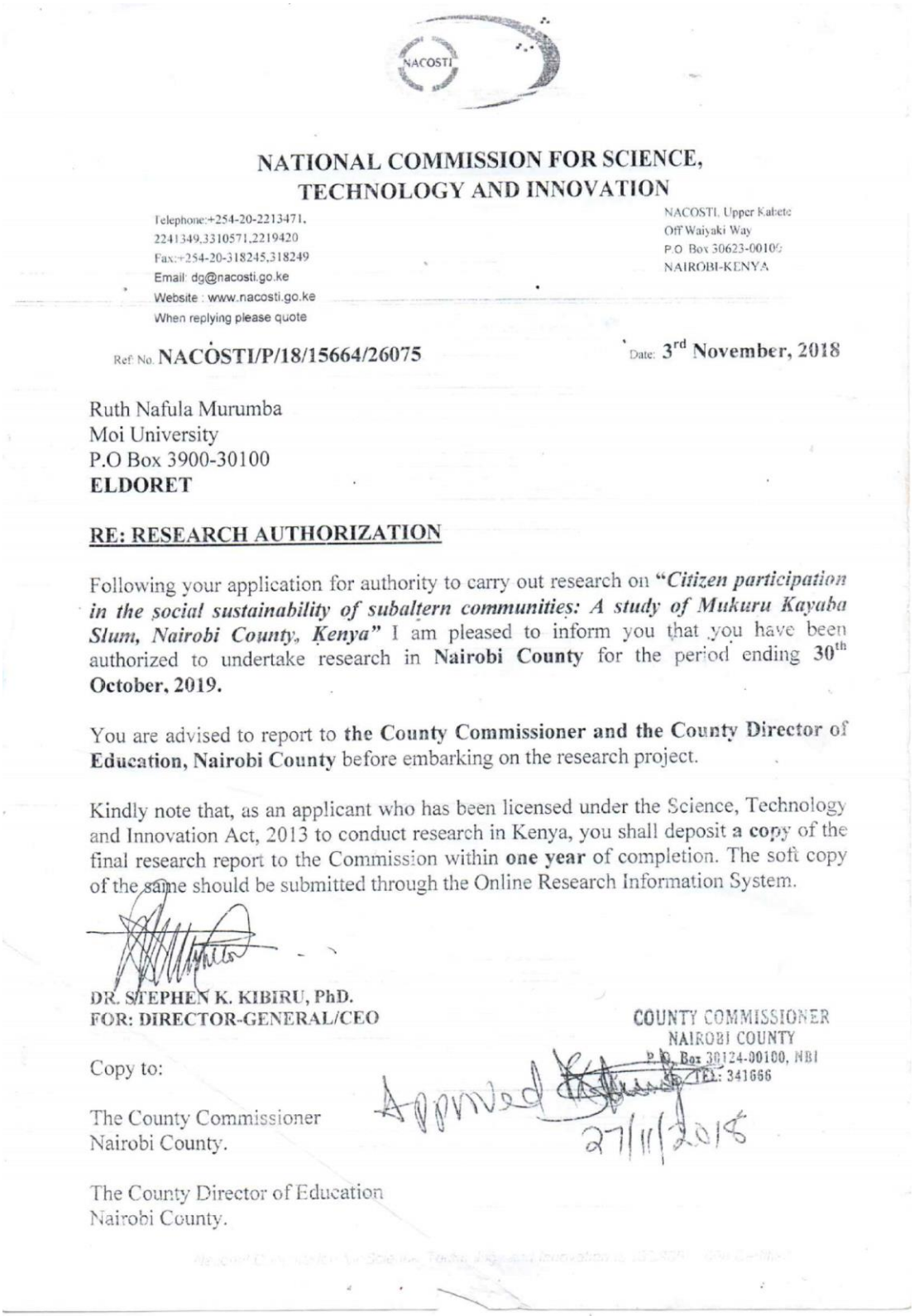
APPENDICES

Appendix I: NACOSTI Research Authorisation Letter



NACOSTI

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone:+254-20-2213471, 2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax:+254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref No. **NACOSTI/P/18/15664/26075**

Date: **3rd November, 2018**

Ruth Nafula Murumba
Moi University
P.O Box 3900-30100
ELDORET

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on ***"Citizen participation in the social sustainability of subaltern communities: A study of Mukuru Kayaba Slum, Nairobi County, Kenya"*** I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **30th October, 2019.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NAIROBI COUNTY
P. O. Box 30124-00100, NBI
TEL: 341666

Approved
27/11/2018

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education
Nairobi County.

Appendix II: County Research Approval

Republic of Kenya

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EARLY LEARNING & BASIC EDUCATION

Telegrams: "SCHOOLING", Nairobi
Telephone: Nairobi 020 2453699
Email: rcenairobi@gmail.com
cdenairobi@gmail.com

REGIONAL COORDINATOR OF EDUCATION
NAIROBI REGION
NYAYO HOUSE
P.O. Box 74629 – 00200
NAIROBI

When replying please quote

Ref: RCE/NRB/RESEARCH/1 VOL. I

DATE: 27th November, 2018

Ruth Nafula Murumba
Moi University
P O Box 3900-30100
ELDORET

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

We are in receipt of a letter from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation regarding research authorization in Nairobi County on "***Citizen participation in the social sustainability of subaltern communities: A study of Mukuru Kayaba Slum, Nairobi County Kenya***".

This office has no objection and authority is hereby granted for a period ending **30th October, 2019** as indicated in the request letter.

Kindly inform the Sub County Director of Education of the Sub County you intend to visit.

REGIONAL COORDINATOR OF EDUCATION NAIROBI 27 NOV 2018 MINISTRY OF EDUCATION P. O. Box 74629, NAIROBI

RHODA MWEI
FOR: REGIONAL COORDINATOR OF EDUCATION
NAIROBI

c.c
Director General/CEO
National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NAIROBI

Appendix III: Informed Consent Form For Research Participants

I. **The Research Project Title: Citizen Participation Social Sustainability of Subaltern Communities: A Study of Mukuru Kayaba Slum, Nairobi County, Kenya**

Project manager and affiliated institution:

Short description of research project:

b) Project benefits:

c) Contact person (name, email, phone number):

II. **Participation in the Project includes:**

An interview of 30-90 minutes that is recorded (audio-, video recording) and later transcribed.

III. Voluntary Participation

Participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give any reason.

IV. Confidentiality and Anonymity

Your confidentiality is ensured with all data collected within this research project. No personal information will be disclosed to individuals outside of the project's research team. Your information will only be published in anonymized form, that is, all personal information will be removed so that you and others y (e.g., family, employer) cannot be identified.

V. Further use of the Data

Your data will be used exclusively by researchers and for scientific purposes.

VI. Consent

I hereby confirm with my signature that my questions have been satisfactorily answered, that I have read, understood, and agree to the terms of this consent, and participate voluntarily in this project.

Participant name, first name: ……

Place:…… Date……. Signature: ……

Project Manager/Contact Person: ……

Place: ……...Date…Signature: ……

Source: Researcher,2019

Appendix IV: Face to Face Interview Protocol/Schedule

Date _____Time _____

Location _____Interviewer _____

Interviewee _____ Release form signed? ____

I. Opening

i) My name is ……. I want to interview you to find out how you feel about the changes to increase participation to improve the lives of people.

ii) I would like to ask you some questions about your background and/or experiences. I want to know if people know about these changes and whether they feel that they will benefit from them. Are you available to answer questions within the next few minutes?

II. Body;

RQ1: What are the existing provisions (opportunities) for citizen participation in the social sustainability of subaltern communities?

1. Have you ever heard of citizen participation …? What does it mean to you?
2. What are the existing methods (e.g., public meetings, public hearings, workshops, surveys, direct mail, newsletters, public submissions, partnerships and collaborations, internet platforms) for citizen participation in the slums?
3. What are the projects or programmes that support citizen participation by creating awareness of the existing provisions for citizen participation in slums?

4. Which forums exist where your communities can give their views on the existing provisions for citizen participation in slums?
5. Which formal and informal educational institutions have been used to create awareness of citizen participation?
6. How are local organised groups involved in creating awareness of opportunities for citizen participation in this area?
7. What has been put in place by local government institutions (e.g., Chief's Office, Assistant County Commissioner) for citizen participation to take place in this area?

RQ II: How do the citizens in subaltern communities' access, interpret and utilise the existing provisions for citizen participation in social sustainability?

1. How do people access the spaces for citizen participation?
2. What language and format are used?
3. What are the projects or programmes that support citizen participation in accessing, interpreting and utilising the existing provisions for citizen participation in slums?
4. How do local organisations support access, interpretation and utilisation of the provisions …...?
5. How do communities participate in any kind of forum highlighting the issues of this community?
6. How does gender, age, social status and education affect the participation of subaltern communities in the designated spaces?

RQ III: What are the views of stakeholders on provisions for and the extent of citizen participation in enhancing social sustainability in subaltern communities?

1. What are your views on how the **provisions** for citizen participation address:

i. empowerment

ii. participation

iii. voice

iv. representation

v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation

2. What are your views on the **extent** to which the provisions for citizen participation enhance social sustainability by addressing:

i. empowerment

ii. participation

iii. voice

iv. representation

v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation

3. What are your views on the **extent** to which citizens have **access** to opportunities for:

i. empowerment

ii. participation

iii. voice

iv. representation

v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation

4. What are your views on the extent to which citizens can **utilise** opportunities for citizen participation for:

i. empowerment

ii. participation

iii. voice

iv. representation

v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation.

5. What are your views on the **extent** to which citizens can **interpret** opportunities for citizen participation for:

i. empowerment

ii. participation

iii. voice

iv. representation

v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation.

Thank you giving me the chance to interview you. Let me briefly summarise the information I have recorded during our interview.

Closing

You have lived here/worked here for …… and you feel that Citizen Participation is……. I appreciate you taking the time to speak to me. Is there anything else you think would be helpful? Would it be okay if I call you if I have any more questions? Thank you.

Source: Researcher,2019

Appendix V: Focused Group Discussion Interview Guide/Protocol

Community & Location _____Date/time_____

No. of people attending _____

Researcher conducting session_____

My name is _____ and I will be facilitating this focus group interview

This focus group interview will take approximately 45 minutes and will follow a designed interview protocol.

I have consent forms here for you to sign (copies distributed). Does anyone have any questions?

If there are no further questions, let's get started with the first question.

Note: The researcher will use phrases such "Tell me more", "Could you give me an example, "Could you explain that?" as prompts to solicit more detailed information when needed.

III. Body;

RQ1: What are the existing provisions (opportunities) for citizen participation in the social sustainability of subaltern communities?

8. Have you ever heard of citizen participation …? What does it mean to you?
9. What are the existing methods (e.g., public meetings, public hearings, workshops, surveys, direct mail, newsletters, public submissions, partnerships and collaborations, internet platforms) for citizen participation in the slums?
10. What are the projects or programmes that support citizen participation by creating awareness of the existing provisions for citizen participation in slums?

11. Which forums exist where your communities can give their views on the existing provisions for citizen participation in slums?
12. Which formal and informal educational institutions have been used to create awareness of citizen participation?
13. How are local organised groups involved in creating awareness of opportunities for citizen participation in this area?
14. What has been put in place by local government institutions (e.g., Chief's Office, Assistant County Commissioner) for citizen participation to take place in this area?

RQ II: How do the citizens in subaltern communities' access, interpret and utilise the existing provisions for citizen participation in social sustainability?

7. How do people access the spaces for citizen participation?
8. What language and format are used?
9. What are the projects or programmes that support citizen participation in accessing, interpreting and utilising the existing provisions for citizen participation in slums?
10. How do local organisations support access, interpretation and utilisation of the provisions …...?
11. How do communities participate in any kind of forum highlighting the issues of this community?
12. How does gender, age, social status and education affect the participation of subaltern communities in the designated spaces?

RQ III: What are the views of stakeholders on provisions for and the extent of citizen participation in enhancing social sustainability in subaltern communities?

1. What are your views on how the **provisions** for citizen participation address:
   i. empowerment
   ii. participation
   iii. voice
   iv. representation
   v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation

2. What are your views on the **extent** to which the provisions for citizen participation enhance social sustainability by addressing:
   i. empowerment
   ii. participation
   iii. voice
   iv. representation
   v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation

3. What are your views on the **extent** to which citizens have **access** to opportunities for:
   i. empowerment
   ii. participation
   iii. voice
   iv. representation

v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation

4. What are your views on the extent to which citizens can **utilise** opportunities for citizen participation for:
   i. empowerment
   ii. participation
   iii. voice
   iv. representation
   v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation.
5. What are your views on the **extent** to which citizens can **interpret** opportunities for citizen participation for:

i. empowerment
ii. participation
iii. voice
iv. representation
v. access to services (education, health, roads, water, garbage disposal) and spaces for citizen participation.

Thank you giving me the chance to interview you. Let me briefly summarise the information I have recorded during our interview.

Closing

You have lived here/worked here for …… and you feel that Citizen Participation is……. I appreciate you taking the time to speak to me. Is there anything else you think would be helpful? Would it be okay if I call you if I have any more questions? Thank you. Source: Researcher,2019

Appendix VI: Themes and Sub-Themes from Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

Theme	**Sub - Themes**
Exclusion and Apathy	Exclusion from crucial meetings Discussion of communal problems with select individuals Perception that the views of the locals do not matter Lack of clear information about citizen/public participation Lack of Civic Education Lack of a clear understanding of Citizen/public participation Lack of continuous awareness creation Loss of communal push for local development Peoples' reluctance to speak in barazas Elections perceived as the only sites of exercising citizenship and participatory rights Contextualising participation How local leaders are chosen How people join/included in groups Lack of accountability and transparency in the disbursement/utilisation of funds
The Baraza and the Role of Public Administration	-lack of political good will - takes initiative and presents citizen/public participation in the informal settlements -importance of the public administrators (Assistant County Commissioners, chiefs), the chairmen/ladies - setting the government agenda- role of the chairmen/ladies

	and Community Health Volunteers (CHVs) as mobilisers and social and political actors -The baraza as a site for airing views -Space for passing information, consultation
Projects as sites of citizen participation	Perception that projects are the best sites for citizen/public participation Importance of groups as partners of projects/programmes Role of community groups in citizen/public participation Lack of/ poorly funded local NGOs and CBOs to drive local development Projects/ programmes are reactive rather than proactive The need for disaster risk reduction (DRR) from fires, flooding, etc. Projects may be beneficial/ exclusionary in nature How and why NGOs terminate projects once the project cycle is completed and leave a gap Lack of prioritisation of projects/ local needs
Meanings and role of citizenship	How and when to exercise their rights as citizens How representation excludes the poor How citizenship and rights are affected by empowerment, voice, participation, representation and access Representation as an avenue of agency in informal settlements Politics and how it affects the availability of certain assistance

Loss of public trust	Distrust of government officials Superficial interaction and reach of locals with their leaders (MP, MCA, Chiefs, Public administration) Minimal impact on local development of various development initiatives Problems with the provision and access to crucial information Incentivise development? Accessibility must work together with affordability (e.g., The water token) What are the tangible outcomes of PP/CP that enable people to value it
Contestations of Power	How agency affects participation How status affects the practice of citizenship and participation Difficulties in accessing local leaders (Chiefs, MP, MCA, Chairmen/ladies) Corruption, nepotism, tribalism

Source: Researcher,2019

Appendix VII: Emergent Themes and Sub-themes from Document Analysis

Theme	Sub-Theme
Exclusion	Perceptions of side-lining the main beneficiaries of public/citizen participation Importance of developing a civic culture Inclusion and implementation are key for effective citizen/public participation and inform perceptions about citizen/public participation
Devolution as an enabler of Citizen participation	Importance of political will as a driver of implementing public/citizen participation
Lack of policy coherence	Lack of coherence in the meanings, rules and systems of public/citizen participation Simplifying/Opening Up Spaces for Citizen/Public Participation Lack of nuance to engage disadvantaged populations Simplifying citizen/public participation documentation, processes and forums
Role of the Public Administration	Lack of capacity and incentives for local and national governments to facilitate citizen/public participation Responses to the concerns and opinions of communities will affect their perceptions of citizen/public participation and social sustainability Lack of political will Conflict between public administration and full implementation of public/citizen participation

Role and Importance of Social Networks	How the personalities of leaders can affect citizen/public participation What are the actual social costs of citizen/public participation and social sustainability in informal settlements Importance of capacity building of leaders and communities to agitate for desired change Importance of capacity building and transparency of leaders Levels of power affecting Citizen/Public Participation How local power contestations and entrenched inequalities leading to lower levels of citizen/public participation and social sustainability Constraints to the implementation of projects by CBOs/NGOs The role of CBOs, NGOs in urban governance and development of informal settlements How partnerships and capacity building are key for the long-term success of citizen/public participation and social sustainability Short-term nature and budget-constraints of projects affect citizen/public participation and social sustainability initiatives in informal settlements

Citizen Participation and Social Sustainability as processes	-Social sustainability and citizen participation are nuanced and multifaceted -Nuancing local development is key for tangible progress - Social upgrading is a nuanced concept that must be formulated based on individual situations in informal settlements - Public/citizen participation and social sustainability are processes rather than events

Source: Researcher,2019

Appendix VIII: Documents for Document Analysis

Document	Citizen/ Public Participation	Informal Settlements	Social Sustainability
Legislation for Public Participation	X		
a. County Government Act No. 17 of (2012)	X		
b. Public Finance Management Act (2012)	X		
c. Public Finance Management (County Government) Regulations (2015)	X		
d. Urban Areas and Cities Act No. 13 (2011)	X		
e. Public Participation Bill (2019)			

a. **Kenya School of Government** Building public participation in Kenya's devolved government (2015).	X		
b. Kenya School of Government, Centre for Devolution Studies. Working Paper Series. Working Paper No. 1.	X		
c. Kenya School of Government (2016). Kenya Devolution: Working Paper Summary Overview.	X		
Kenya School of Government (2015). Basic Requirements for Public Participation in Kenya's Legal Framework – Kenya Devolution.	X		
d. Kenya School of Government (2015). Participation in Kenya's Local Development Funds: Reviewing the Past to Inform the Future – Kenya Devolution. Working Paper No.3.			

State Department for Devolution and Others a. County Public Participation Guidelines (2016). Council of Governors – COG	X		X
b. 'Jukumu Langu' (2019). Me and County Government	X		X
c. Intergovernmental Relations Technical Committee (2019) The Status of Public Participation in Legislative Practice. d. Intergovernmental Relations Technical Committee: Nairobi	X		X
e. Public Participation in Legislative Practice, Factsheet No. 27. (2019). Parliament of Kenya, National Assembly	X		X
e. Intergovernmental Relations Technical Committee (2019). The Status of Public Participation in National and County Governments. Intergovernmental Relations Technical Committee: Nairobi	X		X

Ministry of Transport, Infrastructure, Housing, Urban Development and Public Works			
a. Ministry of Transport, Infrastructure, Housing, Urban Development and Public Works (2019).	X	X	
b. Kenya Informal Settlements Improvement Project Phase 2 (KISIPII). Environmental and Social Management Framework – (ESMF). Ministry of Transport, Infrastructure, Housing, Urban Development (2019).	X	X	
c. Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement II (KISIP II) - Vulnerable and Marginalised Group Framework.	X	X	
d. Ministry of Transport, Infrastructure, Housing, Urban Development (2019). Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement II (KISIP II); Resettlement Action Plan. Kisumu Ndogo Informal Settlement, Mombasa County.	X	X	
e. Ministry of Transport, Infrastructure, Housing, Urban			

Development (2019). Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement II (KISIP II) - Social Management Plan; State Department of Housing and Urban Development. f. Ministry of Transport, Infrastructure, Housing, Urban Development (2019). Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement II (KISIP II) - State Department of Housing and Urban Development. Resettlement Policy Framework.	X X	X X	
County Government Public Participation Frameworks a. "Public Participation Framework "County Government of Makueni.	X	X	X
World Bank Documents and Documents a. Das, M.B. &Espinoza, S. A. (2020). Inclusion Matters in Africa. World Bank: Washington, D.C. b. World Bank (2014). What makes a Sustainable City? A Sampling of Global Case Studies Highlighting Innovative Approaches to Sustainability in Urban Areas.	X X	X X	 X

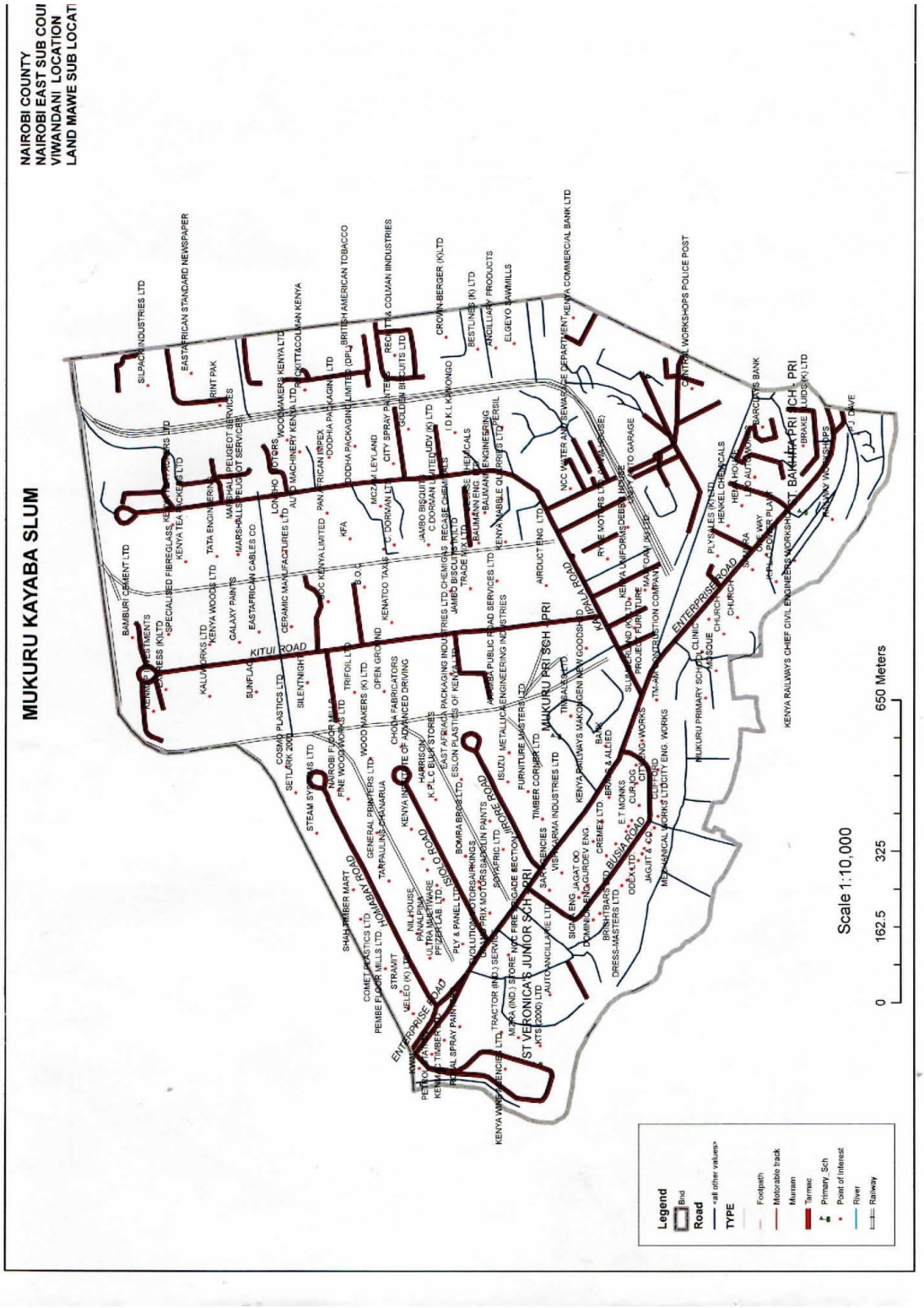
World Bank: Washington, D.C. c. World Bank (2015). Inclusive Cities Approach. World Bank: Washington, D.C. d. World Bank (2015). Investing in Urban Resilience: Protecting and Promoting Development in a Changing World. World Bank: Washington, D.C. e. World Bank (2017). Realising the Devolution Dividend in Kenya through Cohesive Public Finance Management and Public Participation at County Level. f. World Bank (2020). Five Things You Need to Know about Social Sustainability and Inclusion.	X X X X	X X X	X X X X
United Nations Reports a. UN-HABITAT (2016). UN-HABITAT Support to Sustainable Urban Development in Kenya: Addressing Urban Informality; Volume 4: Report on Capacity Building for Community Leaders. United Nations Human Settlements Programme: Nairobi.	X X	X X	 X

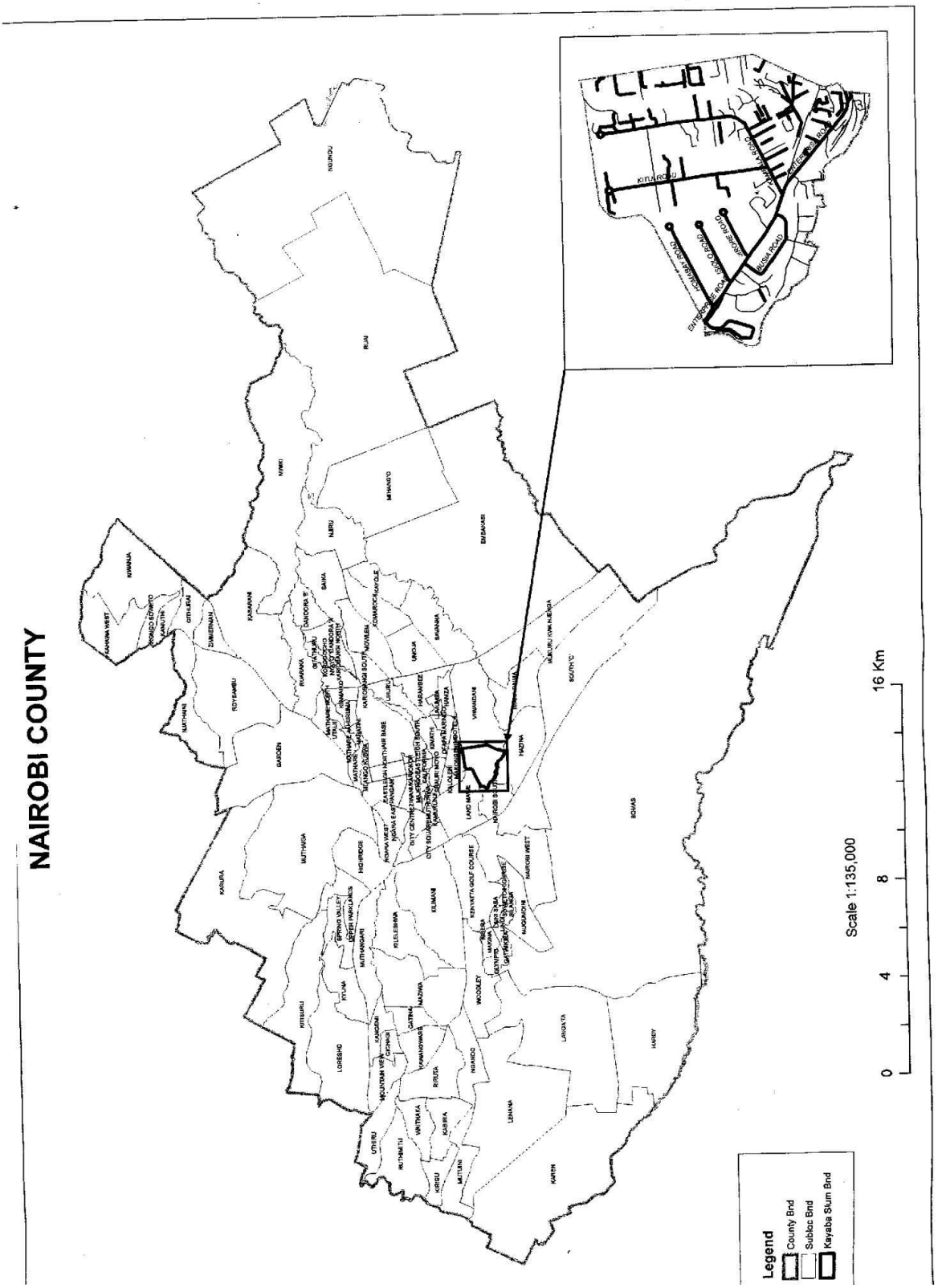
b. United Nations (2009). Self-Made Cities: In search of Sustainable Solutions for Informal Settlements in UN Economic Commission for Europe Region. United Nations: New York and Geneva. c. Satterthwaite, D., Mitlin, D. & Patel, S. (2011). Engaging with the Urban Poor and their Organisations for Poverty Reduction and Urban Governance. d. UN-HABITAT (2010). The State of African Cities, 2010: Governance, Inequality and Land Markets. United Nations Human Settlements: Nairobi. e. UN-HABITAT (2015) Key Slum Upgrading Messages: UN-HABITAT's Slum Upgrading Unit.	X X X	X X X	X
Other International and Local NGO Reports a. "Public Participation in the County Assembly" (2015). The Institute for Social Accountability. b. "The Public Participation	X X		

Continuum" (2017). International Association for Public Participation.	X		
c. "What is Public Participation? FAQs- Citizen Participation Booklet" (2016). Uraia Trust.	X	X	
d. Collier, P., Glaeser, E., Venables, A., Blake, M. & Manwaring, P. (2019). Policy Options for Informal Settlements. Version 1: IGC Cities that Work Policy Framing Paper. International Growth Centre.			

Source: Researcher,2019

Appendix IX: Maps of Mukuru Kayaba





Source: Nairobi City County Built Environment and Urban Planning Sector Office

Appendix X: Plagiarism Similarity Index

SR093

EDU 999 THESIS WRITING COURSE

PLAGIARISM AWARENESS CERTIFICATE

This certificate is awarded to

RUTH NAFULA MURUMBA

SHRD/PHD.DD/03/13

In recognition for passing the University's plagiarism

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Awarded by:

Prof. John Changách, CERM-ESA Project Leader

06th /07/2022