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Karari, Peter Mwaura

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Programme in the Realizing the International Elements
of the Right to Housing:**

A special focus on Kibera slum in Nairobi Kenya

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the challenges facing Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) in realizing the international elements of the right to housing namely: legal security of tenure; availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure; affordability; habitability; accessibility; location and cultural adequacy. It constitutes the findings of a field research carried out in February and March 2009 in Kibera Slums situated about five Kilometres from Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya.

The central questions of the study read as follows:

1. What are the challenges facing Kenya slum upgrading programme in realizing the international elements of rights to housing?
2. What are the recommendations towards solving these challenges?

Despite the timely intervention of the Kenya slum upgrading programme, various challenges encounter its implementation initiatives. These includes: bureaucracy, complexity of slum settlement, landlords-tenants conflicts, different political, cultural and religious inclinations among residents, competing NGOs interests, lack of adequate land, governance, among others.

The main argument of this research is that KENSUP cannot realize the international elements of rights to housing amidst these challenges. The research aims at identifying the underlying causes of these challenges and recommending appropriate interventions towards the realization of adequate shelter in line with the international elements of rights to housing. Using a rights based approach to slum upgrading in this study ensures holistic address of factors that mitigate vulnerability and marginalization of slum dwellers in their endeavors to acquire adequate housing. The recommendations of this research are expected to inform not only Kibera slum upgrading programme but also other slum upgrading initiatives in Kenya and elsewhere in the world.

1. INTRODUCTION

*"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing..."*¹

The inclusion of the right to housing in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights illustrates the significance of access to adequate housing for all human beings. Access to adequate housing also constitutes the priority of the United Nations Millennium Declaration agenda 7, target 11 which aims to improve the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020.² Slums are lowest-standard settlements which enable millions of poor people around the world meet their basic needs. In this respect, slums constitute basic foundations of survival for the slum people. However, slums have a second face. They exist below the international social standards of adequate living. The security in the slums is a nightmare, overcrowding is extreme, the sanitation is awful and diseases are rampant. Due to their impoverished status, slum dwellers engage in risk and criminal behaviors such as theft, drug abuse, sale of illicit brews and prostitution. Life of the slum dwellers is made even worse by poor governance, corruption, stigma and social segregation.

In a bid to address the worsening housing problem around the world, the slum upgrading program approach has been devised. It constitutes a holistic and a more humanistic approach to slum

¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25: <http://www.unhchr.ch/udhr/lang/eng.htm>; accessed 5.4.09

² United Nations Millennium Development Goals: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/>; accessed 5.4.09

improvement. Unlike other slum improvement approaches which dwelt with clearance and relocation, slum upgrading assumes a wholistic gesture by assessing the underlying factors of slums perpetuations and intervening as appropriate. The past approaches missed to address the real issues since the aching problem among the slum dwellers is not housing but poverty and miserable living conditions. The assumption of the upgrading approach is that if the slum dwellers are economically empowered and their infrastructure and environment improved, then there is no problem living in the slums.

However, many slums upgrading programmes have not been able to realize all the international rights to housing namely: legal security of tenure; availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure; affordability; habitability; accessibility; location and cultural adequacy.³ This scenario has posed a great challenge to the campaign of accessing adequate housing to millions of impoverished slum dwellers. This challenge forms the basis of this research. This research have used a rights based approach to house upgrading because rights are the basis of security, peace, freedom and dignity especially for slum people. It is also important to note that the right to housing is a base for the realization of other human rights such as: the right to family; the right to work; the right to decision making; the right to basic services and infrastructure; the right to health; the right to education; the right to cultural life and so on. Slums upgrading interpreted on a rights perspective can indicate the extent to which such rights have been realized in house improvements, the gaps available and the appropriate intervention activities. But what are slums? The following sub-section tries to analyse the definition of slums.

1.1 Definition of Slum

There is no universally agreed definition of slum. This is because slum definition is country specific and is related to a variety of attributes. According to Global Human Settlement Report (2003:197), slums are too multifaceted to define using a single parameter. A case study of 29 cities of the world showed that slums are defined according to various characteristics such as: construction materials; temporary nature; construction legality; land legality; health and hygiene; basic services; infrastructure; crowding; poverty; low income; environment; compactness; crime and violence. Interestingly this study shows that eight cities including Sydney, Newark, Naples, Mexico, Beirut, Barcelona, Moscow and Abidjan have no definition of slum. While Nairobi definition is related to basic services and Infrastructure, Bangkok is based on crime and violence. This report also indicates that slums are a relative concept, (2003: 11). For example, a slum in a developed country may pass for a middle class dwelling in a developing country. The fast expansion of slum may also render a specific definition short-lived. However, a United Nations Expert Group Meeting held in October 2002 in Nairobi Kenya recommended an operational definition of a slum to include characteristics such as: 'inadequate access to safe water; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; poor structural quality of housing; overcrowding; insecure residential status' (2003: 12). In sum, the diversity exhibited in the definition of slums has one important lesson - that the intervention approaches to slum upgrading efforts must address the expressed needs of specific slums so that long-term impacts and

³ The international elements of rights to housing: http://www.hrea.org/index.php?base_id=149; accessed 12.4.09

sustainability can be achieved. A single model of slum upgrading should not be used as an intervention tool for all slums. Effective slum upgrading should demystify the underlying causes of specific slums in a bid to facilitate appropriate intervention activities. So, what caused slum proliferation in Kenya? The following section describes the genesis of the Kenyan slum problem.

1.2 The Genesis of the Kenyan slum problem

According to Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), a multiplicity of problems has led to the proliferation of slums in Kenya (2006:2). Top on the list is lack of formalization of land tenure in Kenya. This has reduced slum dwellers to illegal squatters hence denying them a chance of long term investment. Tenure insecurity is perpetuated by lack of effective housing policy for low income earners. Social segregation of the very poor has also sustained the growth of slums. The fact that slums are regarded as illegal and temporary has led to denial of basic services such as water and exclusion from decision making processes and planning of service delivery.

Globalization through its financial policies such as the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), liberalization and privatization in the 1980s, led to collapse of many local industries which constituted rural livelihood sources (ibid, 2006:3). This led to mass migration to the urban areas in search for jobs. Many Kenyans settled in the slums where they could access cheap housing, transport and informal enterprises.

Politicization of development has also nurtured perpetuation of slums in Kenya. The slum has become a political resource for votes in exchange for the much needed basic needs. Lack of cheap housing commensurate to the income levels of the vulnerable groups has not been a priority of the Government. According to SIDA, the initial efforts to build low income houses for the poor benefited the middle class and the politically right people instead of the slum dwellers (2006: 2). In a bid to give the slums a new face, the government of Kenya and the UN Habitat jointly initiated Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP). Kibera slum in Nairobi was earmarked as its first project. The following section introduces KENSUP and its Kibera project.

1.3 Introducing Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP)

The Government of Kenya report asserts that KENSUP was initiated in year 2000 to facilitate national wide slum upgrading of over 200 slums in Kenya (GOK: 2004). The report estimates Kibera slum to have an area of 110 hectares distributed in 13 villages totaling to a population of 600,000. These villages includes: Kianda, Makina, Soweto West, Raila, Gatwekera, Kisumu Ndogo, Kichinjio, Mashimoni, Laini Saba, Soweto East, Silanga, Lindi, and Kambi Muru. The upgrading programme has started with Soweto village after which it will spread to other villages. The primary goals of KENSUP is to improve the livelihood of people working and living in the informal settlements in the urban areas of Kenya, to reduce poverty and fulfill the millennium development goal 7 Target 11 – to improve the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. The vision of the programme is to facilitate improved and sustainable urban living environments in Kenya while the mission is to develop and implement policies, programmes and strategies to facilitate reduction and prevention of slums in Kenya. The key values of KENSUP

includes: decentralization, sustainability, transparency and accountability, democratization and empowerment, resource mobilization, secure tenure, partnership and networking (GOK: 2004).

KENSUP main objectives according to the Kenya government includes: to develop a national wide slum upgrading and management framework, institute good urban governance, provide social and physical infrastructure, provide security of tenure and improved housing; enhance opportunities for income generation and employment creation; attract private sector finance and encourage investment in slum upgrading; promote a culture for environmental conservation and management; enhance the capacity for research, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation; and to address and mitigate the prevalence of HIV/AIDS (ibid:2004). The proposed structures constitute two bed roomed houses within blocks of high-rise buildings. The slum dwellers once allocated the two bed roomed houses are free to rent out one room at Ksh. 4,000 (app. 40 €) to finance their monthly mortgage repayments of Ksh.11, 000 (appr. 110 €). Another alternative is to rent out the two bedrooms at 8,000 (app. 80 E) and remain with the sitting room rent of Ksh. 3,000 (appr.30 €). However, a study by Mulcahy and Chu indicate that 75% of Kibera slum dwellers earn less than Ksh.10, 000 monthly (app. 100 €) and are not in a position to pay Ksh. 3,000 monthly rent (2007: 11). According to COHRE, the greatest challenge lies with the slum dwellers who suspect that the government will turn over the complete houses to middle class as happened in the past (2005). KENSUP has cited existing challenges as: competing interests; lack of land; governance; tenant-landlord conflicts; bureaucracy; political, cultural and religious inclinations (GOK 2004).

In sum, the vision, mission and objectives of KENSUP can be described as worthwhile. If implemented they will tremendously alleviate the suffering of the slum dwellers by linking them to productive means within a legal and secure tenure. The programme addresses an important sector that can diversely improve the well being and livings standards of the slum dwellers and at the same time contribute to the economic growth of the whole country. Nevertheless, the main problem remains the above mentioned multiple challenges that work against the implementation of the programme. How will the stakeholders of this well intended programme embrace the new upgrading paradigm in the midst of these challenges? This research paper investigates this dilemma. By analyzing the responses, feeling and attitudes of target beneficiaries and KENSUP stakeholders this study will recommend appropriate interventions for future slum upgrading programmes in Kibera and elsewhere.

1.4 Problem description

The United Nations Global report on Human Settlement (2003:5) notes that rapid expansion has marked the population of mankind in the latter half of the 19th century to date. With only 2.5 billion people in the 1950s, the world population stands at a staggering 6 billion people today. 60% of this growth is concentrated in the urban areas of developing countries. The slum proliferation constitutes a crisis emanating from the slum dwellers' housing crisis. According to this report coined as "the challenge of the slums", in 2001 an estimated 1 billion people, approximately 32% of the world's population lived in the slums while 100 million were homeless. The report notes that the majority of these slum dwellers are found in the developing countries constituting 43% of the urban populations. Appalling enough is the fact that in 2001,

the sub-Saharan Africa had the largest share of urban slum dwellers amounting to 71.9%. However, startling figures indicate that in 2001, Asia as a continent led with 60% of world's slum dwellers which translates to about 554 million slum dwellers. Africa was the second with 20% (187 million); Latin America and the Caribbean ranked third with 14% (128 million) while other developed countries including Europe had 6% which translates to 54 million of the world sum. If no measures are taken to alleviate this marauding problem, this report projects that in 30 years time, the world slum population will increase to a staggering 2 billion people. Amazing still is the growth rate of urban population. According to this report, the urban population grows by approximately 70 million annually, which translates to about seven megacities. The available services have been overstrained and choked leading to the proliferation of urban slums. More statistics shows that in the last decade alone, urban population in the developing countries grew by 36%. It is estimated that in the next 15 years African and Asian cities will grow by 100%. A major challenge is to provide basic services for the new immigrants. With the diminishing ability of global urban authorities to cope with the urbanization crisis, the vulnerable groups such as women, the jobless, the illiterate and the disabled have developed their own solution. They created urban informal settlements leading to slum proliferation.

Drawing the attention back to Kenya, the situation is appalling. According to SIDA, Kenyan urban population doubled between 1980 and 1998 (2006). Moreover, 34% of Kenya's population equivalent to 11 million live and work in the urban centres. It is estimated that 2.43 million Kenyans live below the poverty line in the urban areas. The Central Bureau of Statistics Kenya (CBS 2003:16-17) observes that 880,000 people survive with less than a dollar in Nairobi informal settlements. More so, 55% of Nairobi city's population lives in the slums occupying a meagre 5% of the total residential area. The housing problem also extends to the middleclass. According to the CBS (2003), 84.7% of the middle class lives in rented premises. Hungry for home ownership and being more financially stable this group offers stiff competition for the modern upgraded houses meant for slum dwellers. Slum upgrading should thus address the middle class crisis. The Kenyan slum crisis can be attributed to a host of factors.

Governance can be described as a major challenge in the Kenyan land policy. SIDA describes the Kenyan slum problems as the politicization of development (2006: 2). The slums status quo is described as a product of power politics. This illustrates the difficulty of trying to change the status quo. The slum has been neglected as illegal dwellings and this submerges them to even greater impoverishment due to lack of social services. According to Cordaid and the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies upgrading must put good governance as a priority.⁴

Environmental degradation constitutes another aching challenge. Kibera slum is the recipient of diverse sorts of residential and commercial dumping. The greatest challenge however is the so called the "flying toilets"⁵. According to UNDP (2006:38-39), two thirds of Kibera residents use flying toilets as the basic mode of human waste disposal. The environment is characterized by mountains of polythene papers containing human and other domestic wastes which turn into a thick blackish flowing mass emanating a strong pungent smell during the rainy season. The consequence is high death rate caused by cholera, dysentery, typhoid and malaria especially

⁴ http://www.ihs.nl/downloads/IHS-Cordaid%20publications/PM_Nairobi_Kenya.pdf; Internet; 6; accessed 18.5.09

⁵ This describes use of plastic bags to put human faeces and then throwing on roof tops, walking paths, drainages etc

among children since the majority of the residents cannot afford basic health care. Most contamination is through broken water pipes.

But perhaps most challenging is the economic situation of Kibera residents three quarters of whom earn less than 100 € monthly (Mulcahy and Chu (2007:11)). Most operate informal enterprises such as hawking, selling vegetables, tailoring, carpentry, food making, and beer brewing among others. However, these economic activities are made impossible by corruption from police and local administration since the businesses are not licensed. Most of the slum dwellers also lack capital to sustain or increase their businesses due to lack of collateral which would otherwise enable them to access loans from financial institutions.

Kibera slums are also marred by a multiple of physical challenges. Overcrowding has turned chronic. A study by Mulcahy and Chu (2007:11), estimates Kibera population at between 800,000 and 1.2 million people while the residential land is only 630 acres. This translates to 1,300 people per acre. The house units in Kibera measures only 9 metres squared and holds an average of 5 people translating to 2 metres squared per person. Taking into consideration that the slum dwellers cook, bathe and sleep in the same houses, the situation can only be described as pathetic. Most of Kibera slum dwellers use paraffin or charcoal to cook and light the house. The smoke and the smell in the small house structures are a major cause of respiratory ailments. Fragile materials that build Kibera houses often catch fire destroying basic livelihoods without a possibility of help due to narrow inaccessible foot paths. Sick people and pregnant mother die on wheelbarrows while being transported to the nearest health centres.

Historical injustices related to landownership remain a thorny issue to many Kenyans. Kenya lacks comprehensive land policies and laws and continues to use colonial laws that are less responsive to tenure security for the poor. According to Winnie Mitullah, the Kenyan problem started with the British colonial government which controlled large tracts of land handed over to the Kenyan government after the independence in 1963 (2003). Instead of redistributing the land resources equally to its citizens, the Kenyan government used the land as a political tool, to award to political supporters. This extensive land grabbing left the majority of Kenyans landless and languish in poverty. The option for the poor was to seek cheaper dwelling settlements where they could earn their livelihood and hence they ended up in the slums. British settlers who remained in Kenya after independence retained hundreds of thousands of acres of land which constitutionally belong to them for 999 years. According to the Laws of Kenya the “Certificate of Titles issued by the registrar to a purchaser of land ... shall be taken by all courts as conclusive evidence that the person named in it as the proprietor of land is the absolute and indivisible owner ...” (Registration of Titles Act Cap.281, section 23). This means that the land which has forcefully been taken from the poor by British settlers, politicians and private companies cannot be reclaimed because according to the law, the poor have lost nothing. Closely related to historical injustices is the dilemma in the Kibera land tenure and ownership claims. According to Cordaid, the Government, the Nubians (Sudanese British soldiers settled after 1st World War), the tenants, NGOs and churches all claim ownership of space in Kibera.⁶ While the Nubians claim possession of a communal land title issued by the British colonial government, a study by

⁶ Cordaid: http://www.ihs.nl/downloads/IHS-Cordaid%20publications/PM_Nairobi_Kenya.pdf; accessed 18.5.09

Mulcahy and Chu (2007:14) observes that the tenants who make 93% of Kibera residents have a strong position in ownership bargain.

Social challenges also constitute an area of concern for Kibera residents. The relationship between the government and the residents is wanting. Due to decades of humiliation, evictions, false promises and demolitions, the residents regard any government interventions with a lot of suspicion. Poverty in the slums has also rendered the slum dwellers victims of other social problems such as prostitution, drug use, alcoholism and crime. This has further led to premature deaths, single parenthood and child headed house households. The CBS (2003), reports that every 1 in 5 persons in Kibera is a carrier of the deadly HIV virus. All these problems are crowned by forced and untimely evictions of Kibera residents from their dwellings for political patronage, Ngos and private establishments. Evictions constitute destruction of the only means of livelihood for the poor. This questions the meaning of development. Does development mean robbing and destroying the only survival means of the poor? Children, the sick and the elderly are left in the cold, many die for exposure to harsh conditions and children discontinue their education while many youths turn to street life. Security of tenure as a basic right should be accessed to Kibera residents to give them legal protection against eviction, access them to credit facilities to enable them to enjoy freedom and peace.

Slum poverty coupled with the associated problems has motivated global interventions aimed at providing adequate housing to slum dwellers within the framework of rights to housing. This constitutes addressing the underlying causes of slums poverty aimed at wholistic improvement of living standards. A case in point is the United Nations Millennium Declaration, which is committed to the achievement of significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. In line with this global commitment, the Kenyan Government is committed to “improve the lives and livelihoods of an estimated 2.5 million people living and working in the slums and informal settlements in urban areas of Kenya by year 2012. This will basically involve the installation of physical and social infrastructure in slums in 20 urban areas to formalize slums, permit construction of permanent houses and attract private investment among others” (GOK, 2004). However, due to the existing challenges it is doubtful whether the Kenyan programme will meet its objectives. This justifies the investigation of this paper, through analyzing the feedback from the field research, observing the gaps that exist and proposing recommendations that can be used to salvage this very significant intervention.

1.5 Linking slum research to peace and conflict studies

Since this research has been conducted within the precincts of peace and conflict studies, it is essential to show the link between slum and peace and conflict studies. To underscore the significance of slum research in peace and conflict studies is the report by the UN-HABITAT and Earthscan coined ‘Enhancing Urban Safety and Security’ which exhibits the growing insecurity in world urban settlements.⁷ This report asserts that between 1980 and 2000, urban crime and violence increased by 30 percent. More so, 60 percent of world urban dwellers have been described as victims of crime. In Africa and Latin America victims of violence constitute 70

⁷ UN World Habitat Day on 1st October 2007: <http://www.unhabitat.org/content.asp>; accessed 5-6-09

percent of urban dwellers. The small arms survey 2007 observes that, “Large-scale and uncontrolled urbanization appears to be associated with increased rates of armed violence... Rapid urbanization is generally coupled with decreasing levels of public safety, posing serious challenges to the provision of security and justice”.⁸

The urban slums constitute the storm centre of urban violence. With more than 1 billion (32% of the world) living in urban slums, (Global report on human settlement, 2003:5), available resources have been strained leading to extreme deprivations, social segregation and inequality. This has led to frustrations, social tensions, aggression and violence. The Waki report on post 2007 election violence in Kenya describes the slums as the most severely affected by this violence that left more than 1,500 people dead, 500,000 displaced, property worth of millions destroyed and thousands of women and young girls including infants gang raped (2008:16). Urban violence and crime is harmful to social economic welfare of urban settlements and lays the heaviest burden on the impoverished slum dwellers including the vulnerable groups such as the disabled, women, child headed households and the elderly. It is then important to address the underlying causes of urban violence towards promotion of peace. A report by Oxfam titled, ‘Urban Poverty and Development in the 21st Century’ indicates that urbanization of poverty motivates the youth to join criminal groups, “to protect themselves and their neighbourhoods but also to engage in criminal activity in the absence of steady sources of employment and in the absence of effective social support mechanisms”.⁹ IRIN NEWS describes urban crime as one that “inhibits productivity and income-earning capacity, affects the investment climate, destroys infrastructure and disrupts delivery of services”.¹⁰ The International Crisis Group relates the isolation of impoverished urban settlements by development agencies to crime thus, “insecurity from those urban gangs, from political spoilers and from drug traffickers had stalled any real chance for major investments in the impoverished communities that lace through the capital. Too many kidnappings, too many assaults and too many drive-by shootings had turned the capital into no-go zone for all but the most adventurous development agencies.”¹¹

From the foregoing, it is essential to institute intervention activities that will reduce the prevalence of urban crime and violence and promote improved living standards for the affected groups. Slums upgrading comes at hand as a wholistic intervention aimed at addressing the underlying causes of slum and accessing the target beneficiaries with livelihood opportunities. If effectively implemented, slum upgrading can help reduce the prevalence of crime in urban settlements. The following section is a description of general and specific objectives of this research paper.

⁸Small http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/files/sas/publications/year_b_pdf/2007/2007SAS_English ;accessed 5.6.09

⁹Oxfam:http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/2903/1/urban_poverty_and_development_in_the_21st_century.pdf;accessed 5.6.09

¹⁰ IRIN NEWS: <http://www.irinnews.org/InDepthMain.aspx?InDepthId=63&ReportId=74687>; accessed 5.06.09

¹¹Crisis Group online: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4698&l=1>; accessed 5.06.09

1.6 Research objectives

The general objective of this research is to investigate the challenges facing Kenya Slum Upgrading programme with a special focus on Kibera slum. This is aimed at identifying the existing gaps and recommending appropriate interventions that would bridge such gaps towards the realization of adequate housing in line with the international elements of rights to housing.

The specific objectives of this research constitute:

- To investigate the targets group's role, level of involvement and knowledge of the upgrading programme;
- To project the impact of slum upgrading on the life of affected groups;
- Evaluate the challenges, possible remedies and the success of the Kibera slum upgrading programme from the target group's point of view;
- Investigate the knowledge of rights to housing by target groups and the extent to which Kibera slum upgrading programme fulfil those rights as perceived by target groups;
- Evaluation of target group's knowledge of the Millennium Development Goals and how they evaluate the upgrading programme in relation to these goals;
- Recommend the way forward for the Kibera project of the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme;
- The main assumption of this research paper reads: due to inherent challenges, Kibera slum upgrading programme cannot realize the international elements of rights to housing.

The specific assumptions include:

- Kibera residents cannot afford to pay the rent and service the mortgage of the upgraded houses due to their meagre incomes;
- The upgraded houses are not accessible to vulnerable groups of people such as the elderly, the bedridden and the disabled due to their physical planning;
- The proposed structures are constructed following the western norms which will restrict the overly rural-like social lifestyle of the slum dwellers;
- The new structures will not be conducive for the informal income generating activities due to their location, structure and rules;
- While the new houses may be accessible to services such as water and electricity, the poor will be expected to pay more for such services including city council taxes which will overburden their limited resources even more;
- Due to corruption, bad governance and house market competition, the new houses may end up with the more economically stable middle class and the politically 'right' people.

These assumptions will be investigated through analysis of field research findings presented in chapter four of this piece of work.

1.7 Scope of the study

This research was conducted in the Kenyan Kibera slum situated approximately five Kilometres from the capital city Nairobi. This study area was selected because it is a slum and is relevant to the main topic of this discussion. The area of study exhibits poor housing, extreme poverty and deprivation of rights to housing. This justifies this academic research that would enhance the knowledge of the underlying causes of slums proliferation and propose appropriate intervention activities that would improve the life of the vulnerable slum dwellers.

The findings of this research will inform KENSUP of the underlying causes of Kibera slum problems hence providing a base for informed interventions. The current status of the slum is pathetic: poor shelter; joblessness; tenure insecurity; diseases; police harassment; evictions and so on. Despite this extreme impoverishment the informal sector can be described as the heart beat of the city's social economic welfare in the provision of cheap labour and services. A few statistics illustrates why the informal sector cannot be ignored. According to Global Report on Human Settlement (2003: 103) the informal sector contributes 20 per cent of Africa's GDP. More so, 60 percent of the urban labour force in Africa comes from the informal sector. The report further illustrates that 42.5 per cent of non-agricultural GDP and 78 per cent of non-agricultural employment is derived from the informal sector. It is projected that in the next decade, over 90 per cent of future jobs in urban areas will be created from the informal sector. Referring to the Kenyan case, this report indicates that 2 million people, equivalent to 16 per cent of the labour force, are employed in about 1 million micro-enterprises. It is further indicated that approximately 22 per cent of the adult population in Sub Saharan Africa is employed in the informal sector compared to 15 per cent in the formal sector. In 1994, over 1 million Kenyans equivalent to a third of all working people were employed in the informal sector contributing approximately 13 per cent of the GDP. These statistics shows that the informal sector contributes immensely not only to the livelihood of the poor people but also to the national economy. As a result, serious studies in the informal settlements are justified to establish the challenges facing slums and hence recommend appropriate intervention initiatives.

Kibera slum upgrading programme is a timely project intended to positively transform the lives of the slum dwellers. However, this programme may fail if the existing challenges persist. The failure of the programme would mean continued suffering of the vulnerable groups in the slum. This study comes at the right time, to identify the underlying causes of these challenges and propose appropriate recommendations which will help the programme to achieve its objectives. The recommendations of this study are intended to fill the gaps and identify loop holes that might have been overlooked by various stakeholders of the upgrading programme in their approaches and interventions-hence the importance of this study. The following constitutes the flow and the structure of this research work.

The following chapter will encompass the state of the current literature. This will constitute an analysis of literature on slums, slums upgrading, rights to housing and inherent challenges. Chapter 3 will comprise the methodology used in this research. I will describe the target population and the scope of the study; sampling strategies; data collection methods; data collection instruments; data collection procedure and data management which constitutes data analysis and data editing. Chapter 4 will embrace the research findings. In this part I will present the data collected from the research using various data presentation methods and provide analysis

and interpretation. I will use these interpretations to draw informed conclusions on this research. This section will end with recommendations and conclusions meant to bridge the gaps identified through the research findings. These recommendations are hoped to form a fertile reference not only for Kibera slum but also for other slum upgrading initiatives in Kenya and elsewhere in the world. This section will also present field challenges and areas that need further research.

2. STATE OF THE CURRENT LITERATURE

A lot has been written on slums. This signifies the importance of this field of study. In this section, I will have three categories of literature reviews. The first category comprises general literature review on slums and slums upgrading while the second category is an exposition on the rights to housing.

1. The literature in this first section may not specifically touch on the challenges of slum upgrading programmes or related solutions but it reveals various underlying factors that may influence such challenges. It is also important to note that slums upgrading is not an independent process but involves various interrelated factors on slums livelihoods. This justifies the scrutiny of a wide variety of literature to address such interrelated factors. In many cases, slums upgrading involves relocations of slum dwellers due to the challenge of finding enough land adjacent to upgraded slums. As a result the interdependence between the city and the slum is broken leading to serious social economic effects. Sjoberg conceives slums as an inseparable part of the urban economy and a product of urban stratification (1960: 100-127). Similarly, Meier (2000), notes that slums fulfils important political, social, and economic functions in the city while Gallagher (1992), observes that many cities around the world depend on the informal sector. Hence, slum upgrading should avoid undue relocations to ensure continued interdependence for the benefit of slum dweller and the urban economy.

Social segregation is a major challenge in slums upgrading. House improvement activities should hence focus on underlying causes of such segregation. UNCHS (Habitat) describes the gated communities as a product of Industrialization characterized by modern information, transport and communication technologies (2001a: 37). Similarly, Beall (2002) attributes social disparity to foreign policies which have encouraged global investment and destroyed the local economy. Similar sentiments are given by Mumford (1961:432-433) who describes slums as a manifestation of capitalism. He attributes slum poverty and vulnerability to exploitation and inequalities perpetuated by the profit oriented new markets. On the same note, Castells (1996:346) describes slums as a product of globalization which apart from promoting labour market opportunities separates the haves from the have-nots. Similarly, ILO relates the proliferation of the informal businesses in the slums to current globalization trends such as the liberalization and SAPs.¹² On the same topic, Zamberia (1999) asserts that the marginalization of slum dwellers in governance circles worsens their leverage. The solution according to the World Bank is social inclusion of the marginalized to promote their bargaining power.¹³ On a different

¹² www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/strat/kilm/kilm08.htm; accessed 22.05.09

¹³ www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/whatsc.htm; accessed 22.05.09

perspective, Sherman et al, (1998) relates crime in the slum as a reaction to social-economic marginalization. Similarly an urban research in Kenya by Amis and Rekodi (1995) holds that crime is more prevalent among the poor than the rich. While the rich live behind the gated compounds, the slum dwellers are exposed to all types of crimes. These literatures shows that slum upgrading have a great task in addressing the challenge of social segregation. Effective slum upgrading activities must comprise social inclusion agendas and related policies to bridge the gap between the haves and the have nots.

Slum upgrading also faces the challenge of dealing with slum exploitations perpetuated by high cost of house rents demanded by the land lords, corruption from police and administration officers and high cost of service delivery by the private sector. Ackroyd (2000: 139) describing London urbanization, relates the housing problem to rural urban migration in search for jobs, an opportunity used by landlords to rake huge profits out of cheap and unsanitary structures. Similarly, Cuervo and Hin (1998) observe that slum dwellers are characterized by inadequate economic resources, factors that endear them to the informal labour market. This informality, as UNCHS Habitat (2001a:72) asserts, perpetuates the exploitation of the poor. In a critical view Michel (1997) notes that slums should not only be seen in terms of exploitation but also as a foundation for growth and development of individuals. Similarly, Briggs (1998:178) describes slums as basic springing boards for the poor. Following these literatures, it can be concluded that effective slum upgrading programme should ensure support for informal enterprises and mitigate factors that lead to the exploitation of the slum poor to facilitate appropriate intervention.

Many slum upgrading programmes are mainly focused on housing improvements at the expense of other slum livelihoods. This is a challenge that requires urgent address to institute comprehensive slum upgrading interventions. Gong and van Soest (2002) observes that apart from house improvement, slum upgrading should also prioritize the socio-economic improvement of the poor. A similar observation has been made by Erdogan et al (1996) who recommends sustainance of social-cultural aspects as prerequisites to slum improvement. On a different perspective, Torstensson (1994) describes the upgrading programme as guided by Western norms. Seeming to offer a solution, (Leckie: 1995) notes that slums upgrading should integrate behavioural aspects of slum dwellers to enhance sustainability. Moser (1996) observes that secure tenure is vital in slum poverty alleviation. A similar observation is made by the Global Campaign for Secure Tenure (GCST) which asserts that security of tenure is foundational in the promotion of human rights¹⁴ while UNCHS (Habitat 1996a) recognize home-ownership as a great opportunity towards promotion of identity and freedom. Still on the same perspective, De Soto (1989), notes that bureaucracy is the greatest impediment to acquiring security of tenure. The poor are subjected to long, expensive and exhaustive procedures before they can buy a property or register a business. On a critical point of view, Payne (2002) describes legality as undesirable to the poor due to the fear of taxation. According to UNCHS Habitat, 2001b, effective slum upgrading requires active involvement of the target beneficiaries. Building on this assertion, the United Nations (2001) asserts that political will is essential for a successful upgrading process. Other writers describe transport as core to the livelihood of slum dwellers. A research conducted among the pavement dwellers of Bombay indicates that 80 per cent walked to work (Gopalan,

¹⁴ www.unhabitat.org/tenure/tenure.htm: accessed 13:05:09

1998). This shows that many slum dwellers live in the impoverished conditions to be able to access their work places. Godard gives similar sentiments by noting that the location of housing should be accessible to the working places of the poor (1997). These literatures indicate that slums upgrading should go beyond house improvements and incorporate other expressed needs that are key to wholistic livelihood such as infrastructure, security of tenure and cultural aspects.

Lack of political will is another challenge that faces slums upgrading. Amis/Kumar (2000) link poverty in slums to political marginalization. This translates to lack of involvement in local governance. Similarly, Appadurai (2001) relates slums impoverishment to lack of political empowerment. In other words, slums poverty can be addressed by actively involving the slum dwellers in the decision making processes. Similar sentiments are made by Goetz, (2000) and Goddard, (2001) who single out Social action and political mobilization as essential tools in challenging the status quo in the slums. Elmhirst (1999) relates slums improvement programmes to political survival strategies meant to manipulate the slum poor for selfish ends. Similar ideas are made by Roy (1999), who relates slum politics to social and economic agendas of the day. On another perspective, Blong (1992) describes flooding as a slum environmental danger linked to lack of political will and resources. He also asserts that slum fires may be started to evict slum dwellers for political reasons. Similarly, Parnell and Hart (1999) relate spatial segregation to bad governance in developing countries. Building on this assertion, the UN Habitat observes that good governance should be based on the principles of sustainability; subsidiarity; equity; efficiency; transparency and accountability; civic engagement and citizenship; and security.¹⁵ Conclusively, these literatures indicate that effective slum upgrading should integrate policies that promote local governance and political responsibility. In other words lack of political will as a challenge must be overcome to institute any meaningful and effective slum upgrading.

Slum upgrading also faces the challenge of extensive environmental degradation in the slums. Industrial effluent, uncollected garbage and flooding are among dangerous environmental exhibitions in the slums. Van Vliet (2000) describes dumping of waste in the slums as an immense health risk. Slums are also endangered due to the flammable building materials, illegal electricity connections and use of paraffin and charcoal for cooking in overcrowded houses.¹⁶ Ruel describes ill-health derived from unsanitary conditions as a major determinant of poverty in the slums. A study by Ruel et al shows that the income of construction workers and rickshaw drivers in Dhaka decrease during the rainy season due to flooding (Ruel et al 1999). It is then prevalent that effective upgrading should integrate environmental rehabilitation and sustainability as a core intervention in house improvement.

NGOs can be described as necessary evil in the social economic dynamics of the slums. Necessary because they promote the much needed social activism and evil because some are not genuine hence posing a challenge in slum improvement initiatives. De Zoysa et al (1998) referring to New Delhi slums notes that the NGOs sector plays a significant role in providing local technical assistance and financial support in the informal sector. Similar sentiments are uttered by Madon and Sahay (2002) and Otiso (2000). Barasa and Kaabwe (2001) attribute the thriving jua kali sector in Kenya to NGOs.¹⁷ Edwards and Hulme (1995: 7-10) describes NGOs

¹⁵ Good Urban Governance: A Normative Framework'2000; www.un-habitat.org/govern: accessed 24.05.09

¹⁶ Global inner cities report: www.innercitypress.org/icglobal.html; accessed 27.05.09

¹⁷ Jua kali is an informal local production sector in Kenya which serves both local and foreign markets

as products of neo-liberal economics and liberal democratic agenda. They refer to NGOs activities as questionable, as propagating dependence and as a failing to reach the target groups. This line of thought is supported by Halliday who describes NGOs not only as products of decentralization but also as representatives of the west (2001:20-25). Similarly, Stiglitz observes that decentralization alone cannot be the answer to effective service delivery because it has not been responsive to the poor (1999). Instead, decentralization should involve the participation of the target groups. In this respect, Clark (1991:53) describes it as a great challenge to identify genuine NGOs due to prevailing lack of transparency and accountability. According to Fisher (1998:44), many NGOs cannot deliver since they have been compromised by ruling regimes while non compliance is punished by denial of registration and heavy taxation. Fowler (1998) supports the agenda of aid de-professionalization by removing the NGOs monopoly in the service delivery and instituting a people based approach. From the foregoing, effective slum upgrading should seek to work with NGOs that are accountable, transparent and that exhibit clear objectives. Last but not the least; slums upgrading initiatives are disadvantaged by slum dwellers' ignorance, lack of knowledge and skills to cope with challenges. Capacity building has been hailed by many writers as essential in urban poverty alleviation. Rahman (2002) observes that capacity building should prioritize women who form the bulk of informal economy. He notes that mortgage repayments should be affordable. On the same note, Appadurai observes the need to promote local initiatives which address the expressed needs of slum dwellers instead of the western models (2001). In sum, effective slum upgrading should ensure that the beneficiaries' capacities are built to enhance independence, rights awareness and sustainability of local initiatives.

Also the Magdeburg Research Group on Mumbai Slums¹⁸ emphasizes lack of social activism among slum dwellers so that NGOs and grassroots organizations take initiative. The research group identifies strategies which can be used by NGOs for effective social activism namely; mobilisation, capacity building, participation and empowerment (2009:48-59).

Conclusively, the above literatures exhibit various challenges that could inhibit effective slums upgrading. It is then important for all slum improvement initiatives to address such challenges towards accessing adequate shelter to the poor. However this is not possible without a legal framework that guides such a process. From the foregoing, adequate housing must be treated as a right for all to facilitate protection and freedom of the slum dwellers. Slum upgrading should then be based on a rights approach to holistically address the expressed needs of the slum dwellers. This justifies the following section which discusses housing as a human right.

2. Human rights have a fundamental role in the realization of adequate shelter. Human rights promote freedom, security and peace by providing protection from exploitation. Similarly, the right to adequate housing goes beyond simple access to a house. This right guarantees everyone the right to live in peace, dignity and security. Here below is a description of the rights to housing which partially forms the basis of this paper.

The human right to adequate housing, derived from the right to an adequate standard of living, is of fundamental significance for the wholistic enjoyment of social, cultural and economic rights.

¹⁸ Magdeburg Research Group on Mumbai Slums (2009):
http://www.iso.z.ovgu.de/inisoz_media/downloads/arbeitsberichte/54.pdf.

The general comment 4 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), identifies seven internationally recognized elements of the right to housing namely: security of tenure; access to services and infrastructure; affordability; habitability; physical accessibility; location and cultural adequacy.¹⁹ The following is a description of the seven elements.

The first element of right to housing is the security of tenure. According to CESCR everyone should possess “a degree of security of tenure which guarantees legal protection against forced eviction, harassment and other threats” (8a). The integration of this right in the slum upgrading programme will facilitate the formalization of informal settlement hence promoting freedom for slum dwellers to develop their informal enterprises and access credit from financial institutions.

Availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure is the second right to housing. CESCR observes that an adequate house should have certain facilities fundamental for health, security, comfort and nutrition. These includes, “sustainable access to natural and common resources, safe drinking water, energy for cooking, heating and lighting, sanitation and washing facilities, means of food storage, refuse, disposal, site drainage and emergency services” (8b). From the forgoing, effective upgrading targets not only the provision of shelter, but also the access to basic infrastructure that makes life in that house easy, bearable and comfortable.

Affordability constitutes the third element of right to housing. This element holds that “Personal or household financial costs associated with housing should be at such a level that the attainment and satisfaction of other basic needs are not threatened or compromised...tenants should be protected by appropriate means against unreasonable rent levels or rent increases...and accessed to... natural building materials” (8c). Slum upgrading initiatives should thus incorporate rent regulation measures to ensure that costs are commensurate to income levels.

The fourth element of right to housing is habitability. This principle holds that adequate housing must be “habitable, in terms of providing the inhabitants with adequate space and protecting them from cold, damp, heat, rain, wind or other threats to health, structural hazards, and disease vectors” (8d). Habitability may be a debatable issue because the fact that slum dwellers have been living in the slum means it’s habitable. Habitability as a right is usually defined on a western perspective. There is a need to integrate the beneficiaries’ concept of habitability. Accessibility is the fifth element of right to housing. CESCR maintains that the “Disadvantaged groups such as the elderly, children, the physically disabled, the terminally ill, HIV-positive individuals, persons with persistent medical problems, the mentally ill, victims of natural disasters, people living in disaster-prone areas and other groups should be accorded full and sustainable access to adequate housing resources” (8e). Slums upgrading programmes should facilitate the incorporation of appropriate policies for the sake of the vulnerable groups so as to promote their peace and dignity.

Location constitutes the sixth element of right to housing. This principle asserts that “Adequate housing must be in a location which allows access to employment options, health-care services, schools, child-care centres and other social facilities” (8f). Due to economic incapacitation, many poor people cannot afford daily costs of transport to work places. Upgrading programmes should ensure that new dwellings for the poor are unpolluted and near their work places.

¹⁹ The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights <http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc>; accessed 27.05.09

Cultural adequacy is the seventh and last element of right to housing. According to CESCR, “the way housing is constructed, the building materials used and the policies supporting these must appropriately enable the expression of cultural identity and diversity of housing” (8g). Slum upgrading should thus consider the values, norms and attitudes related to housing as expressed by the target beneficiaries. The best way should be to actively involve representatives of the beneficiaries in the planning and designing of such houses.

Apart from the seven elements of rights to housing, housing rights are also mentioned in many other human rights frameworks and provisions. Here below is a description of some of them.

To start with is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which asserts that, "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood...." (Article 25). On the same note, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) asserts that, "The States Parties ... recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions...." (Article 11). The recognition of housing as an element that enhances right to a standard, health and well-being demonstrates the importance of adequate housing as a basic requirement of all human beings. House upgrading initiatives should thus treat housing not only as a shelter but as a right for the poor. This is a basic step for the promotion of freedom, dignity for all the slum dwellers.

Adequate housing has often been accessed on a discriminatory basis. Many vulnerable groups around the world cannot access adequate housing because they are discriminated on the basis of gender, colour, race, national or ethnic origin. This has endeared various rights provisions to fight against this discrimination in a bid to institute a non-discriminatory adequate housing. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women provides that, “States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas ... to ensure ... the right ... to enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications...” (Article 14). Many women in the slum are there because they have been denied property, formal jobs or inheritance. Access to adequate housing as a right for women will lessen their vulnerability and improve their living standards. On a similar note, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, observes that, “States Parties undertake to prohibit and to eliminate racial discrimination ... and to guarantee the right of everyone, without distinction as to race, colour, or national or ethnic origin, to equality before the law, ... in the enjoyment of ... the right to housing...” (Article 5). Slums are constituents of multi-ethnic and cultural populations. Slum evictions, demolitions, clearance and upgrading are politicized to displace a certain group of people from the slum based on their colour or ethnicity. This provision is of vital significance in providing protection for such vulnerable groups and should be adopted in all slum upgrading initiatives. Still on discrimination in access to adequate housing the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees observes that, “As regards housing, the ... States ... shall accord to refugees ... treatment as favourable as possible and ... not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances” (Article 21). The conflict and wars in the world today has condemned many people to refugee life both inside and outside their own countries. Some of

such refugees end up in the slums in a bid to cope up with their livelihood. This provision is essential because it will protect such refugees from exploitation, harassment or manipulation. On a similar note, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families provides that, “Migrant workers shall enjoy equality of treatment with nationals of the State of employment in relation to ... Access to housing, including social housing schemes, and protection against exploitation in respect of rents” (Article 43). Although many slum dwellers are not trans-border migrants, most of them are internal migrants from rural to urban areas in search for employment and cheap livelihood. Slum upgrading initiatives should incorporate this provision to ensure that informal workers are treated equally with the formal worker and more so accessed to housing finance and rent subsidization.

On another perspective, the Convention on the Rights of the Child observes that, “States Parties recognize the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development... States Parties ... shall take appropriate measures to assist parents and others responsible for the child to implement this right and shall in case of need provide material assistance and support ..., particularly with regard to nutrition, clothing and housing” (Article 27). Slum dwellings do not offer full potential for child growth and development due to poor structures, limited space, pollution, juvenile delinquency and so on. The integration of this provision in house upgrading programmes would ensure improved living standards for the slum children.

World Governments have not been left behind in forging the way forward to ensure the realization of the human right to adequate housing for all. Many governments are signatories to various provisions that are dedicated to the provision of adequate housing for all. This has enhanced the responsibilities of various governments to implement these in their countries. Through General comment no.4, member states of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, observe that, “The right to adequate housing ... derived from the right to an adequate standard of living, is of central importance for the enjoyment of all economic, social and cultural rights.... The right to adequate housing applies to everyone.... Individuals, as well as families, are entitled to adequate housing regardless of age, economic status, and group or other affiliation or status.... This right must ... not be subject to any form of discrimination.... The right to housing should not be interpreted in a narrow or restrictive sense.... Rather it should be seen as the right to live ... in security, peace and dignity...” (part1, 6 and 7). Likewise, the Declaration on the Right to Development by various governments holds that, "States should undertake ... all necessary measures for the realization of the right to development and shall ensure ... equality of opportunity for all in their access to basic resources, education, health services, food, housing, employment...”

More so, agenda 21 of the United Nations department of economic and social affairs states that, “Access to safe and healthy shelter is essential to a person's physical, psychological, social and economic well-being and should be a fundamental part of national and international action.... An integrated approach to the provision of environmentally sound infrastructure in human settlements, in particular for ... urban and rural poor, is an investment in sustainable development that can improve the quality of life, increase productivity, improve health and reduce the burden of investments in curative medicine and poverty alleviation...all countries should take immediate measures to provide shelter to their homeless poor...strengthen national shelter strategies with

targets... facilitate access of urban and rural poor to shelter by adopting and utilizing housing and finance schemes and new innovative mechanisms adapted to their circumstances.... People should be protected by law against unfair eviction from their homes or land....” (Chapter 7, part 6 and 9). This instrument is very broad and touches on various elements of the right to housing. Hence it forms an essential reference for slum upgrading in a bid to promote dignity, peace and freedom for the slum poor.

Similarly, the Habitat agenda have various provisions on the right to adequate housing. Provisions No.3, 26, 27, 39, 40, and 43 touches on various aspects of human rights to housing thus: “We recognize that access to safe and healthy shelter and basic services is essential to a person's physical, psychological, social and economic well-being and should be a fundamental part of our urgent actions for the more than one billion people without decent living conditions. Our objective is to achieve adequate shelter for all, especially the deprived urban and rural poor, through an enabling approach to the development and improvement of shelter that is environmentally sound... Equitable human settlements are those in which all people, without discrimination of any kind ... have equal access to housing, infrastructure, health services, adequate food and water, education and open spaces.... Such human settlements provide equal opportunity for a productive and freely chosen livelihood; equal access to economic resources, including the right to inheritance, the ownership of land and other property, credit, natural resources and appropriate technologies; equal opportunity for personal, spiritual, religious, cultural and social development; equal opportunity for participation in public decision-making; equal rights and obligations with regard to the conservation and use of natural and cultural resources; and equal access to mechanisms to ensure that rights are not violated...We commit ourselves to the goal of improving living conditions on an equitable and sustainable basis, so that everyone will have adequate shelter that is healthy, safe, secure, accessible and affordable and that includes basic services, facilities and amenities, and will enjoy freedom from discrimination in housing and legal security of tenure...ensuring legal protection from discrimination in access to shelter and basic services, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status....”

Conclusively, the rights frame works and provisions indicates that rights to housing are inseparable from the fundamental human rights. This means that the promotion of the fundamental human rights will lead to realization of rights to housing and vice versa. It is also evident that right to housing should be interpreted in a broad and comprehensive sense to include the right to live in security, peace, dignity and freedom. Incorporation of the elements of rights to housing in slum upgrading will ensure that slum dwellers enjoy dignity, security, freedom and peace. This is the importance of integrating rights to slum upgrading. Effective research can only be enabled by an adequate research method. The following chapter constitutes the analysis of the methodology that was used to carry out this research.

3. METHODOLOGY

Sampling was important to help in getting representative data from Kibera slum estimated to have over 1 million inhabitants. To enhance representativeness, my sampling frame covered the 13 villages of Kibera. Stratified and simple random sampling methods were used. With stratified

sampling, each of the 13 villages was treated as individual stratum with independent population and equal probability of being studied. This enhanced equal representation of the ethnically based villages. Simple random sampling was then used to get representatives from each stratum. The original study population constituted 56 respondents.

The main method of data collection was field research. This method enabled me to get original views from the respondents hence bridging the hypothetical gaps in secondary sources to reach more informed conclusions. Primary data offered me an opportunity to use observation and relate to bodily expressions, feelings and attitudes. Despite the loopholes in secondary sources such as outdated data and lack of focus in my area of interest, they formed the basis of my research hypothesis and influenced my interest to carry out a field study to investigate this hypothesis. Although secondary information was able to learn about the diversity and complexity of Kibera slum and hence prepared myself appropriately.

I chose to use qualitative research method and specifically the semi structured questionnaires. The open-ended nature of the semi structured questionnaires enabled me to explore and interact with the target groups, share their feelings and their expressions in a bid to get the underlying meanings.

Editing as a data management task was meant to increase data quality, facilitate coherence, check completeness of data, ascertain consistency and institute accuracy. It helped me to determine the usability of the field information in realizing my research objective. It signalled areas that needed modifications or clarifications. Through data editing I ended up with only 48 useful and quality questionnaires. Data editing was also meant to make our data analysis easy. Data analysis was done with the help of two research assistants. Data was added into various categories of the codified themes of a special summary sheet according to similarities and differences in responses from questionnaires. Finally, all the data from similar themes in the summary sheet were put together to arrive at final conclusions which were the basis of my research findings.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS

This section constitutes the presentation and analysis of findings from the field study. In this section responses from the respondents will be analysed using various methods of data presentation. This will facilitate efficiency in drawing conclusions that will constitute the basis of final recommendations. Three categories of respondents including the tenants and landlords, the NGOs and lastly KENSUP, the local and administrative authorities will be analysed.

Tenants and landlords

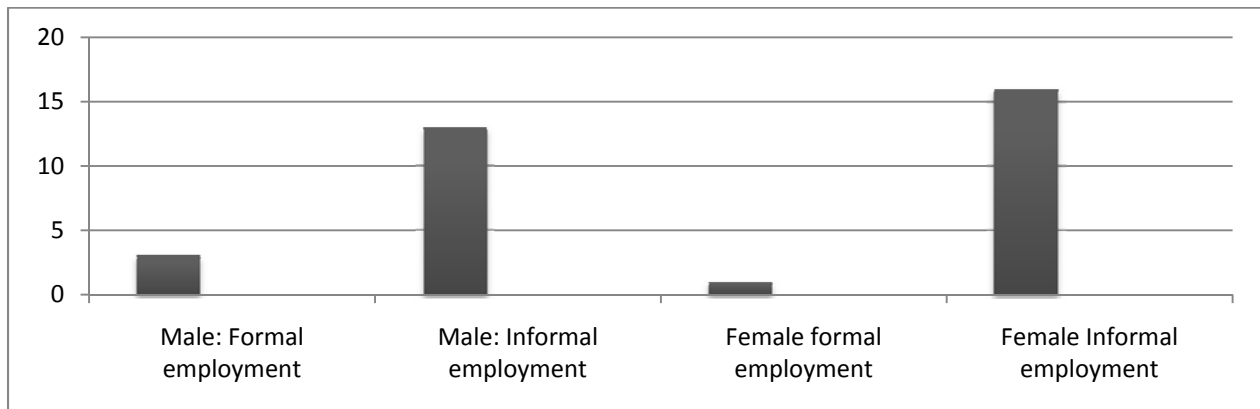
The respondents had various age categories as presented in the table below.

Figure 1: Age of respondents

Age (in years)	18-30	31-45	45-60	Over 60
Frequency	6	18	7	2

The table shows that the majority of the slum dwellers interviewed fall into the working age i.e.18 to 45 years which means that they are in the slum in search of formal or informal employment. Among the respondents, 2 are married without children, 22 married with children, 1 is single, 2 divorced and 6 widowed. The respondents hailed from different tribes from all parts of Kenya: 1 Kalenjin, 1 Ugandan, 7 Kikuyu, 8 Luo, 5 Luhya, 5 Kamba, 2 Nubians, 1 Maasai and 3 Kisii. The presence of the Ugandans shows that the slum offers both local and regional survival opportunities. 17 out of 33 respondents linked the presence of the Luo to powerful politicians. Most Luo are said to stay in free houses after refusing to pay rents or forcefully displacing the owners. 60% of Kikuyu interviewees settled in the slums after fleeing politically influenced tribal clashes in the rift valley a region dominated by the Kalenjin tribe. This shows the negative impact of tribal politics in slum dynamics and proliferation. Although different ethnic groups inhabit specific regions in the slums, they exhibited strong social-economic interdependence characterized by rural settings. Statistics showed a great differential between female and male formal and informal employment as shown in the table below.

Figure 2: Formal and informal employment among males and females



The table shows that more females than males are in the informal sector which may be attributed to low education, lack of inheritance rights and other gender inequalities. The education factor is presented in the table below.

Figure 3: Education level of respondents

Education level	University	High school	Primary	Illiterate
Male respondents	5	4	2	-
Female resp.	-	1	10	1

These statistics shows that women are less educated than their male counter parts which may explains their involvement in the informal sector for lack of opportunities in male dominated formal sector. Among the interviewees, 15 came to slums to look for jobs, 10 sought cheap houses and 8 were displaced by tribal clashes. This shows that search for livelihood and cheap

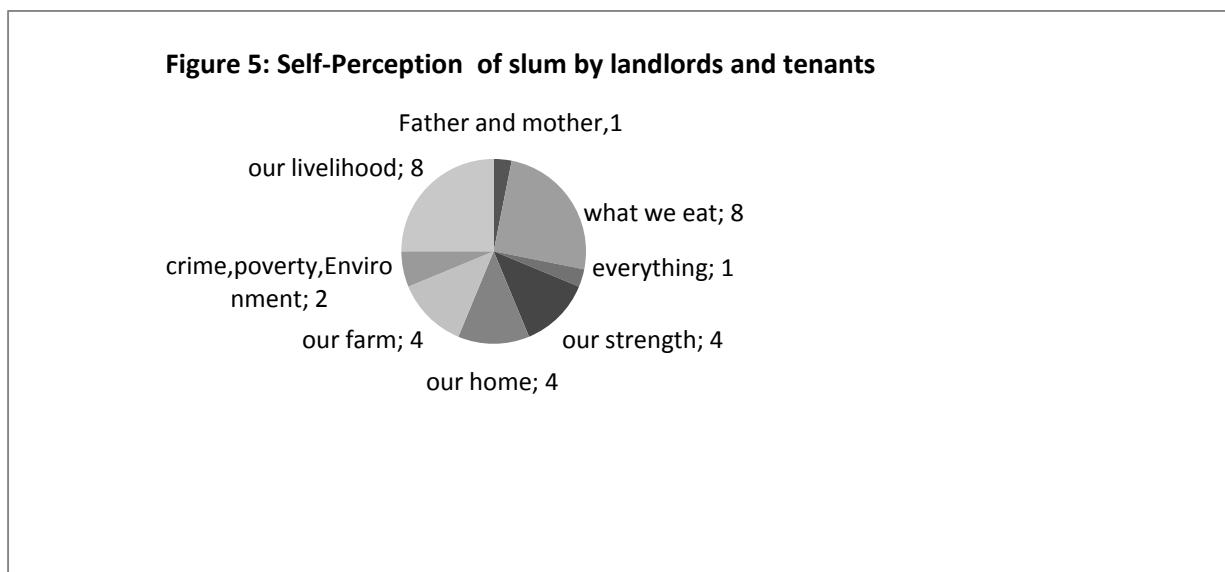
survival means are priorities for slum dwellers. The respondents have stayed in Kibera for varying durations as shown in the table below.

Figure 4: Number of years respondents have lived in Kibera

Stay in Kibera	0-5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	Over 14 years
Frequency	2	5	12	14

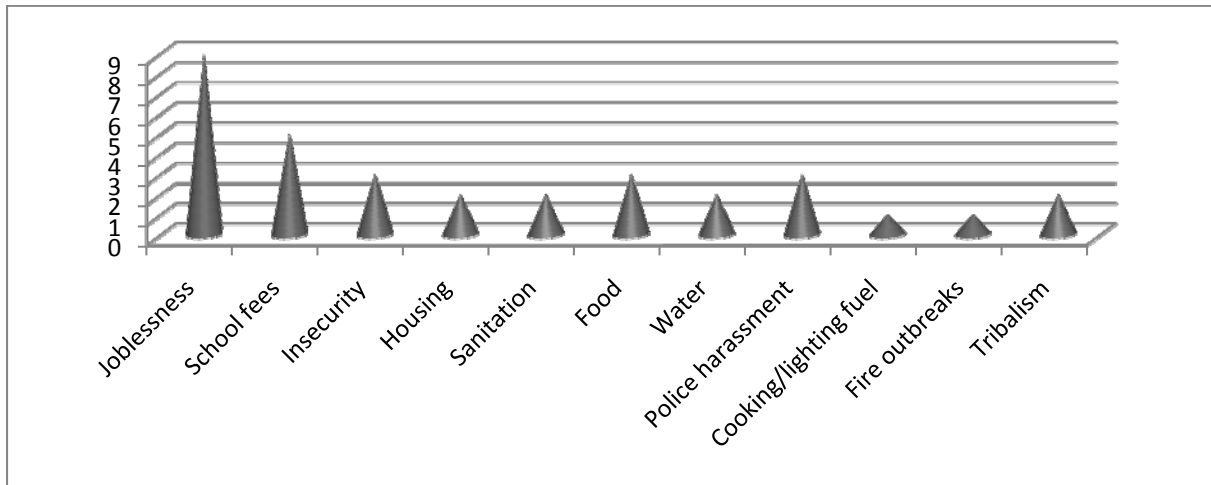
Among the 33 respondents, 12 were born in Kibera slum, 10 were born in other slums, 8 were born upcountry, 2 were born in a city estate and 1 was born in Uganda. All the respondents lived in the slum because life was affordable. Those who came to Kibera from other slums were victims of eviction. This shows that slum clearing is not a solution to eliminate slums.

It was interesting to hear the passionate self-perception of slum by the respondents most of whom used Swahili language. Slum was defined as: ‘ baba na mama yangu’ meaning slum is ‘my father and mother’; ‘what we eat’; ‘nguvu yetu’ meaning ‘our strength’; ‘our home’; ‘mapato yetu’ meaning ‘our livelihood’; ‘shamba letu’ meaning ‘our farm’ and ‘mambo yote’ meaning that slum is ‘everything’. Only 2 respondents referred to slum using internationally known concepts such as crime, poverty and environmental hazards. It is important to note that all these responses amounts to livelihood which means slums exist as the basic source of livelihood for the slum dwellers.



These self-perceptions show strong attachment of slum dwellers to slums and further complicate the challenge of finding a universally accepted definition of slums. Various respondents pointed at main problems in Kibera slum as shown in the table below.

Figure 6: Main problems in Kibera slum as per tenants & landlords



The statistics show that joblessness tops the list. Hence slum upgrading programme must prioritize the expansion of informal enterprises. A further observation is that these problems are gender based. For instance, 90 % of the women respondents termed sanitation, food, water, school fees, cooking and lighting fuel as their main problems. On the contrary, 92% of the male respondents singled joblessness, insecurity, police harassment and tribalism as their main problems. This observation shows the importance of gender based slum upgrading initiatives. Through police extortions, the slum dwellers end up paying more ‘illegal’ taxes than the legal taxes paid by their middle class counterparts. 27 out of 33 respondents ranked housing as least on priority needs. The upgrading programme should target expressed needs of the beneficiaries if effective results are to be achieved. The respondents gave various suggestions towards solving the housing problem as shown in the table below.

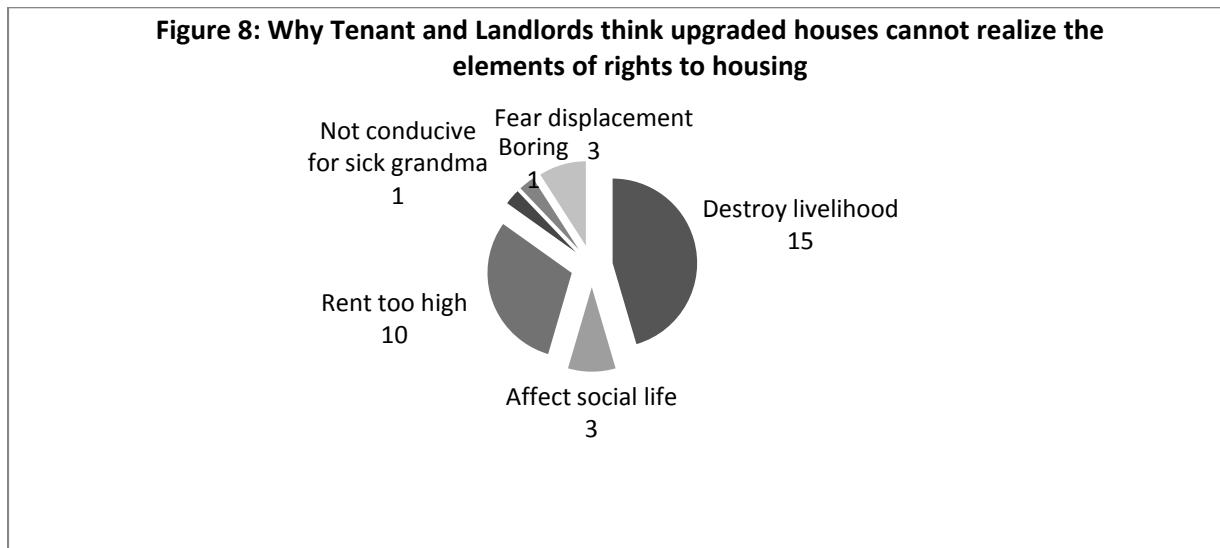
Figure 7: Possible solutions to the housing problem

Access to jobs	Rights awareness	End tribalism	Children education	Government Intervention	Upgrading	Loans access	Social actions
19	2	1	4	1	1	3	2

These statistics again show that access to jobs is a priority of slum dwellers. An important observation is also on children education. Interviewees held that if their children are educated, they will get a good job in the future and move the family out of the slum. Many respondents felt that if their expressed needs are met, then housing as a problem is insignificant.

Lack of participation of the slum dwellers in the upgrading programme is a major problem. Only 2 out of 33 respondents had heard about the upgrading programme from KENSUP while 31 got information from secondary sources. Moreover, none of the tenants regarded themselves as participants in the upgrading programme; 14 did not know the stakeholders while 6 termed the programme a government project. Only 3 out of 33 and 2 out of 33 respondents were aware of

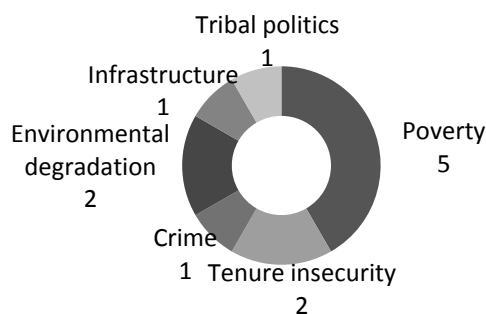
housing rights and MDGs respectively. Slum upgrading must incorporate participation of the slum dwellers to facilitate ownership and sustainability. 27 out of 33 respondents believe the upgrading programme will fail as presented in the chart below. These statistics indicate that rights to housing such as security of tenure (fear of displacement), physical accessibility (sick grandma), affordability (rent too high), location (destroy livelihood) and habitability/cultural adequacy (affect social life, boring) will not be achieved and questions the practicability of upgrading. These expressed concerns should form the basis of interventions.



NGOs

In the final study population there were 12 slum development organizations including 2 foreign NGOs, 6 local NGOs, 2 local CBOs and 2 Women self help groups. Among the local organizations, 7 were purely operated by one tribe, had title deeds and were backed by powerful politicians. One foreign NGO got its plot and title deed through the government. The fact that some NGOs possess title deeds in Kibera defeats the reason why individuals who have lived in Kibera for decades cannot get title deeds. This favouritism has drawn sharp reactions among tenants and Landlords. Some interviewees confirmed that NGOs are used during political campaigns to reward supporters. Field evidence showed that NGOs cannot reach the neediest of the needy. Politicization of NGOs shows their vulnerability in helping the needy. Various NGOs perceived the challenges facing Kibera slums differently as shown in figure 9 below.

Figure 9: Main challenges facing Kibera slums according to NGOs



De-politicization of development should be prioritized to improve social activism. More so, poverty alleviation remains the greatest challenge of KENSUP. All the 12 NGOs are aware of KENSUP but 9 observe that its committee is not representative. According to 9 NGOs, economic empowerment is a good alternative to house improvement, 2 held that security of tenure is a priority while 1 prioritized beneficiaries' involvement. Again these statistics reflect the landlords' and the tenants' concepts of the KENSUP as non-representative, non-inclusive and non-effective.

Only 9 out of 12 NGOs are familiar with the rights to housing and MDGs. More so 11 out of the 12 NGOs hold that KENSUP will not realize the MDGs and the rights unless existing challenges are addressed. The failure theory was linked to high cost of house rent, destruction of the informal livelihood, rampant corruption; bad governance; poverty and lack of policy guidelines. To realize the MDGs and rights to housing, the NGOs recommend end of corruption, good governance, participatory approaches and poverty alleviation. These are priority areas that need to be addressed to enhance effective upgrading programme.

Local and administrative authorities

The local and administrative authorities interviewed included the local chief, the city council representative and a representative of KENSUP. They agreed that some government officers and politicians owned structures in Kibera slum. This shows how difficult it is to institute political will in the implementation of the programme. While KENSUP narrowed the main problem of Kibera to be housing, the local administration prioritized lack of resources while the city council quoted poor planning and infrastructure. KENSUP held that the Kibera slums problem existed because of lack of a clear government policy, the city council quoted lack of proper planning while the local administration blamed poverty. These statistics shows that the three respondents do not evaluate the slum problem at the same level. There is a need to work together to solve the slum problem amicably. In relation to the inherent challenges in the upgrading, KENSUP quoted; procurement bureaucracy, complexity of slum settlement, landlords-tenants conflicts, different political, cultural and religious inclinations among residents, competing NGOs interests, lack of adequate land and governance. The city council cried foul over marginalization caused by commodification of service delivery and lack of funds while local administration referred to

poverty and infrastructure as the main challenges. All these challenges enumerated here should be the entry points of strategic intervention before the upgrading programme is implemented.

The three respondents were all aware of the upgrading programme and its house improvement task. However, while KENSUP noted that the programme was representative, the local and administrative authorities maintained that the choice of representatives was suspicious and not based on people’s mandate. All the three respondents were aware of the rights to housing and the MDGs but only KENSUP believed they could be realized. The other two noted the challenge of high cost of house rent, social segregation, destruction of income opportunities. KENSUP maintained that the programme is committed to realizing some of the rights to housing including security of tenure and access to services and infrastructure. However, KENSUP confirmed that while the new structures are accessible to most of the tenants, they may be less accessible to the elderly, the sick and the disabled. KENSUP referred affordability as a great challenge while habitability and cultural adequacy as “things the tenants will get used to”. In relation to location, KENSUP noted that though the government was committed to getting more land around Kibera for settlement, it has proved difficult and some people might end up being relocated away from Kibera. KENSUP however noted that the success of the programme required commitment from all the stakeholders, availability of funds and amicable solution of the prevailing challenges. The table below analyses the capacity of the Kibera programme to realize the rights to housing according to KENSUP, the local and administrative authorities.

Figure 10: Capacity of Kibera programme to realize the rights to housing as per KENSUP, Local and administrative authorities. (x) = able to realize, (-) = Unable

	Security of tenure	Services/ Infrastructure	Affordability	Habitability	Accessibility	Location	Cultural adequacy
KENSUP	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Local Authorities	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Admin. Authorities	x	x	-	-	-	-	-

According to this table only 2 out of 7 elements of rights to housing can be achieved through Kibera slum upgrading programme. This reality is a big challenge to the government of Kenya and the UN Habitat and shows a need of an overhaul evaluation of the programme with active involvement of all stakeholders including the beneficiaries. Active participation and involvement of slum dwellers in the programme will enhance cooperation, ownership and sustainability. Having noted various challenges pointed out in the research findings, it is then appropriate to propose recommendations which could mitigate such challenges towards informing a wholistic and comprehensive slum upgrading process. This is comprised in the following section.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this research work I have investigated my hypothesis namely: Kenya slum upgrading programme cannot realize the international elements of rights to housing. This investigation has been accomplished through the analysis of field data which have overly confirmed my hypothesis and hence authenticating my field assumptions. The research findings show various challenges that have affected the Kibera slum upgrading programme. Many respondents do not consider housing as a major problem. Instead they prioritize jobs, school fees, food, water and security as their main needs. NGOs have been blamed for political compromise and lack of responsibility for the poor. Special scrutiny is needed to know the genuine and the irresponsible NGOs. Lack of participation of slum dwellers in the upgrading programme is quite prevalent. Many respondents are not aware of the KENSUP project, the housing rights or the MDGs. Bridging of this information gap is an urgent task for KENSUP. The research has shown that effective upgrading programme must address other associated problems. Examples are better remuneration for the police to alleviate exploitation of the poor and addressing the middle class housing crisis to reduce competition for upgraded houses meant for the slum dwellers. Tribal politics and politicization of development seems to be a severe challenge. Slums upgrading should address historical injustices and facilitate political reforms to enhance political responsibility. Gender disparities have left women vulnerable in terms of formal employment and education condemning them to informal life. Gender inclusive development should be an integral part of a comprehensive slum upgrading programme. Lack of clear land policies has led to complex ownership claims of land in Kibera slums. KENSUP should liaise with the government of Kenya to solve these ownership disputes to enhance effective upgrading programmes. In sum this research has shown that the upgrading programme is quite unpopular among the slum dwellers and other stakeholders. It is significant to re-evaluate the programme with the participation of all stakeholders in a bid to solve the inherent challenges and forge the way forward for a comprehensive and wholistic upgrading initiative. As an effort to facilitate effective slum upgrading programmes, the section below constitutes proposed recommendations which could inform not only Kibera programme but also other future slum upgrading initiatives in Kenya and elsewhere in the world. In this section I will also describe challenges that I encountered in the field and areas that need further research.

The situation of Kibera slums in the eve of the upgrading programme can only be described as complex, confusing and a time bomb. The slum problems are too diverse to be tackled by simplistic approaches. It requires a wholistic approach based on peoples mandate to demystify the underlying challenges and oversee an effective slum upgrading. The research findings have evidenced that the Kibera programme is overly non representative, non inclusive and have limited capacities in realizing the international elements of rights to housing. It is highly recommendable that the programme should facilitate a wholistic re-evaluation to integrate the elements of the rights to housing as guiding implementing factors with active involvement and participation of the target beneficiaries.

It is also recommendable that the new structures should consider putting up market areas to ensure that the slum dwellers continue with their informal resource mobilization activities. It should be a priority of the slum programme to ensure that the slum dwellers can access the location of the source of their livelihood. Those displaced should be accessed to psychological

counseling and compensated to continue with their life normally. The houses should also be constructed with the vulnerable groups such as the elderly, the bedridden and the disabled in mind. The current houses on the decanting site have no rifts which makes them inaccessible to vulnerable groups. More so, these houses are built on a western model which will affect the normal lifestyle of the slum dwellers. The upgraded houses should consider the slum lifestyle that will promote communal sharing of facilities, borrowing from neighbour and social interaction.

This research has shown that affordability is a major concern of slum dwellers. The slum dwellers express fear that the new houses might end up with the middleclass or politically right people due to non affordability. Enabling strategies should be promoted to facilitate bargaining power of the slum dwellers to give them an equal opportunity to compete in the stiff housing market. The upgrading programme should involve the target beneficiaries actively in finding ways and means of improving their bargaining power.

Observation showed that six of the respondents had small home based enterprises including: making ice-cream, making traditional medicine, cooking food for sale, tailoring, video showing and selling traditional beer. Instead of police harassing the slum people due to lack of business license, the government should legalize these home based businesses and support their expansion through access to credit and facilitation of business training seminars. In regard to this the government should engage financial institutions in dialogue to facilitate special housing and business credit facilities for the poor while considering flexible payment duration. The government should also institute rent restriction for the slum dwellers occupying the new houses. An effective slum upgrading strategy for instance should also address the middle class home ownership dilemmas to alleviate the competition for upgraded houses meant for slum dwellers.

This research has evidenced that there are many underlying factors exhibited by the respondents that need to be considered for effective upgrading process to take off. These include joblessness, tribalism, fear of displacement, police harassment, women vulnerability, school fees, security, water, food, fire outbreaks, cooking and lighting fuel and sanitation. These may seem like simple issues but they weigh heavily on the target beneficiaries. However, a close view links all these to poverty and archaic policies. For instance, tribalism, though fuelled by political landscapes relates much to struggle for limited resources. Insecurity and crime also relates to poverty. Women vulnerability is linked to discriminative customary laws which perpetuate poverty. Fear of displacement is related to impoverishing status of slum dwellers which alienates them from competing equally with the middle class in the competitive house market. Effective upgrading must address all poverty perpetuating factors through economic empowerment of the target beneficiaries and institution of policies that address historical injustices on equitable resource distribution. Access to social economic safety nets to the poor should be a main component of the upgrading programme. All the challenges noted by KENSUP, the administrative, local authorities, landlords and tenants should be the entry points for effective upgrading programme.

Another major finding in this research is that many target beneficiaries including the NGOs are not involved in the decision making process. Many respondents confessed that they are not aware of the upgrading programme and they are not stakeholders. Others cried foul over non-representation in the KENSUP stakeholders committee. Lack of information giving, lack of representation or lack of active involvement results to lack of ownership of the programme. It is essential that KENSUP actively involves all the stakeholders in dialogue and decision making

processes. The representatives of the beneficiaries in KENSUP should not be hand-picked but must have full backing from the target beneficiaries and chosen in a transparent and mutually agreed procedure. The government should enact a policy for the right to participation, involvement and information of the target beneficiaries in the slum upgrading programme. The beneficiaries must actively be involved at conceptualization of the ideas, development of intervention strategies and at the implementation and sustainability levels. It is essential to note that decisions made by the target beneficiaries have more impact and are more long lasting than the decisions made on behalf of the beneficiaries. The programmes impact assessment by all the stake holders is important to evaluate its effect on the life of the beneficiaries and what it means for them. This will help in designing timely intervention activities to address undesirable effects.

Politicization of the upgrading programme is also an important research outcome. It is evident that the slum is a center of interest for influential politicians and government officers. With its high population of over 1 million people, Kibera slum is a fertile ground for votes. It is also evident that politicians and government officers own structures or are either landlord in Kibera. The politicians have used NGOs as vehicles to deliver rewards to supporters. This has made the NGOs deviate from their responsibilities for the poor. It then beats any reason how the same people will support an upgrading programme intending to displace them. The police are poorly paid and they take advantage of the unlicensed slum businesses to extort money from the impoverished slum dwellers. Legalization, licensing and removal of all hindrances to informal resource mobilization opportunities should be important entry points of dialogue in slum upgrading. The bureaucracies involved in business registration and property ownership should also be removed. The government should also take political responsibility and stop manipulation of slum dwellers by self centered politicians. The goals and objectives of NGO must be scrutinized and those that are not accountable and transparent to the poor be de-registered. The rights of the slum dwellers should not be sacrificed by cheap and temporary political rewards. The police force should be reformed and well remunerated to avoid harassment and extortions of the poor. Adequate policies and laws should be enacted to protect the poor from political manipulations.

The commodification of services in the slum has resulted to exorbitant prices being charged on basic services like water. The problem is greater during water shortages when according to respondent slum dwellers pay between 50% and 100% more than their middleclass counterparts. The local authorities have lost the mandate to offer basic services to the poor at affordable rates. It's high time that the local government takes back the mandate of equitable service delivery to alleviate the exploitation of commodified system.

This research has also established that most of the beneficiaries and also some stakeholders in the upgrading programme are unaware of the elements of rights to housing and also the MDGs. It is ironical and overly sarcastic that the beneficiaries of a programme that is expected to integrate the elements of rights to their housing programme are ignorant of such rights. It is sad that the residents of Kibera are unaware of MDGs, an initiative that focuses on improvement of their residence. This takes us back to the right to information, involvement and participation of the slum dwellers in issues that are destined to affect their life. Human rights awareness and education should be an integral part of the upgrading programme as a base to promote their dignity and freedom. Slum dwellers should be invited to participate in training Seminars,

workshops and conferences on rights to housing and MDGs. The government should promote awareness on housing rights, responsibilities, entitlements, and duties through enactment of relevant policies, laws and the use of media. The media can especially play an important role in exhibiting the reality on the ground. The upgrading programme should liaise with the legal system to ensure that security of tenure is an integral provision for all slum dwellers to facilitate protection and sustainability.

This research has depicted women as among the vulnerable group in the slum. They are less educated a fact that denies them equal opportunities in the formal employment condemning them to the slum informal sector. The government should enact policies that give women equal opportunities in formal employment and education. Such policies should also address the rights to inheritance for women. One woman respondent from central province said she came to Kibera after they divorced with her husband. According to customary laws, this woman could not go back to her parents' home because she has no right to inheritance. This constitutes some of the underlying factors that perpetuate poverty leading to slum proliferations. The slum upgrading initiatives should bring such underlying factors to the attention of the government and policy makers so that they can be addressed to prevent future formation of slums linked to such factors.

In conclusion, this study can be termed as a success because it has been able to address not only the research question but also the research assumptions and objectives. This study has proved that Kibera slum upgrading programme cannot realize the international elements of rights to housing due to inherent challenges. However if the recommendations of this research are implemented, there is great hope that slum upgrading programmes, based on a rights approach will benefit the intended target groups and contribute to adequate housing and improved living standards. The key issue is to actively involve the target beneficiaries and various stakeholders in decision making processes and in identifying the underlying causes of slum proliferations and together incorporate appropriate intervention strategies in a wholistic and inclusive slum upgrading. This will facilitate ownership, cooperation and sustainability of the programme.

But of course, this research did not go without challenges. Among the challenges faced in this research are listed below:

1. The research was marred by various unexpected interferences which sometimes resulted to premature discontinuation. These interferences were caused by respondents who needed to attend to their other businesses such as child care or part-time jobs.
2. Two NGOs withdrew from participating in the interviews which reduced the target study population.
3. A total of six questionnaires were rendered invalid due to what seemed like deliberate inconsistencies and incoherencies.
4. Time was quite a scarce resource given that this research covered the whole of Kibera slum within just month. If more time was available, a larger study population could have been sampled which might have produced more representative findings.

5. Some NGOs and government offices deliberately withheld information and their records or literature materials. Some treated us with suspicion because they thought perhaps we were spies from the government. This might have made us lose important information.
6. This research was also financially strapped since apart from the air ticket from my sponsors, I had to find my own means to finance my stay in Kenya and also remunerate my research assistants. Nevertheless everything went as well.
7. The difficult terrain, narrow walking paths, flying toilets, pungent smell and heaps of garbage were some of the environmental challenges that I encountered in this research.
8. It was very evident that some respondents expected compensation for the information they diverged. Some even asked openly whether they would get 'something' for their information. This was quite a sympathetic appeal especially in one case when it was revealed that a child was crying of hunger. This begging made me part with some small money sometimes.

To sum up this research, here are several areas that need further research:

This research has derived new definition of slum by slum dwellers. It is important to note that various existing slum definitions do not originate from the experiences of slum dwellers but from international policy makers who have never lived in the slums. It is ironical that the slum dwellers have not been involved in such definitions. Should slum dwellers definitions of slums be accorded international recognition?

1. NGOs work in the slum has resulted to more pains than pays. Should working with the poor be de-professionalized? Studies need to be conducted to establish whether beneficiaries based aid could be more effective than the professional based aid in meeting the needs of the poor.
2. This research has shown that some slum landlords are extremely poor. Who is really a slum landlord? Is this title worthy for the slum poor? What is the meaning of this title to the impoverished slum landlord?
3. Commodification of service delivery is a decentralization strategy that replaced the city council and was hoped to benefit the poor. However it has led to more exploitation of the slum dwellers. What are the underlying causes of its failure and how can it be reformed to promote the interests of the poor? Should the city council be reinstated?
4. Habitability has overly been conceived on a western perspective. The fact that slum dwellers have lived in the slums all through indicates that slums are habitable. Should the slum dwellers concept of habitability be given an international recognition?

I end my paper with a quotation from Irene Khan of Amnesty International who recently visited slums in Kenya thus:

„Die Entwicklung von Slums in Stadtgebieten ist zum Sinnbild für die vergessenen und ausgegrenzten Menschen geworden - ausgegrenzt nicht nur von grundlegenden Diensten wie sanitären Einrichtungen, sondern auch von dem Recht auf Mitsprache und der freien Gestaltung ihres Lebens.“ Irene Khan (08-06-09).

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