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The Evolution of Slum Upgrading: Mainstream Approaches Used

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ABSTRACT

“The slum is the measure of civilization.”

Jacob Riis.

The existence of slums is one of the many problems urban areas have to deal with. Increased migration from the rural areas to the urban areas in pursuit of better prospects have led to urban areas feeling the pressure and having to deal with an ever increasing population, without adequate housing for all. This has led to the rapid rise of slums which seemingly provides a temporary reprieve to the population pressure. However, the state and condition of these slum areas are detrimental and a health hazard not only to the people living there but to the greater population as well. This is why slum upgrading, though still a relatively new concept, is important. The process of turning inhabitable slums into areas where human life can thrive in all dimensions is fast gaining ground. This thesis looks at how the process of slum upgrading has evolved, in the process, identifying the approaches that have been used this far to implement it. The findings indicate that the process of dealing with slums has evolved from the areas being completely ignored to clearances and forced evictions to the more modern *in situ* upgrading methods. The approaches were found to have specific challenges but some such as security of tenure and infrastructure were common to all. The orientation of the process was found to be either spearheaded by the authorities or driven by the people influenced, with the outcome showing mixed results as to which is the better option.

Key Words: Slum Upgrading, Slums, Security of Tenure, Infrastructure, People Participation, Capabilities, Trusteeship

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ABBREVIATIONS

CDC	Community Development Committee
GoK	Government of Kenya
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
KENSUP	Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme
KISIP	Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
PSUP	Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Problem

Rapid urbanisation has led to projections that in about 35 years' time, the world's population will be one-third rural and two-thirds urban (UN, 2014). This is already in motion as urban areas have seen a sharp increase in their general populations while the rural population is in decline. This has led to a proliferation of people in limited spaces in urban areas, hence giving rise to what is perceived as slums. Globally, the Americas as well as the Caribbean have the highest number of people living in urban areas in comparison with Africa and Asia which register the lowest numbers of urban population. Though both Africa and Asia are projected as having the highest rate of urbanisation, they are still expected to remain two of the least urbanised regions in the world (UN, 2014). It appears that the growth of slums will probably continue, according to projections by the United Nations, unless appropriate action is taken.

The rise of slums, it would seem, is something that is happening the world over, albeit in different momentum. According to the UN (2013; 2015), Asia and sub-Saharan Africa are perhaps the most affected areas, experiencing the highest rate of new slums that it has almost become synonymous with urban growth. In sub-Saharan Africa alone, 55 per cent of the urban population is living in slums. This is the highest rate in the world. In comparison, Asia has 30 per cent and Latin America and the Caribbean have 20 per cent of their total urban population living in slums. North Africa had 11 per cent of its urban residents living in slums, the lowest rate in the developing world (UN, 2015). These numbers were higher but were significantly reduced with the introduction and completion of the MDGs.

Slums are generally considered a problem and are dealt with differently. This is primarily why the practise of slum upgrading was introduced; to improve the livelihoods of those living in slums (UN, 2003). Some governments choose to completely demolish the informal establishments to pave way for formal housing, while others get rid of the slums all together and force the people to move to other areas. Another approach that has been effected is improving the already existing structures or by partnering with international institutions such as UN-Habitat, World Bank and donor organisations to see the process through. Another method employed by local authorities and non-governmental organisations is to improve the infrastructure of the settlements and leave the development of the housing to the people. To sum it up, slum upgrading can take on different forms, presumably with different outcomes.

The growth of slums can be attributed to the following factors. These include Rural – Urban migration, rapid urbanization, housing crisis, natural disasters, social conflicts, displaced people as a result of war, general poverty, all round poor infrastructure, social exclusion as well as economic stagnation. All these contribute to the rise of slums. There are different thoughts and ideas of what characterises a slum. The UN (2010) gives five characteristics of a slum; (i) inadequate access to safe water, (ii) inadequate access to sanitation and infrastructure, (iii) poor structural quality of housing, (iv) overcrowding and (v) insecure residential status. Thus, people living in slums are subjected to poor living conditions and are susceptible to diseases as a result of poor sanitation, amongst other things. Also, slum dwellers are socially excluded from the larger economic, social and legal framework of the cities as they are considered informal settlements.

Hence, not only is slum upgrading crucial to overall urban and national development, but the urban poor are as entitled to equal services and opportunities as the rest of the population. Instead of having these informal settlements where social exclusion and underdevelopment is prevalent, slums can be integrated into the larger framework of the cities and contribute to economic, social and even cultural development (UN, 2010). The slums and their dwellers can be productive in the society as a whole given the chance and this can go a long way in contributing to the overall development of the cities and regions.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

The main aim of this study is to identify and understand the mainstream approaches to slum upgrading that have come to be since the concept was conceived and what characterises them. Slum upgrading can be implemented in a number of different ways, as mentioned above, and this study aims to examine the different methods that have been put to practise and assess their eventual outcomes.

To be able to achieve this, this thesis will look at case studies in three different countries. These will be actual programmes that have been implemented and either completed or still in progress. The case studies, each from a different country, will exemplify an approach to dealing with slums. With the help of these practical examples, it will be easier to understand the different approaches that have been adopted to deal with the fast-growing problem of

slums. Keeping the aim of this thesis in mind, the following research questions will be explored further:

- How have approaches to slum upgrading evolved?
- What characterises the different approaches to slum upgrading that have been used so far?
- How do these approaches compare in terms of viability?
- What challenges/obstacles are faced by the different slum upgrading practices?

1.3 Definitions

It is prudent to have a working definition of key terms. This section gives a brief generic definition of a slum. The next chapter will provide more depth into the evolution of the term '*slum*'. Though experts and think tanks alike agree that it would be extremely hard to define a slum in a few sentences as there are many dimensions to it, according to the Oxford Dictionary, a slum is 'a squalid and overcrowded urban street or district inhabited by very poor people'. Merriam-Webster Dictionary (1994) defined it as 'a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing and squalor'. *Slum upgrading* is therefore defined as the improvement/reversal of the livelihoods and living conditions of the slum dwellers (Cities Alliance, 1999). Slum upgrading is still a relatively new concept so once more, its origin and evolution will be discussed more in the next chapter.

1.4 Delimitation

This study focuses on the various approaches to slum upgrading that have been employed by different organisations/authorities. However, this thesis acknowledges that there are different reasons for selecting what method is used in what slum. The outcomes likely vary as well and the results are influenced by a number of factors. Thus, this thesis will look at case studies that would likely be representative of other programmes undertaken with a focus on whether the approach is people-centric or driven by the authorities. There will be a metric used to determine the viability of the approaches as well. All the same, the thesis does acknowledge that the metric used may not be fully representative of all the dimensions of slum upgrading.

Also, due to time constraints, it was not possible to collect primary data from interviews or fieldwork. The data used for analysis is all secondary but for authentication purposes, all the material has been drawn from reliable sources. These include published book and journals as well as material from official and authorised websites. This is to minimize the chances of wrongful and/or misleading information. However, it should also be noted that this does not completely eliminate the risk of getting biased information.

1.5 Disposition

This first chapter serves as an introduction to the research problem at hand. It introduces the research topic, its aim and purpose as well as relates the issue to a more general and global perspective. Chapter 2 will focus on the context of the topic and a review of the existing literature on the subject. Definitions of the terms ‘slum’ and ‘slum upgrading’ will also be examined in this chapter. Chapter 3 will contain the theoretical framework which will connect the process of slum upgrading to both early and contemporary literature and theories from development literature. Here there will be a better understanding as to how this contemporary issue can be seen through the lenses of development theories. Chapter 4 will detail the methods and methodology used in the study. This section will also serve to explain why and how the methods used were chosen. Chapter 5 will deal with the case studies while chapter 6 will look at the findings and analysis including an in-depth discussion. Finally, the thesis will end with a short summary/conclusion in the last chapter.

2. CONTEXT AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Slums

The definition of the word 'slum' is a bit of a contentious issue. It is not very easy to place the exact etymology of the word 'slum' as there are many different accounts. However, it is widely believed that the word was first introduced in the early 1800s, with its first known definition appearing in the Vocabulary of Flash Language in 1812 where it was introduced as a synonym with 'racket' or 'criminal trade' (Davis, 2006). Back then a slum was defined in much of the same way as it is known today; a settlement in an urban area where the poor lived under precarious conditions, but they were also heavily associated with criminal activities. In the 1880s, the Housing Reform Movement in England defined slum houses as "a house materially unfit for human habitation" (UN 2010). Then again in 1894, the US Department of Labour conducted a survey entitled *The Slums of Great Cities* which had its definition of a slum being "areas of dirty back streets especially when inhabited by a squalid and criminal population".

The definition of the word has evolved since then but the basic ideas behind what a slum is still remain. Finding a general consensus on the definition has been a challenge. In 2003, UN-Habitat published its Global Report on Human Settlements entitled *The Challenge of Slums* and in it, started formulating what would be a global definition of the word. It was defined as "a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city." (UN, 2010). A slum household was defined as a group of individuals living under the same roof and lacking one or more of the following conditions; access to improved water, access to improved sanitation, sufficient living area, structural quality and durability of housing and security of tenure (UN 2009). There are also a number of other terms used interchangeably with *slum*, some of them being favela, shanty and ghetto.

2.2 Slum Upgrading

Cities Alliance¹ defines slum upgrading as ‘an integrated approach that aims to turn around downward trends in an area. These downward trends can be legal (land tenure), physical (infrastructure), social (crime or education, for example) or economic.’ (online, accessed 2016). Satterthwaite & Mitlin (2013) define “upgrading” as measures to improve the quality of housing and the provision of housing-related infrastructure and services to settlements that are categorised as ‘slums’ or that developed illegally. The Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme², launched in 2008, can be said to have defined slum upgrading in their objectives. The organisation aims at ‘improving the lives of slum dwellers by addressing the five deprivations that characterize a slum namely, inadequate water; sanitation; durability of housing, overcrowding and tenure insecurity.’

Most scholars and organisations may have their own ideas of what slum upgrading should be defined as but one thing they all seem to agree on is that it is multi-dimensional. It is not just about housing and/or providing adequate infrastructure. It is all-encompassing and involves taking into consideration the social, economic, cultural, institutional and legal aspects and ensuring the people at the centre of it are active participants.

2.3 Literature Review

As can be seen above, slums have evolved with time. From being considered crime havens to the world seeing them as uninhabitable places for any human. This awareness begged for a solution and thus slum upgrading was conceived. Probably the first referral point of modern slum upgrading would be John F. C. Turner’s writings. In his book, *Freedom to Build*, (1972), he argued based on field observations in Peru, that the solution to slums was not in their complete demolition, but in improving the environment. If governments could improve the sanitary conditions and environmental quality of slum areas, then residents, given their organizational skills and resourcefulness will gradually improve their houses, especially when encouraged by security of tenure and access to credit.

¹ Cities Alliance is a global partnership for urban poverty reduction and the promotion of the role of cities in sustainable development with its members including local authorities, national governments, non-governmental organisations, multi-lateral organisations, and Associate Members.

² PSUP is an initiative formed by the joint efforts of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Group of States, the European Commission (EC) and UN-Habitat.

Turner introduces a hands-off approach to the slum problem. He advocates for the state taking a minimalist role in the provision of housing for the urban poor. He insists housing, just like education and health care falls under the basic human right to do for one's self whatever they are capable of doing (Turner, 1972). He is keen on the concept of owner-builders³. In this, he is joined by author Pugh (2000) who backs the idea of self-help housing; this involves the people building the houses themselves. He looks at this as a way of solving the housing crisis in developing countries, citing examples from early periods in Sweden, Italy and ancient Sri Lanka (Pugh, 2000: 333). However, the two writers differ on one aspect; Turner is against state intervention while Pugh thinks that it is necessary, though he acknowledges that self-help housing does not get that much attention from the authorities (Pugh, 2000).

Turner (1972) berates the authorities, who are supposed to support and enhance these efforts, for taking possession of these activities and leaving the people out. He goes on to say that authoritarian solutions cannot be used to solve technocratic issues and if sustainable housing was to be provided to all, the authorities merely need to facilitate the process. This is done through making sure infrastructure and other services are provided for the people. Then the dwellers themselves will improve their housing situation out of their own accord (Turner, 1972). His writings heavily influenced slum upgrading as it is known today and contributed to the World Bank's first generation slum upgrading projects.

Werlin in his 1999 paper titled *The Slum Upgrading Myth* has a different point of view from Turner. Albeit sympathising with Turner's opposition of state intervention when it comes to slum upgrading, he comes to the conclusion that it is necessary for the state to be involved. He notes that the role of the authorities that Turner advocates for leaves a lot of loopholes especially when it comes to legal matters. According to Werlin (1999), these would include security of tenure, land acquisition as well as maintenance. These are crucial to slum upgrading for sustainability purposes and this can only be achieved when the state is involved so that it can guarantee this to the dwellers. He recognises the need for a humanistic bureaucracy as well as a strong administration to combine 'development from above' with 'development from below' (Werlin, 1999:1533).

³ An owner builder is a homeowner that is contracting their own homebuilding or other construction project rather than hiring a general contractor. Owner builders take on all the responsibility and liability that would normally fall on the contractor.

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This is supported by other authors such as McGee and Yeun (1977) who looked at the trends in Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaysia, among others. They found that the government expanded income-earning opportunities for the urban poor who were considered as being within the informal sector. This enabled the urban poor to earn better incomes and this in turn contributed to recovery of costs for service maintenance, through incorporating them into the economic framework. It has also been observed that World Bank upgrading projects that emphasise security of tenure can recover 70 to 90 percent of the total cost from the beneficiaries (Viloria et al., 1998). This is because with security of tenure, the residents have a sense of belonging; they can claim the land and their houses. This in turn encourages them to invest more which helps with cost recovery for the participating organisations/authorities.

Gulyani and Bassett (2007) explored slum upgrading in their paper *Retrieving the Baby from the Bathwater: Slum Upgrading in Sub-Saharan Africa*. They provide an interesting view to slum upgrading. In the paper, they look at slum upgrading in terms of security of tenure and infrastructure, noting that in the past, slum upgrading initiatives concentrated on one or the other. However, in the more recent past, the projects have addressed both concerns and have them amongst their objectives, either explicitly stated or implied (Gulyani & Bassett, 2007:491).

One aspect that is common in the literature reviewed is security of tenure. Most authors (Pugh 2000; Werlin, 1999; Gulyani & Bassett, 2007 et al) argue that this would actually make the projects more sustainable. This is because the dwellers would feel a sense of ownership and responsibility thus will be more than willing to see the project through. In return, security of tenure is important because once the houses and the land they sit on are included into the larger formal framework, then taxes can be levied and collected which serves as a revenue source for the local authorities (Turner, 1972; Werlin, 1999; Gulyani & Bassett, 2007) Another author, Hernando de Soto Polar (2000), also advocates for dwellers being given security of tenure observing that lack thereof hinders them from fully developing and investing in the land. It has also been observed that tenants will invest in the land if they have even a perceived/implied sense of security through informal or spoken channels (Gulyani & Bassett, 2007).

It would therefore, appear that the two key aspects in slum upgrading are infrastructure and security of tenure. In most instances, security of tenure is seen as a precursor to the installation or improvement of infrastructure. Precedence serves to show that securing land

rights is the first step in slum upgrading (Werlin, 1999). However, according to Gulyani and Bassett (2007), the reverse can work just as well, with infrastructure paving the way for tenure regularisation. They even go further to suggest that the two can be separated and pursued as different objective on different projects. This is seen as desirable as it would be easier to achieve both separately (Gulyani & Bassett, 2007:507).

Arimah (2010), working closely with the World Bank also looks at slum upgrading. He begins from the mid-20th century when slums were starting to become a problem for most governments. He seems to be on the same page with other authors such as Njoh (2003) and Wekwete (1997) who thought that slums were viewed as temporary at the time. They were attributed to rural-urban migration but most governments thought this would be sorted with economic growth. When this hands-off approach did not work, the authorities turned to forced evictions and slum clearances. These were criticised by the international community and a different approach had to be adopted. He speaks of slum resettlement, which entails the slum dwellers being relocated to alternative locations. This was however seen as another form of forced evictions because the dwellers, in most cases, were not partisan. Thus more modern approaches to slum upgrading were formulated, as an improved solution (Arimah, 2010).

Another author, Sule (1990), put forth his opinion on how slums should be dealt with. His paper, looking at a case study in Lagos, condemns the forced evictions and suggests 5 key ways of dealing with slums. These are: acquisition of the slum land; mandatory relocation of the dwellers; clearance of the slum dwellings; site improvements/upgrade then disbursement back to the dwellers in accordance with local laws (Sule, 1990). This seems to contradict Turner who not only believed in minimal intervention by the state but also in leaving as much as the original structures standing. However, Sule (1990) seems to agree with Werlin (1999) as they both think the state should be active in the process and serve as a guide to the dwellers. He is also on the same page as Arimah (2010), when it comes to resettlement as a solution.

Slum upgrading has also been the focus of international efforts, being featured in both the MDGs and the SDGs. In the MDGs, goal number 7, target 11⁴, focused on ensuring the living conditions of slum populations are improved. According to the 2015 report, this was

⁴ Goal 7, target 11: by 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers.

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considered somewhat a success with the proportion of the urban population living in slums in the developing regions falling from 39.4 percent to 29.7 percent between 2000 and 2014. This is attributed largely to the slum upgrading projects undertaken in the developing world. Most of these projects were implemented through cooperation between the UN and the local governments of the countries (UN, 2015).

More recently, the SDGs have also featured slums in some of its goals and targets. Perhaps the most telling one is goal number 11 which aims to “make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.” This is spearheaded by organisations such as UN Habitat, Urban Cities and Local Governments and Cities Alliance, ICLEI and Metropolis. Some scholars argue that this is better because it is an explicit standalone goal on its own, as opposed to being a target within a goal as it was under the MDGs. This begs the question; will the SDGs operate in the same way as the MDGs or will they implement slum upgrading using different models? The outcome remains to be seen.

2.4 Summary

From the above writings, it can be observed that there has been considerable research into slum upgrading. Most research has been country/area specific, focusing on the particular programmes or one specific method used. However, little appears to have been written on the evolution of slum upgrading practices and that is the research gap this thesis aims to bridge. Therefore, this thesis intends to not only explore the different ways slum upgrading can be carried out but to also identify who, between the people and the state, takes the lead during implementation. This thesis also aims to look at the challenges faced during the process. Since a lot of the literature that has been written is based on the study of specific programmes, this study looks to identify approaches that would be likely representative of initiatives undertaken elsewhere and evaluate them. Therefore, one of the main aims is to contribute to this gap and bring to light more knowledge on the different ways slum upgrading programmes have been carried out since the concept was introduced and examine the characteristics of the approaches. The case studies help to do this by providing actual experiences of approaches used, in addition to the evaluation done.

3. THEORY

The theoretical framework for this paper is based on literature within the development studies field. The two theories used are the theory of Trusteeship and the Capabilities Approach theory.

3.1 Trusteeship

The theory of Trusteeship is simply defined as ‘intent which is expressed, by one source of agency, to develop the capacities of another’ (Cowen & Shenton, 1996). When it was first propounded, it was viewed as an almost noble cause; the already developed should take it upon themselves to help the un/under-developed and civilise them (Desai & Potter, 2014). Later, the theory was critiqued as being very Euro-centric because it basically involved the West imposing their development models in the so-called ‘third-world’. They took it upon themselves and viewed it as their responsibility to help develop the developing world, since they had the highest capacity to utilise resources in the interest of society. Tania Murray Li calls this the ‘will to improve’ citing that though the intentions may be good, the outcome may not reflect that (Li, 2007). This is one of the main theories that explain the origins of development as it is understood today, and by extension, slum upgrading. It was put forward as early as during the time of the Saint-Simonians, which is during the early 19th century and was used by French, British and Dutch imperialists to help their colonies develop by following their examples (Desai & Potter, 2014). The theory is seen as part of the development doctrine and one cannot exist without the other (Cowen & Shenton, 1996).

Trusteeship has evolved throughout the years although its fundamental principles remain. The theory is still based on the already developed world being entrusted with resources since they are viewed as the most capable of utilising them to benefit all (Cowen & Shenton, 1996). More recently there has been Mahatma Gandhi who was a strong supporter insisting the rich should take it upon themselves to take care of the poor and less fortunate (Gandhi, 1947). Most approaches to slum upgrading can be seen as trusteeship reinforced. The international organisations and local authorities take it upon themselves to improve the livelihoods of those living in slums. This is supported by scholars such as Werlin and Yeun (1999; 1977), with one of their reason perhaps being that the state (trustees) can help with the challenge of security of tenure. This is a top-down approach where the executive and most important decisions are made at the top levels of the bureaucracy. The shareholders consult and

formulate ways to deal with the slums, which they think will be most beneficial to the dwellers and the greater good. In some cases, the dwellers themselves are even consulted and given a platform to be heard but at the end of it, the programmes are mostly carried out as the shareholders envisioned them.

Quite a significant number of slum upgrading programmes are initiatives of either the governments or international organisations, or both. Trusteeship can be said to be an almost defunct theory, with most of the development world renouncing it in the late twentieth century (Cowen & Shenton, 1996:413-414). However, this thesis finds that it can still be seen in play in the development world. Having all these external powers going to the slum dwellers and wanting to change their lives shows that. Given, for some it is a noble cause, but the dwellers do at times suffer from inferiority complex, especially if they are not really consulted. Therefore, it can be seen that trusteeship has been a big influencing factor on how slum upgrading is carried out especially where international organisations, governments and donors are concerned. From a personal perspective, there is a risk of people feeling disempowered.

3.2 Capabilities Approach

This approach, mainstreamed by Amartya Sen, looks at development from a different angle. It can be argued that for a long time, development was viewed in terms of economic prosperity and industrialisation (Sen, 2001). This was expected to be achieved through the state and its institutions for the benefit of the people. However, Sen introduces a different angle which looks at people as active agents in the process of development and not just as passive onlookers. This is as long as they are provided with the right conditions to enable them to achieve this; social justice (Nussbaum, 2003). This approach introduces the concepts of functionings and capabilities. The deprivation of basic capabilities refers to the fact that people are not able to lead the lives they have reason to value (Sen 2001:87). The thinking behind it is that once the people's capabilities have been expanded and they have equal and available opportunities, they will be able to realise the functionings; this is to say they will be able to better their situations and live more fulfilling lives (Sen, 2001).

This can be used to explain John Turner's view of slum upgrading. Whereas Turner advocates for a minimalist role to be undertaken by the state, he does at least see the

importance of the authorities in the process. The authorities still have the responsibility of ensuring social amenities and infrastructure are provided; the dwellers will then go about improving their housing conditions and eventually their livelihoods (Turner, 1972).

According to Turner, the slum dwellers only need their capabilities expanded and they shall be able to function by themselves, as autonomous entities. This approach can also apply to the writings of Werlin and McGee and Yeun (1999; 1977) as they also view the state as having a role to play. The difference between the Turner and the latter three authors is the level of involvement of the state.

In some ways, this approach describes Turner's thoughts almost perfectly. Both Turner and Sen seem to believe that the people are more enterprising and capable than they are given credit for. Both believe that with the right conditions in place, the people have the ability to not only help themselves but improve their own lives (Turner, 1972; Sen, 1999). Turner insists the owner-builder method of planning, construction, and maintenance is efficient as it saves the authorities money, time and resources (Turner, 1972:9).

The Capabilities Approach appears to somehow contradict the theory of Trusteeship. Whereas in the latter the state and other authorities take charge, in the former, the role of the state is simply to empower the people and let them guide and determine their own prosperity. It is also important to note that that most of the capabilities Sen (2001) identifies in his writings are also considered human rights. Therefore, by failing to enable these capabilities, the state may be denying the people their entitled rights (Nussbaum, 2003).

3.3 Summary

The above two theories broadly encompass the various slum upgrading approaches that have been used since the process began. With trusteeship, involvement of the authorities would be considered key to the success of the slum upgrading programmes while the capabilities approach would seem to be in favour of more active participation of the people in the process. These two theories will help this paper to answer its research questions and find out what is at the heart of the slum upgrading approaches used, with each theory representing a side. The case studies to be assessed will give a better understanding of how slum upgrading is carried out.

4. METHODOLOGY

This section aims to describe how the study was performed. The study is qualitative in nature since it is primarily looking at how things are done in practice and how, if at all, this can be improved. The important thing here is the process and thus the methodology of using different sources and writings on actual cases will help to explore the research problem better and answer the research question(s) raised.

4.1 Data Collection/Construction

Through a qualitative approach the researcher can get a description of the context of the research thus, can better identify the patterns, regularities, and further solution. (Hayati et al, 2006). The research is mainly explorative as it seeks to explore and understand the evolution of slum upgrading and its approaches. Data collection is from secondary sources. Prior research has been done on slum upgrading and this thesis aims to examine some of the experiences.

A substantial amount of the literature used to provide context to the research problem and statistics includes reports and field assessments of actual projects. These are from the UN, World Bank, government ministries and affiliates as well as independent reports. Books and scholarly articles written on slum upgrading in general as well as specific cases also form part of the basis of data collection. These are writings which are independent of the organisations or authorities implementing the projects. This is arguably a useful approach because these different literature sources bring to light different perspectives of the same issue thus making the study more reliable as it draws from a broad scope. This then lessens the risk of getting a biased perspective. Looking at things from different points of view or multiple strategies, is a method to overcome the problems that stem from studies relying upon a single theory, a single method, a single set of data from a limited sample, and from a single investigator (Mikkelsen 2005:196).

“The status of things as ‘documents’ depends precisely on the ways in which such objects are integrated into fields of action, and documents can only be defined in terms of such fields.” (Prior 2003: 2) Therefore, a document can be a book, a report or even a film. All these are utilised by this thesis.

Turner's book *Freedom to Build* and Werlin's paper, *The Slum Upgrading Myth* (1999) are looked at in-depth because they put forward two of the biggest hypothesis when it comes to slum upgrading. These two, along with Gulyani and Bassett's paper *Retrieving the Baby from the Bathwater: Slum Upgrading in Sub-Saharan Africa* (2007) offer what they consider best practises for slum upgrading. At the same time, they discuss the process from different perspectives which brings out diversity. These along with writings from various other authors such as Pugh (2000) and Arimah (2010) are analysed.

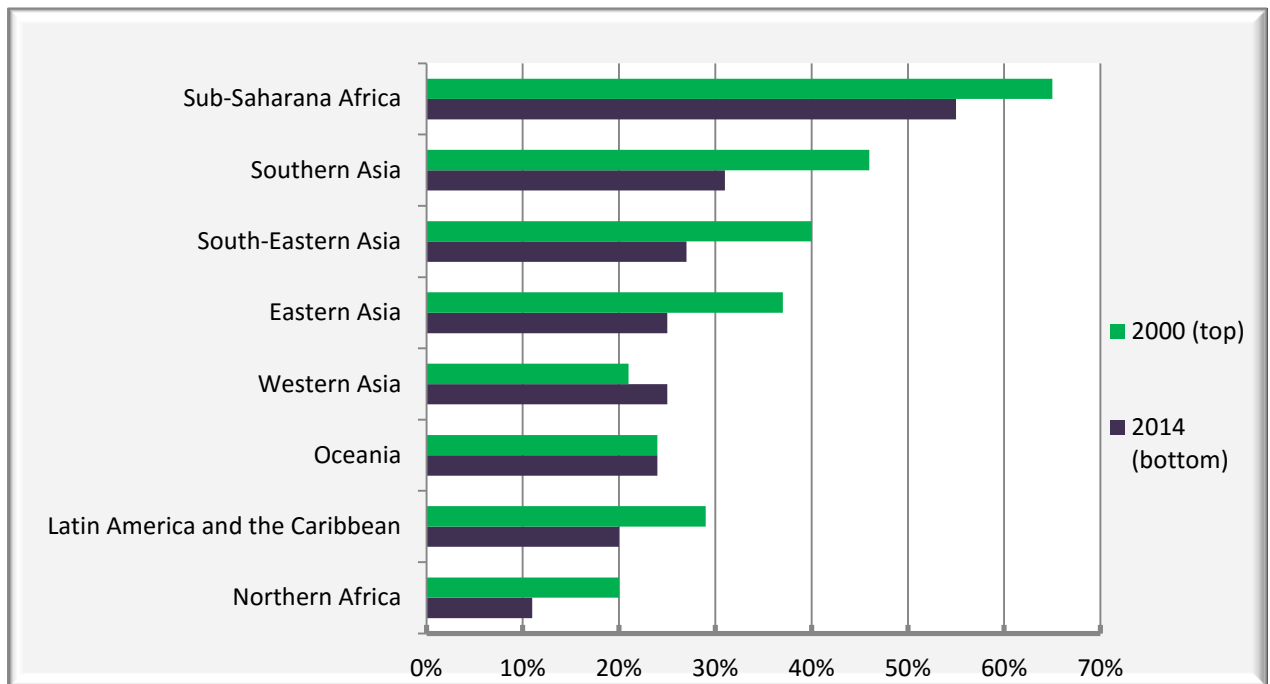
The case studies are drawn from various authors who have done research and written reports specifically on the individual cases. It was not very easy to select which case reports to focus on. The thesis utilised the reference lists in the main texts to get credible reports on the cases for analysis. There was also an analysis of a documentary, *Good Fortune* (2009) for one of the case studies. The choice of this particular film was timely as it was used as a teaching tool in my first course. This helps give more quality to the data collected as it gives the opinions of both slum dwellers and the implementers. At the same time, it raises questions of authenticity since it may have been tailored to suit a particular narrative. All the same, it was a good critical tool for analysis.

4.2 Selection of Cases and Criteria

Case-study design is often used when studying contemporary phenomenon within real-life contexts with the desire to understand complex social phenomenon (Yin 2003:1-2). The selection of the cases to be studied was one of the more challenging parts. This thesis used purposive sampling, which is a type of non-probability sampling. The most basic criterion was that the examples of slum upgrading projects would be from the developing world. That was the most important selecting factor because it is these areas that breed the largest and most vulnerable slums (UN, 2013). Thus, the thesis used the UN-Habitat website to find examples of slum upgrading programmes that have been carried out in the developing world. Two criteria were used; the size of the project (the bigger the better) as well as the amount of available material on the project. After getting various examples, the thesis came up with a list of around 10 projects done in different countries in Africa, Asia and South America. The countries included Kenya, Brazil, Angola, India, China, Nigeria, South Africa, among others. These 10 case studies were chosen because they were either pioneers in their countries or they were the biggest and most recognised programmes.

Below is a figure to help explain why south and sub-Saharan Africa, southern Asia and Latin America were the best choices. With most of the world's slums concentrated in these areas, they have experienced quite a number of slum upgrading programmes, from both local and international efforts.

Fig. 1: Proportion of Urban Poor Living in Slums 2000 and 2014



Source: UN, 2015

Doing research and reading up on as many different actual cases helps to select the most relevant out of each approach. It was not easy to select the cases. In an ideal situation, the thesis would have preferred to select a case study each from one of the three regions; Africa, Latin America and Asia. However, after studying the programmes in the 3 regions, 5 stood out as there was more research and credible material about them. Thus the initial 10 were narrowed down to 5 and a synthesis matrix was used to identify similarities and differences between the case studies. The criteria used to construct the matrix were based on the research questions so as to bring out the best possible answers.

Table 1: Case Studies Synthesis Matrix

	<u>Kenya</u>	<u>India</u>	<u>Zimbabwe</u>	<u>South Africa</u>	<u>Nigeria</u>
Name	KENSUP, Kibera	Yerwada Project	Operation Murambatsvina	Zwelisha, eThinkwini, Durban	Maroko
How was it done?	Build low cost houses and move slum dwellers there temporarily	Strengthening already existing structures and building some new ones	Mass clearance and demolition	Upgrade slum area	Forced Eviction for illegal occupation;
Reason given	Improve dwellers' livelihoods	Improve lives of the locals	Get rid of illegal housing & illegal business activities	Improve the dwellers' livelihood	Public interest and to improve life of the dwellers; security concerns; illegal status of the dwellers
Other motives	Politically motivated	Restore order	Politically motivated	Tribally motivated	Financially motivated
Planning	Move dwellers to decanting sites then construct more permanent houses	Community consultation; people participation; temporary housing for tenants with demolished houses	None; evictees told to go back to rural areas	Community participation; feasibility studies	Only verbal notice; no resettlement plan; resettlement committee put in place after demolitions
Problems	Infrastructure, living costs	Lots of old houses	Many rendered homeless	Micro- management	Not all eventually resettled

Sources: Agbola & Jinadu, 1997; Anderson & Mwelu, 2013; Dimuna & Omatsone, 2010; Folarin, 2010; Joiveman 2010; Otchet, 1999; Patel, 2011; 2013; Stenton, 2015; UN, 2005

After careful study and much deliberation on the five case studies depicted above, the thesis finally selected 3 to focus and expound on. These were the programmes from Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa. Settling on these three was challenging but it was motivated by certain factors. For one, these three had the most material written about them, given the available resources and limited time. Also, the three final case studies can be seen as likely representative of most of the rest. The approaches used by these three were, more or less, what the other cases had employed, taking into consideration context, of course. Therefore, the programmes in Kibera, Maroko and Zwelisha were seemingly representative of different approaches used in slum upgrading and thus the best choices in this context. The thesis then used a comparative approach to analyse the case studies.

The other two projects, India and Zimbabwe, were looked at in slightly more detail as well. They were used to complement two of the three case studies as they use almost completely similar approaches. This will be discussed more in the chapters to follow.

4.3 Metric and Scale of Slum Upgrading Success

The general metric used for to determine success or failure in the thesis is the universally recognised UN (2010) characteristics of slums. According to PSUP's objectives, slum upgrading aims to improve the livelihoods of slum dwellers by addressing the five areas of concern that characterise a slum. Therefore, for a slum upgrading project to be considered a success the initiative must have eliminated the underlined characteristics of a slum and human life must have been improved in line with the basic human rights and freedoms.

Thus, the metric of measurement that will be used to categorise the failure or success of the programmes will include looking at whether the programme addressed the following: inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status (UN, 2010). The scale is a 3 point grading scale: Yes (successful), Partly (semi/temporarily successful), No (not successful).

4.4 Limitations

There is a challenge of using secondary data for research, including the fact that the information may not be exactly accurate. There is also the danger of the representation being one sided and biased. However, the books, reports, assessments, M&Es, articles, films, publications, etc., that this thesis will use have all either been fully endorsed by their parent organisations and/or fellow scholars and the books have inspired deeper research into the world of slum upgrading. Also to curb bias, the secondary sources vary in terms of ideologies and hypothesis thus the paper explored a number of different perspectives. The data was analysed critically. This helped produce an impartial paper. However, this is not to say that room for error has been one hundred percent eliminated. There is still the risk of the information gathered being biased or less that accurate in relation to the situation on the ground. This is well noted and acknowledged.

5. CASE STUDIES

This chapter will focus on the case studies selected to depict the different approaches to slum upgrading. These are cases in Nigeria, South Africa and Kenya.

5.1 Maroko, Lagos, Nigeria

The residents of Maroko started settling there in 1972, on what was government land. Since around that time, there were many threats of eviction and demolition from the government, citing many reasons. The area had been cleared twice before, in 1982 and 1983, but the slum kept growing back as demolition was not a permanent solution (Folarin, 2010). At the time of demolition, there were over 300,000 inhabitants (Folarin, 2010; Agbola & Jinadu, 1997). Key amongst the reasons given for demolition was that the land was not suitable for habitation and that the dwellers were living in very precarious conditions. Seeing as the land they occupied sat 1.5 metres above sea level, it was vulnerable to floods and submergence, not to mention diseases (Otchet, 1999). Thus, not only was the government ridding the city of illegal occupants, they were also supposedly looking out for the dwellers by getting rid of the slum settlement and paving way for a better life. Or at least that was the official stand on the matter (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997). The entire process was funded and facilitated by the state government of Lagos.

5.1.1 *The Approach*

Finally in 1990, the government made good on its threats and cleared the settlement again. The then military Governor of the state mobilised his security forces and they forcibly evicted the dwellers. However, the way they went about it left a lot to be desired. There was no formal body/organisation to handle the process of relocating the dwellers. The use of force left behind quite a number of casualties; some of the residents were heavily injured, raped, killed and their possessions looted (Folarin, 2010). As one author put it, it was a planning disaster (Sule, 1990). The residents were not given written notices of the clearance. They received verbal communication seven days before the demolition began. They did not know what would happen as there were no guidelines provided detailing the process. This is explained more by Sule (1990) who says the slum lords were served with notices but hid them from the tenants to avoid losing rent money. At the time of demolition, there was no resettlement scheme in place. A committee was formed six days after the clearance was done.

This was attributed to public outcry and pressure from the international community (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997).

The resettlement plan was sketchy. The government decided to relocate the dwellers to three of their housing estates. These were Ilasan, Ikota and Epe housing estates. The planning was not well structured and as a result, there were many issues. For one, at the time of allocation, most of the housing units were not completed, hence inhabitable. Also, the housing allocation process was flawed as some dwellers that were previously not land owners ended up owning more than two plots of land while some of the former home owners were left with nothing. Of the estimated 41,776 landlords who lost their land at Maroko, only about 2,933 were considered for relocation (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997). Therefore, most of the dwellers missed out on any form of housing or subsequent compensation. They were rendered homeless and forced to look for new housing on their own.

5.1.2 Underlying Issues

The reason the government gave for taking such action was that the dwellers were illegal settlers in the land. However, some scholars were sceptical of this. There were many theories surrounding the clearance. One was that the slum was located too close to a very affluent neighbourhood whose residents considered it an eyesore. The slum was seen as a haven for diseases and crime which the wealthy of the neighbourhoods of Ikoyi and Victoria Island abhorred (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997; Folarin, 2010). There was also the fact that this had an impact on their properties, with reduced value due to the proximity to a slum. Another underlying reason for the slum demolition was the fact that the two affluent neighbourhoods had been stretched beyond capacity and thus needed more land for expansion. Naturally, Maroko was the best choice because it was closest (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997).

Given that the government said that the dwellers had settled there illegally, it was surprising when new facts came to light. The above claim was dispelled when research showed that a majority of the residents in the slum were actually resettled there by the government and were paying annual rent to the chieftaincy which owned the land. The rest were owners who had leased the land from the same chieftaincy (Agbola & Jinadu, 1997; Folarin, 2010). Dimuna & Omatsone (2010) also fault the government for failing to recognize the basic rights of the inhabitants when it comes to housing, in accordance with international conventions.

Fast forward to the present day, it would seem the so-called conspiracy theorists may have been on to something as Maroko became an extension of Victoria Island and is now a home for the rich and influential. It is now a part of what is Nigeria's prime estate property (Folarin, 2010).

5.2 Zwelisha, Durban, South Africa

Since the mid-1980s, Zwelisha (eThekweni municipality) has been home to two major ethnic groups, the Zulu-speaking and the Xhosa-speaking people, with the latter being the earlier settlers. There have been tensions since the late-1990s, with the former accusing the latter of opposing upgrading since they were the owners of the large plots of land on which the slum settlements sat on. Thus, the Zulu were of the opinion that the Xhosa stood a lot more to lose by the upgrading efforts (Patel, 2013). However, this was put to rest when the Community Development Committee lobbied the then councillor to support a slum upgrading project which debuted in 2005. The project was then launched, led by the CDC with the support of the local municipality, which funded it.

5.2.1 The Approach

The CDC was tasked with managing the professionals, experts and consultants employed for the project as well as attend community participation meetings in its capacity as the people's representative. First, the committee came up with a housing list of eligible residents. The criteria for eligibility for a state subsidised house in eThekweni are: (i) must be a South African citizen; (ii) must not have received government subsidy before; (iii) combined household income must not exceed R3500; (iv) must not own or have owned property before; (v) must be married or cohabiting with long term partner or single with financial dependants; and (vi) must be 18 years of age or above. Other types of different value subsidies were available for higher income earners (online accessed, 2016)

The upgrade approach used was *in situ* upgrading. This is the approach recommended by South African authorities. As one author put it, this approach was considered to be "responsive to poverty and vulnerability, and also, will lead to social inclusion" as well as empowerment of slum communities, compared to relocation to new sites (Huchzermeyer 2006, cited in Ziblim, 2013). The CDC led the residents through the entire process of applying for the housing subsidy, depending on whether or not they were eligible, and was

very active during the entire upgrading process (online accessed, 2016) For example, if residents missed the community participation meetings, the CDC would go to their homes and pass on the information (Patel, 2013). Once the residents were well informed, the construction of new houses began on site. After these were completed, the first group was moved into them. The builders then demolished the shacks that had been left behind and constructed more new, subsidised houses which were also occupied once done. This went on until the entire settlement had been upgraded and no more shacks were left standing.

Patel (2013) observed that though the micro-management by the CDC worked extremely well in the end, the whole process was slightly excluding to the residents and most were not really aware of what the upgrading entailed. Rather, they just followed what the CDC instructed them to do. This was supported by some of the interviews conducted. All the same, both the residents and the professionals lauded the CDC for their handling of the upgrading process, citing that their presence and hands-on approach made the process more streamlined (Patel, 2013). The project was formally completed in 2009 when the last buildings were constructed.

The aftermath of the project still sees the CDC involved with the community, albeit in a reduced role. The committee still attends meetings to hear out the people. Perhaps their most prominent role in sustainability of the project is ensuring the rules put in place are upheld (Patel, 2013). For example, construction of *sheebeens*⁵ and other shacks is banned and failure to comply will result in the residents losing their investment (building materials) if they are evicted. The CDC does regular inspections and reports any anomalies to the municipality to take action.

Generally, the project was considered a success because ‘housing needs were met, political power increased (for the CDC) and defined tenure security and wellbeing improved.’ (Patel, 2013:11) The residents agree that the upgrading was a success citing the improved quality of life they now have. Patel drew this from the interviews he conducted with some of the residents. In general, they all seemed satisfied to be home-owners and now have peace of mind when it comes to their shelter situations (Patel, 2011; 2013).

⁵ An illicit bar or club, where excisable alcoholic beverages are sold without a licence.

5.3 Kibera, Nairobi, Kenya

There have been several slum upgrading programmes in Kenya. Most have been concentrated in the capital, Nairobi which is host to a number of slums including Kibera, Mathare and Mukuru kwa Njenga. As a result, the government of Kenya partnered with various shareholders to tackle the mushrooming of slums. Two programmes were initiated, the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme in 2004 and the Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Project⁶ in 2011. The former, which is the subject of the case study, is a joint initiative of UN-Habitat and the Government of Kenya, which both funded it. They collaborated with civil society partners and participating local communities with the private sector also being involved in various capacities.

Kibera was one of the key targets of the programme, being the second largest slum in Africa with a population of just over 170,000 inhabitants (UN-Habitat, 2014). KENSUP was first implemented here before being gradually rolled out across the country. It should be noted that the key objectives of the programme were to improve both the housing situation as well as develop infrastructure. Community participation was also one of their key focuses. The programme was long term, scheduled to run from 2005-2025.

5.3.1 The Approach

The programme on the ground was run by professionals from both the government of Kenya as well as UN-Habitat personnel. According to the MoU, UN-Habitat was to provide technical advice, assist with mobilisation of funds and other resources as well as aid with elements of infrastructure. The GoK in its part was responsible for the actual building which includes overseeing personnel, materials, training, equipment, supplies etc. The programme was estimated at a cost of 13 billion USD (UN, 2005).

The general idea of implementation was to move the slum dwellers to temporary housing as the slum itself was being upgraded. This is a modified version of what is known as *in situ* upgrading. This approach involves completely replacing the existing slum houses by building new apartments instead of upgrading the existing structures. The reason given for this was that the settlements were very densely populated and little could be done with the dwellers still living in the slum houses (UN, 2005) The slum consists of 4 villages. The first one to be

⁶ KISIP was jointly prepared and financed by Agence Française de Développement (AFD), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), and the World Bank in collaboration with the government of Kenya. It was a short term project, supposed to complement the efforts of KENSUP.

selected for implementation, Soweto-East village, was divided into 4 zones (A, B, C and D) so that the project could be carried out in various phases, starting with Zone A (Stenton, 2015).

The first step was to map out the village and after this was done, the dwellers would be moved to the temporary houses. Construction began on decanting sites⁷ next to the slum. The plan was to move the inhabitants there in the meantime then they would be able to move back once the slum settlement was overhauled. From the structure of the programme it would appear community participation was a key element. However, the situation on the ground would prove different as the dwellers claimed they were not given a chance to represent themselves. Most of them claim that they were not consulted (Good Fortune, 2009). This discontent among the dwellers led to more problems down the line. For example, some of the dwellers who were relocated to the decanting sites would sub-let their apartments and then move back to the slum. They cited various reasons for doing this. Amongst them was the inability to earn a livelihood/support themselves in the new neighbourhoods⁸ and inability to access infrastructural services because of distance and high rent rates (Anderson & Mwelu, 2013).

To an extent, the dwellers felt all this was not carefully considered during the planning stages and blamed the government for going ahead and implementing the programme anyway, without consulting them. This was captured and depicted in the documentary, Good Fortune (2009). The feature shows interviews with residents saying their voices were not heard despite the programme hosting forums for community participation and sending emissaries to sensitise them. The shareholders blamed this on lack of proper coordination between the different entities working on the programme. There was also talk of the programme being politically motivated as elections were approaching (Stenton, 2015)

There was also the question of security of tenure. Kibera as a settlement developed during the colonial era, when Nubian soldiers returning from service were given this land as a reward. Therefore, the settlers in Kibera had no legal title to the land on which they construct and rent the dwellings (Joiveman 2010, cited in Rimui 2011). It should also be noted that most of the landlords lived outside the slum; absentee landowners.

⁷ This was an off-site settlement that was to house the dwellers temporarily.

⁸ Most of the dwellers work in the informal sector or own small informal businesses which they could no longer run from the decanting sites.

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Eventually, KENSUP and UN-Habitat went their separate ways due to ideological differences centred on the division of roles. UN-Habitat started a project addressing water and sanitation in the area as KENSUP continued with the housing upgrading programme, which is still ongoing.

6. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter will focus on the findings of the thesis from the data gathered. Even though the thesis presented only three case studies, these examples are likely representative of the mainstream slum upgrading programmes undertaken in different countries. The results will be analysed based on the research questions presented earlier.

6.1 The Approaches

The thesis was able to identify three general approaches to slum upgrading. The first is forced evictions. This is where the authorities take matters into their own hands, as seen in the Maroko project in Lagos, Nigeria. It was used more recently in Harare, Zimbabwe in 2005. In what was titled Operation Murambatsvina⁹, the government demolished an entire slum settlement over a seven week period. In the end, a total of nearly 92,460 housing structures were cleared, leaving many people homeless and desolate (Tibaijuka, 2005). The government justified this by saying it was ridding the city of alleged illegal activities that went on at the settlement. However, it was noted that some of the houses were in compliance with local laws and had been recognised by the authorities to the extent of being provided with social facilities. This led to speculation that there were other underlying reasons for the widespread demolition (Arimah, 2010).

This approach is normally carried out by agents of the state. This is considered the first approach to dealing with slums after the laissez faire approach, where authorities thought the issue would sort itself out, failed (Arimah, 2010). From the analysis of the case studies that used this approach, the reasons for taking this path of action vary from case to case. What appears to be similar, however, is that this approach does not take into consideration careful planning. Everything is done hastily and within a short period of time and the slum dwellers are not given sufficient notice to vacate the premises. It was also observed that they are not given enough support by the authorities when it comes to settling down elsewhere after the clearance. This method of dealing with slums has also been replicated in other areas. It can be implemented in two ways. The first being how it was done in Maroko, with the residents being resettled elsewhere. The second would be the Harare example where there was no resettlement plan and the dwellers were left to fend for themselves, with the government even telling them to move back to the rural areas.

⁹ In Shona, this translates to *Operation Drive out Rubbish*.

The second approach is what is referred to as *in situ* upgrading. The *in situ* approach is based on participation and incremental upgrading on site (Huchzermeyer, 2009). Its goals are to improve the already existing housing structures, leaving as many as possible in their original position, provide formal rights to the occupants of the land, introduce infrastructure and other services with minimal disruption of the dwellers' lives, as well as provide support for the gradual transformation into more durable housing. This means that the upgrading is done on site, while the slum dwellers are still living there. This was the case in Zwelisha in Durban, South Africa. The same approach was also used in the Yerwada project in Pune, India where the participating NGO and the authorities enlisted the help of the dwellers to upgrade the settlement. The project was led by Prasanna Desai Architects in collaboration with the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers, the NGO that funded the project. The residents were consulted and involved in every step of the way. The site was mapped out and reconstruction began on the existing housing structures to improve them. This was done in a number of different ways, with the designs tailor-made to suit the area. The residents also invested in the project by partially funding it and even contributed to the designs chosen for the upgrading (Shiva, 2015).

This approach to upgrading is usually a joint initiative of the authorities and the people. Collaboration between the two parties and active participation drive this model. In most cases, it is observed that the people are investors in the initiative, in one way or another. This can be through contributing to the purchase of the building materials and/or getting security of tenure and becoming land/home owners. This has been seen as an effective way to get the dwellers to participate/cooperate and in the long run, ensure sustainability.

The third approach identified by this thesis is an altered form of *in situ* upgrading. Originally, *in situ* upgrading involves upgrading the settlement on site. However, there has arisen another form of the approach. This involves temporarily relocating the slum dwellers to an offsite settlement and then clearing the slum to pave way for more formal housing. The main difference between this new approach and the initial *in situ* approach is that in the former, the residents are moved from the slum area completely and resettled at a different site while the area is upgraded. In the latter, the dwellers still live in their houses while they are being improved and in the event that a house will need to be demolished, the residents are housed at temporary structures, still on site. This was the approach used by the Kibera project in Nairobi, Kenya. The same approach has also been observed in other projects around the world. Again, reasons for undertaking this altered approach vary from project to project.

However, the core principles of the approach appear to be almost similar to *in situ* upgrading, with the authorities taking on a seemingly bigger role than in the original approach. The authorities coordinate the project while still leaving room for participation by the people.

6.2 Characteristics and Challenges

6.2.1 *The People vs the Authorities*

The approaches each have their own unique characteristics. Key amongst them is the dynamics between the authorities and the people. With the clearance approach, it is evident the voices of the people are not heard. The authorities and other higher powers make the decisions and carry out the implementation as they see fit. However, when it comes to the other two approaches (*in situ* and the altered *in situ* upgrading), one of their core objectives is ensuring participation by the slum dwellers. That said, the situation on the ground can prove different. For example in Zwelisha, there were various forums for community participation but the authorities still run things. The dwellers were involved but there was a sense that they were still being told exactly what to do. The same applies to the Kibera project where, though people were given opportunities to voice their opinions, the implementers still stuck to their plans. In Pune, however, it appears the people's opinions were incorporated into the project framework and the implementing bodies worked around their plans to accommodate the dwellers' views on the upgrading. This is a common challenge in almost all slum upgrading programmes and remains a bone of contention.

6.2.2 *Security of Tenure*

Another characteristic and potential challenge faced by slum upgrading is the issue of security of tenure. This appears to be common with all the approaches. Provision of security of tenure is seen as a very important aspect of ensuring success of slum upgrading. Earlier on it was seen as a prerequisite for the upgrading of infrastructure in the programmes but as the thesis showed earlier on through the writings of Gulyani & Bassett (2007), the reverse is still very much applicable, with the construction of infrastructure preceding the regularisation of security of tenure. However, acquiring land rights in most countries follows a rigorous process, which presents a significant challenge to the process.

6.2.3 Politics

There is also the issue of political interference. This was seen in Maroko where the wealthy are rumoured to have had massive influence in the local government. As a result, they might have been able to influence the decision to have the slum area cleared to pave way for their needs/wants. Brigadier Raji Rasaki, the then Lagos state governor, ordered the demolition because his administration regarded the area as an “eyesore” in the affluent neighbourhood of Victoria Island (Otchet, 1999: 50). It was also speculated that Maroko might have been the planning place for the attempted coup a few months earlier thus this might also have been a motivating factor for the ruling regime (Folarin, 2010). In the Kibera case, there was also talk of political motives. Apparently the government was offered more accessible land to build the decanting sites on but this proposal was shot down by the then Kibera area Member of Parliament. This is because the proposed site was situated in a different constituency and he did not want to lose those votes when it came to the elections (Stenton, 2015).

This kind of interference by the political sphere causes problems as the programmes cannot be rolled out as planned and unnecessary concessions and changes have to be made. In Harare as well, there was speculation that the reasons behind Operation Murambatsvina were not as genuine as the government wanted the people to believe (Arimah, 2010). The official reason for the slum clearance was that it was a crackdown against illegal housing and illegal business activities. However, some people attribute the forced evictions to political motives. The opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), said that it was retribution for the urban poor for voting against the ruling party in the then just concluded general elections¹⁰. Thus, by forcibly evicting them and banishing them to rural areas, they were weakening the political opposition as well as controlling would-be protests against the ruling regime and establishing a system of political patronage (Tibaijuka, 2005; Arimah, 2010).

The above characteristics and challenges are the ones most common to the three approaches. However, this thesis understands that there are other challenges and obstacles faced by different slum upgrading projects. Some are case specific and are influenced by a variety of factors such as location, governing laws, size of slum settlement, economic ability etc. This is not to say that the above obstacles are not faced, but that there might be more challenges that cannot be generalised as they are case-specific.

¹⁰ Elections had been held 48 days before and the slum settlement emerged as a stronghold for the opposition.

6.3 Metric Results

As mentioned earlier, the metric used to evaluate the case studies and the approaches used was the criteria used by the UN to characterise slums. The main objective of slum upgrading is to improve the lives of the dwellers and plunge them out of slum life. Therefore, this thesis examined the projects from the angle of these characteristics. If indeed the upgrade was successful, then this thesis deems it only fair that the areas should not display any of the listed characteristics. These are inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation and infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status. The table below gives an overview of the results.

Table 2: Analysis of Results

	Access to Safe Water	Access to Sanitation	Structural Quality of Housing	Overcrowding	Secure Residential Status
Maroko	No	No	No	Partly	No
Zwelisha	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Kibera	Partly	Partly	Yes	Partly	Partly

Index: Yes- Successful

Partly- Semi/Temporarily successful

No- Not successful at all

With the first approach, it can be said to be a misstep. The undertaking not only failed to improve the lives of the slum settlers, if anything, it made things worse. When their homes were decimated, they lost access to water, sanitation and any kind of infrastructure (the little

they had to begin with). Their houses were run to the ground and they had no residential status as it was claimed they were illegal settlers on government land. Therefore, the first approach was not successful. Perhaps the only thing they seemingly solved is overcrowding but the eventual cost of that was more detrimental. If anything, it can be argued that it exacerbated the situation. This is because this approach is a temporary solution and in the long run, another slum tends to develop, either in the same place or a different location.

The second approach, *in situ* upgrading, proved more efficient. One of the first things the project took into consideration is the residential status of the residents. By drafting an eligibility list and ensuring all who were compliant registered for the housing subsidy, the CDC ensured their security of tenure. When it comes to infrastructure, water and sanitation, these were all improved. And with constant monitoring by the authorities, the facilities are managed. The quality of their housing was improved as well as they no longer lived in shacks and overcrowding was also dealt with during planning. The new houses were built according to local urban planning laws. Therefore, the slum upgrade was successful, according to the metric criteria.

With the third approach, it might be harder to assess than the first two. This is because the project is still ongoing. However, the thesis evaluated the work done on the first zone¹¹. In terms of water, sanitation and infrastructure, the temporary houses at the decanting sites had mixed results. Sanitation was provided and so was water. However, the residents complained of constant water rations. Infrastructure was also a bone of contention as some of the residents felt this was not carefully appropriated. The authorities, however, insist they made provisions for infrastructural services in the temporary housing. When it comes to housing structures, the new houses were definitely better and more durable than the slum shacks. The residential status of the dwellers was also not quite secure. Some home owners had title deeds while others did not, yet they were legal owners. This brought some conflict as the land owners who had lived on the land for long felt short-changed. As a result of the above, the Kibera project cannot fully be considered a success. There are still kinks that need to be worked on.

¹¹ As earlier mentioned, the mapping of the area divided the Soweto-East village into four zones so that the project could be implemented in different phases.

6.4 Discussion

From the above, it appears that Turner (1972) was on the right path when he authored his ground breaking book. He championed for the improvement of the environment around the slums as opposed to focusing on the housing. From what the thesis has brought forward however, it is clear that current slum upgrading practices focus on both infrastructure as well as the housing itself. Despite this, Turner had the right idea and with time, his idea has formed the foundation for slum upgrading practices, with improvements along the way. From the earlier chapters, it is not hard to see a trajectory in slum upgrading. From the onset when slums started coming up, there was a laissez-faire attitude towards them. It was believed, at the time, that since they were a result of rural-urban migration, expected economic growth would eventually sort them out. They were viewed as temporary but seemingly necessary as they would house the low-income migrants before they were absorbed into the new urban planning system. However, this was not to be the case as more and more people migrated into the urban areas and the slums continued expanding.

This led to the first wave of combating the rise of slums. Unfortunately, at the time the only viable solution seemed to be to completely get rid of them. As seen earlier, in the early 20th century, slums were viewed as crime havens and centre of illegal businesses. Thus, the automatic solution for most governments was to deal with this menace using force. This ended up doing more harm than good. Not only did it lead to an even greater division between the people and the authorities, it resulted in massive loss of property and at times, even life. To add on to this, this approach was not effective as a solution to slums. This is because most of the slums that were run to the ground eventually mushroomed again; some at the same place, others at different locations. With this emerging trend, the world needed to find another solution.

The new age solutions were brought to the mainstream by the writings of John Turner which formed the basis of slum upgrading programmes undertaken by the World Bank beginning in the 1970s. Over the years, slum upgrading has improved. The methods exemplified above characterise the evolution of techniques used to deal with slums. The international community recommends *in situ* upgrading as a best practise for slum upgrading. This is supported by empirical evidence from different projects. However, it seems that the specific approach chosen to deal with slums is largely dependent on the country. There are multiple

factors to consider; e.g., land availability, local laws, donors etc. All these and many other factors will determine which approach would be best suited for a particular project.

When it comes to the orientation of the project, again it is not easy to determine which is best. Should it be driven by the authorities or should it be centred around the people? With the first approach of slum clearance, the former take charge and it is not very successful. In the other two approaches, there are provisions made for active participation of the people. Forums are held and the dwellers get to voice their opinions of the projects as well as give suggestions on how they would like their lives to be improved. However, in both approaches, we still see a very strong presence of the authorities. They seem to make all the executive decisions and seem to be implementing the projects according to their plans, all while giving the residents the sense that their contributions matter. This brings to mind the theory of Trusteeship which was explored earlier; those better-off in society taking it upon themselves to change their lives of the urban poor how they deem fit. This would help in explaining the different approaches to slum upgrading that are operational today. Most slum upgrading projects are implemented after high level talks, which again exemplifies how Trusteeship is still relevant today. The difference is in the outcomes, however. While the *in situ* approach in Durban seems to have yielded the desired results, the altered *in situ* approach in Kibera delivered mixed results and was maybe not as successful as the former.

The above was, however, not the case in the India case study. In that case, the people's voice was given precedence and the fact that they were able to even design the houses they wanted showed that the donors trusted them. This is a good example of the Capabilities Approach where the authorities provided the funds as well as technical support then the dwellers took it upon themselves to improve their situation. By empowering the dwellers, they were then able to better their own lives.

In conclusion, slum upgrading has taken on different forms. However, the results of this thesis cannot confidently say that there is one best practise. The outcome shows that the approach selected for a project should take into consideration both internal and external factors in the country. There isn't a one-size-fits-all approach when it comes to the slum upgrading process. Understanding the atmosphere is crucial for achievement of the desired results. However, the thesis concludes that the first approach is definitely not viable. The other two are better suited to achieve the goals of slum upgrading and generally improve the lives of the people living in slums.

7. CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to identify mainstream approaches to slum upgrading, tracing how the process has evolved since it was introduced. The three approaches that were explored have been replicated in other projects the world over, with improvements/changes being made over the years. In reference to the research questions, it was also observed that the approaches identified have different characteristics, with two of the approaches being more people centric, although in varying degrees. The other approach is engineered by the authorities. The research question dealing with the viability of the approaches was also addressed. By looking at the approaches side by side, the thesis was able to see which approach is better when it comes to the achievement of the laid out objectives of slum upgrading. The thesis also addressed the question which dealt with the challenges and identified the obstacles slum upgrading efforts face. Some such as security of tenure are common to all the approaches while other challenges are more specific to the particular case. As earlier mentioned, this is dependent on a variety of factors; these vary according to the context. In conclusion, this thesis has been able to answer its research questions and has brought to light an informative look at slum upgrading, thus contributing to the research on the subject.

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