Scaling participation in informal settlement upgrading

A documentation of community mobilisation and consultation processes in the Mukuru Special Planning Area, Nairobi, Kenya

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to debates on inclusive informal settlement upgrading through scaling participatory planning, with a focus on the Mukuru Special Planning Area (SPA) in Nairobi, Kenya. Our contribution is three-fold. First, we provide an overview of previous efforts at integrating participation into urban interventions that target informal settlements in Kenya, highlighting how such efforts largely ignored the views of low-income residents. Second, building on this discussion, we outline the Mukuru SPA – a planning and upgrading process taking place in one of Nairobi's largest informal settlements which is situated on private land – and its potential to shift such trends. We offer a detailed documentation of the role of citizen participation in the different planning stages of the Mukuru SPA process. Third, reflecting on the Mukuru SPA experience, our conclusion offers wider lessons for scaling citizen participation in the context of informal settlement upgrading. In particular, we emphasise the importance of dedicating time and resources for community mobilisation and organisation to secure mass buy-in and ownership of the planning process by residents of informal settlements. We also highlight the importance of creating institutional and procedural mechanisms that integrate community participation into all stages of the planning process, allow for interdisciplinary and multi-sectoral collaboration, and integrate upgrading into city-wide strategic planning. Our study draws on qualitative data on the participatory process in Mukuru, including interviews and focus group discussions with planning stakeholders and community representatives, as well as observation notes from community meetings and planning events.

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AMT	Akiba Mashinani Trust
ANPPCAN	African Network for Prevention & Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect
APHRC	African Population Health Research
CCOCC	Coordination, Community Organisation and Communication Consortium
CDF	Constituency Development Fund
CEPT	Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology
CIDP	County Integrated Development Plan
COPE	Community Organisation of the Philippines
COT	Community Organising Training
FEDUP	Federation of the Urban Poor
GIS	Geographic Information Systems
HIC	Housing, Infrastructure and Commerce Consortium
ICChange	Innovative Canadians Change
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
ISN	Informal Settlements Network
ITDP	Institute for Transport and Development Policy
KENSUP	Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme
KISIP	Kenya Informal Settlements Improvement Project
KSh	Kenyan Shilling
KYCTV	Know Your City Television
LASDAP	Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan
LATF	Local Authorities and Transfer Fund
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NISCC	Nairobi Informal Settlements Coordination Committee
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDI	Slum/ Shack Dwellers International
SEI	Stockholm Environment Institute
SPA	Special Planning Area
SPARC	Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres
TSUPU	Transforming Settlements of the Urban Poor in Uganda
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
Urban ARK	Urban Africa Risk Knowledge
USAID United	States Agency for International Development
VFL	Views from the Frontline
WERK	Women Educational Researchers of Kenya

Note on authorship and acknowledgments

1 Introduction

An estimated 880 million of the world's population lives in informal settlements, where issues of insecure tenure, poor access to basic services and insecure livelihoods remain prevalent (UN-Habitat, 2016). The proportion of residents living in informal settlements varies between cities. In Nairobi, a city of more than four million, roughly 60% of the population live in about 200 informal settlements, which, in total, occupy 6% of the city's land (World Bank, 2019). The areas of Mukuru Kwa Njenga, Kwa Rueben and Viwandani, situated on 689 hectares of private land and home to some 300,000 residents, are some of the largest informal settlements in Nairobi and in Africa. More than 90% of Mukuru's residents are tenants who rent rooms in single- or double-storey shacks; they lack access to formal services and, instead, receive water and electricity through low-quality and often extractive informal providers (AMT et al, 2014).

Although international development agencies and governments may have the desire to improve the situation in informal settlements, most policy and planning interventions in Kenya and other parts of the world remain incapable of resolving problems in such settlements at scale. This is the case for both strategic planning processes that often fail to consider the views of low-income residents (Miraftab, 2003; Watson, 2009) and for participatory development initiatives that often rely on selective citizen involvement and are restricted to the neighbourhood level, thereby denying low-income residents the right to participate in decision-making processes taking place at higher levels (Mohan & Stokke, 2000; Rigon, 2014; Schramm, 2017). In addition, upgrading processes have mainly focused on informal settlements situated on public land and fail to address challenges in the growing number of informal settlements situated on private land (Huchzermeyer & Karam, 2006). In Nairobi, for example, it is estimated that nearly half of the city's informal settlements – including those in Mukuru – are situated on private land (AMT et al, 2014).

At the same time, international agreements such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the New Urban Agenda are calling for multidisciplinary approaches, inter-sector collaboration and the establishment of state–civil society partnerships in order to end urban poverty and promote more inclusive and sustainable cities which 'leave no one behind' (UN, 2015; UN-Habitat, 2016). The commitment to 'leave no one behind' highlights the importance and strengthens the significance of citizen involvement in urban planning processes, both in informal settlements and at city scale. One pathway for meeting the commitments of the SDGs and the New Urban Agenda is to scale participatory planning, defined as expanding participatory planning horizontally into other policy sectors and/or places (eg from one to another informal settlement or the entire city) and vertically into higher institutional levels (Gulyani & Bassett, 2007; Horn et al, 2018). According to Horn et al (2018,

p 10), successful scaling processes should also "promote collective priorities and political voice, community self-organisation in the production of goods and services, and peer support and solidarity". In addition, they should "enhance the levels of inclusion and empowerment of low-income residents and thereby improve democratic control over urban policy and planning decisions".

Efforts that integrate the abovementioned commitments towards inclusive urban development at scale are currently underway in the informal settlements of Mukuru Kwa Njenga, Kwa Rueben and Viwandani in Nairobi. Responding to grassroots advocacy campaigns and pressure from civil society organisations,[1] Nairobi City County Government declared these informal settlements a Special Planning Area (SPA) in August 2017. The SPA announced the County's intention to initiate a two-year participatory process to prepare an integrated development plan for Mukuru Kwa Njenga, Kwa Rueben and Viwandani that would later be incorporated into the city's own 20-year vision instrument, the City Integrated Development Plan. As such, the SPA departed from an approach in which informal settlement upgrading was a matter only for residents inhabiting these places. Instead, the SPA recognised informal settlement upgrading as a challenge for the whole city (Sverdlik et al, 2020). The following may be considered ground-breaking aspects of the SPA:

(1) By focusing on an area of 689 hectares and around 300,000 residents, the SPA has the ambition to achieve informal settlement upgrading at scale.
(2) The SPA's focus on informal settlement upgrading on privately owned land is unique in a context where most upgrading attempts focus on less risky public lands.
(3) The SPA is guided by the principle to 'leave no one behind' and committed to integrating community participation and the involvement of Mukuru residents in all stages of the planning process.
(4) The SPA relies on interdisciplinary consortia tasked with planning for multi-sectoral interventions addressing challenges holistically in Mukuru.
(5) The SPA seeks to generate partnerships between government, civil society, the private sector and local communities throughout the entire planning process.

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[1] Civil society organisations can be defined as "all non-market and nonstate organizations outside of the family in which people organize themselves to pursue shared interests in the public domain" (UNDP, 2013, p 123). Examples include community-based organisations (CBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and independent research institutes.

Considering these arrangements, the SPA has the potential to create the required institutional and procedural arrangements for achieving inclusive slum upgrading in Mukuru. But it also offers a concrete example of what scaling participatory planning can look like in practice.

This working paper focuses on the participatory elements of the SPA. It discusses how participation was incorporated into SPA-related activities between August 2017 and January 2020. It introduces the underlying thinking and associated tools and methods that helped to mobilise and organise residents of this large informal settlement to engage in SPA community planning forums and consultations. Particular emphasis is placed on a discussion of opportunities and challenges that emerged in a participatory planning process that sought to engage a large group of diverse stakeholders who operate within and outside Mukuru, and who have distinct backgrounds in terms of gender, age, socioeconomic status, institutional affiliation, or political capital. Although plans are still being finalised and some participatory activities are still underway, the findings presented in this paper are likely to provide useful insights for academics, policy makers, practitioners and activists interested in promoting inclusive urban development and participatory informal settlement upgrading at city scale.

The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. By way of contextual background, section two provides an overview of previous experiences towards public participation in Kenya, with particular emphasis on interventions in informal settlements. It highlights how previous efforts at informal settlement upgrading have often failed to adequately consider the views of low-income communities as they have restricted participation to selected stakeholders such as local chiefs or ward administrators. The section also discusses recent constitutional and legislative reforms which provide the politico-legal background for the SPA. In section three we provide a history of the making of the Mukuru SPA. We show that the declaration of the SPA is the unique result of a combination of grassroots activism, research initiatives, advocacy campaigns, and strategic alliance-building between grassroots organisations, civil society groups, local and national government bodies, universities and international development organisations.

Section four provides an overview of the SPA planning process and outlines the role of participation and community engagement. Here, we also discuss how a variety of factors led to changes and delays in the SPA planning process. In doing so, we want to highlight the importance of incorporating flexibility into the design of large-scale participatory planning processes. Sections five and six provide a detailed documentation of the different stages of participation in the SPA. Section five focuses on community mobilisation, a process that we consider a key determinant of the quality of resident engagement in subsequent planning activities. We start by introducing the rationale of the community mobilisation approach and

associated methods to strengthen the geographic and economic organisation of Mukuru residents. We then outline how community mobilisation occurred in practice, reflect on some challenges, such as resistance towards the SPA and how this was resolved, and discuss some of the positive effects, such as the empowerment of women and youth that occurred as part of this process. We also examine how community mobilisation activities helped to introduce residents to the SPA, encouraged them to take ownership of the process, and prepared them to engage in subsequent planning activities. Section six focuses on local resident's involvement in community planning forums and consultations around sector plans and integrated development plans. We also reflect on additional activities that took place between formal rounds of participation and reveal how this helped maintain momentum at times when the SPA process was delayed.

In section seven, we conclude the paper by identifying key lessons around participatory planning at scale that emerge from the Mukuru SPA experience, and which may be of use to academics, policy makers and activists interested in promoting similar initiatives in other urban settings.

2 State-led efforts towards public participation in Kenya

Historically, formal mechanisms for participation in Kenya are weak, amorphous and not clearly provided for in legislation. This is, for example, evident in processes of strategic planning outlined in the 1996 Physical Planning Act (Republic of Kenya, 1996). According to this legislation, different stages of spatial planning – ranging from plan formulation to implementation – should be defined and implemented by liaison committees comprised of technical experts from different government bodies. Other than a call for disseminating contents related to plan implementation within public media outlets and the offices of local chiefs, the Physical Planning Act did not introduce participatory mechanisms (Okello et al, 2008).

More emphasis on participation was evident in early attempts towards decentralisation and devolution introduced by the 1998 Local Authorities and Transfer Fund (LATF), an intergovernmental financial transfer system that provided resources to local authorities to improve local basic service delivery (Republic of Kenya, 1998). As part of LATF, roughly 5% of national tax revenues were redistributed to local authorities (Rose & Omolo, 2013). To qualify for funding, local authorities had to prepare action plans that included spending priorities and a proposed budget. In this process, local authorities were expected to engage affected citizens in collaboratively identifying local development needs. For this reason, local authorities have included consultation methods such as public meetings (*barazas*) in local planning processes. In practice, however, there remained a gap between rhetoric on

participation and actual political realities. Evidence from Mavoko municipality, for example, suggests that attendance at public meetings was relatively low, as local authorities did not seriously reach out to local communities through local public media and civil society channels (Kinyanjui, 2009). Instead, elected leaders dominated the diagnosis and problem identification stages leading up to the formulation of action plans. While partially consulted during plan formulation, citizens were often excluded from subsequent plan implementation, monitoring and evaluation. In addition, transparency on decision making and use of local funds remained low, and local authorities rarely complied with LATF implementation guidelines, leading to a situation of poor service delivery and to many projects being stalled (see also Finch & Omolo, 2015; UN-Habitat, 2004).

Participatory mechanisms were also integrated into state-funded community development projects that mainly centred on poverty reduction, namely the 2001 Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plans (LASDAPs) and the 2003 Constituencies Development Funds (CDFs). LASDAPs are three-year rolling funds whose primary focus is on poverty reduction through health, education and infrastructure interventions. They require local authorities to engage with local communities in planning, budgeting and project implementation matters (Ministry of Local Government, 2005). Mechanisms for community participation include: (1) annual consultative ward meetings to identify priority projects that target poverty alleviation; (2) consensus meetings that involve technical experts, local authorities and civil society representatives in establishing budgets for project implementation; and (3) project committees comprised of community members responsible for monitoring project implementation (Rose & Omolo, 2013). Despite clear efforts to include participatory mechanisms in all stages of the LASDAP planning cycle, discrepancies between rhetoric and practice remain prevalent. In practice, community consultations are restricted to the stage of plan formulation and this process tends to be dominated by local authorities who mainly present their own political interests and not necessarily those of affected target groups. In subsequent planning stages, local councillors tend to use funds at their own will, with low-income and marginalised population groups lacking voice and influence in shaping spending and project implementation decisions (Muriu, 2012; Omolo, 2011). For example, writing on Nairobi, Hendricks (2010, p 70) argued that many residents had lost confidence in and turned away from LASDAP, as it was mainly driven by donors and politicians who identified and prioritised projects but failed to deliver them "partly due to repayment of outstanding financial debts and … in some cases also related to corruption".

Like LASDAP, the 2003 CDF Act promotes local development projects focusing on poverty reduction (Republic of Kenya, 2003). Kenya's government set aside 2.5% of revenues collected in a financial year for disbursement under the CDF programme. 75% of the fund was

allocated equally to all the 210 constituencies in Kenya and the allocation of the remaining 25% was allocated to those local constituencies with the highest poverty levels (Mwagwabi, 2008). The CDF Act emphasises that community participation should occur through the establishment of committees comprised of local residents. Local committees should be involved in project and contractor selection, financial management, project execution and oversight. In practice, however, CDF implementation rarely led to inclusive participatory processes. It is mainly local councillors and members of parliament who select committee members; this largely involves local chiefs and leaders. This demonstrates how participatory processes are often non-transparent, allowing local authorities to cover up procurement malpractices (Rose & Omolo, 2013) and to promote elite capture, thereby excluding the poorest, most vulnerable and most marginalised members of communities, such as young mothers, the elderly, youth, and people with disabilities (Rigon, 2014).

Similar tendencies are being reported for state-led interventions targeting informal settlements in Kenya. These include KENSUP, a long-term initiative of Kenya's government and UN-Habitat spanning the period 2005 to 2020, with the aim of introducing housing, shelter and public infrastructure improvements in informal settlements (UN-Habitat, 2008), and KISIP, a five-year project from 2011 to 2016 on tenure security and infrastructure strengthening by Kenya's Ministry of Housing and Ministry of Lands, with support from local authorities and donor organisations (World Bank, 2017). Both programmes were designed with community participation as a key element. KENSUP, for example, envisages the establishment of community-led housing cooperatives that are to mobilise local communities and involve them in project-related decision-making processes. Nevertheless, a recent assessment of KENSUP's efforts in Kibera has pointed towards a lack of engagement of local communities in the project (Schramm, 2017). Similarly, KISIP, which claimed to utilise civil society organisations to mobilise local communities, remained top-down in nature, with the Ministry of Housing implementing most projects without community consultation (World Bank, 2017). A consequence of KENSUP and KISUP, then, is a lack of transparency in the allocation of housing and services, and limited community buy-in (Lines & Makau, 2018). According to Nairobi City County official Jane Wamuguru, participation in the planning and design stage of KENSUP and KISIP was also limited in nature:

> KENSUP and KISIP was rolled out in different slums in Nairobi but the participatory component was not comprehensive at any stage of the process as it mainly involved local leaders like the chief, sub-county commissioners and people from the Ministry of Housing. It hardly involved local residents and never made its way down to the level of the household. (Interview, 21 January 2020)

In recent years, Kenya's government has increased its efforts to incorporate participation as a core principle for good local governance. The ratification of the country's new constitution in 2010 marked this shift (Republic of Kenya, 2010). As highlighted in Article 7 of the constitution, transparency, accountability, democracy and participation form central guiding principles of the new constitution and Article 10 emphasises that the participation of all people and inclusiveness form national values underpinning principles of governance. Participation, as defined in Article 174, refers to citizens' rights to self-governance, to be involved in the exercise of power by the state, and in decision-making processes affecting them. Kenya's constitution considers public participation a core principle underpinning processes of policy formulation and implementation, public finance and civic oversight. Public participation is given primacy in several articles of the constitution, including in policy sectors relevant for local governance and urban planning. Article 61 of the constitution gives the public, individually or as a group, a say in matters of land, including acquisition, management, transfer, disposal, or ownership of private, public and/or community land. Article 184 notes that national legislation must provide for the governance and management of urban areas and cities, and should, in particular, incorporate mechanisms of citizen participation in urban governance.

Following the ratification of the new constitution, Kenya's government translated constitutional principles around participation into new laws and public policies. While outlining certain responsibilities for different institutions, as well as distinct planning processes, this legislation does not offer concrete instructions on how participation can operate effectively on the ground and, instead, leaves implementing institutions with room for manoeuvre and precedent-setting. Relevant legislation includes, among others:

- The 2011 Urban Area and Cities Act that translates Article 184 of the constitution into legislation (Parliament of Kenya, 2011).

- The 2012 Land Act that recognises participation as a guiding standard for the work of the National Land Commission, emphasising that state officials ought to be guided by values and principles of participation, accountability and democratic decision making (Republic of Kenya, 2012a).

- The 2012 Public Finance Management Act that requires the Parliamentary Budget Office to respect principles of public engagement enshrined in the constitution, empowering cabinet secretaries as safeguards of participation in budget drafting processes. Guidelines on participation in budgeting are expected to incorporate procedures that consider the special needs of people with disabilities, women and

disadvantaged groups and communities (National Treasury of the Republic of Kenya 2012).

- The 2012 County Government Act that outlines new guidelines for decentralisation and devolution, leading to the establishment of 47 county governments after the 2013 elections. All county governments are obligated to plan for their counties, and no public funds shall be appropriated outside of plans prepared by County Executive Committees and approved by the County Assemblies. Section 114 of this legislation makes public participation compulsory in county planning processes. County plans are required to guide, harmonise and facilitate development and shall be the basis for all budgeting and spending. The relevant plans that city county governments are required to prepare under the County Government Act are: (1) five-year County Integrated Development Plans; (2) ten-year County Sectoral Plans as a component of the County Integrated Development Plans; (3) ten-year County Spatial Plans as another component of the County Integrated Development Plans; and (4) Local Physical Development Plans. The County Government Act also offers public participation principles for County governments, including the need to, first, provide timely access to data, documents, and other information related to local policy and planning interventions; second, protect and promote the interests and rights of minorities, marginalised groups and communities; and, third, promote shared responsibility and partnerships between county governments and civil society (Republic of Kenya, 2012b).
- The 2013 National Slum Upgrading and Prevention Policy highlights the need to strategically integrate urban poor populations living in informal settlements within the political, social and economic framework outlined in Kenya's constitution.

Nairobi City County is one of the 47 county governments established as part of the abovementioned reforms and holds responsibility for providing a variety of services to local residents, comprising among others the provision of housing and basic services, public health, primary education, environmental management, spatial planning and public works. In response to the statutory requirements, Nairobi City County has developed a Nairobi City County Strategic Plan, 2015–25. This plan aims to build a common vision across traditional barriers between the government, the private sector and civil society. The County Integrated Development Plan (CIDP) was ratified in 2018. It is a five-year plan supporting the medium-term objectives of the strategic plan. In addition, the 2015 Nairobi City County Public Participation Act provides the framework for public engagement, participation and civic

oversight at the local level. Article 2(e) of this act defines public participation as "the involvement of individuals and groups that are positively or negatively affected by, or that are interested in, a proposed project, program, plan, legislation or policy that is subject to a decision-making process in an open, accountable and inclusive process through which individual citizens, community and interest groups, and other stakeholders can exchange views and make or influence the decisions that affect their lives" (Nairobi City County, 2015). As such, this act legislates for citizens to hold the county government accountable, to demand for feedback on the progress of policy interventions, and to contribute to decision-making processes around service provision and budgeting. In addition, Nairobi City County (2016) has ratified the Community and Neighbourhood Associations Engagement Act that recognises citizen participation in processes of service delivery. In particular, this Act calls for the establishment of neighbourhood associations whose role is to oversee and enhance service provision in sectors such as security, water and sanitation, and waste management. However, no clear guidelines are provided on how neighbourhood associations should be established.

In short, then, since the 2010 constitutional reforms, participation has been integrated as a central principle for urban governance and planning in national and local legislation in Kenya. Nevertheless, new legislation remains ambiguous in nature and lacks clear operational guidelines that would facilitate implementation on the ground. Such a situation, however, provides opportunities for local governments, civil society organisations and other stakeholder groups for precedent-setting and giving practical meaning to new constitutional principles around participation within particular local planning processes. In Nairobi, the design of an inclusive participatory process is being attempted in the informal settlement of Mukuru, which was declared a Special Planning Area (SPA) by Nairobi City County on 11 August 2017. The power to declare an SPA is anchored in Kenya's constitution and the provisions of Section 23 of the revised 2012 version of its Physical Planning Act. Under the Act, county governments are permitted to designate an area as an SPA if it is distinguished by unique development problems while also raising significant urban design and environmental challenges, as is the case in many informal settlements in Nairobi and other parts of the country. Such a designation is important because it concedes that the conventional planning tool kit is insufficient to address realities that exist in informal settlements. As will be outlined in subsequent sections, the designation of Mukuru as an SPA also represents an opportunity to develop, refine and demonstrate, at city scale, what the notion of communities-at-the-centre-of-planning actually looks like and what it might produce in terms of equitable cities. After offering some background on the making of the Mukuru SPA in the next section, the following sections will outline the Mukuru SPA process and discuss how it incorporates new constitutional and legislative provisions around participation.

3 The making of the Mukuru SPA[2]

The SPA Mukuru covers the three informal settlements of Mukuru Kwa Njenga, Mukuru Kwa Rueben and Viwandani. These three settlements are situated in Embakasi South and Makadara sub-counties in Nairobi. The SPA also traverses four different county wards, namely Imara Daima, Kwa Njenga, Kwa Rueben and Viwandani. The area covered by the above settlements is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The Mukuru SPA
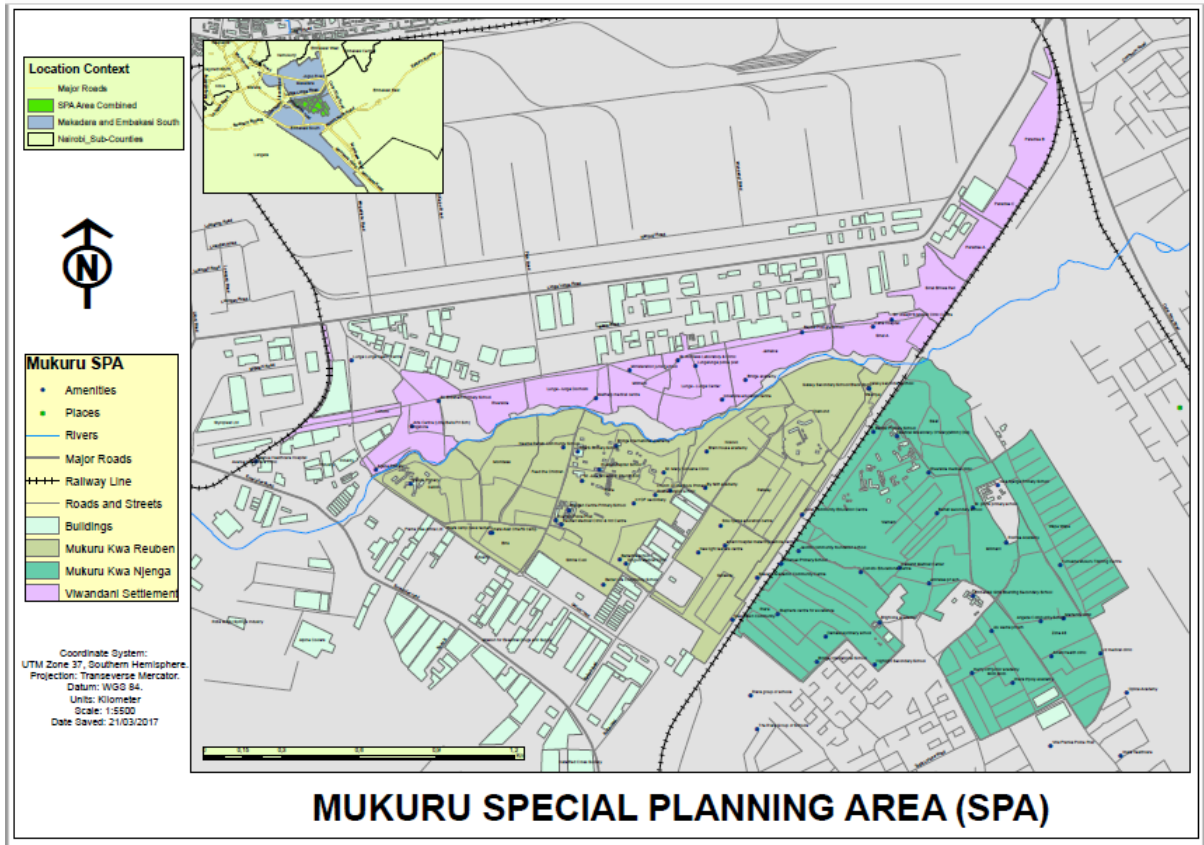
Source: SDI Kenya (2017a).

To understand the making of the Mukuru SPA it is important to reflect on the history of this informal settlement. In the 1980s and early 1990s, Kenya's national government issued 99-year leaseholds for land parcels in the Mukuru area to private investors with a set of specific conditions. Grantees were required to develop this land for economic purposes by establishing light industries within a period of two years. To achieve this, grantees were requested to prepare development plans within a period of six months after signing the leasehold. While some grantees partially complied with the leasehold conditions and constructed factories and

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2 The information presented in this section was obtained through semi-structured interviews with professional staff at Muungano wa Wanavijiji. A shorter summary of the history of the Mukuru SPA is also available here: https://www.muungano.net/about-the-mukuru-spa.

industrial complexes in Mukuru, others kept hold of the land, sometimes using it as collateral to obtain loans for developments that took place outside Mukuru or followed purposes distinct from those outlined in the initial leasehold. Grantees, hence, obtained credits with bad collateral or, in other words, with assets that could not be seized easily by lenders to pay off loans. In addition, industrial workers and rural-to-urban migrants started occupying idle land in Mukuru. In this context, some grantees sold land to second, third and fourth parties who, in turn, constructed basic housing which was rented to these people. It was in this period that Mukuru started to rapidly expand and densify (see Figure 2), turning into an informal settlement situated on privately owned and illegally subdivided land which is surrounded by industrial complexes and factories.

Figure 2: Densification in Mukuru (2002–16)

Source: SDI Kenya (2017b).

The history of one of the key SPA partners, the NGO Muungano wa Wanavijiji (from now on 'Muungano' or 'federation') is strongly intertwined with the informal settlement of Mukuru.[3] In the 1990s, Joseph Kimani (co-author of this paper and currently staff at SDI Kenya, an NGO providing professional and technical support to the federation) and Jane Weru (director of Akiba Mashinani Trust (AMT), Muungano's financial vehicle), worked as local activists in an

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3 For a detailed overview of Muungano's history and work, see Lines and Makau (2018).

area in Mukuru called Kingston to assist in anti-eviction campaigns. In this period, Kingston was demolished various times and each time local residents rebuilt it and retained possession. At the same time, drawing on community organisation training received from the African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN), Weru and Kimani combined human-rights litigation with arts-based methods to display the complex legal problems that characterised the land situation in Mukuru. Based on this experience, individuals from Kingston later joined the Nairobi Informal Settlements Coordination Committee (NISCC) and formed part of a wider citywide Land Caucus, which also comprised Muungano. The Land Caucus adapted a methodology based on active non-violence, human rights litigation, and savings-groups formation to assist people in resisting evictions and in making their own investments within informal settlements characterised by legal uncertainty.

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, Muungano shifted its work away from Mukuru, which did not experience significant external threat, and mainly supported anti-eviction struggles and upgrading processes in other informal settlements situated on public land elsewhere in Nairobi. Muungano and its support organisations became active again from 2009, when community representatives from Kwa Njenga wanted to buy 23 acres of land inhabited by 2000 families. This land was purchased through AMT loans and, until the present day, AMT holds the title deed to protect rights to land and shelter for these families. After 2010, threats of evictions emerged in various villages in Mukuru Kwa Rueben, Kwa Njenga and Viwandani, including among others Gateway village in Kwa Rueben, Riara-Sepu in Mukuru Kwa Njenga and Woodcraft-Paradise in Viwandani. This cycle of resistance started in Mukuru Kwa Rueben, where local residents protested against the planned auction by Kenya's cooperative bank of land on which the Maendeleo Learning Centre and housing for some 700 households were situated. Residents of Mukuru also approached AMT to borrow money for the purchase of plots within the area. Confronted by multiple groups expressing similar requests, AMT investigated the issue and identified that landowners in Mukuru were putting residents under pressure to purchase the plots of land which they inhabited or, otherwise, face eviction.

In this context, representatives from the Mukuru community, with support from Muungano set up a political campaign to raise awareness of evictions and unjust land transactions. This resistance process was called the 'Jubilee Campaign', making a symbolic connection to the biblical year of the jubilee that refers to the 49th year before the end of a 50-year struggle, as well as to the Jubilee Debt Campaign that called for an end to unjust debt payments by low-income countries.[4] The Jubilee Campaign in Nairobi included protests, arts

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[4] See also https://jubileedebt.org.uk/.

and theatre performances as well as a successful high court order, launched with support from the Katiba Institute NGO, which sued titleholders for illegal land management practices and called for the injunction of evictions.

Despite success in the high court, Muungano's experience in other informal settlements suggested that the prevention of evictions does not *per se* lead to the resolution of land conflicts between local residents and landowners. Muungano therefore continued to explore other avenues that could provide local residents with tenure security and improved living standards. A combination of advocacy campaigns, research initiatives and lobbying timed around forthcoming general elections in 2017 led to changes in government attitudes and encouraged representatives from Nairobi City County to declare Mukuru an SPA. Core processes that led to this process include, among others, a sanitation campaign by Muungano between 2013 and 2014. Sanitation in Mukuru is limited to poorly maintained latrines or public toilets, which create health risks and dignity challenges, particularly for women and girls (Sommer et al, 2013). This campaign made a connection to Kenya's 1986 Public Health Act, which states that governments can declare a state of emergency and intervene in any public or private space if a public health risk is evident. With this option in mind and drawing on the community mobilisation as part of the Jubilee campaign, Muungano organised a petition signed by 15,000 women in Mukuru, requesting that the state intervene to improve public health and sanitation conditions within the informal settlement. This triggered a set of meetings with Nairobi City County authorities and with the Ministry of Health to come up with a public enquiry for Mukuru.

In addition, Muungano, in collaboration with the University of Nairobi, Strathmore University, the Katiba Institute and the University of California, Berkeley, engaged in an interdisciplinary research project – commissioned by Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC) – from 2013 to 2017 on the spatial, socioeconomic and political situation in Mukuru. This research and associated profiling and enumeration results (AMT et al, 2014; University of California, Berkeley et al, 2017; see also section 4) demonstrates the commercialised web of informal power and governance in Mukuru, especially related to land, housing and service provision. Findings from the research reveal that Mukuru consists of 689 hectares of land with different uses, out of which residential (41.34%) occupies the greatest percentage. The area is home to 100,561 households (with a density of about 240 households per acre). Nearly all of the land and residential structures in Mukuru are privately owned and 94% of Mukuru residents are tenants. Situated in the city's industrial zone, Mukuru is adjacent to over 1,000 industrial facilities and has elevated levels of air, water and soil pollution. Pollution, risks of flooding and poor sanitation infrastructure expose local residents to severe health risks. The research also demonstrates that service provision is controlled by

informal service providers and that there is a large poverty penalty exacted on residents, who pay nearly four times more for water, twice as much for electricity and nearly 20% more for rent per square meter than middle- and upper-class residents living in formalised housing. By paying a higher price, however, residents in Mukuru demonstrate their ability to pay for formally provided basic services. A key conclusion of this research is thus that Mukuru is characterised by a set of complex challenges and opportunities for planning and upgrading solutions which require multi-sector engagement.

The findings from this research, particularly those around the poverty penalty described above, attracted the attention of the media. For example, an article in the local newspaper *Daily Nation* depicted Mukuru as a booming economy with an annual turnaround of more than KSh 7 billion (based on Mukuru residents' typical expenditures for rent, water, toilets and electricity to informal providers) and its residents as paying, yet overcharged, customers, demystifying public attitudes towards informal settlement dwellers.[5] The research also influenced government representatives. Partnering with the University of Nairobi in the IDRC project was key for this, as it brought a public institution and, with this, key government stakeholders – the Minister of Housing forms part of the advisory board of the university – into the research and awareness-raising process. Drawing on engagement funds from IDRC, from November 2016 onwards the research consortium organised a set of dissemination activities with Nairobi City County. According to Mary Mutinda-Kipkemoi (interview, 17 January 2020), researcher at Strathmore University responsible for the finance element of the IDRC study, findings around the poverty penalty gained most traction during meetings with Nairobi City County, as it convinced representatives from different county departments of the potential of residents to pay for services, and hence of an opportunity to roll out interventions and service-provision schemes.

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[5] See, for example, https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Nairobi-slums-dwellers-lose-billions-to-cartels/1056-3821760-q0ei9tz/index.html.

Figure 3: Gazette notice declaring the Mukuru SPA

(No. 17 of 2012)

NYAMIRA COUNTY GOVERNMENT

THE COUNTY ASSEMBLY OF NYAMIRA

LOCATION OF COUNTY ASSEMBLY BUILDING

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

Dated the 27th July, 2017.

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

GAZETTE NOTICE NO. 7654

THE PHYSICAL PLANNING ACT

(Cap. 286)

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

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

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

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

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

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

The developments referred to in this notice include—

(a) the making of any material change in the use or density of any buildings or land or the subdivision of any land which for the purpose of the Physical Planning Act is classified as Class "A" development;

(b) the erection of such buildings or works and the carrying out of such building operations as the County Executive Member may from time to time determine which for purposes of the Physical Planning Act is classified as class "B" development.

The following shall not constitute development under this notice:

(a) The carrying out of works for the maintenance or improvement or other alteration, of or addition to, any building where such alteration or addition does not exceed 10 per cent of the floor area of the building measured.

(b) The carrying out by a competent authority of any works required for the construction, maintenance or improvement of a road, if the works are carried out on land within the road reserves.

(c) The carrying out by the Nairobi City County Government or any statutory body of any works for the purpose of inspecting, repairing or removing any sewers, mains, pipes, cables or other apparatus, including breaking-open of any street for that purpose and the installation of services by the Nairobi City County Government or any statutory body.

A map of the affected area will be posted at the precincts of the county government offices at City Hall, the offices of the Ward Administrators of the respective wards and on the Nairobi City County official website.

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

Dated the 1st August, 2017.

CHRISTOPHER KHAEMBA,
County Executive Committee Member,
MR/3583320   Lands and Urban Planning.

GAZETTE NOTICE NO. 7655

THE KENYA INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS ACT

(Cap. 411A)

CORRIGENDUM

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

"NOTICE OF INTENTION TO REVOKE LICENCES"

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

Dated the 2nd August, 2017.

JOHN OMO,
for Director-General.

GAZETTE NOTICE NO. 7656

THE KENYA INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS ACT

(Cap. 411A)

APPLICATIONS FOR LICENCES

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

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

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

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

Source: Kenyan Gazette, (Date??)

Time was another crucial factor in the lead-up to the SPA. This process took place during a politically opportune period shortly before the 2017 general elections. As in any pre-election period, national and local politicians sought to gain support from residents of informal settlements such as Mukuru; the initiation of the SPA process is likely to have served politicians in expanding their vote bank. The initial suggestion to rely on an SPA framework within Mukuru was based on the longstanding local knowledge and legal expertise of AMT's director Jane Weru, as well as of representatives from Katiba Institute and Strathmore University's law department. This group lobbied Nairobi City County officials to commit to intervening in Mukuru, engaging particularly with directors of the county department of urban renewal and housing and the county department for planning, with whom Muungano had previously developed trustful relations. The focus on the SPA was strategic, as Article 23 of the 2012 Physical Planning Act only offered limited provisions on how to implement such a process (see also section 2). Once gazetted, an SPA leads to the halting of all developments in the affected area for two years and becomes a statutory obligation of the county – secured from transitions in county management resulting from national election processes (see Figure 3). At the same time, the SPA framework provides local government, civil society groups, donor bodies and private enterprises involved in Mukuru with new opportunities for precedent-setting on participatory upgrading partnerships.

In short, then, it is a combination of longstanding knowledge by key stakeholders, grassroots activism, research on the land situation, the poverty penalty and multi-dimensional deprivation, public media campaigns, and strategic political lobbying before the 2017 general elections that contributed to the gazetting of Mukuru as an SPA on 11 August 2017. The declaration of Mukuru as an SPA demonstrates a significant recognition by Nairobi City County that conventional planning processes cannot adequately address the complex challenges faced by this informal settlement. According to Makau and Weru (2018, p 23), "the treatment of the Mukuru SPA was significant, as it deviated from the country's conventional approach to slum upgrading [donor-led processes which draw in city governments through Memoranda of Understanding or bilateral agreements]" and, instead, "is a project of the Nairobi city government" with "the potential to create the critical institutional infrastructure required to achieve inclusive slum upgrading at scale in Nairobi". In addition to focusing on upgrading solutions at scale, the Mukuru SPA is ground-breaking for the Kenyan context as it: (1) calls for the establishment of novel partnerships between government, civil society, residents and other stakeholders; (2) emphasises community participation throughout all stages of the planning process; and (3) recognises that slum upgrading is a challenge for the whole city to unpack and resolve barriers to inclusive development through a multidisciplinary and multi-sectoral approach. As such, the Mukuru SPA opens opportunities to recognise the important

input from residents of Mukuru and organisations supporting them in planning and implementing upgrading solutions at scale. But it also provides an opportunity to implement and integrate new constitutional principles around public participation within local planning processes. The next section focuses on how the SPA was rolled out and assesses the role community involvement and participation played in this process.

4 Overview of the SPA planning process and the role of community participation

Upon declaration of the SPA, Nairobi City County was required to prepare an integrated development plan (IDP) for the redevelopment or upgrading of the designated area within a period of two years. The IDP was to set out pathways to improve the lives of people living and working in Mukuru and to transform and integrate this informal settlement as a functional neighbourhood within the city of Nairobi (see Figure 4). The official period for the SPA ended in August 2019. However, as a result of processual delays, which are explained in further detail below, the ratification of the final IDP was delayed. Even though Nairobi City County did not extend the SPA period, the government authorities and other stakeholders involved in Mukuru continued to comply with SPA conditions not to undertake any development within the informal settlement until the ratification of an IDP.

Figure 4 Mukuru and other major informal settlements in Nairobi
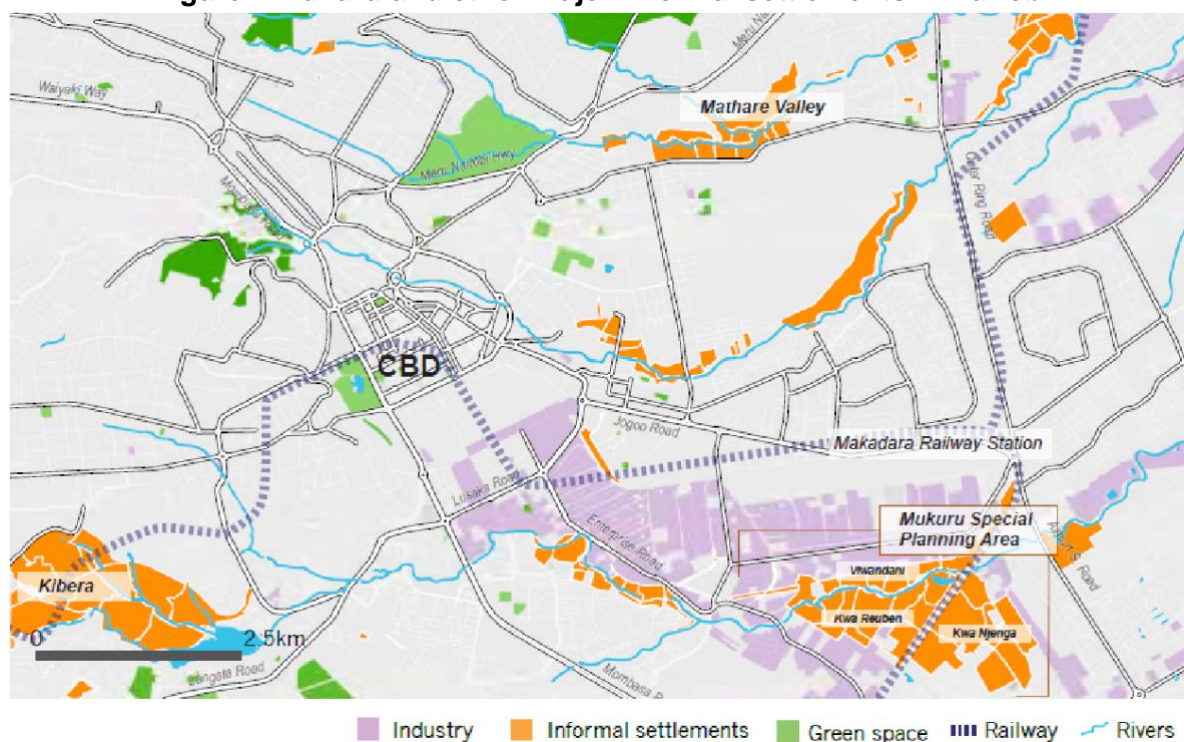
Source: SDI Kenya (2017a).

Following the initial IDRC research findings, which highlighted the multidimensionality of challenges in Mukuru, the SPA was designed as a multi-sectoral planning process drawing on seven thematic sector planning consortia that mirror departments in Nairobi City County. It focused on (1) housing, infrastructure and commerce (HIC); (2) education, youth affairs and culture; (3) health services; (4) land and institutional frameworks; (5) finance; (6) water, sanitation and energy; and (7) environment and natural resources. Each of the seven sector consortia are composed of technical experts associated with a total of 46 organisations representing local government, academia, and international and local NGOs. Each consortium is led by staff from the Nairobi City County government who manage the respective consortium work plans and outputs. Table 1 provides a summary of the composition of the consortia. Core tasks for consortia are to prepare appropriate sector briefs and sector plans. The latter are subsequently merged into an IDP that includes sectoral policy and planning proposals, a spatial plan for Mukuru and recommendations for finance and implementation.

Table 1: Composition of SPA consortia

Consortia	Member organisations	Nairobi City County
Housing, infrastructure and commerce	SPARC India UC Berkeley Institute of Urban & Regional Planning SDI Kenya Akiba Mashinani Trust Institute for Transport and Development Policy (ITDP) University of Nairobi (Planning) Center for Urban Research and Innovation	County Department of Housing County Department of Planning
Education, youth affairs and culture	Akiba Mashinani Trust Women Educational Researchers of Kenya (WERK) Concern Worldwide Daraja Civic Initiatives Forum Elimu Yetu Coalition	County Department of Education, Youth Affairs and Culture County Department of Social Services
Health services	African Population Health Research Center (APHRC) Innovative Canadians for Change (ICChange)	County Department of Health Services

Consortia	Member organisations	Nairobi City County
	Kenya Medical Association Kenya Red Cross Akiba Mashinani Trust UC Berkeley Center for Global Health	
Water, sanitation and energy	Caritas Switzerland Umande Trust Akiba Mashinani Trust/ SDI Kenya Oxfam Sanergy Nairobi Water and Sewerage Company Water and Sanitation for the Urban Poor/ USAID Strathmore Energy Research Center SDI Global	County Department for Water
Environment and natural resources	Muungano wa Wanavijiji United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Stockholm Environment Institute (SEI)	County Department of Environment and Natural Resources
Coordination, community organisation and communication	SDI Kenya Muungano wa Wanavijiji Akiba Mashinani Trust Franciscan International	County Department of Housing County Department of Urban Renewal
Finance	Strathmore University Akiba Mashinani Trust Bankable Frontiers Associates Institute for Economic Affairs	County Department for Finance and Economic Planning
Land and institutional frameworks	Katiba Institute Akiba Mashinani Trust University of Nairobi Strathmore University	County Legal Department

The participation and involvement of the residents of Mukuru in all stages of the planning process represents a core component of the SPA. The Mukuru SPA is guided by five

interrelated criteria developed by the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2'S),[6] which aim to raise the quality of community engagement and public participation:

(1) inform – provide balanced, objective, accurate and consistent information to help stakeholders understand problems, alternatives, opportunities and/ or solutions;

(2) consult – obtain feedback from stakeholders on analysis and/or outcomes;

(3) involve – work directly with stakeholders throughout the process to ensure their concerns and needs are consistently understood and considered;

(4) collaborate – partner with stakeholders to develop alternatives, make decisions and identify preferred solutions;

(5) empower – place final decision making in the hands of stakeholders to enable them to actively contribute to the achievement of outcomes.

The community engagement and participation model of the Mukuru SPA is guided by the leitmotif of 'leave no one behind'. This is in line with global commitments such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the New Urban Agenda (NUA), as well as with national development commitments outlined in Kenya's Vision 2030.[7] More importantly, the SPA offers an example of how to incorporate citizen participation within city-level planning processes. As part of the SPA process, the aim of 'leave no one behind' is to establish neighbourhood associations that foster good governance and citizen participation for the improvement of this informal settlement and the wellbeing of households who reside within it. The SPA process, hence, intends to provide a possible benchmark on how to effectively implement rights to participation outlined in the 2010 constitution, the 2011 Urban Areas and Cities Act and the 2012 County Governments Act (see section 2). The final Mukuru SPA also represents an example of how city-scale plans can be developed in a participatory manner. The IDP will be incorporated into the County Integrated Development Plan and form the basis for the redevelopment of Mukuru. The IDP will, like the County Integrated Development Plan, comprise sectoral and spatial plans as components of the local plan.

Local residents and community representatives are involved in all stages of the planning process, with emphasis placed on community mobilisation in advance of plan formulation, community planning forums during the plan formulation stage, and community consultations before the ratification of the final IDP. A dedicated 'coordination, community organisation and

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[6] See https://www.iap2.org.au/Tenant/C0000004/00000001/files/IAP2_Public_Participation_Spectrum.pdf/.

[7] See vision2030.go.ke.

communication' consortium (CCOCC), which is led by the Housing and Urban Renewal Department of Nairobi City County, with the support of AMT, Muungano Wa Wanavijiji, SDI Kenya and Franciscan International, coordinates the planning process and facilitates community organisation and participatory processes. Figure 5 summarises the final SPA planning process, highlighting different stages of community involvement.

Figure 5: Overview of the SPA process
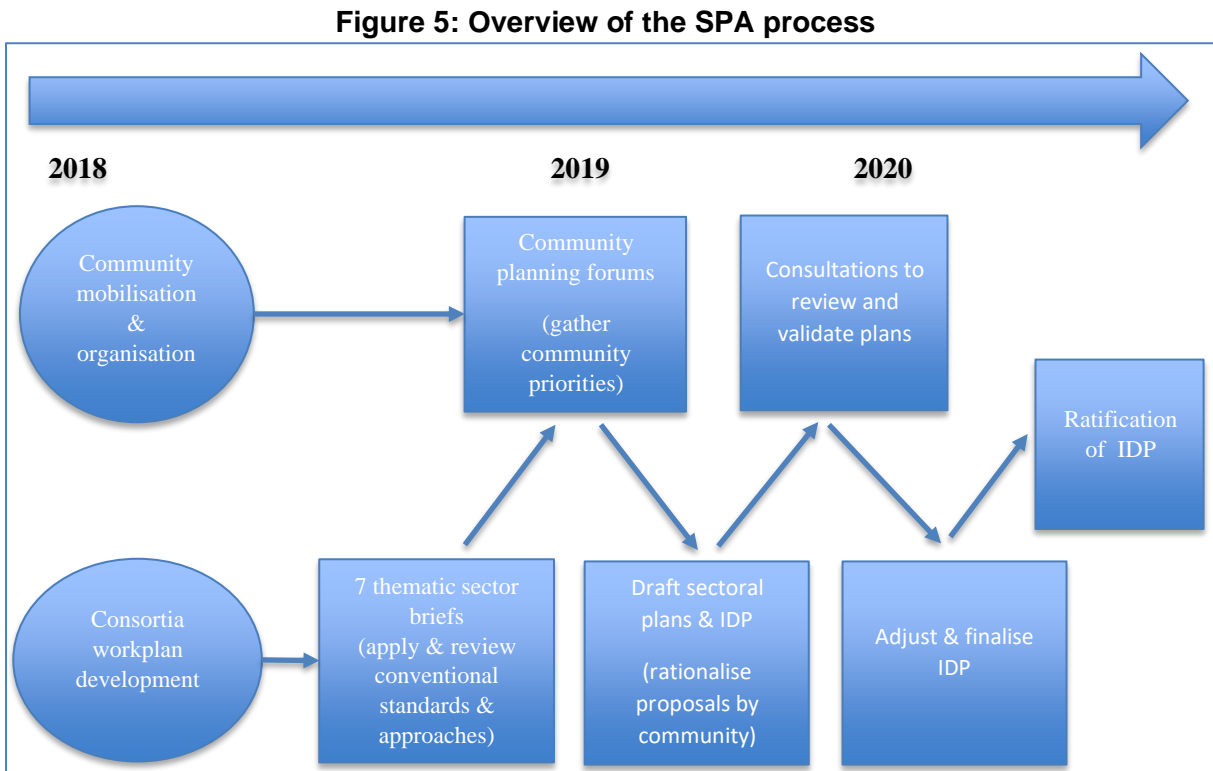
Source: Designed by the authors.

It is important to note that the different stages highlighted in Figure 5 differ from initial proposals for the planning process, which envisioned three stages of community consultations – consultations to understand community priorities, aspirations and recommendations; consultations to review sector plans; and consultations to validate the IDP. In the end, it was decided to combine the last two rounds of consultations for both pragmatic and financial reasons. First, consortia members felt that the contents of the sector plans and the IDP – essentially a summary of all sector plans – did not differ significantly and that one additional round of consultations was sufficient for this purpose. Second, given that consortia members often contributed in a pro bono capacity (they contributed staff time worth some $1.6 million over a period of two years), had other commitments, and lacked funding for the SPA process, it was sometimes challenging to move ahead with planned activities.

Frequent political shifts in Nairobi City County further contributed to a delay in the SPA process. First, shortly after the ratification of the SPA and the general elections on 8 August 2017, a new county government, led by governor Mike Sonko, was sworn into office, requiring

renewed advocacy and engagement with the newly elected governor and members of the county assembly to convince them of the benefits of the SPA. There was also significant political reshuffling in Nairobi City County between 2017 and 2019, with many senior county officers (eg heads of sector departments) being replaced, slowing down many of the county government's activities – including those related to the SPA. According to Jane Wamuguru (leading CCOCC as part of the Nairobi City County), these changes meant that new colleagues had to be briefed again about the SPA, something she described as "a tiresome and slow process which often led to delays in the process" (interview, 21 January 2020). Lower-tier bureaucrats, however, tended to remain in office and, according to SDI Kenya staff member Jane Wairutu (interview, 23 January 2020), this helped bringing senior staff up to speed about the SPA process, as well as contributed to maintaining momentum in substantive planning activities in consortia.

Figure 5 also does not capture activities taking place within the wider Mukuru community which did not form part of the official planning process but, nevertheless, helped to disseminate information about the SPA and implement initial ideas that emerged from different SPA-related activities. In other words, it is important to recognise that the participatory process characterising the SPA was not linear but iterative, characterised by setbacks, alterations and additional activities taking place outside its official framework, yet with important implications for the quality of community engagement and participation. Acknowledging these trends, the next two sections will offer a detailed documentation of the processes of community involvement and participation in the different stages of the SPA process. Emphasis is also given to introducing the different methods used and a critical analysis of opportunities and challenges emerging as part of this process.

5 Community mobilisation and organisation during the SPA

The community mobilisation approach in the Mukuru SPA builds upon Muungano's long-term expertise in working with residents of informal settlements through a range of tools and participatory processes (see Lines & Makau, 2018). For Muungano, effective community mobilisation avoids elite capture and, instead, aims to involve every resident in an informal settlement. It combines an emphasis on respecting existing geographical (eg villages) and leadership structures (eg elders or chiefs) within Mukuru with bottom-up tools to build organisational capacity for all local residents. Aiming to achieve effective community participation, which is considered successful where there are opportunities for participation at the household level, the SPA process took up and adapted the Kenya government's '*Nyumba*

Kumi' programme (Swahili for ten households).[8] *Nyumba Kumi* is a strategy of anchoring community policing at various levels, including the household level, market and neighbourhood levels. In the Mukuru process sets of ten households, called cells, were grouped together across the settlement. Each cell selected a representative to receive and disseminate information on the planning process. Thereafter, every ten continuous cells, making up 100 households, formed a *Baraza Ndogo* (neighbourhood forum), which was the base unit for planning discussions. The *Baraza Ndogo* holds regular meetings to discuss issues affecting them and reflect on information concerning the wider settlement. Additionally, the *Baraza Ndogo* is intended as a building block for neighbourhood associations (as set out in the Nairobi City County Neighbourhood Association Act of 2016), for the 13 segments that the SPA creates in Mukuru. This model of community organisation, which targets every household, was called *Tujuane Tujengane*, (Swahili for 'Let's know each other, so we build each other').

Tujuane Tujengane in Mukuru is complemented by the formation of savings groups, with each group bringing together some 25–40 residents, often women, who accumulate economic resources that allow them to make investments and finance activities that can address issues identified in community exchanges. Savings groups thus strengthen the economic capacity of residents and contribute to the fostering of women's leadership. Unlike the organisational model of *Tujuane Tujengane*, however, savings groups often cannot include everyone, as not everyone in Kenya can commit to daily savings and repay loans (d'Cruz et al, 2014; Lines et al, 2020).

As part of the Mukuru SPA, CCOCC decided to rely on an approach which combines *Tujuane Tujengane* with the formation of savings groups. *Tujuane Tujengane*, with its focus on mobilising and organising all residents, was prioritised, as it follows the SPA leitmotif of 'leave no one behind'. In addition, the formation of savings groups occurs in parallel, with the aim of further strengthening the economic capacity of local residents and of generating additional platforms for discussion and feedback around the SPA process. The following sections will, first, provide some background on the concept development that led to the design of this community organisation and mobilisation strategy and, second, discuss how these interrelated approaches were introduced in Mukuru, focusing particularly on opportunities and challenges that emerged as part of this process.

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[8] In Kenya, the Nyumba Kumi programme was introduced in 2015, following al-Shabaab attacks in 2013 and 2014, as well as a rise in general crime rates (Kioko, 2017). Kenya's Nyumba Kumi borrows from policies introduced in Tanzania since the early 1970s (see Boesen et al, 1977).

5.1 Concept development and evolution of the community mobilisation process

The community mobilisation approach was developed in a year-long process between 2015 and 2016. It evolved through continuous discussions (in meetings, in corridors, over coffee or lunch conversations) between activists and staff associated with Muungano, AMT, SDI Kenya, Nairobi City County and IDRC, with further support from Strathmore, Nairobi and California, Berkeley universities, as well as Katiba Institute. Thinking was also inspired by previous experiences in community organisation of Muungano, by national and county statutes, and international events such as the UN-Habitat III conference held in 2016 in Quito, Ecuador.

The need for an approach different from the typical community savings model used by Muungano stemmed from both the constitutional requirement for public participation in planning and the previously unmatched scale presented by Mukuru. At the outset of developing *Tujuane Tujengane*, Strathmore University presented a research piece on the public participation process applied by Kenya's National Land Commission (NLC), in which three consultation stages were defined as: (1) developing a common understanding of the problem or challenge and capturing community aspirations before the drafting of plans; (2) consultation on draft plans; and (3) validation of draft final plans. The development of the SDGs and preparations for the UN-Habitat III conference in Quito, further inspired the mobilisation discussion. The 'leave no one behind' concept – a core part of the SDGs (UN, 2015) – was adopted as a principle of the approach underpinning the SPA. With this in mind, a key question for Muungano was how many community savings groups would need to be established in Mukuru to comply with the principle of leaving no one behind. During discussions Muungano activists acknowledged that community savings often represented only 10% to 20% of residents in informal settlements. Yet, for the federation leadership, the idea that a different model could be applied was an uncomfortable one. There were a lot of potential pitfalls, which included disrupting the rituals, structure and leadership of the federation, and moving away from SDI's global practice of organising through community savings (d'Cruz et al, 2014).

In this context, the federation considered the experience of its counterparts in South Africa, Uganda and India. The formation of the Informal Settlements Network (ISN) ten years prior in South Africa was appraised. ISN aimed to enjoin political leadership in South Africa's slums to the Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP) which is the South African SDI federation (Bradlow et al, 2011). Muungano concluded that, while ISN did indeed meet this goal, it also created a competing federation that was sustained from the same sources as FEDUP, albeit with less accountability to slum residents. And yet the thinking of having a parallel organising approach was noted and lingered in the discussion.

In 2009, Muungano was involved in the development and roll-out of a Cities Alliance-supported project in Uganda, known as Transforming Settlements of the Urban Poor in Uganda (TSUPU). Integral to this project was the development of City Forums, where municipalities and slum dwellers jointly discussed, made decisions on and implemented slum development initiatives. To constitute the City Forums, Settlement Forums were created. These brought together community savings members and other traditional leaders and opinion shapers at the individual slum level (Makau et al, 2012). The Muungano discussion assessed that the forums were innovative and effective. The only drawback was that the forums did not involve the entirety of the slum population.

The India SDI model, of a women-led savings movement called Mahila Milan working alongside a more male-dominated National Slum Dwellers Federation, provided perhaps the clearest inspiration in the Muungano discussions. The India SDI model recognises that a savings-based approach cannot only coexist but can do so effectively with a more political approach towards community organisation and mobilisation (Patel et al, 2012). However, the federation held that this powerful Indian model was more the result of the highly gendered nature of Indian society and the outcome of a long-matured engagement than it was the result of project design. Direct adoption of this model was not seen as the solution to Mukuru's organising challenge.

In considering how to amend the Indian model, the Muungano discussions reflected on its own experiences over the years (Lines & Makau, 2018). First, much of the culture and technique of Muungano was built on the Alinksy-style[9] Community Organising Training (COT) programme introduced by Misereor and supported by Filippino organisers from COPE in the 1990s, and then perpetuated by ANPPCAN. Over the years, professional community organisers mobilised slum residents and formed Muungano's savings schemes and federated them. Over time, the federation itself had developed these organising capacities and was responsible for much of the slum organising work. It was concluded that developing a cadre of community mobilisers from Mukuru, who would then bring the rest of the community into the planning process, would form the backbone of the process. A sensitive element of this discussion was the role of the federation in Mukuru. Would the structures and rituals of the federation be rendered redundant in Mukuru? In little steps and much discussion, it became apparent that Muungano would catalyse this new organising concept without seeking to integrate Mukuru into the federation.

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[9] For an overview on Alinsky's community organising approach see: https://infed.org/mobi/saul-alinsky-community-organizing-and-rules-for-radicals/

Faced with homegrown terrorism, the Kenya government had introduced the *Nyumba Kumi* initiative (Kioko, 2017). This was a strategy of anchoring community policing in communities or neighbourhoods. In Mukuru, *Nyumba Kumi* consisted of a residents' and security-apparatus committee and office in the informal settlement which monitors security issues. While it has not trickled down to the representation of ten households, the *Nyumba Kumi* template held promise for Muungano. It was adopted as the basic approach to organising in Mukuru. Only, this time, it would serve a planning and not a security role. Muungano would guide the community mobilisers to establish cells made up of ten households across Mukuru. The reliance on *Nyumba Kumi* was also strategic, as it was difficult for local authorities to refuse existing and previously government-tested organisational modalities.

Immediately before the 2012 land tenure threats in Mukuru (see section 3), Muungano had developed a Zonal Plan in Mathare slums for the period 2008 to 2012 (Corburn, 2013). An important partner to Muungano in the Mathare process was the University of California, Berkeley. During visits to Kenya and through Skype calls, the Berkeley team pushed to adopt the organising model used for planning in Mathare. This involved developing a representative planning team that worked continuously with the professional planning structure of Nairobi City County, universities and civil society organisations. The planning team was constituted of members of Muungano community savings groups and representatives from the informal settlement, referred to as the 'oversight committee'. Building on this experience, in internal discussions within Muungano before the SPA, it was agreed that a cadre of community mobilisers representing residents from Mukuru would need to be trained in order to strengthen community organisation. It was also agreed that these community mobilisers would also form part of the planning team alongside the professional planners, with the aim of providing additional oversight.

The SPA community development approach was also informed by lessons from the development of a Resettlement Action Plan (RAP) for slums sitting on railway reserves in Kibera and Mukuru informal settlements that resettled 6,500 households and 3,500 businesses (Mitra et al, 2017). In the RAP, only residents settled within 30 meters of the railway line, on each side, where involved in the resettlement. However, these sections were part of larger villages beyond the boundaries of the reserve. For the resettlement plan, Muungano organised residents on the reserve into railway segments, whereby each segment developed its leadership and a Resettlement Grievance Committee. From this process, Muungano deduced that settlements could be reconfigured to align appropriately to a development planning process such as the Mukuru SPA. Mukuru consists of 30 organically formed villages, which vary in size, history and layout. To have a more manageable and efficient participation process, Muungano proposed to reconfigure Mukuru into segments of roughly 8,000

households each. The community mobilisers would then be recruited and work within segments (and the subsidiary structures of clusters, *Baraza Ndogos* and cells).

The idea of reconfiguring Mukuru into segments aligned with two important and current county acts: the Public Participation Act of 2015 and the Neighbourhood Associations Act of 2016. It was envisioned that the segments would in time become Neighbourhood Associations which, according to the County Acts, was the preferred and stipulated way for Nairobi City County to engage communities at the ward level, as well as in processes of overseeing and enhancing service provision in sectors such as security, water and sanitation, and waste management (see section 2). This approach also allowed the broad consortium partners to have a standardised way of working with the community, without necessarily adopting the federation's community savings process.

In designing the community mobilisation process, Muungano considered that building structures from below, starting by forming cells of ten households and subsequently *Baraza Ndogo* forums, was prudent. At the same time, Muungano considered that consolidating the cells and forums into Neighbourhood Associations at the outset would only serve to create gatekeeping structures that did not have a clear agenda. The segments would, until the implementation phase of the SPA, remain loose platforms for community consultation and participation to be complemented with savings groups.

Another contextual consideration for Muungano was the financial resource required to cover the 100,000 households in Mukuru. Community mobilisers adopted the principle that the participation of the community would not be remunerated either by Muungano, Nairobi City County or any of the partners. While the residents would be compensated for the time dedicated to SPA-related activities (for example, community mobilisers received a monthly bursary of US$35), participation would generally be voluntary. This allowed the approach to reach the huge Mukuru population. Having outlined the conceptual background and evolution of the community mobilisation approach, the subsequent sections will focus on their implementation as part of the SPA process.

5.2 Implementing the *Tujuane Tujengane* model in Mukuru

Outlining the process

To introduce *Tujuane Tujengane* to Mukuru, CCOCC followed data-collection and profiling tools of settlement profiling, enumerations and mapping, a community-led action research process utilised by Muungano Wa Wanavijiji and other members affiliated with Slum Dwellers International (SDI) to gather and compile settlement information on land use, access to services (water and sanitation, electricity, health, education, etc), livelihood opportunities, and

demand for planning and housing (Beukes, 2015; Chitekwe-Biti et al, 2012; Karanja, 2010; Makau et al, 2012; Patel et al, 2012; Weru, 2004). These data-collection and profiling tools also serve advocacy and awareness raising purposes, allowing data collectors and community mobilisers to inform residents about forthcoming planning processes. Urban poor communities have historically collected data and produced knowledge about their settlements as well as their everyday lives. This helps residents to engage in sustained advocacy and to establish partnerships with governments, and allows them to collaborate with city authorities working on land, housing, infrastructure and other urban issues. Over time, this has created a positive 'can do' attitude and ownership of data on development in low-income communities (Huchzermeyer, 2009; Satterthwaite & Mitlin, 2013). The main purpose of this exercise is to provide verifiable demographic and environmental data for the SPA and to establish a structure of community organisation for the SPA process.

To ensure inclusive stakeholder representation in the data collection and community mobilisation process, eight stakeholder forums were organised for the three zones, including three in Kwa Rueben, two in Kwa Njenga and three in Viwandani. In each forum, Muungano staff shared the Mukuru Situational Analysis (UC Berkeley et al, 2017) report that provides background to the SPA as well as existing informal settlement profiling data. For these stakeholder forums Muungano relied on existing community contacts (eg federation members, existing savings groups members, data collectors from the IDRC study) to invite key representatives (such as villages elders and leaders of local organisations representing women, youth, the elderly and religious groups). The stakeholder forums helped in gaining a better understanding of the dynamics of the settlement and to discuss the validity of the initial settlement data collected as part of the IDRC study. Stakeholders commonly agreed that data previously collected was inconsistent with current conditions and needed to be updated and verified, justifying further and more detailed data collection.

Community mobilisation and awareness-creation processes followed the stakeholder forums, informing the general community about the SPA process, the intended profiling exercise, the *Tujuane Tujengane* approach and the method of recruiting data collectors. All 30 villages in the larger Mukuru area have a leadership structure starting from the village elders, village chairpersons and youth leaders. Muungano community mobilisers and technical staff identified these leaders, as part of previous stakeholder forums and during initial site visits. Local leaders and enumerators – normally youth – from previous data collection exercises that formed part of the 2013–17 IDRC study were charged with the responsibility of awareness creation and data collector recruitment, with guidance from Muungano federation members. The mobilisation of data collectors focused on bringing on board local community members who could conduct settlement profiling and community mobilisation, starting locally within their

own cluster and moving outwards to other parts of their village. A team of about 450 data collectors was recruited, with around 70% representing women and youth. Young people and women, especially those without a permanent job, tended to be more available to undertake data collection activities at different times of the day. Community mobilisers selected data collectors based on representation – considering diversity in terms of residence (ie people from different parts of a cluster), gender, age and ethnicity – and people's long-term commitment to the process.

This team was later trained in the different aspects of the data collection exercise. Community mobilisation training was set to take place over a period of three months in all the three settlements, requiring data collectors to commit up to six hours per week. With support from SDI International and Caritas, data collectors received $35 per month for volunteering their time, as well as a training certificate at the end of the process. Training was comprised of settlement profiling activities (practical training) and training sessions to introduce different tools and reflect on practice. During the training sessions, three data team members from Muungano were assigned to lead settlement teams comprising up to 20 residents. The training also introduced the *Tujuane Tujengane* approach, which focuses on building capacity around citizen participation, devolution and social accountability, and assists trainees in geographically organising and mobilising residents into different territorial units (see previous sections). Training session content further included settlement mapping and creating physical addresses, enumerations and physical as well as socioeconomic profiling, household mobilisation, conflict mediation, facilitation skills, issue identification and prioritisation, evaluation of materials, and engagement with local and national government authorities.

As part of the settlement profiling process, a series of data validation exercises was conducted, including using historical satellite imagery (trend analysis) to trace the evolution of different settlements between the periods 2002 and 2016. Settlement boundaries as defined and known to community members were mapped using a GPS device (Garmin 64S) and plotted to Google Earth. This information enabled the determination of settlement sizes and boundaries. Land ownership information was verified by overlaying cadastral maps to informal settlement boundary maps. This process enabled the identification of the land parcels and their land registration numbers.

Structure and population mapping was targeted at providing accurate and verifiable settlement planning data with regards to land use, number of households, number of persons per household, number of tenants versus resident structure owners, the average amount of rent for each structure mapped, and all other physical features within the settlement. Satellite images for the various settlements were acquired and digitised using GIS software. Maps were

produced using a technique of overlapping sheets at a scale of 1:400. Drawing on these maps, data collectors updated spatial and population information for the different settlements in Mukuru. A numbering code was developed to help create a unique physical address for each structure in Mukuru (for further details on this method, see Karanja, 2010).

During the settlement profiling and enumeration process, data collectors started locally, on familiar terrain, and then worked outwards to get a better understanding of other parts of Mukuru. The villages of Mukuru were mapped initially according to household. Through these initial interactions, community data collectors could build trust with local residents, gather basic demographic information, and raise awareness about the SPA process. They also intended to gather mobile phone numbers of household members, the idea being to subsequently use these in order to share updates about the SPA process. This strategy, however, was not effective and stopped early in the community mobilisation process as many residents refused to provide their phone number to data collectors, fearing that this could be shared with local chiefs or external organisations that might use this information to exert pressure on local residents.

After enumerating and providing physical addresses to households, community mobilisers formed larger units for public participation, starting with *Nyumba Kumi* (cells) of eight to 12 households, generally referring to one housing block composed of around ten units, one toilet and a room for a caretaker of the building. At least one household member could represent a cell. Ten cells, and as such about 100 households, were subsequently organised into *barazas* (sub-clusters), which were encouraged to hold regular meetings to provide updates on the SPA process and to discuss opportunities and challenges around environmental, political, social and political issues. Such meetings, among other factors and processes, contributed to a shift from undertaking community mobilisation (defined here as a purposeful process whereby residents are made aware – by external stakeholders or by members of their own community – that they need to confront their own problems collectively) to achieving community organisation (defined here as the autonomous capacity of communities to act collectively and through their own devices). To trace processes of community organisation, data collectors were asked to document the amount of informal sub-cluster meetings and other activities that occurred before, in parallel to, and after community mobilisation activities.

Sub-cluster residents were also asked to select one representative who would participate in planning meetings and consultations taking place either at the level of the cluster or segment/neighbourhood association – a geographical unit that consists of around 80 sub-clusters. Interviews with community mobilisers suggested that sub-cluster representatives

would update community members about consultation activities, thereby providing horizontal accountability to fellow residents. For example, they held pre-consultation meetings to gather community priorities and follow-up meetings to provide feedback on issues discussed during consultations (see also section 4.2). Overall, as part of this community mobilisation process Mukuru was organised into 100,561 households, 10,000 cells, 1,000 sub-clusters and 13 segments (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Results of the Mukuru SPA community mobilisation process

Source: https://www.muungano.net/mukuru-spa.
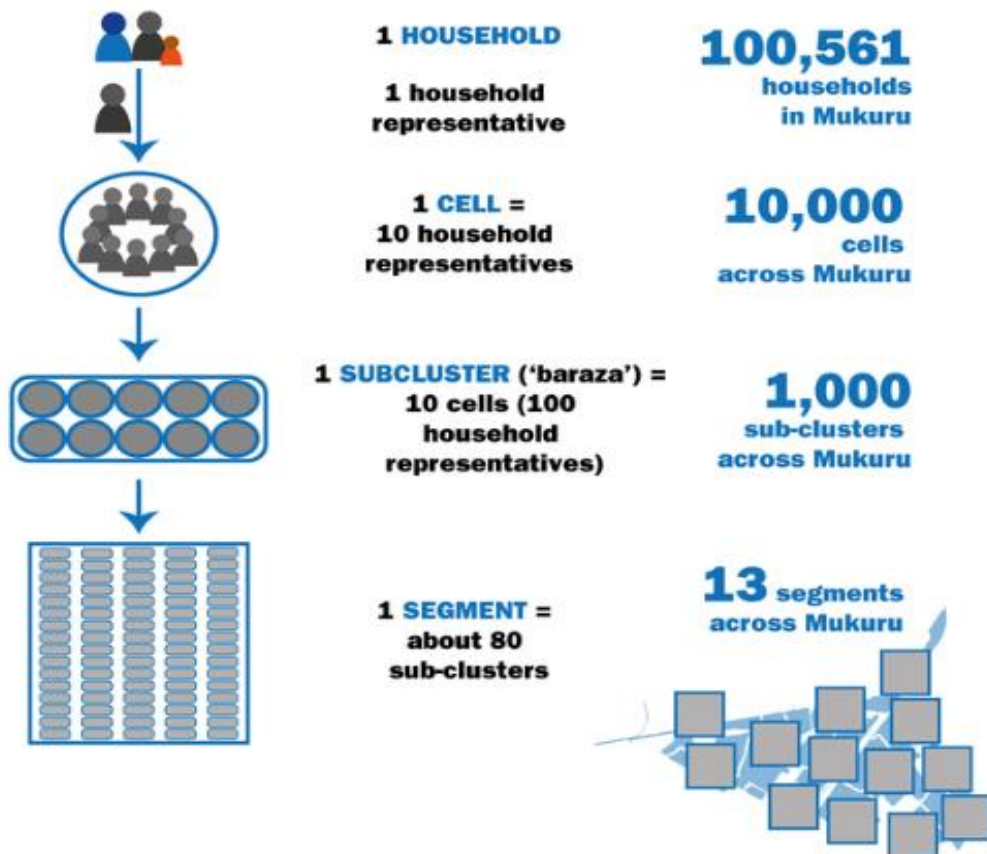
Challenges and lessons from the process

Community mobilisation based upon *Tujuane Tujengane* was by no means a smooth and straightforward process but one characterised by setbacks and ongoing learning. For example, it was sometimes difficult to identify the 'right' data collectors in a settlement of the size of Mukuru and recruitment criteria were not always considered by community mobilisers. Christine, a community mobiliser and resident in Viwandani, provided an example of how recruitment of data collectors went wrong:

Not everyone got the mobilisation right. Some people would just recruit their mums and sons so at the end you have an entire family in the meeting asking for payment and we would need to tell them to leave and recruit people from other parts as this is not diverse representation. (Interview, 22 January 2020)

Doris, another experienced community mobiliser from Mukuru Kwa Rueben, also noted how some would abuse their role to extort money from data collectors:

Some mobilisers were quite corrupt. They'd bring five data collectors to a meeting and later you find out that they ask these people to pay them KSh 100 from their monthly payment. You know, there was no clear oversight on how selection takes place and that is a problem. (Interview, 22 January 2020)

The abovementioned examples of financial and personal misappropriation by some community mobilisers were recognised by SDI professional staff, who noted that the underlying reasons for this were: (1) relatively few long-term links with community representatives and, consequently, a reliance on relatively new community mobilisers; (2) a short timeframe allocated for recruitment of data collectors within the SPA process; and (3) an absence of monitoring and oversight mechanisms to document recruitment at scale.

It is also important to note that not all data collectors finished the full training and some left the settlement profiling process for a variety of reasons, including personal priorities, political dynamics which prolonged the training, and shortages in funding to reimburse data collectors after month three. Scholastica, a community mobiliser from Mukuru Kwa Rueben, highlighted how some data collectors left the process because they took on other responsibilities: "In my segment, there is just one who dropped out and she didn't drop out because of mistakes; they are just life issues. She got a job and came and told me, 'I have found a job and I will not be within'" (interview, 6 March 2019). Mary from Wape Wape in Mukuru Kwa Njenga outlined similar trends: "Our number has greatly reduced. There are those who have gotten jobs. As you know, we are in another year. There are those who had been promised 'next year you will get a job' and so they have gotten and left [sic]" (interview, 4 March 2019). Another reason that contributed to the departure of some data collectors was that settlement profiling took longer than three months. The reasons for this, among others, were election campaigns in 2017 that interfered with the process, shifts in Nairobi City County government, as well as socio-political dynamics within some parts of Mukuru, where structure owners sought to disrupt the data collection process (see below for further details). The extension of the data collection process also led to a set of funding problems. SDI International and Caritas Switzerland funding was spent within the first three months and, subsequently, Muungano struggled to mobilise additional resources to reimburse data collectors for the extra

time they spent volunteering for the settlement profiling process. This further explains why some data collectors dropped out of the process.

Organising Mukuru residents geographically, starting from the household level and scaling up to sub-cluster and segment/neighbourhood association levels, helped in creating a resident-based form of local representation that favours primarily those people who live within the informal settlement. Such an approach particularly favoured and supported tenants, who represent 94% of the residents in Mukuru, to participate in crucial discussions and decision-making processes affecting them. It also encouraged the participation of other stakeholders living in Mukuru, including small-scale structure owners or caretakers. At the same time, such a residency-based model seeks to reduce and better control the influence of other stakeholders, like politicians, private investors and large-scale structure owners who illegally own land and manage substandard housing units within Mukuru but do not live in the informal settlement. This approach towards community mobilisation can, hence, produce some winners and losers or, as one community mobiliser from Mukuru Kwa Njenga – Joseph – put it:

> When they see me perhaps they think, "this person is coming to take from us, and this person is coming to bring others so that they come and forcefully take our plots". Some also say, "This old man is bringing us development. Let us hold his hand". So, it is two-way traffic. There are those who respect us and there are those who say, "This activity has come to an end". (Interview, 6 March 2019)

Unsurprisingly, mainly large-scale structure owners and their strongmen or, in other words, structure owners who do not reside within Mukuru resisted and disrupted the community mobilisation process as they feared that the SPA would result in their dispossession. Christine, a community mobiliser from Lunga Lunga in Mukuru Viwandani, provides an example of how such resistance practices affected the community mobilisation process:

> Things like being told I will be beheaded; I have gone through all that. Things of being told I will come to be burnt in the house; I have gone through all that. Things of being told that, "We will trap you on the way and burn you with a tyre!" All that I have gone through. Things of being told that I am selling the village. I have already gone through that. But in all, I stand firm and I know that I am going through all this because I want change to come to my area of residence and it is not everyone who likes changes to come. There are cartels who are in our midst and they refuse whenever we bring change. Therefore, even if I am told of being harmed, I continue to do good. (Interview, 12 March 2019)

Other resistance strategies included attempts to disrupt the settlement profiling and community mobilisation process, for example by spreading 'fake news' about the SPA. According to interviews with SDI Kenya staff, structure owners would often question their work and the SPA objectives, arguing that the latter would contribute to the destruction of infrastructure, houses and livelihoods in Mukuru. When confronting such situations, it is important not to ignore opposing views but to acknowledge that participatory processes involve stakeholders with conflicting views and different levels of knowledge of plan objectives and goals (see also Rigon, 2016 for a similar perspective). As a consequence, the participatory planning approach followed principles of full disclosure of planning objectives, negotiation, dialogue and non-violent agitation, with the aim of identifying compromises and solutions to disputes and conflicts.

Some examples help illustrate how this was achieved. In June 2018, during an enumeration in Kosovo village in Mukuru Viwandani, a group of village elders who represent large-scale structure owners stopped community mobilisers, took away the household information sheets they had collected, forcefully undressed one of the female community mobilisers, and threatened the rest of the group with weapons. The community mobilisers subsequently went to the police to press charges against the village elders. The police charges were later dropped after Muungano staff, in company with the local chief and community mobilisers involved at the scene, convened a conflict mediation meeting with these village elders that reduced tensions and allowed the process to continue. On another occasion, during a community meeting in Riara in Mukuru Kwa Njenga, a group of young men disrupted the meeting and accused community mobilisers from Muungano, as well as professional staff from SDI Kenya, of engaging the wrong people and excluding key stakeholders – structure owners and representatives from local cartels (a term often used to refer to informal service providers) – from participating in their meetings. Instead of finishing the meeting, community mobilisers explained that they were following a holistic and inclusive approach open to everyone. This reduced tensions as the troublemakers decided to listen and learn about what was actually happening as part of the SPA.

In such tense situations, community mobilisers and professional staff explained that the SPA would not result in the county government's construction of new housing or displacement, thereby correcting misinformation through clear communication and patient engagement. Moreover, they explained to structure owners that improving roads, water and sanitation could offer benefits, such as improving emergency access and preventing the loss of houses as a result of fires or floods. In doing so, they emphasised how SPA interventions enhance the personal wellbeing of everyone (including structure owners) but also pointed towards self-interested motives (eg associated improvements in living conditions for tenants

and the likelihood of 'customers' remaining in Mukuru). In addition, the involvement of Nairobi City County officials in meetings helped to further assuage structure owners' and local political leaders' fears and correct misinformation. Jane Wamuguru, Nairobi City County lead for CCOCC, acknowledged the key role of the county in this process:

> I could not always commit time to the SPA process but especially at the earlier stages I was very involved. The structure owners were very sceptical at the beginning, but I could resolve this by saying that the county supports this process and respects the concerns of structure owners. The role of the county was also crucial in terms of reaching out to authorities within Mukuru. You see, the county reaches all the way down to the level of the villages where local chiefs operate. By engaging directly with these people, myself and other senior staff from the county could ensure local political buy-in. (Interview, 21 January 2020)

Furthermore, considering that levels of politically motivated violence and criminal offences in low-income neighbourhoods are fairly high in Kenya (Mueller, 2011; Parks 2014) the community mobilisation process for the SPA incorporated these issues. Not many violent confrontations occurred throughout the SPA process and a key factor contributing to this trend was the implementation of a segment-by-segment approach whereby data collection and community mobilisation activities started in selected parts of Mukuru, such as in villages in Kwa Rueben and Viwandani, where there was less resistance towards the SPA process. Such an approach, which focuses on specific geographical areas and not Mukuru as a whole, served as a conflict management tool for large groups, allowing for the separation of conflict parties.

Resistance towards the SPA process and associated community mobilisation occurred particularly in Mukuru Kwa Njenga, an area controlled by structure owners and informal service providers. This area is also characterised by a more complex land history. Two examples help to illustrate this problem. First, as already highlighted in previous sections, in 2009 local residents purchased 23 acres in Mukuru Kwa Njenga through an AMT loan. After completion of this purchase, some local leaders decided to sell one acre of land to an educational charity. AMT did not recognise this land transaction as legitimate, as leaders had failed to get approval from all the 2000 families involved in the initial land purchase. In response, local leaders filed a court case against AMT and a final decision remains outstanding at the time of writing. For these reasons, affected residents, and particularly local leaders, in this part of Mukuru Kwa Njenga were initially sceptical about the SPA process and particularly towards AMT – one of the SPA partner organisations. To mediate conflict in this area, community mobilisers and data collectors avoided making reference to professional organisations such as AMT when

introducing the SPA process but, instead, highlighted it as an initiative promoted by Muungano (the 'federation' of slum dwellers living in Mukuru and other parts of Nairobi) and a conglomerate of partner institutions. After a set of inception meetings, which made use of the strategies outlined above, residents from this part of Mukuru Kwa Njenga have predominantly decided to participate in the SPA and no further resistance occurred.

In another part of Mukuru Kwa Njenga, the chemical company Orbit purchased 92.2 acres of land as part of a public auction in the 1980s. Hence, unlike leasehold transactions that took place elsewhere (see section 3), Orbit was not tied to specific conditions to develop the land. After the purchase of the land, the national government asked Orbit to sell it back to the Kenyan state. Upon Orbit's refusal, and without any legal justification, Kenya's Ministry of Lands placed a caveat on the land in 1987, stopping any development or dealings. In 1987, the company sued the national government, seeking payment for the loss in investment caused by this interference. In the same period, as in other parts of Mukuru, the land was illegally subdivided, structures built, and industrial workers and migrants increasingly settled in the area. Orbit later agreed to sell this land to structure owners. With the final court decision still pending, structure owners in this part of Mukuru Kwa Njenga claim to already have a land solution and are not interested in the SPA, a planning process they consider could jeopardise their relationship with Orbit. For this reason, and despite efforts to engage residents in this part of Mukuru, the area on Orbit land did not form part of the SPA and, according to Charity Mwangi from SDI Kenya and a member of HIC (interview, 21 January 2020), remains a 'red spot' in the future development of this informal settlement.

As shown, the settlement profiling and community mobilisation process was characterised by multiple setbacks and confrontations. A key lesson from the community mobilisation process is the importance of dealing with disagreement constructively and of breaking stereotypes and misconceptions. As illustrated in the above examples, this cannot be achieved everywhere but a mixture of rhetorical, organisational and government engagement strategies has helped to persuade structure owners in most parts of Mukuru and allowed the continuation of a planning process for upgrading that seeks to 'leave no one behind'.

5.3 Savings group formation

In addition to geographically mobilising local residents, emphasis was also placed on the formation of community savings groups. A central tool for community mobilisation by Muungano and AMT, savings groups normally bring together between 25 and 40 local residents to save collectively and meet on a regular basis. While men have the option of joining, in practice most savings groups are comprised of women. Savings prepare

communities to invest in the area in which they live and to implement short-term action plans and projects of immediate relevance. Savings might also encourage otherwise transient people, such as the majority of residents in Mukuru who are tenants, to stay in the neighbourhood. In other words, savings allow people to invest into community projects and to resolve problems which would otherwise represent a cause for them to leave the settlement.

As outlined in previous sections, Muungano and AMT have been active in Mukuru for decades and many savings groups and lending processes – such as the one linked to the purchase of 23 acres of land in Mukuru Kwa Njenga – have already been set up. As part of the community mobilisation process, Muungano sought to revitalise existing savings groups and facilitate the formation of new ones. According to Evans Otibine (interview, 24 January 2020), a professional working for AMT, "before the SPA, many of the savings groups were dead or dormant" and, thanks to a lack of geographical organisation, "it was hard for staff to move around in the field to monitor activities". By aligning savings mobilisation with *Tujuane Tujengane*, it was possible for mobilisers to reach out to different groups in distinct parts of Mukuru and to revitalise savings activities.

In terms of savings-related activities during the Mukuru SPA, Muungano and AMT technical staff started by training local residents in savings group formation and revitalisation. Training took place on a weekly basis for three hours on Tuesdays. Trainees were introduced to principles of enterprise development (eg patterns of growth and development, legal requirements, registration processes), community organising, leadership formation, group management (eg membership, eligibility criteria, etc) and lending processes. As part of their training, trainees applied skills acquired in the field through individual group visits and by attending savings group meetings. This helped in identifying strengths and weaknesses of different groups. During classes and learning exchanges, trainees shared their field experience, discussing how many new groups had been formed, how many existing groups had been strengthened, and opportunities and challenges identified in these groups.

The training has led to the identification of 332 existing savings groups in Mukuru and to the formation of 106 new groups with an average of 16 members, leading to a total number of 438 savings groups in 2019. According to a recent study by Lines et al (2020), the overall ratio of women to men in savings groups is 54:46, suggesting a stronger representation of women. The geographical distribution of these groups, however, remains uneven, with many being situated mainly in Mukuru Viwandani and Kwa Njenga, areas that comprise a larger proportion of local traders, who particularly benefit from savings as these help them to invest in their businesses. Fewer savings groups were formed in other areas, particular those

inhabited predominantly by young men who work as casual labourers, where residents are less interested in savings or where trainees dropped out or did not follow relevant instructions.

While the geographical mode of organisation meant nearly every household in Mukuru was involved, the savings-based model contributed to the implementation of livelihood projects which address residents' more immediate interests and needs. Between August 2018 and January 2020, AMT issued 46 livelihood loans – ranging from KSh 35,000 to KSh 2 million – which predominantly focus on enhancing small-scale business activities but also on infrastructure improvements. Livelihood loans can be used to finance group enterprise projects or individual projects. They are issued to savings groups and are then broken down by these groups into loans to individuals or smaller groups. For example, in Riara in Mukuru Kwa Njenga, savings groups applied for loans to purchase solar energy kits for improved lighting and phone charging facilities. Such interventions directly relate to SPA priorities; in this case, they connect to clean energy solutions promoted by the energy consortium. This suggests that the revitalisation and formation of new savings groups helps lay the groundwork for the early-stage implementation of elements of the SPA and for community-led interventions that improve livelihoods in Mukuru.

5.4 Effects of the community mobilisation process for local residents

The community mobilisation process outlined above generated a new group of local change-makers and contributed to the empowerment of local residents, particularly youth and women, who were involved in data collection, training and community exchange activities. Horizontal learning exchanges between community mobilisers from different parts of Mukuru and other informal settlements in Nairobi played a particularly important role in this process. Such exchanges helped to generate new local expertise and allowed residents to confront their own problems, rather than looking for professional help. For example, Scholastica from Mombasa in Mukuru Kwa Rueben, outlines how learning exchanges led members of the local community to demand a reduction in water prices:

> We found out that here at our place water is five Kenyan shillings but there it was being sold at 50 cents. You see? So, when you explain to people about those changes, someone says, "Waaah! So, we are always hardly pressed and we are not aware." So some things opened our minds and taught us that we are always hardly pressed with things because we don't know and we don't know our rights but when we will get to know, that's when everyone will see that, "indeed, if water is KSh 50 cents, why should we buy it for 10, 20 or even 5 shillings?" You see? So, when you exchange views with other people, you see that even if he/she wasn't understanding, you also give him/her that

challenge of knowing that, "Ooh, even our place needs to be this way. We have the right to demand change." (Interview, 6 March 2019)

Similarly, Saida from Lunga Lunga in Viwandani, explained how learning exchanges led her to do things differently in her community:

When I first went for an exchange at Kahawa Soweto, I saw how those women had made milestones. I came back and on the following day, I managed to call our women together and we formed a savings group that is currently doing very well. (Interview, 5 March 2019)

Interviews with community mobilisers also highlighted how experience in the training programme boosted their confidence, contributed to their empowerment and helped them to strengthen their position within the community. Saida, a community mobiliser from Lunga Lunga in Mukuru Viwandani, put this as follows:

My role in the community has greatly changed. For instance, if some problems have arisen, if people have fought, a person that I do not even know calls me, "Come Saida, come and look at this!" I even feel like I have gotten a position of power. Or if a child has not gone to school or they don't go to school I am called and told "Saida, help this child and take her to the chief so that she can get assisted." (Interview, 5 March 2019)

Masaku, a community mobiliser from Mukuru Kwa Rueben, had similar experiences:

Since we started SPA, many people have known me. Nowadays, they usually call me Masaku of SPA. Everyone, when you pass, they say, "When you have a housing issue go and see Masaku. He is the one for SPA," and I got known by many people. They even say nowadays, if we continue like that, they will elect me as their Member of County Assembly. (Interview, 6 March 2019)

As community mobilisers perhaps represent the most visible local players in the Mukuru SPA process, it is not surprising that residents consider them their first point of call. This certainly strengthened their role as leaders within their respective communities and led to new opportunities. Like Masaku, many community mobilisers mentioned how local residents would want to nominate them as political leaders. Meanwhile, other community mobilisers have been offered jobs by local or international NGOs who operate in Mukuru.

At the same time, however, community mobilisers were also acutely aware that their role as intermediaries in the SPA process comes with a set of challenges. For example, Doris,

a community mobiliser from Viwandani, explained how government authorities sometimes took advantage of her role as intermediary:

> Being a mobiliser can have bad elements. The government people know that you can mobilise people and make use of you for their agenda. One day people from the government came to me to mobilise three busloads of people for a political rally. This was an easy task but at the end these people did not pay residents for the time they spent away from work. They then came to me to ask for money and I could not pay them. This really got me into trouble. You need to watch out for whom you work. (Interview, 22 January 2020)

Others mentioned how they often struggled to manage residents' expectations of plan implementation. Or as Maria, a community mobiliser from Wape Wape in Kwa Njenga, put it:

> I do not just want to be called a community mobiliser without there being changes. Because the most important part of each and everything is the implementation of the plan and now residents are curious to see the implementation side of it. If nothing happens, they will say it is me who failed them, and I do not want to live with this shame. (Interview, 4 March 2019)

Indeed, most people approached in Mukuru were less interested in the actual SPA process but rather in the implementation of a plan which would address the land tenure situation in the informal settlements, meet the specific interests and needs of low-income residents and, in doing so, lead to an improvement in their living conditions. Expectations regarding plan implementation continued to rise further down the line of the SPA process, especially with the start of more focused community planning meetings and consultations, something that will be discussed in the next section.

6 Community planning forums and consultations during the SPA

Parallel to processes of community mobilisation and engagement within Mukuru, the eight thematic sector consortia also undertook important SPA-related work. Among other activities, they prepared three crucial outputs:

(1) thematic sector briefs that provide a situational analysis, review of previous interventions and recommendations for future interventions in the seven sector areas;

(2) sector plans;

(3) the IDP for all three settlements of Mukuru.

To ensure that these documents reflected the interests, needs and priorities of local residents in the three informal settlements within the Mukuru SPA, the sector consortia and relevant planning teams undertook two rounds of public consultations within different clusters and segments of Mukuru. These consultations, and processes that preceded and followed them, are discussed in further detail below.

6.1 Draft of sector briefs and community planning forums

Outlining the process

In a planning stage preceding community planning forums, all seven thematic consortia prepared sector briefs. As part of this process, consortia reviewed data on Mukuru and analysed existing sector-specific interventions with the aim of developing initial ideas for potential upgrading and livelihood interventions. To gain a deeper understanding of some of the issues in Mukuru, the health and education consortia undertook a set of additional data collection activities carried out by community data collectors with support from Muungano. The health consortium undertook a survey involving 350 households in Mukuru; this incorporated important questions around the situation on health – as well as water, sanitation and energy – that was shared with other consortia, thereby demonstrating a commitment to multi-sector and consortia collaboration. In the meantime, the education consortium undertook a survey of directors and head teachers, predominantly in private and informal schools within Mukuru.

The revision of existing planning standards and approaches was another crucial task for consortia in this initial planning stage. For example, with support from SPARC and CEPT India, the housing, infrastructure and commerce consortium (HIC) assessed official planning standards for physical (ie standards on widths for roads and paths) and social (ie standards for the physical size/catchment areas for schools and hospitals) infrastructure. The findings from this exercise suggested that official planning standards are difficult to apply in Mukuru. For example, any major road connecting Mukuru with other parts of Nairobi should be 48 meters in width. At present, major roads do not meet this criterion and would require extension, leading to the destruction of adjacent structures and displacement of residents and businesses. To avoid destruction and displacement, HIC reached the conclusion that a first planning intervention would be to revise planning standards for Mukuru in such a way as to minimise displacement and meet community needs without compromising quality. The initial sector brief did not include suggestions for revised planning standards but, instead, left room for residents to make their own proposals in community planning forums.

Following the draft of sector briefs, five consortia undertook community planning forums within Mukuru. These comprised HIC, education, youth affairs and culture, health services, water, sanitation and energy, and environment and natural resources. In the meantime, the consortia for land and institutional frameworks as well as finance did not undertake consultations. In regard to land and institutional frameworks, this consortium was mainly following the initial request of residents in Mukuru to resolve the complex land situation (see section 2). The main objective was to reconvert land in Mukuru into public land and, to achieve this, the consortium is exploring various legal options and negotiating with relevant county and national government authorities (see also Ouma et al, 2019). Because of the politically sensitive nature of this topic and likely opposition by land as well as structure owners within Mukuru, the consortium opted against consultations. However, once a legal solution to this problem is identified, the consortium intends to work on questions around land redistribution within Mukuru and, as part of this process – likely to begin after the ratification of the SPA – public consultations with local residents will take place.

In regard to finance, throughout the different stages of the SPA members of this consortium mainly followed activities in other thematic consortia to identify finance needs for subsequent SPA implementation. The finance consortium was also indirectly involved in the consultation processes. For example, finance consortium representatives attended community planning meetings with the aim of gaining a better understanding of needs within Mukuru and possible proposals for physical and social development interventions. Representatives from this consortium would also indirectly shape discussions in community planning meetings, for example by stating the realistic financial implications of proposals discussed or, as Mary Mutinda-Kipkemoi (interview, 17 January 2020) explained it, by "putting realistic numbers behind dream proposals". Finance consortium representatives would subsequently attend thematic consortia meetings and provide inputs on costs and financing mechanisms for the different interventions proposed for sector plans. In addition to direct engagement with sector consortia and indirect involvement in community consultations, the finance consortium was engaged in exploring possible pathways for the funding of plan implementation. This involved a review of finance mechanisms for upgrading at scale (see Mutero & Chege, 2019) as well as engagement with key stakeholders such as national and local government authorities, multilateral donors like the World Bank, bilateral donors and relevant NGOs.

Before the community planning forums, CCOCC organised a number of preparatory meetings with both local residents and consortia representatives. The purpose of the meetings with residents in Mukuru was to select representatives for subsequent community planning forums. While the emphasis was mainly on ensuring geographic representation in line with the *Tujuane Tujengane* model, there was also a focus on selecting Mukuru residents according to

criteria of diversity (ie by considering differences around age, gender, ethnicity, ownership status such as tenants and structure owners, etc) and sector-specific expertise. In regard to the last point, it was considered detrimental to involve formal and informal service providers in consultations around health, water, sanitation, energy and education, and structure owners in consultations around housing and infrastructure. Meetings with consortia representatives provided a summary of the community organisation and mobilisation process (see previous sections) and encouraged stakeholders to prepare consultation strategies that were understandable and accessible to community participants, for example by prioritising content or visualising results from sector briefs through infographics.

Between September 2018 and January 2019, five sector consortia undertook consultations to validate their sector briefs and to identify additional challenges and other issues that should be incorporated within the drafts of subsequent sector plans. Youth representatives from Muungano, especially those associated with the programme Know Your City TV (KYCTV, see also section 4.3), took photos and notes during each consultation and compiled summary reports which are stored in the Muungano office and online,[10] thereby providing residents with useful accountability tools that allow them to return to the results of consultations and to cross-check whether different perspectives have been integrated into subsequent planning documents.

In total, 5,370 people participated in community planning forums. Community planning forums took place in ten out of 13 segments in Mukuru. The three segments not included in this process were those situated on Orbit land where, because of the complex and differentiated land situation (as outlined in previous sections), residents refused to participate in the Mukuru SPA. HIC undertook consultations at cluster level (a unit comprised of ten sub-clusters). In total, 57 HIC meetings took place, which sought to involve all structure owners present in these areas. The number of participants varied between sub-clusters as it was dependent on the number of structure owners present in each area, although on average around 30 participants attended each meeting. The decision to consult at cluster level followed advice from planning experts affiliated with the organisation SPARC and with CEPT University in India who, through support from SDI International, visited Nairobi in May 2018 and noted that infrastructure interventions were taking place at different levels and serving distinct purposes and functions. For example, in the case of roads, they advised making a distinction between arterial roads connecting different sub-clusters (level 4), roads that link different neighbourhoods/ segments (level 3), main roads that connect the three informal settlements

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10 For visual documentation of the process, see, for example, https://www.muungano.net/spa; https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLE2_59-DSPDvXZXj8O7AWXMyfLLZ57eED.

(level 2), and external roads that connect Mukuru to the wider city (level 1). In order to capture specific local infrastructure needs, priorities and challenges first, HIC decided to begin consulting at cluster level. In contrast, the remaining four consortia consulted at segment/neighbourhood level. This meant that ten consultation meetings occurred per consortium, with an average of around 80 participants per meeting. Following the organisational logic outlined in the previous section, one representative from each sub-cluster participated in neighbourhood consultations. The decision to consult at the segment/neighbourhood level was justified by the fact that relevant infrastructure interventions associated with these consortia tend to have a catchment area that goes beyond the size of a sub-cluster or cluster (for example, schools should have a catchment of about 5,000 people).

While focusing on different sector-specific contents,[11] all community planning forums took the format of segment- or cluster-level dreaming sessions, allowing residents to share their views with sector consortia representatives. During community forums consortia representatives also worked with community representatives to identify core sector-specific issues and challenges, community priorities, and ideas for potential solutions. At the start of community planning forums, consortia representatives shared findings from sector briefs. HIC focused particularly on infrastructural amenities (eg roads and social amenities such as schools, hospitals, markets or playgrounds) identified as part of the settlement profiling process and through previous research. Meanwhile, community planning forums by other consortia focused more on the quality of services in Mukuru (eg health, education, water, sanitation, electricity), by whom and how these were provided (eg who was controlling service delivery, the cost implications, how this compared to other parts of Mukuru and Nairobi), and on how people made use of these services.

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[11] For a more detailed summary of the contents discussed at community planning meetings, see https://www.muungano.net/spa-recaps.

Figure 7: Road proposals during community planning forums
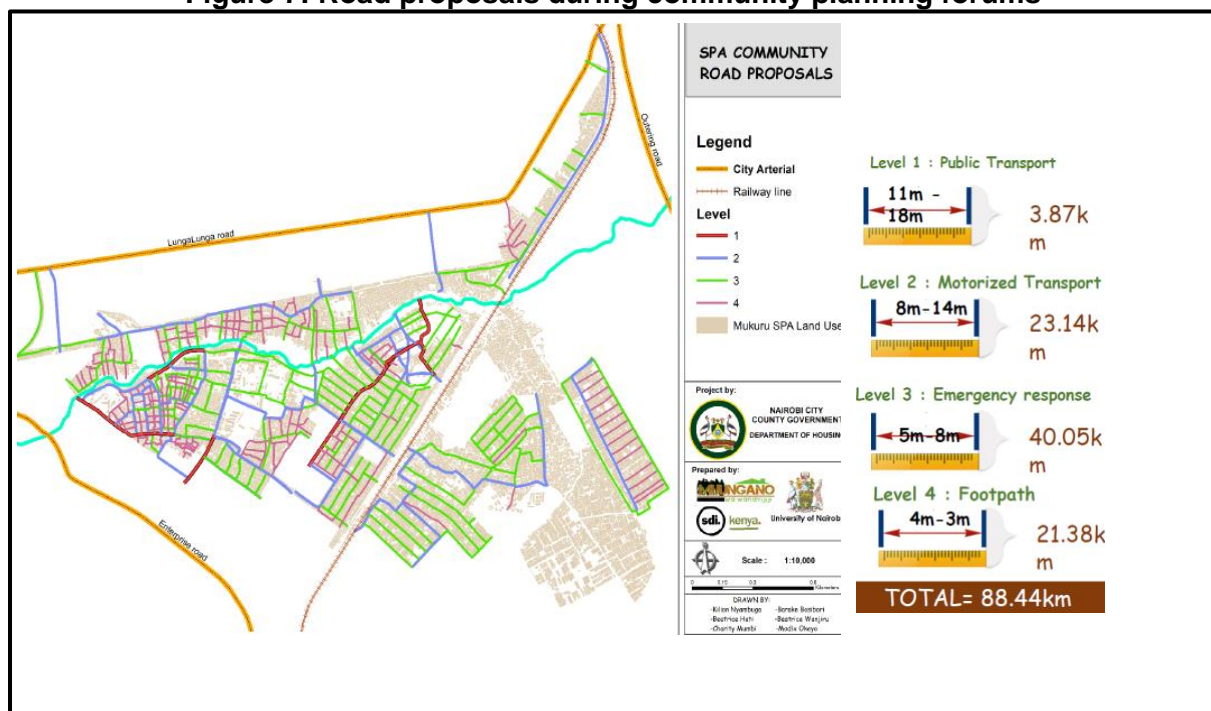
Source: obtained from SDI Kenya

Community representatives were then invited to discuss ways to improve the quality and accessibility of infrastructure and service amenities, as well as the need for additional facilities. For example, participants at water, sanitation and energy community planning forums often said that they wanted water provision and toilets at plot level. Discussions by other consortia such as health focused more on improving the quality of services by, for example, demanding the closure of health facilities managed by people without appropriate qualifications in medicine or pharmacy. Participants in community planning forums run by HIC discussed which roads they would prioritise as well as ideal widths for roads and pavements (see Figure 7). Discussions around road widths proposals and route mapping were guided by an adoptive planning approach which involved laying out infrastructure in close alignment with the existing layout of the settlement to minimise displacement. Road widths proposed under each level were therefore scaled down from official standards, and other road components were forgone as a result of space constraints typical of informal settlements. This was done through a systematic negotiated deliberative process with the community. HIC subsequently consolidated the outputs of community planning forums on physical infrastructure maps that highlight which infrastructural interventions were prioritised by community participants (see Table 2 and Figure 8).

Table 2 Social infrastructure proposals raised in community planning forums

Amenity	Existing number	Community proposals (number)	
		Upgrade	New
State-supported nursery	5	6	3
State-supported primary school	5	6	2
State supported secondary schools	1	2	5
Informal schools	182		
Hospitals	12	4	1
Markets	1	0	2
Recreation spaces	2	4	5
Police posts	8	0	2
Social halls	5	3	4

Source: Information obtained from SDI Kenya

Figure 8: Road and social infrastructure proposals raised in community planning forums
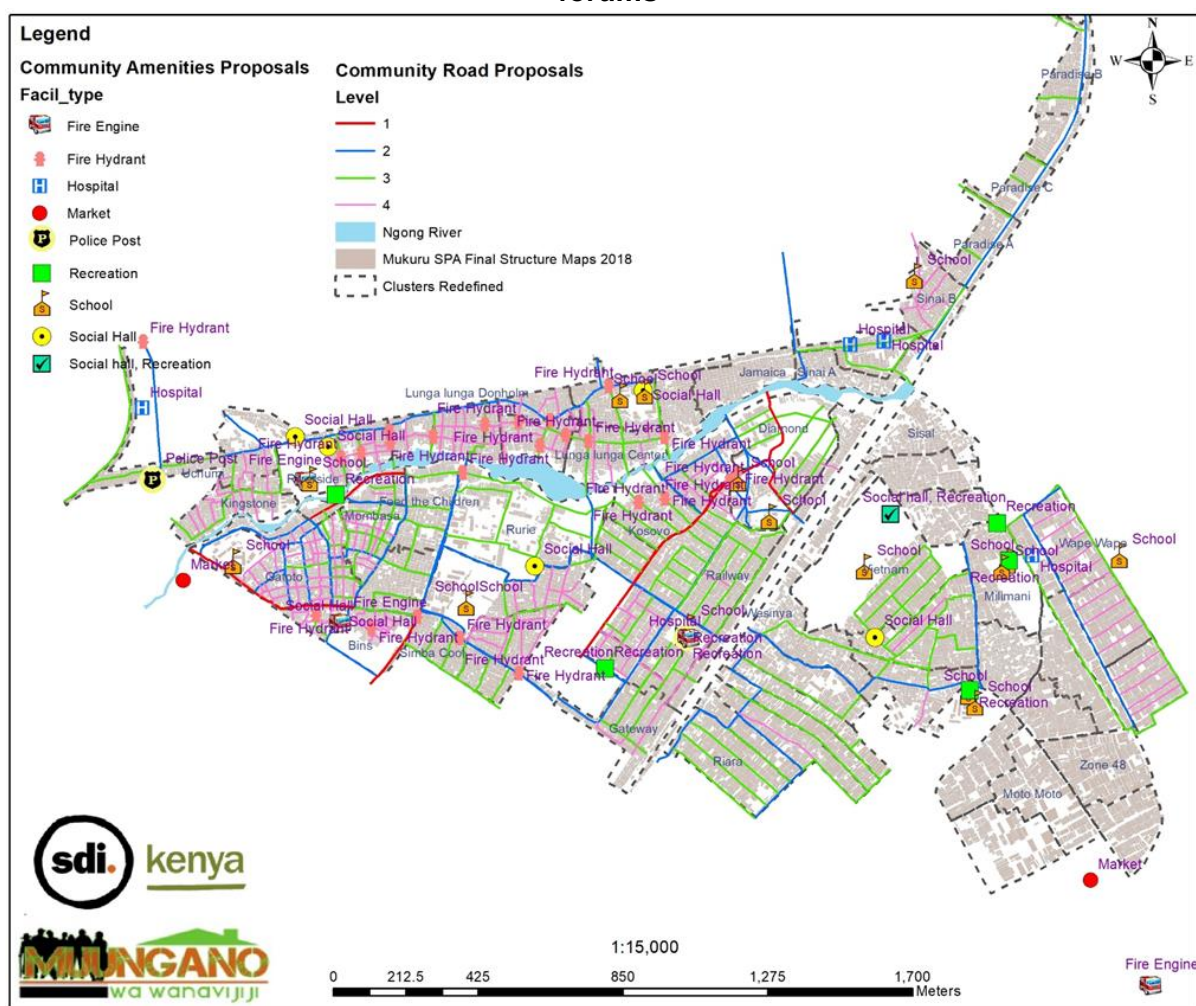
Source: Information obtained from SDI Kenya

Opportunities and challenges emerging during community planning forums

All community planning forums were well attended. As they often lasted between three and five hours and took place during lunch time, participants were either served with some light snacks and refreshments or received a small payment of KSh500 for volunteering their time. Payments were arranged by different organisations affiliated with specific consortia, with most of these organisations having different requirements to issue payments. For example, while some organisations would be able to arrange payments during the community planning forums, others required a list of attendees and would only be able to issue payments afterwards.

Different reimbursement patterns led to a variety of problems. In the case of meetings where people would not be instantly reimbursed, participants as well as opponents of the SPA process, such as large-scale structure owners, would accuse consortia facilitators of withholding payment. The expectation of payment also attracted additional people who were not selected to represent their community. This was highlighted, for example, by Mary from Wape Wape in Mukuru Kwa Njenga (interview, 4 March 2019): "Yes, many people came but not all participated as there are always those who were only coming because of the money." Such tendencies were indeed visible in many consultations where people who were not invited to represent their sub-cluster in consultations queued to enter meetings in order to receive a small reimbursement. Yet most people arrived because they simply wanted to partake in the discussions, either for personal interest or because they were sent by and asked to report back to people from their cluster/sub-cluster or to local politicians, structure or land owners interested in the process.

To inform interested parties who could not attend, participants often documented the consultation process 'live' via their mobile phones. Or, as highlighted by Alphonse from Mukuru Kwa Rueben, they also organised internal follow-up meetings to share crucial information with residents: "After coming from the consultations, we usually meet and ask each other questions like, 'how have you seen that consultation?', and we usually discuss and share ideas and also our opinions as mobilisers" (interview, 6 March 2019). All this suggests that the general interest in being informed about, and involved in, the SPA process was high.

Those people who represented their sub-clusters in consultations tended to actively participate in discussions and value the overall experience. Most participants noted that they had improved their knowledge of the settlement and of their own role as possible change-makers. Saida from Lunga Lunga in Viwandani expressed this as follows:

The SPA course of planning and consortiums, I have understood its importance now. There is nothing that they do without involving the community members, so it is our ideas that are needed. If there are roads, it is we who will decide where the roads will pass. If there are toilets it is we who will say. There is nothing that has been forced on us so that is very important. (Interview, 5 March 2019)

Similar sentiments were also shared by Joseph from Riara in Mukuru Kwa Njenga:

The way I am thinking about the consultations is first, it makes the community to understand itself and to explain itself and to understand their challenges and besides that, to know that there is someone or something somewhere that can be done about the challenges that they have. (Interview, 6 March 2019)

Anne, a community mobiliser from Mukuru Kwa Njenga, provided some concrete examples of how learning processes in community planning forums led to new interventions at both household- and wider community level:

In the water, sanitation and energy consultation I learned that the bulbs we use at home consume a lot of power and the county government informed us that there is other bulbs which consume far less. I since use those. It saves money and is good for the environment. I also realised that we produce a lot of waste and that puts us at high risk to get diseases. This made me far more interested in waste collection and, since a while now, I am involved in weekly clean-ups in my community. (Interview, 22 January 2020)

Other residents noted that participation in community planning forums led to a sense of empowerment, as it improved their position within the community as well as relations with government authorities. For example, Doris (interview, 22 January 2020), a resident from Viwandani, explained that participating in the community planning forums and other SPA-related activities made her "famous", leading to "people respecting you and coming to you for advice about the SPA or to make connections to different organisations involved in the SPA". Doris also said that "engaging with the consortia gave me power to talk to the government. Since the first round of consultations I have approached our ward administrator to get his support for the SPA. In the past, I would have been scared to approach these people." It was not only local residents but also representatives from the county government who noted an improvement in state–civil society relations, as Jane Wamuguru (interview, 21 January 2020) from Nairobi City County stated: "Consultations make us interact with local residents more.

The community is no longer scared to approach us, and we are getting used to interact with them. I can say we are becoming friends."

At the same time, community planning forums also helped to sensitise consortia members about social dynamics in Mukuru. For example, members of the health consortium noted that women in Mukuru Viwandani and Kwa Rueben were more open to talking about reproductive health and family planning than those in Mukuru Kwa Njenga, where men dominated the conversations. Gendered and age dynamics also featured strongly in community planning forums organised by the water, sanitation and energy consortium. Women and children said they faced particular security challenges around the use of public toilets at night. This confirms findings from previous research in this and other informal settlements in Nairobi (Corburn & Karanja, 2014). The community planning forums also led to a shift in attitudes among consortia representatives, including officials from the Nairobi City County, towards service providers and intervention strategies. Community planning forums changed consortium members' attitudes towards informal service providers, mainly because residents often recognised their contribution to community development in a context of the absence of formal providers. As a consequence, the consortium decided to include these stakeholders in proposals for future interventions in sector plans and the IDP.

While most community planning forums were relatively conflict-free, tensions emerged in most consultations undertaken by HIC. This was mainly because of the politically sensitive nature of the infrastructure and housing topic in Mukuru. Structure owners often approached community planning forums with scepticism and hostility as they feared that infrastructure interventions, such as the construction of better roads, schools or health facilities, would lead to the destruction of their housing units. According to Charity Mwangi, a planning professional working for SDI Kenya, buy-in of the SPA process was achieved by highlighting the possible benefits of infrastructure interventions to structure owners:

> We had to convince structure owners that the SPA is not about land and that
> we are not seeking to demolish houses but that the main aim is to improve
> livelihoods for local residents. We had to explain them in full detail the work of
> all consortia. We also needed to show that the SPA has important benefits for
> structure owners. To do this, we often started by asking them questions: what
> challenges do you face? What should be done to improve the quality of
> infrastructure in the area? Many mentioned that their houses confront risks like
> fire and that the absence of tarmacked roads reduces their value. We then
> explained them that the SPA seeks to address these concerns. For example,
> we highlighted that there are possibilities to widen roads in clusters so that

emergency vehicles can enter in case of a fire. In the end, this would allow to save many houses during fires, and that convinced structure owners to participate in the SPA. (Interview, 22 January 2020)

Another strategy to ensure buy-in by structure owners was the presence of senior staff from Nairobi City County in meetings, who confirmed SPA objectives. Discussions around infrastructure interventions were highly dependent on how much space participants were willing to give. While structure owners started to realise that there is a need for improved road and social infrastructure, heated discussions often took place around where such interventions should take place and what would be the consequences in terms of re-blocking, displacement or the destruction of existing structures. To reduce tensions, planning professionals from SDI introduced the idea of adjusting planning standards for Mukuru, with the objective of ensuring minimum displacement or, as one of SDI Kenya's planning professionals – Kilion Nyambuga – put it:

> What helped bring structure owners on board was convincing them that roads, schools and health care centres can actually be provided on a smaller piece of land but with the same quality. This means less structures are affected, and benefits occur for everyone. In the end, improved infrastructure will mean that tenants stay in the area and this can also assure a more sustainable income source for structure owners. (Interview, 22 January 2020)

Hence, conflict resolution strategies centred around negotiation practices that disclose information on the actual objectives of the SPA and emphasise the benefits for different stakeholders often contributed to a change in attitudes among structure owners towards the SPA process and associated infrastructure interventions.

Despite some tensions, most residents evaluated the community planning forums as positive, noting that they further raised expectations for positive change to occur via the SPA process. As Mary from Wape Wape in Mukuru Kwa Njenga put it: "Initially, we were afraid but later on we realised that this thing [the SPA] is ours and we should have been transparent in our discussions. That's why we keep on asking, when and how can we discuss again" (interview, 4 March 2019). Discussions continued in the second round of consultations but also between consultations.

6.2 Short-term initiatives to maintain momentum between SPA consultations

A key challenge for the SPA process was the significant gap between community planning forums, which finished in February 2019, and the second round of community consultations,

which only started in December 2019. This gap relates to delays in the drafting of sector plans and can be explained by a variety of factors, including among others, that:

(1) consortia members mainly contributed to the SPA on a pro bono basis and had to juggle other work priorities, with varying implications for staff commitments towards the preparation of sector plans;

(1) frequent shifts of department directors within Nairobi City County meant that there was a lack of consistent leadership in consortia; new department directors often had to be briefed about SPA commitments and incorporated into the process; this led to delays in planning activities beyond the initially proposed two-year period;

(3) the time extension of the SPA process meant that some consortia members, especially those who only allocated staff and financial resources for the proposed two-year period, left the SPA process before its completion, which led to an increased workload for remaining consortia team members.

In a context of delays in planning activities by the different consortia, a number of on-the-ground activities, which were not always directly linked to the SPA community mobilisation and participation framework, helped maintain momentum in Mukuru. Doris, community mobiliser form Viwandani, put it this way:

After the first consultations our community in Mukuru felt a bit abandoned so we realised that we need to do our part. You know, the consultations made us realise that the SPA belongs to us. We own the process, so it is up to us to push people to fulfil their role … The good thing about the SPA is that so many organisations are involved. This makes it easier for us as we can push more organisations to get things done. One of them will do the job. (Interview, 22 January 2020)

Doris is one of many community mobilisers who was involved in a 'do or die' group that exercised pressure vertically on authorities in the settlement (especially chiefs), Nairobi City County and other SPA affiliates, with the aim of ensuring ongoing commitment towards the SPA process. For example, in January 2020, members of this group met the local area chief of Mukuru Viwandani, briefing him about previous community consultation activities and demanding his promise to continue working with local residents around the formulation and subsequent implementation of the SPA. Pressure from local residents was also noted within sector consortia. For instance, Jane Wairutu (interview, 23 January 2020), SDI Kenya staff and part of the health consortium, noted: "People from the community were really pushing us.

They asked us what we are doing. When will we share our report? When will we implement? You know, pressure from below makes you act." The 'do or die' group of community mobilisers also reached out horizontally by organising follow-up community meetings with fellow residents in Mukuru, especially targeting those who initially expressed scepticism, in order to reiterate core goals, objectives and forthcoming activities of the SPA.

In addition to the do-or-die group, momentum was also maintained through a community development project, funded by Plan International and focusing on safer and more inclusive cities, which mobilised local youths in Mukuru. Young community mobilisers from the SPA process assisted in training a larger cadre of youth (more than 100 in total) to undertake mapping of safety issues in different areas of Mukuru. After data collection, the youths organised stakeholder forums with residents, local chiefs and the police to discuss potential pathways towards better security. Every three months, youth participants in this initiative also held a convention to showcase proposals for improving security in Mukuru. These conventions are still continuing to take place and make use of different methods, ranging from graffiti exhibitions, open markets or sports events. During conventions youths also invite different stakeholders to engage in discussions around potential community-led business ideas that tackle wellbeing, inclusion and safety – core topics that connect to the SPA's leitmotif of 'leaving no one behind'. By taking charge of stakeholder meetings and convening wider events in the community, youth participants have experienced a sense of empowerment or, as one youth put it, "when you convene, you bring power to your space".

To further sensitise local residents about local priorities for interventions in Mukuru, Muungano also introduced a grassroots risk-mapping tool called Views from the Frontline (VFL). This tool allows for an analysis of major risks faced by residents and for discussions around community-based actions towards building resilience. As part of the VFL process, 'trainers of trainers' – community mobilisers emerging from the SPA process – introduced young people and women to community organisation and data collection tools. Participants subsequently went on to collect data on risks in different areas. Muungano decided to rely particularly on the VFL tool in areas such as Riara in Mukuru Kwa Njenga and Jamaica in Mukuru Viwandani, where local residents were particularly sceptical about the SPA process. VFL thus provided another way of engaging with these communities and of creating awareness about the intentions of the SPA.

VFL participants identified issues such as fire, insecurity, diseases, water, sanitation and eviction as crucial risks. Findings were subsequently shared with residents in local forums in order to identify possible solutions. In this process, community mobilisers also made connections with SPA consortia whose work addressed some of the issues identified as part

of the data collection process. A result of these forums was the initiation of weekly community clean-ups, as waste was considered a key cause of a combination of previously identified risks such as disease, fire, water and sanitation. As part of community clean-ups, collaboration was established with Nairobi City County, which agreed to collect waste every Thursday. As such, and in addition to the training and empowerment of local youth and women, VFL encouraged the establishment of community-based solutions and stronger links with external stakeholders.

Community capacity was also strengthened in Mukuru Kwa Njenga, where SDI Kenya assisted waste picker youth groups from Amusha (an organisation affiliated with the Kwa Njenga Justice Group) in identifying funding (which was provided by a local telecoms provider) to finance computer facilities, plastic shredding machinery, the construction of a waste management sorting site, and the refurbishment of a toilet. This further strengthened community-based waste management practices. Activities like these increased community ownership of local interventions geared towards early SPA implementation.

Awareness-raising campaigns also played a key role in maintaining momentum about the SPA. Three initiatives are of particular importance here: first, the Mukuru Youth Initiative, which is based in Mukuru Kwa Rueben and has received sustained support from Muungano since 2014, and organises arts festivals each year in November that bring together youth, community mobilisers and representatives from all three areas in Mukuru. In 2019, this provided a useful space for the dissemination of the initial results of the SPA and for discussions about the forthcoming second round of community consultations. Second, the KYCTV campaign, supported by Muungano, produced a repertoire of short films about Mukuru, unpicking some of the key obstacles (including pollution, insecurity, inadequate housing) that local residents face. KYCTV also realised 'live' reporting to document current affairs and problems in the settlement, such as cholera outbreaks in Mukuru Kwa Rueben in April 2019. This helped to raise additional awareness about core health problems which were also raised by relevant sector consortia. Third, the radio station Rueben FM – linked to the non-profit organisation Rueben Centre based in Mukuru Kwa Rueben – provided radio updates on the SPA process. Using interviews with county and consortia representatives and live reporting from important SPA-related meetings taking place in and outside Mukuru, this radio station provides an accountability and process monitoring service for local residents and other interested listeners.

All these activities highlight the way that participation in the Mukuru SPA is not only defined by community mobilisation and consultation meetings forming part of the official planning process. In addition, they demonstrate that Mukuru residents have already taken ownership of the SPA and acted as planners for their own settlement by engaging in an array

of practices, ranging from community organisation, dissemination activities, self-help, co-production of service delivery, political negotiation, lobbying, artistic performances and awareness raising campaigns. In a context of delays between consultations, this helped to maintain momentum for the SPA process and provided residents with opportunities to tackle crucial issues in the short term, while allowing them to exercise pressure for medium- and long-term support for the upgrading of their settlement.

## 6.3 Consultations to review, adjust and finalise sector plans and IDP

Planning process preceding consultations

Between February 2019 and December 2019, sector consortia teams rationalised spatial planning solutions introduced by participants during community planning forums. Rationalisation involved harmonisation of community proposals from the different clusters and segments with official planning standards and legal guidelines. This process was guided by three overarching principles that helped balance various contending priorities:

(1) Conservative surgery: this ensures that interventions lead to minimal destruction of existing infrastructure and minimal displacement of Mukuru residents. Conservative surgery seeks to keep residents in place and resettle them only in cases of dire health concerns or other imperatives.

(2) Public health, safety and convenience: emphasis was given to providing improved accessibility to health and sanitation services, public safety and promoting human dignity.

(3) Environmental vulnerability and mitigation: another key guiding principle was to mitigate the direct and indirect impacts of development interventions on the environment.

The rationalisation process started with the development of sector plans by HIC for improving roads and paths. These sector plans were subsequently shared across all consortia, so that other spatial interventions (around water, sanitation, electricity, schools, healthcare facilities, recreational spaces, etc) could fit within the wider network. Results were subsequently integrated by the University of California, Berkeley into one IDP for Mukuru. Rationalisation took place in four iterations. Iteration one applied conventional planning standards; iteration two is based upon an initial review and adjustment of conventional standards by the consortia teams; iteration three refers to spatial planning standards proposed by participants during community planning forums; and iteration four refers to the adjustment of community proposals according to principles of conservative surgery. Figure 9 and Table 3 provide a summary of proposals for physical and social infrastructure interventions after completion of the rationalisation stages.

Figure 9: Rationalised physical and social infrastructure proposals
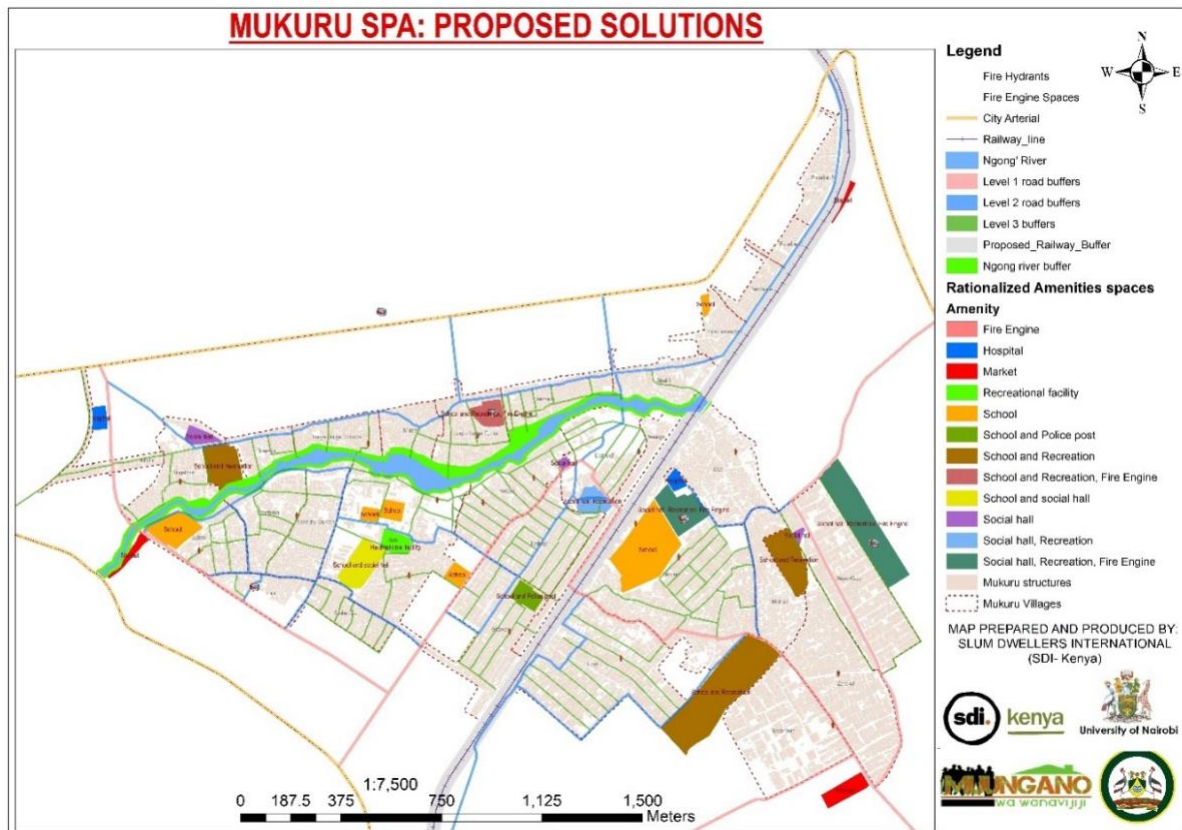
Source: obtained from SDI Kenya

Table 3: Social infrastructure proposals in final sector plans

Amenity	Existing number	Rationalised proposals (number)	
		Upgrade	**New**
State-supported nursery	5	5	2
State-supported primary school	5	5	2
State-supported secondary school	1	1	3
Informal schools	182		
Hospital	12	2	0
Market	1	0	2
Recreation spaces	2	1	4
Police posts	8	0	1
Social hall	5	1	6
Fire engine spaces	0	0	6

Source: information obtained from SDI Kenya

As far as possible, all sector consortia considered community priorities as part of the rationalisation process. For example, the final sector plan by HIC does not propose roads that are bigger in width than initially requested by residents during community planning forums (see Figure 10 and compare with Figure 7). In contrast, other consortia departed from some community proposals in order to reduce displacement. For example, even though participants at the community planning forum requested more new secondary schools, conservative surgery led the education, youth affairs and culture consortium to prioritise upgrading and formalisation of existing educational facilities in Mukuru, and to expand school catchment areas so that children and youth from Mukuru can also access schools in surrounding neighbourhoods.

Figure 10: Road proposals in sector plans and IDP
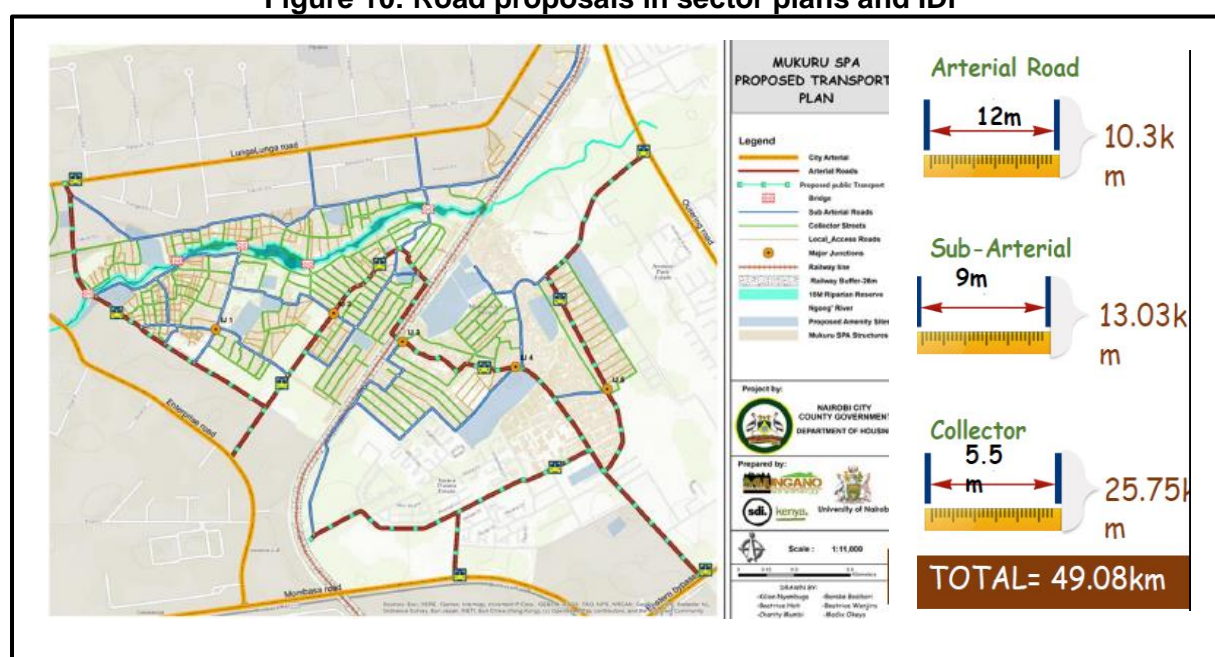
Source: obtained from SDI Kenya

Outlining the second consultation process

The five consortia which initially conducted community planning forums undertook a second round of consultations whose aim was to validate findings from the rationalisation process outlined in the previous section. At this stage, participants were presented with sector plans and asked to deliberate, endorse or reject proposals. They were also asked to discuss priorities for sector interventions, as well as ideas for phased implementation. After completion of these meetings, consortia teams adjusted their sector plans to incorporate recommendations from participants at consultation meetings.

The second round of consultations took place at segment level for all consortia, with the aim of involving 80–100 people (including mainly participants from previous community

planning forums) per meeting. The decision to consult at segment level was made, on the one hand, because of a lack of resources to host meetings at cluster level. On the other hand, segment level consultations were considered to enable discussions across clusters, allowing participants to engage in exchanges and assess the implications of the SPA for the wider settlement. This was considered particularly important for discussions around roads which connect different clusters, as well as social infrastructure proposals whose catchment areas comprise multiple clusters, segments or areas in Mukuru.

By the time this documentation process was complete, only the water, sanitation and energy consortia had completed their second round of consultations. These took place in December 2019 and in the ten meetings it was possible to mobilise 60% of people who attended the previous community planning meetings. In addition, some new participants attended consultations to ensure full geographic representation in line with the *Tujuane Tujengane* model. The second round of consultations was less conflictive as participants were already aware of the SPA process and could see that community proposals had been integrated into sector plans. Residents who participated in these consultations expressed similar views. For example, Doris, community mobiliser and resident in Viwandani, stated that "people generally were quite happy about the second round of consultations as the people from the consortia reminded everyone about what was discussed before and how this was captured in the plan" (interview 22 January 2020).

During the water, sanitation and energy consultations, most participants, particularly women and children, were pleased with proposals to introduce toilets at plot level as this was associated with improved security and wellbeing. Proposals to introduce simplified sewers were also welcomed, as this allows residents to connect to the city's sanitation system without major displacement threats. Discussions mainly centred around methods for the provision of electricity, with different segments preferring distinct models, ranging from 'power model one', whereby the state company Kenya Power would regulate electricity prices and sell electricity to informal service providers who would then sell at a fixed rate to residents; 'power model two', whereby Kenya Power would provide electricity directly to residents, and informal service providers would only provide maintenance services; and 'power model three', which would lead to the complete removal of informal service providers. Participants in Mukuru Kwa Njenga and Viwandani tended to opt for models one and two, while residents in Kwa Rueben – who had previously had negative experiences with informal service providers – mainly opted for model three.

Following the second round of consultations, the water, sanitation and energy consortium adjusted sector plans to incorporate points raised during validation workshops.

Consortia members then started engaging with relevant agencies to identify pathways for plan implementation. For example, they approached the director of Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company on 20 December 2019. During this meeting, it was decided that this agency would provide three surveyors who, together with one member of staff from AMT, would develop an initial survey plan and design a proposal for simplified sewers in Mukuru. This task was completed in January 2020; at the time of writing, discussions were underway to determine budgets for plan implementation. The three different service delivery options are already providing some indications of how SPA implementation will be undertaken – as a process that responds to residents' priorities, recognises the long experience and expertise of informal providers, and offers opportunities for new partnerships between local and city-wide service providers.

During the time of finalising research activities in Nairobi in January 2020, the other consortia started to prepare for their second consultations. Interviews with different consortia representatives suggested that consultations will follow a similar approach to the one outlined above for the water, sanitation and energy consortium. While no sector consortium was expecting to start discussions from scratch, some consortia representatives foresaw possible tensions. For example, HIC representatives expect to have heated discussions around questions of relocation and displacement resulting from infrastructure proposals. All consortia representatives recognised that managing expectations around plan implementation would be challenging. As in previous iterations, consortia members will rely on strategies of full disclosure of information, negotiation and non-violent agitation to manage tensions and conflict in consultations. Proposals by participants will subsequently be incorporated into sector plans and the IDP. At this stage, the plans will be considered for discussion and approval by Nairobi City County. Finally, after obtaining approval during participatory consultations in Mukuru and from county government representatives, the launch of the final IDP for the SPA Mukuru is likely to take place in a large venue near the informal settlement, one which can accommodate up to 4,000 people. For this event, all community mobilisers, data collectors and participants in sector consultations, as well as consortia representatives, will be invited to initiate the next stage – plan implementation – of this large-scale, ambitious and participatory endeavour of what is the Mukuru SPA.

7 Conclusion

Scaling participatory planning for the upgrading of informal settlements requires empowering low-income residents, to ensure that they are involved in and can take control of urban policy and planning decisions occurring at different levels. This means starting participation at the smallest unit – the household – and moving upwards into higher institutional levels and

outwards to other communities, stakeholder groups or policy sectors. In this working paper we have looked at the Mukuru SPA and documented how scaling participatory planning occurs in this unique context. In this final section, we will draw out reflections and the key lessons for scaling participatory planning that have emerged from this discussion.

Let us start with a word of caution. The Mukuru SPA experience should not be treated as a 'best practice' model which can be easily replicated elsewhere. The SPA's origins are highly context–specific – and context matters for any attempt to move participation to scale. Like other projects elsewhere in the world, the SPA materialised "at the intersection of grassroots organisations or local communities and networks, enabling new bottom-up, top-down, and peer-to-peer practices and their combination" (Escobar, 2017, p 161). In sections two and three we outlined the unique features that led to the emergence of the Mukuru SPA, namely that:

(1) the SPA responds to and is positioned in relation to recent constitutional and legislative reforms that are unique to Kenya and Nairobi;

(2) The SPA is the result of a combination of previous grassroots struggles and campaigns, research endeavours and political negotiation and contestation processes involving a conglomerate of stakeholders from civil society, academia and the public and private sectors who were pushing for informal settlement upgrading interventions on private land.

While this configuration is unique to Mukuru, the participatory approach of the SPA was also influenced by international agendas such as the SDGs – this is particularly the case for the incorporation of the 'leave no one behind' principle – and learning from other local experiences in South Africa, India and Uganda (see section 5). While scaling participatory planning is likely to look very different in other settings, we believe certain lessons from the SPA are of wider relevance. In the remainder of this section, we therefore reflect on three lessons that stand out from the SPA Mukuru.

7.1 Before 'scaling upwards' and 'outwards' it is essential to 'scale deep'

We have already defined what we mean by scaling upwards and outwards. Scaling deep relates to the notion that "durable change has been achieved only when people's hearts and minds, their values and cultural practices, and the quality of relationships they have, are transformed" (Riddell & Moore, 2015, p 3). Achieving this requires bringing local residents together to act jointly to achieve common goals. Mass mobilisation of communities is therefore key. The more residents support, lead and own a programme for change, the more likely it is

that change will actually occur (Mitlin et al, 2019). This is why community mobilisation played such a central role in the Mukuru SPA.

Achieving mass mobilisation requires going beyond organisational models that set entry barriers to participation (eg being a member of a political party, obtaining a land title, being a structure owner, etc) and, instead, deploying an approach that seeks to involve every resident, independent of their age, gender, health, tenure status, political affiliation, socioeconomic, cultural or ethnic background. In Mukuru, this was achieved through the combination and trial of different tools and methods. For example, SDI's enumeration approach (Patel et al, 2012) facilitated access at the household level, while the *Tujuane Tujengane* model helped establish multiple levels of community representation (eg from households upwards to the level of the entire settlement), enabled horizontal and vertical accountability channels (eg with representatives at sub-cluster level reporting downwards to their cells or engaging with other sub-cluster level representatives during cluster-level meetings), and formed the basis for multi-scalar planning meetings with other stakeholders (eg community planning forums and consultations at cluster and segment levels). While emphasis was mainly placed on geographic mobilisation, this process was complemented by the formation of savings groups which help residents to accumulate economic resources to make investments on their own terms.

A key lesson from the SPA community mobilisation process is that organising a lot of people geographically takes time. It requires training a large group of community mobilisers and data collectors – ideally residents from the same settlement – who can act as a bridge between local residents and external stakeholders involved in the planning process. CCOCC undertook such training and generally evaluated the work of community mobilisers as positive and successful. Or, as Kilion Nyambuga from AMT put it: "The community mobilisers did such a comprehensive job. They managed to reach the unreachable" (interview, 22 January 2020). As outlined in section 5, the community mobilisation produced a new group of local leaders and change-makers – often women and youth – who really took ownership of the SPA and, in later stages, pushed for its implementation either by taking action themselves or by exerting pressure on the Nairobi City County and other partners.

At the same time, some challenges around community mobilisation remained unresolved and require further consideration. For example, members of CCOCC as well as experienced Muungano activists noted that it was hard to control the recruitment and day-to-day work of trainees when working in a settlement with the scale and size of Mukuru. This made it difficult to assess the quality of community mobilisation. A possible way to resolve this problem in future initiatives would be to establish a better follow-up system – by making use

of either digital technology or peer-to-peer reporting systems – that allows the centralisation of information and monitoring of the mobilisation process.

Another key lesson is that mobilising a large group of different residents requires managing expectations, engaging with different perspectives, and confronting conflict and uneven power relations. Negotiation practices that focus on non-violent agitation and full disclosure of information on the SPA helped to resolve tensions and bring residents who initially opposed the planning process on board. However, some members of the CCOCC team also mentioned that a need to engage better with 'troublemakers' opposed to the SPA, such as structure owners who feared property loss, local chiefs or ward administrators who perceived the SPA as a threat to their political power, or informal service providers who feared that they would be replaced by formal providers. While there is no magic solution to resolving such challenges, spending more time and engaging with all residents, including 'troublemakers', from the outset was considered beneficial. Only when all, or at least most, residents are on board and supportive of a planning process is it possible to start this process.

7.2 Scaling upwards and outwards requires bold new partnerships

The SPA aims to address problems in informal settlements holistically; this requires multidisciplinary and multi-sector engagement. It cannot be achieved by a single government department or organisation. Acknowledging this challenge, the planning process of the SPA was configured in such a way as to incorporate and join up every department of Nairobi City County, as well as non-state actors (including private enterprises, NGOs, universities, civil society organisations and media outlets) in multi-sector consortia (see section 3).

The SPA experience suggests that the consortia model comes with a set of advantages and disadvantages. For example, SPA consortia mainly sought to bring on board organisations expressing a commitment to improving living conditions in Mukuru. Less emphasis was placed on organisations' capacity to contribute human or financial resources to the planning process. Consequently, this sometimes contributed to a lack of continuity within consortia, as some organisations could not guarantee their involvement throughout the entire SPA process because of staff shortfalls, funding cuts, political turnover in Nairobi City County or other urgent commitments. Nevertheless, differential commitments should not automatically be considered problematic, as they also provide flexibility to involve organisations with a diverse portfolio of expertise. This helps to diversify solutions but also reduces risks – ie the departure of one organisation does not automatically end a process – and hence makes a planning process more resilient.

The participation of different consortia partners was largely self-financed and community engagement activities were mainly led by sector consortia, with some coordination efforts by the Alliance (Muungano, SDI Kenya, AMT). While such an approach allows consortia members to partner with local residents on their own terms, it also comes with some challenges. As outlined in section 6, this was particularly visible in different approaches towards reimbursing local residents for participating in community planning forums or consultations. To avoid such issues in future interventions, it would be useful to offer clearer ground-rules for community engagement, resource allocation and inter-institutional collaboration. This could be achieved, for example, by centralising the financing of community mobilisation within one consortium or by preparing memoranda of understanding to provide consortia partners with binding guidelines on how to engage communities.

7.3 Communities should drive participatory planning processes and outcomes

"We try our best not to define a process or to pre-empt solutions but let the community decide" (interview, 22 January 2020). According to this testimony from Charity Mwangi, a planner associated with SDI Kenya and a member of HIC, planners and professionals operating at the city, national or international level should not define solutions but, instead, listen to and incorporate proposals from local residents. Such a perspective considers local communities as the drivers of participatory planning processes and outcomes (see also Frediani & Cociña, 2019).

In the Mukuru SPA, communities did indeed lead most of the planning process. This was perhaps most visible in moments when activities by consortia were delayed or came to a halt. For example, between planning forums and consultations residents engaged in a whole range of activities with and without the help of support organisations, including community clean-ups, establishment of 'do-or-die groups', and ongoing organisation around savings groups and applications for loans to realise livelihood projects, etc. Through such concrete initiatives, local residents maintained grassroots momentum, took ownership of the planning process, and ensured short-term improvements in their quality of life.

Local residents also shaped the content of sector plans and the final IDP during consortia consultations. Instead of superimposing conventional planning strategies and standards, community planning forums allowed local residents to identify solutions and standards that worked for them. These were later rationalised by experts from the different consortia who contrasted them with official standards and followed principles of conservative surgery to minimise relocation. The results of this work were then returned to communities for validation and, in the end, local residents had the final say on whether a solution was fit for purpose or not. It is such an approach that can lead to the development of appropriate

strategies and standards that reflect the contextually specific needs and demands of different people who reside in informal settlements such as those in Mukuru or elsewhere in the world.

To conclude, then, the experience from the Mukuru SPA suggests that processes aimed at scaling participatory planning for informal settlement upgrading should be sensitive to context, flexible and adaptable in nature, and capable of engaging in multiple scaling endeavours. First and foremost, scaling is a process which should start locally by involving the most marginalised – in our case low-income residents of informal settlements – as drivers of change. This requires privileging bottom-up community mobilisation methods and tools which start at the smallest unit possible. Only once attitudes have changed and commitment is secured at this level – or what we have referred to as 'scaling deep' in this section – is it possible to 'scale outwards' to people elsewhere. In the Mukuru SPA, this was achieved by the CCOCC consortium through a community mobilisation process that started at the level of the household and then reached out to people in cells, sub-clusters, segments, the entire settlement and the city through training sessions, community exchanges and peer-to-peer learning. In doing this, it was possible to organise local communities and to enable residents to manage challenges in Mukuru. Finally, scaling participatory planning also requires reaching upwards – 'scaling up' – to higher institutional levels. Here, it is important to form partnerships with committed public, private and civil society stakeholders, although these partnerships should always be guided by and support the interests, goals and priorities of low-income communities. By combining efforts to scale deep, scale outwards and scale upwards, and by putting low-income residents at the heart of informal settlement upgrading processes and city planning, we believe that it is possible to build more inclusive, equitable and sustainable cities which 'leave no one behind'.

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