



# UCL

MSc Social Development Practice  
Student Report

## Participatory Informal Settlement Upgrading and Well-Being in Kisumu, Kenya

Alexandre Apsan Frediani, Julian Walker and  
Stephanie Butcher, Editors.

In partnership with Practical Action.



DPU MSc Social Development Practice  
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November 2013

**Acknowledgements.** This report is the product of the action learning assignment that emerged out of a partnership between UCL Development Planning Unit, Maseno University, Great Lakes University and Practical Action. The objective of this assignment has been to promote collaboration between these three institutions and foster learning on planning practice in Kisumu, as well as for the students involved in this process. We would like to thank Prof. George Mark Onyango, from Maseno University, and Prof. John Alwar from Great Lakes University, for their collaboration and involvement in this process.

We would like to particularly thank the team from Practical Action in Kisumu, Nairobi and London that took part in this process. In Kisumu, the hands-on involvement from Mathew Okello, Serene Philip, Noah Mayieka and Loice Akello were fundamental to make this process happen. In

Nairobi, Nicholas Obare and Paul Chege's support were crucial in positioning this exercise within the wider regional context of informal settlement upgrading. Finally, from London, Mansoor Ali's encouragement and guidance were determinant factors to facilitate these partnerships.

Finally, we would also like to thank the team from Kisumu Urban Apostolate Programme (KUAP) for their support during the field research and for their feedback on our activities and findings.

From the DPU Social Development Practice team, this has been an extremely rich experience which we hope to build on in the following years, with the aim of continuing to learn from and contribute to Practical Action's initiatives and the participatory planning practices taking place in Kisumu.



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## **List of acronyms**

CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community Based Organisation
DMM	Delegated Management Model
EMCA	Environmental Management and Coordination Act
KIWASCO	Kisumu Water and Sewerage Company Limited
LASDAP	Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan
LATF	Local Authorities Transfer Fund
LVSWSB	Lake Victoria South Water Service Board
KISWAMP	Kisumu Integrated Solid Waste Management Plan
KIWMA	Kisumu Waste Management Association
KUP	Kisumu Urban Project
MANADEG	Manyatta Neighbourhood Development Group
MCK	Municipal Council of Kisumu
MO	Master Operator
MM	Master Meter
MRA	Manyatta Resident Association
NEMA	National Environment Management Agency
PPP	People's Plans into Practice
SME	Small and Medium Enterprises
SWM	Solid Waste Management
WSB	Water Service Board
WSP	Water Service Provider
WSRB	Water Service Regulatory Board
WTF	Water Task Force





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## Foreword

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Practical Action has a learning partnership with the Bartlett Development Planning Unit at the University College London. Practical Action Eastern Africa is the regional office of Practical Action Group, an international development agency, founded as Intermediate Technology Development Group, by E. F Schumacher, the author of revolutionary and famous book *Small is Beautiful: Economics as if people mattered*. The regional office in Eastern Africa “strives to be innovative, inspiring... and assertively results oriented to deliver the best technologically centred programmes with the greatest impact on the lives (well-being) of poor people in the region”. Practical Action’s global strategy (2012-17) has a strong focus on improving the well-being of poor men and women by improving their access to technologies and by improving their relationship with the power-holders. This strategy is implemented through a range of programmes delivered to our target groups.

The partnership between Practical Action Eastern Africa and the DPU traces its roots to a shared value on people-centred approaches to development, well-being, technology justice and equitable citizenship in the context of social diversity and globalization. The latter two form the core pillars of the Master of Science (MSc) on Social Development Practice (SDP) offered at DPU. Practical Action Eastern Africa has been implementing a five years participatory planning and incremental slum upgrading programme titled *Peoples’ Plans into Practice: Building Productive and Liveable Settlements with Slum Dwellers in Kisumu and Kitale, Kenya*. The overall

aim of the project was to improve the well-being, productivity and living conditions of poor people living in informal settlements in Kenya and the East African region, 80% of them being women and children. This project, therefore, provided the best learning opportunity for a group of students from DPU and two local universities pursuing SDP and Urban Planning/Development Studies, respectively, to undertake a detailed analysis of its contribution to poor peoples’ wellbeing, while taking cognizance of the socio political, cultural as well as policy environments in Kenya. The report delves into peoples’ perceptions of what constitute well-being and documents face to face narratives of the intangible social capital as well as networks, which requires an independent and fresh perspective to unpack. The field report reveals that great strides have been made towards material as well as relational well-being of the residents; however, scaling up market based models for service delivery in public spaces and among the very vulnerable segments of the population remains challenging. Practical Action will continue to address the need to create a market environment that is friendly to the poor women and men in the informal settlements. This visit helped us in learning and reflections.

It is hoped that such collaborative efforts between academia and development agencies will continue to generate a constructive debate towards finding sustainable urban development solutions to the people who need it most, the urban poor, whose voices have been ignored and contributions taken for granted.

**Grace Mukasa,  
Regional Director  
Practical Action Eastern Africa**

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## Executive Summary

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### Introduction

The following report is the product of a three-month research assignment entitled *Participatory Informal Settlement Upgrading and Well-Being*, carried out from February – June 2013 by MSc students in the Social Development Practice (SDP) programme of the University College London. This project was undertaken in partnership with the international NGO Practical Action, an organisation that works with poor woman and men around the world to challenge conditions of poverty through sustainable technologies, and undertaken in collaboration with students from Masters programmes in Maseno University and the Great Lakes University of Kisumu, and the Kisumu Urban Apostolate Programme (KUAP).

This research focused on four water and sanitation interventions within three low-income neighbourhoods in Kisumu: Nyalenda A, Manyatta B, and Kondele. Three of the projects were implemented with the support of Practical Action as a part of their People's Plans into Practice (PPP) programme—a participatory planning initiative that works with local Neighbourhood Planning Associations to identify and address settlement upgrading priorities. The final project was implemented under the Kenyan Government's Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP), a participatory planning process with devolved funding, chosen to serve as a point of comparison with the NGO interventions.

### Research Aims

The focus of this 'action-learning' exercise was two-fold:

- To assess the **subjective and relational well-being impacts** of each particular model of service delivery, exploring dimensions including dignity, health, empowerment, security, recognition, accessibility, and equity in relation to diverse identities within the settlements;
- To explore the wider institutional environment and urban context in which the models were embedded, to comment upon the potential for **scaling up and sustaining the positive participatory processes** of each model. This analysis was undertaken with the objective of examining the underlying structuring conditions which determine an enabling or disabling environment for enhancing well-being.

### Methodology

The research process consisted of three months of desk-top research and policy analysis, followed by two and a half weeks of primary field research in Kisumu in late April 2013. In Kisumu, the SDP students were joined by students from the Masters programmes in Maseno University and the Great Lakes University of Kisumu, Practical Action Kisumu staff, and a team from KUAP to collaboratively undertake the fieldwork research. This consisted of in-depth and semi-structured interviews, participatory ac-





tivities, and focus groups conducted with key stakeholders including informal settlement residents, the Kisumu Municipality, local NGOs, and authorities from the waste and sanitation sector.

## Key Findings

Exploring the four interventions according to a well-being lens helped reveal a convergence across the four case studies on a common premise, related to the wider urban context shaping Kisumu and Kenya more broadly. That is, while all the projects facilitated a greater access to basic services such as water and sanitation, and supported the development of resident associations to manage the provision of these goods—each still faced certain structural barriers to scaling-up these institutional relationships to generate wider material, subjective and relational gains. More specifically:

- **Practical Action played a key role in the development and support of networked residents, as well as extending service delivery,** leveraging on policy changes enshrined in the 2012 Constitution, as well as in documents such as the Water Act (2002) and environmental By-laws;
- **The market-oriented approach to the provision of water and sanitation services was problematic for particularly vulnerable residents** that might have to prioritize amongst a set of financial demands. For instance, in the case of the LAS-DAP-initiated community toilet block, the financial sustainability of the model was emphasized over the design and development of alternate strategies that favoured more vulnerable groups;
- **Greater supportive regulatory mechanisms were particularly needed during instances of shock or vulnerability,** as for example during drought or financial variability, or where there were disputes between service providers and managing

community groups. In these cases, citizens had little recourse to challenge unfavourable terms of service delivery;

- **Gaps exist at the interface between the individual and the collective,** particularly in relation to communal services such as waste collection. For instance, while the waste management social enterprise model facilitated the entrepreneurialism of particular residents, the individualized approach to service delivery was not sufficient to address collective challenges such as waste collection in public spaces.

In sum, while there were major well-being gains for informal settlement residents, the potential of Practical Action's interventions could be further enhanced through a greater recognition of the challenges of market-based approaches to support the well-being of vulnerable groups. Within the context of Kisumu, this study highlights the importance of challenging the predominant vision of the 'citizen as consumer' embedded in key policy documents, programmatic approaches and in the rhetoric of governmental authorities.

## Conclusion

Beyond the conclusions drawn specifically on the Kisumu and Kenyan experience, this report also signifies an attempt to explore more broadly the potentials for participatory settlement upgrading initiatives—highlighting those processes which can act as a catalyst for more transformative socio-economic change. Approaching this analysis from the perspective of residents' own perceptions, priorities and values helps animate this process—allowing for a deeper reflection on the subjective and relational dimensions of well-being—and unfolding broader lessons on the challenges and opportunities for participatory informal settlement upgrading initiatives to support residents' aspirations.



## Introduction

The following report is the product of a three-month research assignment entitled *Participatory Informal Settlement Upgrading and Well-Being*, carried out from February – June 2013 by MSc students in the Social Development Practice (SDP) programme of the University College London. The project, focused on three informal settlements in Kisumu, Kenya, looked to understand how a process of community-led planning could support the full range of residents' aspirations. This was undertaken with the support of the international NGO *Practical Action*, an organisation that works to implement sustainable technologies in relation to urban services, energy, food and agriculture and disaster risk reduction, to challenge conditions of poverty.

The partnership between SDP and Practical Action emerged out of the mutual interest in understanding the contribution of a *well-being* approach to the process and outcome of development. For Practical Action, this is reflected in their new vision on well-being which seeks to elucidate the linkages between the material impacts of their small-scale technologies, and 'relational well-being', which refers to people's abilities to participate in decision-making that affects their lives. For the SDP team, well-being has been explored through Amartya Sen's Capability Approach<sup>1</sup> which explores people's freedoms to pursue the things they value. This partnership with Practical Action offered a useful entry point to start exploring the operationalization of well-being theories in development practice. Apart from exploring the relationship between material interventions and relational well-being, the SDP course added a third dimension of investigation: 'subjective well-being', or people's own perceptions related to their quality of life<sup>2</sup>.

In approaching this analysis, students were asked to examine four different water and sanitation interventions within three low-income neighbourhoods in Kisumu: Nyalenda A, Manyatta B, and Kondele. Three of the projects were implemented with the support of Practical Action as a part of their People's Plans into Practice (PPP) programme—a participatory planning initiative that works with local Neighbourhood Planning Associations to identify and address settlement upgrading priorities. The final project was implemented under the Kenyan Government's Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP), a participatory planning process with devolved funding, chosen to serve as a point of comparison with the NGO interventions. Each selected case represented a different model of service delivery, including a waste pickers *social enterprise*, a water kiosk run through the *delegated management model*, a water spring / eco-sanitation toilet *community facility*, and the LASDAP public toilet *pro-poor public-private partnership*.

The focus of this 'action-learning' exercise was two-fold. Students were firstly asked to assess the **well-being impacts** of their particular model of service delivery, exploring dimensions including dignity, health, empowerment, security, recognition, accessibility, and equity in relation to diverse identities within the settlements. Two of the groups—LASDAP and the delegated management model—chose to focus on subjective well-being as the entry point for analysis. These groups grounded dimensions of well-being based on local residents' perceptions, experimenting with a methodology to identify and qualify these values. This also allowed the groups to investigate the impacts of their model of service delivery on the capabilities of local residents. Meanwhile the remaining two groups — community

**Table 1:** Case study models and localities

Model of Service Delivery	Locality	Neighbourhood Planning Association	Case Study Projects
Social enterprise	Kondele Ward	Manyatta Resident Association	Waste management
Delegated management model	Manyatta B	Manyatta Neighbourhood Development Group	Water kiosk
Community facility	Nyalenda A	Nyalenda Neighbourhood Development	Water spring/eco-sanitation
Pro-poor public-private partnership	Nyalenda A	Nyalenda Neighbourhood Development	LASDAP toilet

facilities and social enterprise—took relational well-being as a starting point. This allowed these groups to explore more closely the networks and relationships established or impacted by their model of service delivery. In particular, the analysis focused on qualifying the nature of these relations to understand the extent to which they support the pursuit of well-being (see graph 1 below).

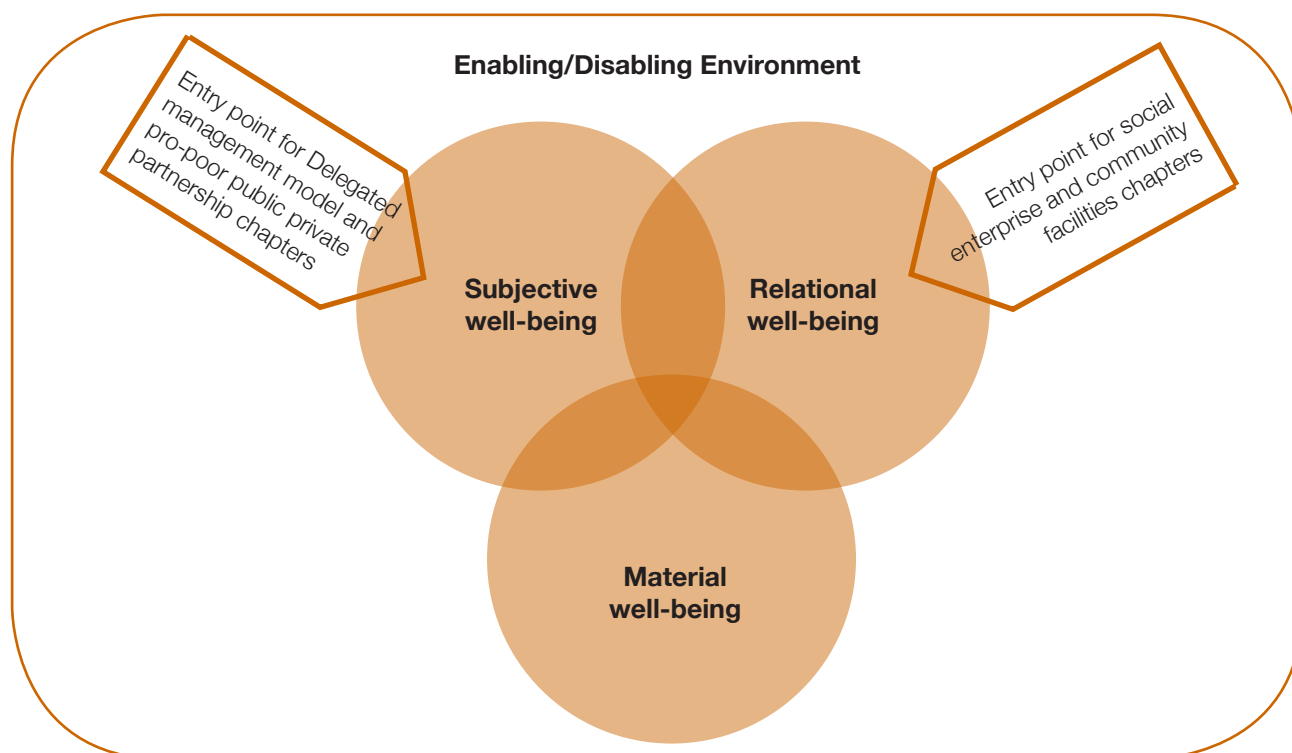
Secondly, students were asked to explore the wider institutional environment and urban context in which the models were embedded, to comment upon the potential for scaling up and sustaining the positive participatory processes of each model. This analysis was undertaken with the objective of examining the underlying structuring conditions which determine an enabling or disabling environment for enhancing well-being.

In total, the research process consisted of three months of desktop research and policy analysis, followed by two

and a half weeks of primary field research in Kisumu in late April 2013. In Kisumu, the SDP students were joined by students from the Masters programmes in Maseno University and the Great Lakes University of Kisumu, to collaboratively undertake the fieldwork research.

The findings presented here represent the culmination of this research process. Beyond the conclusions drawn specifically on the Kisumu and Kenyan experience, this report also signifies an attempt to explore more broadly the potentials for participatory settlement upgrading initiatives—highlighting those processes which can act as a catalyst for more transformative socio-economic change. As the SDP-Practical Action partnership moves forward, a key area of interest will be in the continued examination of these subjective and relational dimensions, looking to explore both methodologically and conceptually how this focus on well-being can continue to inform Practical Action interventions, and wider development discourse.

**Graph 1:** Spaces and entry points of analysis



## NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Sen, A., 1989, 'Development as capability expansion', *Journal of Development Planning*, 19, 41–58, reprinted in Sakiko Fukuda-Parr and A.K. Shiva Kumar, eds., 2003, *Readings in Human*

*Development*, New York: Oxford University Press, 3–16.

2. White, S., 2010, 'Analysing well-being: a framework for development practice', *Development in Practice*, 20(2), 158–172.



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## Chapter 1.

# Social enterprise model. *Solid waste management, Kondele*

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### 1. Research overview and context

*Location:* Kondele, Kisumu (pop. 50,000)

*Model:* Social enterprise model (Solid waste management)

*Implementing Actor:* Practical Action

#### 1.1 Neighbourhood profile: Kondele

Kondele ward is an informal settlement located in the northeast of Kisumu comprising a population of approximately 50,000 (Kondele Strategic Ward Plan, 2010-2014). It has a high population density and exhibits mixed types of housing, ranging from concrete compounds to wood and mud structures.

A large part of the population comprises tenants renting small units from structure owners. According to government officials, property values in Kisumu have increased by as much as 200% since the start of upgrading programmes in 2005. Many residents cited rising rent prices as a great challenge and reason for the high population turnover within the ward.

Income levels in Kondele vary from low to middle-income, the majority being derived from self-employment or small enterprises. Kondele is bustling with small shops and businesses, bars, hotels, urban agriculture plots and Kondele market located next to the Nairobi-Kisumu bypass, which is currently under construction. Apart from a paved road established by the World Bank in the 1970s and connecting Kondele with neighbouring wards, the settlement is mainly accessed via footpaths. Water is available from community-run kiosks and many households are connected to an electricity grid. Amongst the most pressing issues the settlement faces in terms of physical infrastructure is the establishment of a comprehensive drainage and waste management system. Further challenges include lack of security within the settlement and high levels of unemployment, particularly amongst the large percentage of youth in Kondele. The settlement, consisting of a majority Luo population, witnessed ethnic violence in the aftermath of the 2007 election, and again in 2012 between rivaling youth groups.

#### 1.2 Model overview: social enterprise (solid waste management)

The focus of this research was Solid Waste Management (SWM) carried out by small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in Kondele ward.

SWM is a pressing issue in Kisumu. With a rapidly growing population, of which 60% live in informal settlements without waste collection facilities, the amounts of improperly disposed waste has been increasing (Munala and Moirongo, 2011: 66). In 2011, only 20% of the 400 tons of solid waste produced daily in Kisumu was collected, 10% by the municipality and 10% by private collectors (ibid.). While the municipality lacks the resources and capacity to expand its collection services, the waste that remains unmanaged, particularly in informal settlements, poses serious health and environmental risks to the local population as waste causes drain blockages and flooding, is ingested by livestock

**Picture 1:**  
Waste hazards



**Picture 2:**  
Common practices



and creates breeding grounds for mosquitoes (picture 1). Furthermore, informal practices of waste disposal, including frequent burning and burying of waste, were observed in Kondele, which present additional challenges such as air and soil pollution (picture 2).

In response to this challenge, the municipality has developed new policies which encourage private-public partnerships in SWM in order to expand coverage to informal settlements. Specifically, a UN-funded project established in 2010 provides a ten-year Kisumu Integrated Solid Waste Management Plan (KISWAMP) in partnership with the Municipal Council of Kisumu (MCK) and civil society partners such as Practical Action. The project aims to increase the percentage of collected waste in the city to 70% by contracting local SMEs (MCK, 2010: 29).

Some of the SMEs formed under KISWAMP have received support from international NGOs including Practical Action in their waste management activities. As part of the People's Plans into Practice (PPP) initiative, Practical Action has encouraged the formation of social waste enterprises under KISWAMP, which have an explicit commitment to serving the wider public and enabling residents' participation in decision-making processes (MCK, 2010: 46).

Practical Action has provided SMEs with tools, equipment and training in SWM, and initiated the formation of the Manyatta Resident Association (MRA) as part of the PPP (box 1). Members of the waste taskforces within the MRA have formed a number of SMEs, which were initially part of an umbrella group called Manyatta Solid Waste Management. However, this group dissolved into individual units in 2006 due to lack of coordination.

This research focuses on one of these units, Gasiapoa Waste Enterprise (box 2), serving approximately 700 households in Kondele and neighbouring Manyatta A ward, as an example of an SME operating under the new system of devolution and the PPP. Interviews were also conducted with owners of SMEs in Kondele, Manyatta A and Nyalenda A ward for comparative purposes (table 1).

Within this new arrangement of SWM (figure 1), the municipality is responsible for collecting waste within the Central Business District (CBD) and from transfer points, while waste collection is delegated to SMEs in the informal parts of the city. SMEs typically sort the waste they collect from households, local institutions and other industries into recyclable and non-recyclable materials. Recyclable waste is either processed or directly sold to manufacturers for re-use, while non-recyclable waste is either stored within designated areas (skips) or directly transported to the main dumpsite.

Despite the clearer allocation of responsibilities, illegal dumping of waste remains a challenge in many parts of the city and individual waste pickers continue to operate alongside officially registered SMEs.

#### **BOX 1**

Manyatta Residents Association (MRA) is a community-based organisation representing residents of Manyatta A and Kondele ward. It consists of a chair, vice-chair and secretary as well as 140 committee members, who pay regular membership fees. Each member represents one of the following taskforces:

- Energy
- Solid waste
- Water
- Sanitation
- Housing
- Drainage
- Urban agriculture

#### **BOX 2: Gasiapoa Waste Enterprise**

Gasiapoa enterprise was founded in 2003 by Dickens Ochieng as part of Manyatta Solid Waste Management and became an independent SME in 2006. It has been expanding its client base in Kondele and Manyatta A from 20 in 2003 to 700 in 2013, which includes households, schools, hospitals, hotels, churches and restaurants. Collection dates, frequencies and prices vary between clients; hotels, pubs and restaurants have a fixed price 5000 Ksh, while individual households pay a fee ranging from 10Ksh per week to 250Ksh per month.

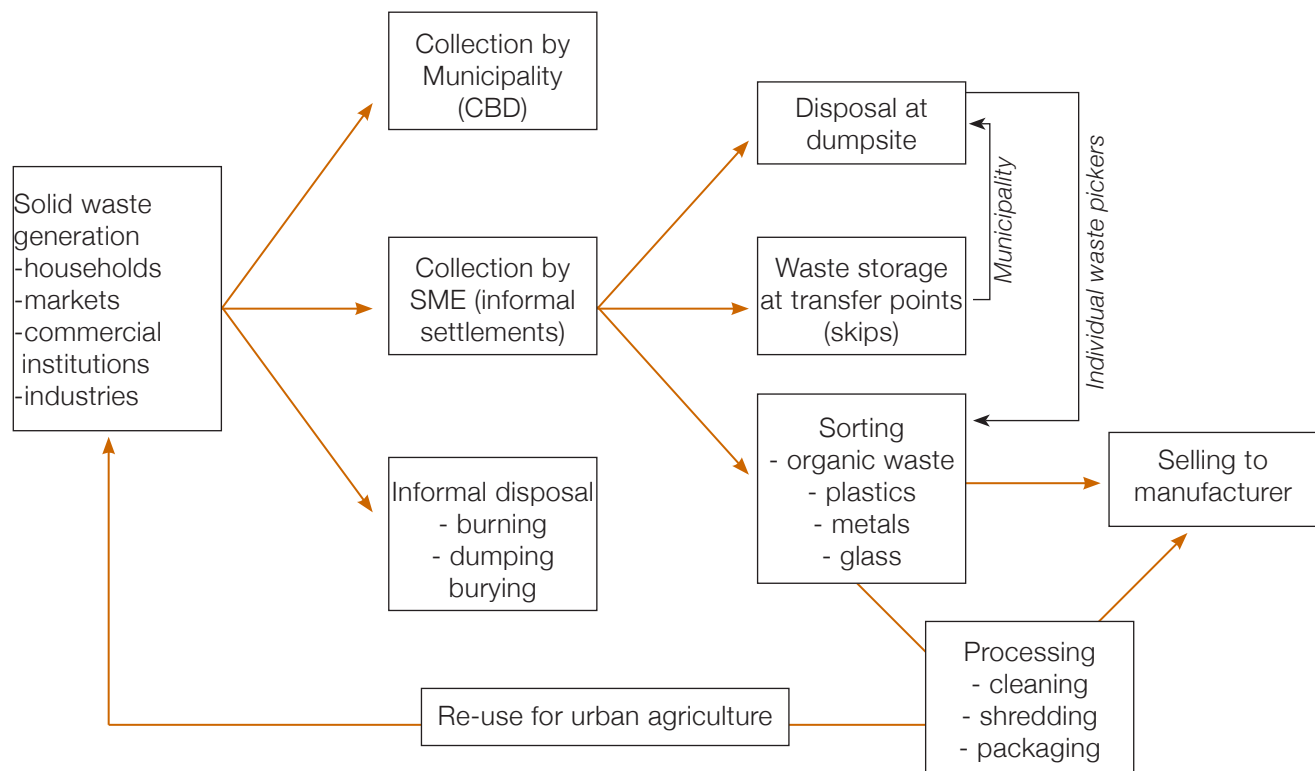
Gasiapoa employs six workers aged between 17-30, who receive employment benefits such as basic accommodation provided by Ochieng.

Gasiapoa has received financial and material support from several NGOs including Practical Action, SANA International and SECODE. Ochieng further received training in SWM and participated in exchange visits to Thailand, India, South Africa and Tanzania organized by WIEGO.



**Table 1:** SMEs in Kisumu

SME	Gasiapoa	Taca Bora	Victory	BaMaTo
Name of CEO	Dickens Ochieng	Phoebe Ogada alias Mama Taca	Manoah Omode Agogo	Valentine Odhiambo
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Door-to-door collection from households, local industries and institutions</li> <li>- Sorting and selling recyclable waste</li> <li>- Composting of organic waste</li> <li>- Disposal of non-recyclable waste at dumpsite</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Door-to-door collection from households</li> <li>- Sorting of waste for sale and re-use</li> <li>- Composting of organic waste</li> <li>- Disposal of non-recyclable waste at Gasiapoa for transferal to dumpsite</li> <li>- Urban agriculture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Door-to-door collection from households</li> <li>- Sorting of waste for sale</li> <li>- Disposal of non-recyclable waste at dumpsite</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Purchase of recycled materials from SMEs</li> <li>- Sorting of waste by type and colour</li> <li>- Shredding of plastics</li> <li>- Melting and moulding of plastics</li> <li>- Packaging of plastics for sale</li> <li>- Composting of organic waste</li> <li>- Urban agriculture</li> </ul>
Area of operation	Kondele, Manyatta A, parts of CBD	Kondele	Kondele, Manyatta	Nyalenda
Clients	700	210	500 (estimated)	40 enterprises
Employees	6	3	5	n/a

**Figure 1:** Solid waste pattern in Kisumu. Diagram adapted from: Okot-Okumu and Nyenje, 2011: 540.

The SME initiative under KISWAMP and the PPP has had an important impact on people's well-being in terms of its material benefits. In informal settlements such as Kondele, where there was no waste collection system in place previously, residents now have the option to pay a small fee to have their waste collected on a regular basis.

However, the settlement continues to face major challenges in relation to SWM. Many households cannot afford or are unwilling to pay for waste collection services, and some SMEs are struggling to sustain themselves financially. Furthermore, the model provides limited spaces for residents' participation in decision-making processes regarding the management of their environment, which is the key objective of the PPP.

Addressing the issue of solid waste management in Kondele is a pressing concern, and unlike other urban services such as water provision, the consequences of waste disposal practices by individuals affect the entire neighbourhood. The challenges identified in SWM are twofold: on one hand, they relate to the structural environment within which the SMEs operate, while on the other hand, the extent to which different groups of residents are able to participate in decision-making processes affects the collective management of their neighbourhood.

### 1.3 Framework of analysis

#### *Relational well-being*

In order to address the twofold nature of the challenges of SWM, this research has placed a strong emphasis on unpacking relational well-being to analyse the impacts of the social enterprise model of SWM. Relational well-being is understood as people's ability to engage with different actors, who recognise them as negotiating partners, in order to participate in decision-making processes that affect their lives (Practical Action, 2013a: 2). Relational well-being, however, is closely related to people's access to material resources and services. The two are interlinked in the sense that material well-being cannot be divorced from the political structures of resource distribution, while relational well-being often has very material manifestations (White, 2010).

#### *Pursuing well-being: framework and methodology*

Within the Kenyan context of devolution, SWM services are delegated to SMEs formed by local residents. This form of service delivery relies heavily on active citizens who mobilise and establish themselves as SMEs. Thus, taking as a departure point relational well-being, this research proposes the concept of active citizenship as an analytical framework.

Active citizenship is here defined as people collectively taking charge of their own environment and well-being whilst actively seeking dialogue with state authorities. It "contrasts with...a more technocratic vision of citizens as passive consumers of state services delivered by wise and well-trained administrators" and represents a system of governance in which citizens play a key role in decision-making processes (Green, 2008: 54).

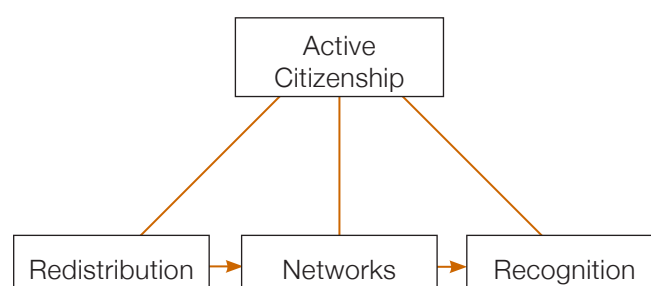
However, active citizenship cannot be achieved through policy changes alone. Collective action requires knowledge, capacities and resources, which are unequally distributed in the context of Kisumu (MCK, 2010). Poor resource distribution is often associated with inequalities between different social identities or groups (Fraser, 2000), who must be equally recognised as legitimate and respected parts of society. The recognition of different needs and priorities must therefore go hand in hand with redistributive mechanisms. To allow different groups to voice their priorities, networks from the community to the city-level and the national scale are a key element of active citizen participation in urban planning. In this study, active citizenship is therefore considered to comprise the three pillars of redistribution, networks and recognition (figure 2).

An analysis of relational well-being through the lens of active citizenship is important for two reasons. On the one hand, the recent "shift in local governance from that of sole implementers to a more facilitating role...provides room for active involvement at grassroots in provision of services (sic.)" (MCK, 2010: 24, emphasis added). On the other hand:

"as often said, the quality (capability) of a sports team is not the same as that of its individual members even though it consists solely of actions by the individual members [...] This is because interactions among members of groups, including group culture (norms, values) are important for determining outcomes and transcend individual action [sic]." (Stewart, 2005: 200).

In a city such as Kisumu, in which 60% of the population lives in informal settlements (MCK, 2010), inequalities between social groups can create a breeding ground for

**Figure 2:** Framework of analysis



conflict, and sustainable solutions to urban challenges must therefore include all segments of society.

The findings and recommendations addressed in this report are two-pronged. It firstly addresses the impacts of the social enterprise SME, assessing the extent to which it supports greater levels of material and relational well-being in the Kondele ward. Secondly, it examines the potentials for scaling-up this initiative—concentrating on the nature of relationships between residents, the enterprises and actors from the private and public sector, and suggests ways in which they could be transformed to ensure a system of waste management which is both socially inclusive and sustainable.

## 1.4 Policy context

### *Standards and regulations for solid waste management in Kisumu*

Prior to 1999, SWM was the monopoly and responsibility of local authorities in Kenya. The establishment of the Environmental Management and Coordination Act (EMCA) (1999) introduced new rights and responsibilities regarding environmental management, such as citizens' right to a clean environment and the duty to dispose of waste in designated areas (MCK, 2010: 21). Within the rapidly growing informal settlements of Kisumu, where a substantial amount of waste is produced and dumped each day due to a lack of SWM facilities, the implementation of EMCA continues to represent a considerable challenge.

EMCA was complemented in 2008 by the Environmental By-laws (CAP 265), which specify appropriate waste

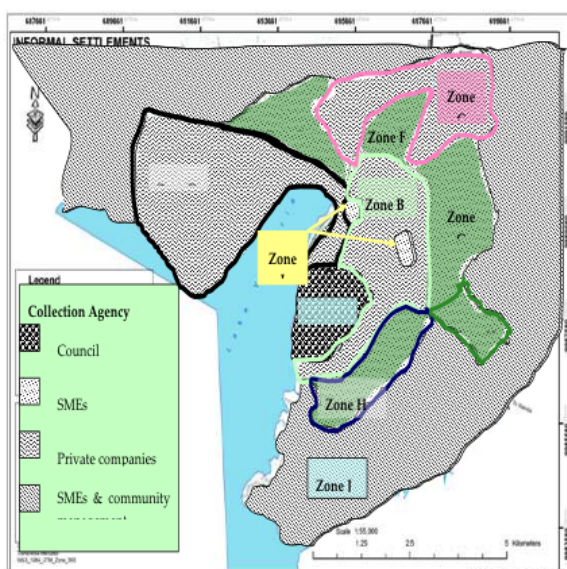
practices as well as penalties for failing to comply with the new standards. The By-laws further allow local authorities to contract private waste collectors in allocated zones and outline the responsibilities of the different actors in such an arrangement. It is the council's duty, for instance, to provide bins in public places and enforce the By-laws, while private contractors are required to obtain a number of licenses from the National Environment Management Agency (NEMA) for waste collection services. Residents, in turn, must subscribe to a waste collection service, involving a monthly fee, while local industries are required to provide storage spaces for waste to be collected by either the municipality or private contractors (Li-yala, 2011: 52).

### *Paradigm shift to a modernised mixtures approach*

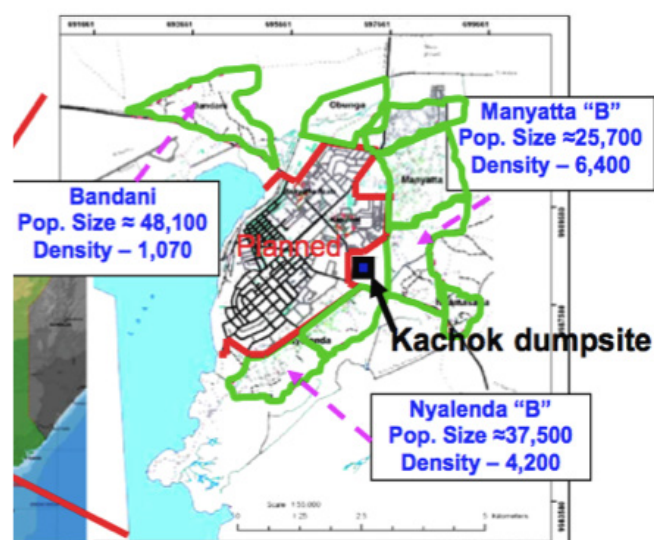
In accordance with the By-laws, KISWAMP was established in 2010 to ensure coverage of waste collection in informal settlements, which the Council remains unable to service due to lack of capacity and infrastructure. This is to be achieved through the privatisation of SWM services; more specifically, through the tendering of SMEs and other private collectors. It entails a zoning plan according to which SWM is organised spatially within Kisumu (map 1). KISWAMP further includes the establishment of a sanitary landfill outside the city to replace the current open dumpsite at Kachok (map 2); however, this initiative is still in the planning process.

Importantly, KISWAMP adopts a 'modernised mixtures' approach, combining centralised modes of service provision with grassroots initiatives, in order to expand coverage of waste collection services and reduce public spending as well as to adopt a more 'pro-poor' focus (MCK, 2010:

**Map 1:** KISWAMP zoning plan. From: MCK, 2010: 31.



**Map 2:** Kachok Dumpsite. From: Munala and Moirongo, 2011: 69.



24, 27, 47). The municipality's approach to SWM supports a network governance structure by which SWM services are delivered through public-private partnerships (Liyala, 2011: 35). The role of SMEs is to increase the quantity, quality and equity of service provision by collecting waste from previously un-serviced areas with support from the local government in the form of capacity building and land allocation (ibid.: 46). This represents a shift away from a needs-driven, informally-led to a policy-driven, strategic approach to urban service delivery (Allen et al., 2006: 51).

### *PPP and solid waste management*

Within this context of privatisation and devolution, Practical Action's PPP objective is to increase opportunities for participatory planning for informal residents in Kisumu. With regard to SWM, Practical Action has supported SMEs within the public-private partnerships that have been formed under KISWAMP by providing them with equipment and training. In addition, Practical Action assisted in the establishment of the Kisumu Waste Management Association (KIWAMA), an umbrella organisation of SMEs, which operates as the Community Outreach Group of the Department of Environment and also acts as a lobby group to push for policy changes which further the position of waste collectors within Kisumu municipality (box 3).

While the public-private partnerships in SWM are primarily designed to expand waste collection services to informal areas, they also open up new opportunities for residents in informal settlements to bring their concerns and priorities to the negotiating table in "participatory and all-inclusive processes" (Kisumu City Development Strategy, 2004-2009: 10). In practice, however, such participation is shaped by the nature of relationships that exist between the different participants (Mosse, 2010).

## **2. Well-being impacts**

The introduction of SMEs to informal settlements has provided residents with the choice to utilize waste disposal services that were not previously available. The tendering system established under KISWAMP has further enabled SMEs to formally obtain licenses for waste collection, which legitimizes the services they provide. This shift towards policy-driven service provision has had direct impacts on the environment within informal settlements and the material well-being of residents.

### **2.1 Expansion of waste collection and generation of employment opportunities**

As a result of the activities of SMEs in Kondele, waste is being collected from households on a regular basis (daily, weekly or monthly), which has resulted in cleaner spaces

within individual compounds. The interviews conducted with clients of Gasiapoa, Victory and Taca Bora enterprises suggest that the cleanliness of private areas is a priority for many residents, as it has implications on their health and livelihoods. As a female resident and owner of a fruitstall in the centre of Kondele explained:

*"I'm happy with [Gasiapoa's] service, it makes the compound look clean; the smell of the dump [next to the fruitstall] affects me and drives customers away. It also infects children with diarrhoea."*

In addition, the tendering system has generated some economic opportunities for local residents, particularly for marginalised groups such as former waste pickers, unemployed youth and single mothers. Gasiapoa's CEO, for instance, has committed himself to employing informal

#### **BOX 3: Kisumu Waste Management Association (KIWAMA)**

Officially registered in 2009 as the Community Outreach Group of the Department of Environment, KIWAMA acts as an umbrella group and contact point between SMEs and the local authority. It engages in advocacy, conflict resolution and networking on behalf of its members. 70% of its members represent youth, 23% women and 17% men (Liyala, 2011: 89).

#### **BOX 4: Julius- former waste picker and Gasiapoa employee**

Julius is a former waste picker in his twenties and has been an employee of Gasiapoa for five years. He appreciates the steady income and free basic accommodation he receives from his employer. Julius dreams of owning his own business one day, which would allow him to move out of SWM. He is saving money to achieve this dream.

#### **BOX 5: Mama Irene**

Mama Irene was employed by Taca Bora in 2008 when the enterprise was formed. After becoming a widow in 1995, Mama Irene was forced to seek employment in order to provide for her five children. Waste collection was not a choice – as a woman, Mama Irene faces stigmatisation in an industry that is dominated by men. However, she appreciates the source of income and believes that the proper disposal of waste is important especially in relation to children's health. She continues to play a significant role in Taca Bora.



waste pickers, whom he encountered at Kachok dumpsite, in order to provide them with a stable income (box 4).

Victory enterprise is working on incentives to give youths the opportunity to work for them, while some of the smaller SMEs in Manyatta A consist of women such as Irene, who found a new source of income after her husband passed away (box 5). These individuals have been able to obtain formally recognised employment through SMEs.

This mode of service delivery through private SMEs has resulted in the greater distribution of waste collection services outside of the CBD and created some employment opportunities in areas where unemployment rates are high (Munala and Moriongo, 2011: 72). However, this system of waste collection has not achieved inclusion of all social groups within a diverse neighbourhood such as Kondele for several reasons.

## 2.2 Patchy coverage

Although the SMEs have established a vast network of clients within Kondele, there remains a significant number of residents who do not dispose of their waste via private collectors as is required by the By-laws. This research found that for many households, waste remains a low priority since many residents stated they were unable or unwilling to pay for waste collection.

Due to rising rent prices, prevalent food insecurity, high unemployment and the cost of other services such as water and sanitation (UN-HABITAT, 2004: 4, picture 3),

**Picture 3:** Rent Prices Kondele

YADEN AGENCIES CONTACT 0724119626	
<b>SINGLE ROOMS</b>	<b>ONE BEDROOM</b>
NYAWITA 2500/=	TUNNEL - 8000/=
ST. ANDREW 4000/=	NYAWITA - 4000/=
KONDELE 2000/-	CAR WASH - 3500/-
PAKAMAKOIA - 3500/-	KONDELE - 7000/-
GUDKA - 3500/-	
2 ROOMS MANYATA - 3500/-	
NYAWITA - 2500/-	
ARINA - 3500/-	
<b>TWO BEDROOM</b>	<b>THREE BEDROOM</b>
CAL BOX 10,000	CAL BOX 15,000/-
CAL BOX 12,000	MIGOSI 13,000/-
GUDKA - 7000/-	KALAMINWA - 15,000/-
MIGOSI - 9000/-	MANYATA - 13,000/-
OBUNGA - 5000/-	MILIMANI 35,000/-
SEGA SEGA - 7000/-	<b>SINGLE ROOM</b>
CONER LEC 10,000	SEGA SEGA - 2,500/-
MANYATA MAXI 10,000	<b>THREE ROOMS - 4,500/-</b>

many residents de-prioritise waste collection. Alternative, cost-free options such as dumping waste at night and burning or burying it within the compound continue to be practised. As a female resident of Kondele stated: "waste collection is too expensive for me. I already have to pay for rent, buy baby milk, food, pay for my husband's meals...". The model of service delivery currently implemented under KISWAMP does not always recognise the needs of different social groups, particularly those that cannot afford to pay for waste collection.

On the other hand, the data gathered suggests that many residents also remain unwilling to pay for their waste to be disposed of by a private enterprise, since they consider waste collection to be the responsibility of the municipal council. A male member of a youth group reflecting on his own waste practices said:

*"I'm a man and I throw everything on the ground and I don't organise my waste at home because the government won't do anything, they are not strict, they don't help us nor do they care about the environment. The problem with SMEs is that they cost so much, they are doing the government's job! This should be free."*

As the above statements illustrate, a sense of entitlement to free waste collection services appears to be strongly linked to the weak enforcement capacity of the municipality. Liyala (2011) argues that this is due to poor investments in 'social trust' on behalf of the local authority, which result from a lack of "public participation and ensuring accessibility to quality and reliable SWM service" (Liyala, 2011: 64).

In particular, a discrepancy was observed between private compounds and public spaces within the neighbourhood. While residents generally appear to take measures to keep their compounds clean (through private waste collection or other disposal practices), there seems to be a lack of clarity about the responsibility of maintaining public spaces. Many residents complained of their neighbours' practices of dumping waste across the fence of their compound at night, pointing to a lack of individual responsibility regarding the management of public areas.

The statements collected suggest that the market-based model on which SMEs operate does not provide incentives for residents to pay for waste collection as part of a collective strategy to manage their environment. Instead, it relies on individual residents' motivations to keep their own compounds clean. However, unlike other urban services such as water supply, individual waste management practices, including illegal dumping, have impacts on the entire neighbourhood since they pollute communal spaces. In fact, the differences in waste disposal practices between residents that have resulted from the introduction of private collection services appear to have created ten-



sions within the neighbourhood. According to a member of a youth group involved in SWM, "the use of the service is a personal choice, like people who chose not to wear shoes, they know they should but some chose not to because of personal freedom."

## 2.3 Sustainability of SMEs

With regard to the SMEs themselves, some have been successful in generating enough revenue to expand their client base and acquire higher paying customers such as hotels and restaurants. This is largely due to the entrepreneurial and innovative skills of individual CEOs, such as Dickens Ochieng of Gasiapoa Enterprise, who has used savvy marketing strategies to acquire profitable industrial clients. However, other SMEs, such as Taca Bora (box 6), have been less able to sustain themselves financially. This is partly because of the low revenue made through waste collection from households and the fact that clients are frequently unable to consistently pay for collection, which compromises the financial sustainability of SMEs.

More significant, however, are constraints within the material environment in which SMEs operate, which can be disabling for their performance. Key disabling factors include:

- *Licenses required for waste collection.* Although SMEs are intended to partner with the municipality in providing waste collection services in Kisumu, they are required to obtain licenses for various aspects of their performance, such as collection, transportation and disposal of waste (Republic of Kenya, 2006). Each license requires a fee and must be renewed annually. Many SMEs stated that the revenue from household collection is insufficient to cover the cost of these licenses, and they continue to rely on financial support from NGOs.
- *Missing skips.* KISWAMP outlines the municipality's responsibility to provide skips at collection points from which waste is transferred to the dumpsite by the council (MCK, 2010: 32). However, residents stated that many skips are not emptied regularly or have gone missing altogether, as is the case in Kondele ward, where open dumpsites have replaced the skips (picture 4). This lack of infrastructure forces SMEs to undertake the time-consuming and costly journey to the dumpsite themselves.
- *Transportation.* The SMEs considered in this study unanimously cited transport as one of the major challenges they face in their daily operations. Due to poor road infrastructure in informal settlements, they use handcarts to access different households (picture 5). However, transportation to the dumpsite (due to the missing skips) requires a vehicle, which most SMEs are unable to afford. Some nev-

### BOX 6: Taca Bora

Formed by Phoebe Ogada in 2008, Taca Bora received tools and a wheelbarrow from Practical Action to start up as a business. Serving predominantly low-income households, Taca Bora has incurred frequent financial losses because many clients deferred or suspended payment of the collection fees. In response to this challenge, Taca Bora has begun to diversify its business and now practices chicken breeding and manufacturing of jewelry from recycled material as additional sources of income.

**Picture 4:** Missing skip at Kondele Market



**Picture 5:** Gasiapoa waste collection with handcart



**Picture 6:** Institutional analysis UFIYO workshop



ertheless take their handcarts to the dumpsite on foot, which considerably limits their efficiency.

While this model of service delivery entails significant material benefits, such as cleanliness and employment opportunities, these remain limited to individuals who can afford waste collection services without addressing the collective nature of SWM. The notion of “waste as a gold-mine” from which economic profit can be generated, was voiced strongly by members of the municipal council, particularly the Department of Planning. However, the rhetoric of *taca n'pesa* (‘waste is money’) is not supported by redistributive mechanisms which allow SMEs to sustain themselves economically, let alone operate as social enterprises. Many SMEs have therefore established direct links with international NGOs such as SANA International and continue to rely on their material support, which undermines SMEs’ long-term sustainability. This reliance on foreign support was emphasised by a Kondele youth group by the name of UFIYO during a workshop involving an institutional analysis (picture 6). Keen to become involved in SWM, the group expressed strong interest in establishing themselves as an SME with support from external donors and NGOs.

### 3. Working to scale

Under the new policy environment, SMEs are considered to represent the locus of participation for local residents in decision-making processes regarding the management of their neighbourhood. The nature of relationships between residents and SMEs, on one hand, and the SMEs and the municipal authority, on the other, shape the form of these participatory processes.

#### 3.1 Relationship between residents and SMEs

While the new system of service delivery through SMEs was intended to have a ‘pro-poor’ focus, in practice it has become exclusively based on a ‘citizen as consumer’ model. Operating on an individual basis, the model does not encourage the development of a collective strategy to manage public spaces, which is critical given that waste disposal practices have affects beyond the individual household level. Instead, the data suggests that the social benefits of SME services are grounded in clientelistic relationships between SMEs and their customers.

There appears to be an implicit power dynamic between SMEs and their clients that goes beyond the provider-customer relationship. This research found that SME owners have a strong social responsibility towards their clients in return for clients’ loyalty to and respect for the enterprise. It is important to contextualise this dynamic within the system of governance in the neighbourhood.

The SME owners considered in this study are also important representatives within the MRA as well as land and property owners, which grants them considerable power at ward level. For example, Dickens Ochieng, CEO of Gasiapoa, chairman of the MRA and member of KI-WAMA, was obliged to make substantial contributions to a client’s funeral during the process of the research.

As a result, residents who are unable to pay for waste collection services do not benefit from such support. Moreover, these residents, typically tenants, are not represented via SMEs within the public-private partnership structure and do not participate in decision-making processes. The substantial overlap in membership between SMEs, the MRA and KI-WAMA also suggests these structures are dominated by more powerful residents who are able to mobilise resources, thereby creating a ‘community within a community’ in which landlords and elders have a more prominent role than other groups. This has significant implications for the ability of the PPP to achieve inclusive representation and recognition of all social groups, particularly tenants, and to allow for meaningful participation regarding the management of their environment.

An important distinction must also be made between SME owners and their employees. While the tendering system has been economically empowering for both, albeit to different degrees, SME owners appear to enjoy a respected position within the neighbourhood. By contrast, the waste collectors and transporters reported harassment due to a persisting stigma associated with SWM, which affects their everyday performance. As one of Gasiapoa’s employees explained: “We’re first to blame when something is missing, we’re the first suspects, we’re seen as thieves”. The lasting stigma attached to waste management as a low-class, predominantly male occupation (box 5) stands in contradiction to KISWAMP’s notion of the unproblematic development of waste enterprises as a unique economic opportunity. While providing formal recognition of waste pickers, the policies however do not address the issue of stigmatisation, which remains a considerable challenge within the neighbourhood.

#### 3.2 Relationship between SMEs and local authorities

As outlined in the previous section, SMEs operate in an environment that is disabling in terms of their material gains (licenses, skips, transportation). However, there are additional disabling factors, which relate to the nature of the networks between SMEs and the council itself. This research has identified several gaps in the governance of these new structures.

Firstly, the SMEs are the sole bearers of the risk associated with investments in waste management. The By-laws do not contain any provisions to ensure government support for SMEs if they incur financial losses. For example,

no subsidies are provided to cover the deficit caused by unpaid collection fees. This inequality in the public-private partnership with regard to risk management compromises the financial sustainability of SMEs and limits their ability to invest in public functions as social enterprises.

Secondly, SME owners reported constant insecurity regarding their tender, which requires annual renewal. Potential competition with companies who offer cheaper services could mean that tendering contracts are awarded to bigger service providers the next year. However, a franchiser system is expected to replace the current tendering system in 2014 (MCK, 2010: 30). SME owners expressed concern regarding this transformation as they fear being sub-contracted by private companies able to obtain licenses for vast areas of the city. Unlike countries such as Brazil, (Dias, 2011) for example, Kenya does not have legislations in place which require municipalities to contract local waste collectors, thus leaving them unprotected against open market competition.

Thirdly, this study found limited channels of communication between SMEs and relevant representatives of the local authority. Particularly in terms of accountability, no formal complaint mechanism was identified for SMEs to seek redress with the municipality. As a representative from the Department of Social Services conceded, there is confusion between municipal departments regarding communication with SMEs. For example, while SMEs are required to register with the Department of Social Services, the Department of Environment deals with SWM issues. Furthermore, KIWAMA does not represent an autonomous body since it is registered as the Community Outreach Group of the Department of Environment. This limits the negotiating power of the SMEs represented. Moreover, conversations with members of KIWAMA suggest weak lobbying capacity within the organisation, thus further limiting the ability of SMEs to voice their priorities and concerns to the local authority.

## 4. Recommendations

SMEs are unique in their mode of service provision (low-cost, small-scale, low-revenue door-to-door collection) and their area of coverage (informal settlements with restricted access) and therefore occupy a niche in SWM. In order to expand their business, the public-private partnership model incentivises SMEs to increasingly move to industrial clients and abandon low-revenue household collection, as is manifested in Gasiapoa's business aspirations. If a significant shift away from door-to-door collection occurs, this will negatively impact the redistribution of SWM services targeted by KISWAMP. On the other hand, however, the impending commercialisation of waste through a franchiser system may result in SMEs being pushed back to their original client base (house-

holds) if confronted with a strong competitor. This contradiction means that SMEs are confronted with a paradox of sustainability.

This report suggests that the source of this paradox stems from the market-oriented nature of the current model of service delivery, which approaches SWM from a purely technical perspective without incorporating its strong social dimension. Residents' participation in decision-making, consideration of diverse income levels and waste disposal practices and dialogue about environmental management within a neighbourhood are crucial aspects affecting the success of public-private partnerships (Li-yala, 2011: 142). A relational perspective is therefore key to identify opportunities for the scaling up of this initiative.

The vast network established by SMEs within the neighbourhood has been identified as an entry-point for Practical Action's continued involvement in creating opportunities for greater participation of residents in the management of their environment. The following recommendations are proposed for the future direction of the PPP.

### 4.1 Support for social enterprise aspects of SMEs

*Goal 1: Creating an enabling environment for SMEs to deliver waste collection services that are both socially inclusive and allow for residents' participation in the management of their environment.*

In order to upscale waste collection services in a socially inclusive and sustainable way, SMEs must become recognised and supported by the municipal authorities as social enterprises, which are not primarily profit-driven. Borzaga and Defourny (2001) define social enterprises as autonomous, collective initiatives by a group of citizens to provide public services that have an explicit social responsibility at the local level. Moreover, participation of residents in decision-making processes is an integral part of social enterprises (Borzaga and Defourny, 2001: 18). Given the existing public-private partnership structure within SWM, expanding the definition of SMEs to include these social elements would both resonate with the PPP's aim to ensure "poor peoples' inclusion in the planning and development processes of the Local Authorities and their service providers" (Practical Action, 2013b: 3) and strengthen the 'pro-poor' focus of KISWAMP.

*Recommendation 1: Providing KIWAMA with capacity-building for advocacy in order to lobby for the recognition of SMEs as social enterprises.*

In pursuing the recognition of SMEs as social enterprises, KIWAMA can play a crucial role. As the Community Outreach Group of the Department of Environment, KIWAMA is in a unique position to lobby decision-makers within the municipality. While its members stated that they are in-



volved in advocacy through techniques such as marches during clean-up campaigns, the data suggests a lack of capacity and experience in effective lobbying within KI-WAMA. Consequently, there is an opportunity for Practical Action to support KI-WAMA in developing new strategies of advocacy in order to lobby effectively for changes, which promote the recognition of SMEs' social functions. Within the context of privatisation, it is crucial to strengthen the negotiating power of local waste collectors to prevent them from being overridden by foreign investors, as has been evidenced in the case of the *Zabaleen* garbage collectors in Cairo (Fahmi, 2005). Establishing SMEs as strong negotiating partners is particularly important as the new governor of Kisumu strives to "market Kisumu as the industrial hub for East Africa" (Kisumu Hub, 2013). The following objectives are recommended for advocacy:

- *Government subsidies for SMEs.* In order to ensure waste collection from all households regardless of their ability to pay for services, SMEs need financial support to sustain those functions<sup>1</sup>. SWM differs in this regard from other urban services since waste disposal practices have a direct bearing on the collective health and well-being of the wider neighbourhood. In addition, SMEs need resources to carry out social activities, which allow for greater participation of local residents (see Recommendation 2), in order to meet the objectives of the PPP.
- *Greater accountability within the public-private partnership.* Public-private partnerships in Kisumu were established to "ensure financial sustainability in SWM" (MCK, 2010: 8). However, the data collected suggests that while the public partners benefit from reduced expenditure, the private contractors bear the risk of investment entirely on their own. This undermines their sustainability and discourages both economic and social investments. A robust complaint mechanism is needed to ensure that some of the potential risk is absorbed by the municipality.
- *Legal changes in the By-laws.* The legal framework of SWM in Kisumu does not make the contracting of local waste collectors mandatory for the council, exposing SMEs to open market competition. Legal changes which guarantee the tendering of local service providers, as exemplified by a law introduced in Brazil in 2007 (Samson, 2009: 65), would represent an important step towards ensuring the long-term sustainability of SMEs.

## 4.2 Collective agency

*Goal 2: Developing collective strategies to manage waste in public spaces and create mechanisms for the representation of diverse needs at different levels.*

One of the key challenges identified in this study is the lack of collective engagement with SWM at the neighbourhood level. The market-based approach to SWM relies on individual practices (payment), which has worked well for the management of private compounds but left public spaces unattended. A re-engagement of all groups in the management of common areas is not only desirable as part of the PPP but also a pressing concern since public spaces continue to be used as illegal dumpsites.

*Recommendation 2: Collaborating with SMEs as facilitators in generating dialogue within the neighbourhood.*

The SMEs are run by individuals who are well-connected amongst the residents. Most of the business owners are also members of the MRA and some act as representatives within KI-WAMA. They have a solid understanding of the dynamics and challenges within the neighbourhood and the power to represent these at different levels. In collaboration with SMEs it is recommended that Practical Action engages in:

- *Establishing forums for dialogue between different groups of residents.* The introduction of a market-based SWM model has created tensions between different groups of residents, such as landlords and tenants. As an external actor, Practical Action could play a key role in generating an open discussion within the neighbourhood and ensuring different voices are registered in the development of new strategies for the collective management of solid waste. The establishment of a SWM Code within the neighbourhood could be a worthwhile project to pursue, as it could generate commitment amongst residents' to collectively manage public spaces and address the stigmatisation of waste collectors<sup>2</sup>.
- *Creating mechanisms for tenant representation within MRA and KI-WAMA.* The formal representation of different social groups in the MRA and KI-WAMA is key to allow different voices to participate in decision-making processes. Generating a discussion amongst current members about the exclusion of low-income residents (typically tenants) who cannot afford the membership fee could be an important step towards enhancing the accountability of these structures and ensuring the revenues gained from SWM feed back into the neighbourhood. Introducing quotas for tenant representation would be an option within KI-WAMA, or both.
- *Developing strategies to disseminate information about SWM.* The SMEs' networks could serve as an entry-point to circulate accessible information about residents' rights and responsibilities under the By-laws, while at the same time engaging

them in creative ways of thinking about waste as a resource. Practical Action could help facilitate a workshop for children and parents to fabricate toys out of recycled waste<sup>3</sup>. Children already creatively use waste for playful purposes in Kondele (picture 7), but Practical Action could foster the engagement of parents and ensure the materials and techniques used are safe. Further activities could introduce methods to re-use waste at the household level, such as composting techniques.

## 5. Conclusion

Within the new system of devolved service delivery in Kisumu, SMEs can play a key role in connecting informal residents to decision-making structures and in creating spaces for their active engagement in planning processes. However, for this new system to positively impact not only the material but also the relational well-being of residents, mechanisms need to be put in place to ensure that public-private partnerships are sustainable and inclusive of all social groups. This study suggests that by strengthening the negotiating power of SMEs through lobbying and by supporting the development of a collective strategy to manage public spaces, Practical Action can pursue its goal of

**Picture 7:** Recycled Toy.



“achiev[ing] impact through deliberate influence, networking, training and policy reform” (Edwards and Hulme in Majale, 2009: 13). A reconsideration of the social dimension of SWM is key in striving for a city in which resources are equally distributed, different identities recognised and citizens well-connected in order to participate in the collective planning and management of their neighbourhoods.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. See Ong'olo (2006) for a case study of a public-private partnership within The Kenya Railways Concessioning system, which encountered similar challenges.

2. For a similar initiative, called the 'Binners Code', implement-

ed in Vancouver see Tremblay et al., 2009.

3. For a larger-scale initiative visit [http://edition.cnn.com/2013/05/24/world/africa/playground-trash-ruganzu-bruno-uganda/index.html?hpt=wo\\_t2](http://edition.cnn.com/2013/05/24/world/africa/playground-trash-ruganzu-bruno-uganda/index.html?hpt=wo_t2)



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## Chapter 2.

# Delegated management model. *Water kiosk, Manyatta B*

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### 1. Research overview and context

*Location:* Manyatta B, Kisumu (pop. 27,952)

*Model:* Delegated Management Model (Water kiosk)

*Implementing Actor:* Practical Action

#### 1.1. Neighbourhood profile: Manyatta B

Manyatta B is located in the eastern part of Kisumu, 2 km from the city centre, and stretching across 2.5 km squared. It contains a population of 27,952, with a high density mix of structure owners (landlords) and rental tenants. Income levels are low, with the majority of the residents deriving income from self-owned micro and small enterprises.

Given the unplanned nature of the settlement, the provision of infrastructure and services remains a key challenge for residents. Access to water is obtained primarily through communal stand pipes, which serve over 65% of the population. A small minority are also served by individual household connections, tanks, or boreholes. The risk of water contamination remains high as a result of pollution from poorly-sited pit latrines, and is exacerbated by frequent flooding and the downward slop of the land. As a result, Manyatta B has experienced a high incidence of waterborne diseases such as typhoid and dysentery. Although there are a number of accessible water points in the settlement, residents often face difficulties with the quality and quantity of the water available.

#### 1.2 Model overview: delegated management model (water kiosk)

The 2002 Kenya Water Act signified a radical shift in Kenya's water sector, moving from the state-led provision of water to a privately-run system, managed and maintained by Water Service Providers (WSPs) (Kimenyi, 2005). This Act also created the Water Service Regulatory Board (WSRB), an umbrella organisation of eight regionally-differentiated Water Service Boards (WSBs) which oversee the private WSPs. Kisumu, located in Nyanza Province, falls under the jurisdiction of the Lake Victoria South Water Service Board (LVSWSB).

The main functions of the LVSWSB are:

- The issuance of licences, and the monitoring and evaluation of WSPs
- Infrastructure development (water treatment plants, distribution pipe network, tanks)

In Kisumu the managing WSP is the Kisumu Water and Sewerage Company Limited (KIWASCO), the private company responsible for delivering water to residents of Manyatta B.

Within this context of privatization, the Delegated Management Model (DMM) has been adopted as the preferred strategy for water provision in informal settlements. Operating through a public-private partnership approach, in this model water management is delegated from the WSP, KIWASCO, to organised community groups. These groups, known as Master Operators (MOs) are subsequently responsible for water delivery within a neighbourhood.

The LVSWSB has identified the DMM as the most suitable model for their WSPs (including KIWASCO), for a number of reasons. Firstly, it allows a more structured delivery service throughout the area of coverage, generating greater profit margins for the WSPs and the board itself, which takes a percentage of its profits from the WSPs. Secondly, the DMM enables the LVSWSB to fulfil its mandate of water provision to the wider city, as it is understood to be an efficient method of extending the existing distribution network to small-scale providers (LVSWSB, 2013).

This model additionally relies on the logic that as water delivery management is passed to the community, the risks of 'unaccounted-for' water are diminished—assuming, for example, a reduction in vandalism and a better monitoring of leakages. This is of critical importance within settlements such as Manyatta, where KIWASCO has reported a 66% loss of water produced and treated, representing both a significant financial burden for the Company and reduced access for consumers (KIWASCO, 2007; Wagah, Onyango and Kibwage, 2010).

In Manyatta B ward, the NGOs Practical Action, KUAP and Shelter Forum, in collaboration with KIWASCO, have supported the implementation of the DMM as part of a wider initiative called People's Plans into Practice (PPP). Through this process, the delivery of water services was granted to the newly created Manyatta Neighbourhood Development Group (MANADEG), the designated MO of Manyatta B. KIWASCO, MANADEG, and Manyatta B residents were understood to benefit from this DMM arrangement: for KIWASCO this promised reductions in leakage, vandalism and illegal connections; for MANADEG the control over water operation and management provided both an economic opportunity and space for an increased participation on matters of water governance; and for residents this was understood to support greater access to secure water. While the DMM operates through a variety of water distribution points, this study was focused particularly on water kiosk operators in Manyatta B.

### 1.3 Framework of analysis

#### *Subjective well-being*

The provision of clean, fresh water is a major challenge throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, including Kenya. This is reflected in the United Nations Millennium Development Goal that aims to reduce the proportion of the population without access to water and sanitation by 50% in 2015 (United Nations MDGs, 2013). A key strategy that has been adopted to realise this goal is the development of public and private partnerships (Allen et al., 2006). However, key to unpacking the impacts on the well-being of residents is exploring how these partnerships and the establishment and management of water infrastructure is experienced by diverse groups of people within the settlement. With this recognition, the entry point for the analysis of the DMM as a mode of water provision is residents' subjective sense of well-being—based on their capabilities, values and attitudes towards their material, human and social positions (White, 2010).

#### *Pursuing well-being: framework and methodology*

To undertake this investigation it was necessary to consider two elements. Firstly, using the entry point of subjective well-being, this research explored the impact of the DMM model, realised through a water kiosk, on the agency of Manyatta B residents. Secondly, this was positioned within a wider analysis of the structural elements that either limited or enabled residents to achieve greater levels of well-being in relation to water provision. This approach to the research was framed by the Capability Approach (Sen, 1993), an analytical lens that explores the conceptualization of choices, the capability space for action, and the functionings that people have to achieve a set of well-being outcomes (Frediani, 2010).

In relation to the first question, the research focused on what residents valued in relation to the provision of water, and how the DMM model impacted their abilities and opportunities to achieve these goals. More specifically, these aspirations were examined in relation to six key areas, identified on the basis of prior desk research on water and capabilities: health, empowerment, livelihoods, water security, personal security, and social cohesion. Secondly, taking into account wider trends happening within the city of Kisumu, and more broadly in Kenya, the research examined the extent to which the DMM model responded to, mirrored, or challenged these trends—to produce well-being outcomes at the wider city-scale.

The research methodology was conducted in three stages. The first stage consisted of a literature review and policy analysis conducted from London. Stage two involved two and a half weeks of fieldwork in Kisumu, in which information was collected using transect walks, workshops, and interviews, comprising over 60 residents and key informants. Finally, stage three consisted of analysis, and the formulation of recommendations.

### 1.4 Policy context

A content analysis was carried out on 12 key policy documents, selected on the basis of their relevance to both the wider water issues in Kenya, and more specifically in terms of their potential impact on Kisumu—with particular concern for the Manyatta B residents reliant on the community-run DMM (MANADEG) for their water. The documents were used as the basis to ascertain how the six dimensions of well-being identified as a part of the Capability Approach are articulated (figure 1).

The core policy canons enshrined in the Water Act 2002—including access to safe, affordable water—were disseminated to all water agencies. Policy analysis carried out for this study demonstrates that these key actors retained a central cohesive theme based on the realisation that water problems require comprehensive cross-cutting strategies (PPI-WSS, 2007; WRMA, 2009). From the perspective of well-being, policy rhetoric appears to be located mainly within the dimensions of empowerment and water security, and is frequently expressed in terms of public participation and involvement in water services, together with resource management; both key tenets of the Water Act 2002. "Beneficiary participation" and "stakeholder participation", for example, are commonly cited phrases in documents like the National Water Resources Strategy and the Water Resources Management Authority Strategic Plan (NWRS, 2007; WRMA, 2009).

This language is echoed to a certain extent at the Kisumu City level by two of the principal actors in this study, LVS-WSB and KIWASCO. The former, for instance, affirms the importance of "stakeholder participation, customer

satisfaction, communication sharing and customer satisfaction” (LVSWBS, 2009: 13) while the latter’s notions of stakeholder engagement are couched in terms of “effective and good communication” (KIWASCO, 2012: 20). This supports the assertion by Kimenyi (2005) that in Kenya there are significant differences in the way in which cross-cutting issues are prioritised within organisations and communities. Consequently, dimensions of well-being like empowerment and water security may also be prioritised and implemented in very different ways at different levels of governance.

Most salient from the perspective of this study is the concept of “good communication” stated in the policy documents of both LVSWBS and KIWASCO. Unfortunately this precept appears to be hindered by bureaucratisation and the inevitable consequential distancing of these public institutions from more effective community engagement. This is confirmed in the LVSWBS 2010 Annual Report: “Water Service Providers remain our major contact points with consumers and thus the Board continues to develop their capacity in order to improve service delivery” (LVSWBS, 2010: 13). For community users like MANEDEC who manage a DMM, this means there is no direct means of interaction with the public body responsible for their water supply, as all water-related issues must go through the private service pro-

vider, KIWASCO. The objective of the Water Act 2002 was to maximise efficiency and improve the well-being of all water consumers (AMCOW, 2009). However as this brief analysis has highlighted, there is a major gap between policy principles and practices, which in turn translates to gaps in beneficiary well-being.

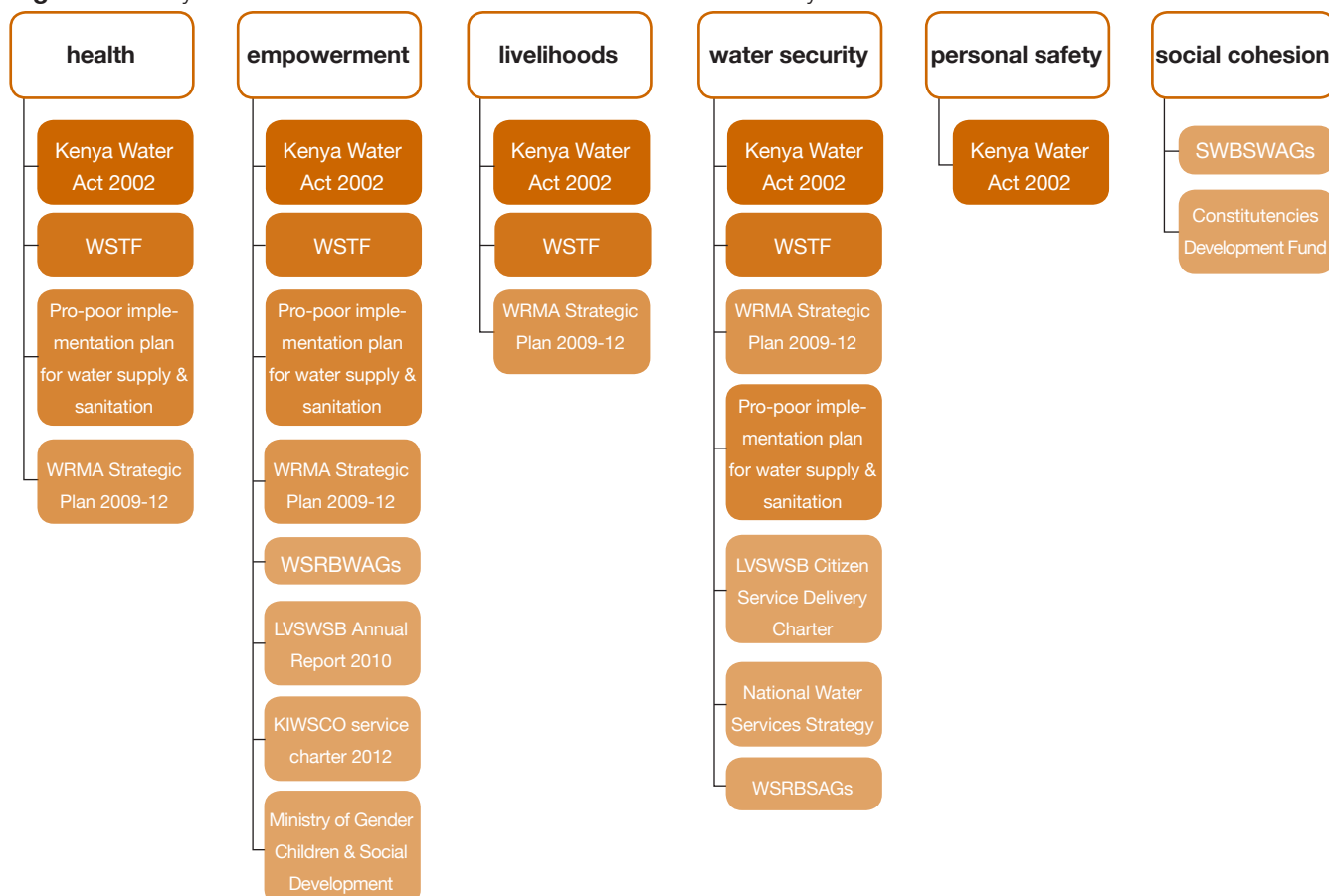
## 2. Well-being impacts

Using the lens of the Capability Approach, the impacts of the DMM were examined in relation to the values and aspirations of Manyatta B residents, arranged into six well-being components: security of livelihoods, bodily health, water security, safety, empowerment, and community cohesion.

### 2.1 Security of livelihoods

The aim of the DMM is to improve the delivery of clean water to residents at affordable rates (LVSWBS, 2013; KIWASCO, 2013; Practical Action, 2013). One of the primary impacts of this has been in supporting the security of livelihoods, expressed in four areas: income, affordability, sustainable consumption, and time management and family roles (table 2).

**Figure 1:** Policy documents of relevance to the six dimensions of analysis





### Strategies for income generation

Interviews conducted in Manyatta B indicated that the DMM model offered increased opportunities for income generation for both residents—who are able to run kiosks or water points—and shareholders of the MANADEG Water Group, who are intended to benefit from profits generated by the DMM (Sanga and Schwartz, 2010). However, profits rely on an increased capacity of service delivery—something that remains underdeveloped due to technical and administrative limitations, as will be explored in greater detail later in this report.

### Affordability of water

A further gain in response to the DMM model is that water prices are both cheaper and standardized; a 20-litre jerrycan of water was reduced from 20 Ksh (bought from water vendors) to 3 Ksh (bought from kiosks or water points). Both women and men acknowledged this material advancement and related it to other subjective benefits that will be further explored later in this section. However, it is important to note that residents were also aware that some social groups, including widows and child-headed families, were still unable to afford these prices.

### Sustainable consumption

Considering that households spend a significant portion of their incomes on the consumption of water, the reduction in water pricing was perceived as supporting the capacity of families' consumption. However, as other

costs of living continued to rise within the settlement, alternative sources of water (such as the river or boreholes) remained important, and are particularly employed during times of economic shock. Children equally perceived this aspect, expressing their awareness of household economic vulnerability.

### Time management and family roles

Better access to water allowed for more time to spend on other activities, especially for women and children. (Wagah, Onyango and Kibwage, 2010). Furthermore, women who managed water kiosks and water points perceived that their family roles changed with their increased capacity to contribute to household finances. However, this research was unable to fully explore the impacts of this upon internal household dynamics, and therefore it is not possible to further comment on the quality of this change. Moreover, some informants expressed that in some cases men ceased working, or worked less, as women played a greater role in household income generation.

## 2.2 Bodily health

Residents indicated that one of the aspects they value most from the DMM is the perceived improvement in health (table 2). Prior to the DMM implementation, residents had to fetch contaminated water from the river and/or and treat it with chemical components. This finding corresponds with that of the MCI Water and Sanitation Assessment for Kisumu:

**Table 1.** Key findings regarding security of livelihoods sub-components

Income	Affordability	Sustainable consumption	Time management & family roles
<p>Second most important aspect of their well-being</p> <p>DMM model has brought new business opportunities into the community</p> <p>It is believed that kiosks and water points should be an opportunity to bring livelihoods opportunities to marginalised residents</p> <p>Economic expectations of Water Group members have not been achieved (MANADEG chairman)</p>	<p>Water becomes more affordable</p> <p>Perceived as one of the clearest impacts of the DMM</p> <p>Some residents still cannot afford water prices</p> <p>Greater access to water, but residents still must use it wisely: "I drink 3 to 4 glasses of water a day; I can drink more if I beg." (Manyatta B resident)</p>	<p>The amount saved from lowered water prices allows for more to spend on food and milk, however this remains very little</p> <p>Prices in the settlement are perceived to have risen due to the increased standard of living, and increase of the population</p> <p>"Sometimes when our parents become broke we worry about buying water." (Female child)</p> <p>Families take water from the river to wash their clothes as an alternative strategy when money is tight</p>	<p>Some women have changed their familial roles with their increased economic abilities</p> <p>It is understood as important for women to have more time, so they can be more 'productive' and bring income to the family</p> <p>Girls and women are primarily responsible for water collection</p> <p>Easier access to water means children have more time to do their homework and play</p>

*“The reliance on shallow wells and boreholes in these neighbourhoods is problematic because water from these sources is of poor quality (...) dependency on such readily contaminable water sources contributes to dangerous outbreaks of such diseases as diarrhoea, cholera, typhoid, dysentery and malaria” (2010: 14).*

The alternative was to purchase clean water from vendors, however the price was very high and also its quality was not guaranteed. Female residents especially expressed that access to safer water has enabled them to improve their family's hygiene and sanitation practices. Water is more affordable, so they can use clean water not only for drinking, but also for cleaning purposes. As a result, residents have perceived a reduction in water-borne and other diseases caused by drinking or cleaning with polluted water.

Finally, there was a generalised perception of the reduction in the physical effort required of water fetchers (primarily women and children), as the distance to kiosks and water points was significantly reduced.

### 2.3 Water security

Residents felt that they can rely on the quantity and quality of the water provided through the DMM. Water is clean, and less likely to get contaminated by vandalism (Sanga and Schwartz, 2010). Additionally, kiosks and points sell water from early in the morning until late in the day. Women especially highlighted this as an improvement to crucial concerns of their daily life. Some residents reported that on some occasions water was unavailable, however this mainly occurred when there is a cut in the master pipe, or during periods of drought (table 3).

**Table 2.** Findings regarding bodily health sub-components

Sanitation and hygiene	Waterborne and other diseases	Physical effort
<p>Health is perceived as the most important aspect of life</p> <p>“The kiosk is good because it makes me clean.” (Female resident, Manyatta B)</p> <p>“We use the water for cooking and washing clothes” (Female child, Manyatta B)</p>	<p>“Since the DMM the hazard of diarrhoea and cholera has decreased.” (Female Resident, Manyatta B)</p> <p>Residents perceived better health, citing the reduction in skin diseases and diarrhoea</p> <p>“I fetch water from the kiosk because a lot of people die when they get water from the river, hence it is dirty water.” (Child, Manyatta B)</p> <p>“The water now is better because it doesn't make me sick.” (Child, Manyatta B)</p>	<p>Perception of less physical effort to collect water since the DMM</p> <p>Kids don't like to fetch water because it is tiring. Before the water kiosks they had to travel further distances</p> <p>“Prior to the opening of the kiosk we had to walk more than 500 metres in the dark to get water from a borehole on the other side of the Auji river.” (Female water kiosk operator)</p>

**Table 3.** Findings regarding water security sub-components

Quantity	Quality
<p>Residents can rely on a greater availability of water from the kiosk and water points</p> <p>Water shortages still remain a problem in the settlement</p> <p>Water supply is problematic when there are broken pipes or power shortages. This also affects quality, as the water cannot be not pumped properly (Graduate teacher, Great Lakes University of Kisumu)</p>	<p>Since DMM the reliability of water quality has improved significantly</p> <p>“I didn't like water before.” [when they fetched from the river and borehole] (Female child, Manyatta B)</p>

## 2.4 Safety

As illustrated in table four, personal safety for both water operators and consumers is perceived to have improved—particularly for women—who felt more comfortable in terms of personal safety, and in sending their children to collect water after dark. Furthermore, residents perceived diminishing queue lines at water points, leading to an improved sense of public order. In addition, they stressed that they felt more secure given the concentration of houses around water points. However, despite improvements, some residents still felt it was unsafe to fetch water late at night at certain points, though this may relate to wider security issues affecting Kisumu.

## 2.5 Empowerment

The DMM project, as a part of Practical Action's People's Plans into Practice (PPP), seeks to empower the community. Specifically it is an attempt to generate new spaces for participation and a sense of community inclusion, and increase residents' capacity and influence in decision-making (table 5).

Fieldwork research supports the premise that the DMM project has opened new spaces for participation. Residents perceived that they had a greater opportunity to be part of recognised groups such as the Water Task Force and Water Shareholders Group, and to participate in meetings related to water management and other issues. Furthermore, different groups of the Manyatta B neighbourhood were invited to be part of these spaces. Although only a few residents are shareholders of the Water Group, people interviewed perceived that there are opportunities to be heard and to influence decision-making. The DMM representatives in the community are charged with channelling demands and issues from the community to KIWASCO.

Finally, through the PPP, community capacity was built to organise and manage the DMM. However, and as will be further explained in the following section, an increased level of technical support and administrative training would further support this process.

While recognizing those gains in empowerment outlined here, it is also important to highlight that the conception of empowerment underpinning the DMM model is essentially

**Table 4.** Findings regarding safety sub-components

Personal Safety	Public order
<p>Residents feel safer when fetching water due to shorter distances : "before we were trekking far to get water but now it is safe and easy to get water." (Female water kiosk operator)</p> <p>"As a mother you cannot concentrate properly if you think your child is in danger." (Mother, Manyatta B)</p> <p>Some residents maintained that it was still not safe after 7pm</p>	<p>Water kiosks have helped to build community by making water more readily available and reducing queue times, leading to less aggression: "people don't fight when there are no queues." (Water kiosk operator)</p> <p>Availability of water has increased the population living in the area, so: "now it is safer because it is more difficult to attack the community." (Male resident, Manyatta B)</p> <p>Wider security problems remain</p>

**Table 5.** Findings regarding empowerment sub-components

Spaces of participation	Inclusion	Influence in decision- making	Capacity building
<p>The community can participate in MANADEG and WTF meetings, and representatives' elections (Water task force chairwoman)</p> <p>"I felt [to run the kiosk] would keep me busy...it made me feel better...I am just a housewife." (Female water kiosk operator)</p>	<p>Women consider that they can air their views, however not all voices within the community are being heard</p> <p>Men were included in DMM implementation through their work in construction</p>	<p>Residents are aware of the role of representatives and MOs to channel their demands</p> <p>"This is our project." (MANADEG Chairman)</p>	<p>"If the community doesn't have the cohesion and ability to accomplish things together, then we won't get anywhere". (Female resident, Manyatta B)</p> <p>"The PPP allowed us to start thinking and realise, as a community, what we are capable of. [Before] we were asleep." (Female resident, Manyatta B)</p>

embedded in entrepreneurialism. More specifically, water management is seen as a business opportunity for the community, and involvement is mainly through participation as shareholders or managers of the model. It is perhaps for this reason that following the initial establishment of spaces of participation and community management, some residents indicated a decreased motivation of residents. The chair of MANADEG has attributed this to the expectation of economic profit, which was not always attained.

## 2.6 Community cohesion

Finally, the DMM project has impacted community cohesion; a factor identified by Practical Action: "...social cohesion is enhanced and the desire to fulfil contractual obligations to the utility company is enhanced" (Practical Action, 2013: 8). This research identified that improvements in the material conditions of water supply also triggered benefits in the subjective dimension of well-being, in particular, through the creation of new spaces for interaction, opportunities for networking within the community, and solidarity amongst residents (table 6).

The water kiosks and water points in Manyatta B are perceived as spaces for interaction; both children and women observed that they take the opportunity to interact with other community members when going to fetch water. In addition, some of the DMM kiosks are run by groups of residents, which created the opportunity to generate a support network, and the potential for collaboration on other shared projects. In addition, solidarity is a value that emerges from the interaction between consumer and operator. Whilst the driving force is economic, the sense of community is reflected in the credit opportunities vendors often give to residents who are unable to pay for water. However, this can also have a negative impact if vendors fail to keep accurate financial records.

## 3. Working to scale

The DMM is a delivery model driven by a 'market' logic based upon efficiency and profit sustainability—a discourse espoused by all actors involved in the model throughout the field research. As such, it is within this wider context of privatisation that challenges for the scaling-up of the well-being impacts of the DMM are presented.

While some of these challenges are undoubtedly technocratic, the biggest obstacles relate to issues of governance and the commoditisation of water—more specifically, that within public-private partnership approaches to service delivery, water provision is no longer understood as within the realm of the public sector. This presents a certain disconnect with an approach to water and sanitation grounded in human rights:

*"...water is regarded as a public good and its availability is a basic human right best administered by the public sector in direct dialogue and cooperation with civic society."* (Allen, Dávila and Hofman, 2006: 20)

As Allen et al. (2006) claim, the right to water should be taken as an amalgam of other human rights like shelter, health, and participation in decision-making, and as such, should be understood as a public good. The challenges for scaling-up the DMM are then, in fact, symptoms of a bigger picture. Keeping this contextual frame in mind, these challenges will be expanded upon below.

### 3.1 Capacity within MANADEG:

Following the connection of the DMM in 2011, MANADEG has managed 45 connections— including 3 water kiosks, 15 water points and 27 household connections.

**Table 6.** Findings regarding community cohesion sub-components

Spaces for interaction	Networking	Solidarity
<p>"The water point is a good place to meet people." (Female resident, Manyatta B)</p> <p>"I like to share information with other women when getting water or doing the washing." (Female resident, Manyatta B)</p> <p>Some children like to come to the kiosk because there they can play</p>	<p>Some residents highlighted the value of belonging to a women's group</p> <p>MANADEG has the potential to operate as a platform to lobby for strategies for unemployment within the community and other problems (MANADEG Chairman)</p> <p>"As a group [Manuche Group] we must trust each other." (Water kiosk operator)</p>	<p>When somebody cannot pay for the water the operators credit them because they know each other (Water point operator)</p> <p>"So many people come to get water at 9pm, after the kiosk is officially shut. They just come and knock." (Water kiosk operator)</p>



MANADEG is run by a coordinator, charged with getting new customers, billing and general supervision/maintenance of the water line, and a plumber and a secretary. In order to run a kiosk or a water point, a person (or a group) is required to have the money and land on which the kiosk/water point is meant to be located. The kiosk/water point operator is thus a key DMM actor due to their reach within the wider community; they often serve from 40-80 families per day and if they fail to pay their water bill and get disconnected, it will hold significant impacts for the surrounding community. Yet research indicated that water operators had few if any bookkeeping mechanisms, and on occasions had trouble paying their water bills to MANADEG— who in turn must pay KIWASCO, or risk a service cut. According to KIWASCO and LVSWBS, this problem is common amongst Kisumu DMMs (KIWASCO, 2013; LVSWBS, 2013). While this challenge is not entirely attributable to a lack of managerial skills, this research has nonetheless identified the need for training in administrative skills for MOs and kiosk/water point vendors.

Similarly, in order to become registered in Kenya, a community group must fulfil an extensive set of criteria, including the payment of the sum of 1000Ksh to register. Once the community group is formally established, in order to manage a Master Meter (MM) they have to meet a further series of criteria set by KIWASCO, and pay more fees. Several NGOs in our area of study (for example Practical Action, Shelter Forum and KUAP) have documented the challenges experienced by community groups in this regard, and are assisting with issues like proper representation, goal setting and networking. This process may equally operate as a hindrance to community groups adopting a greater control over water provision.

### 3.2 Synergy between key actors

Another challenge identified is the lack of communication between MANADEG, KIWASCO and the LVSWBS. MANADEG claims to have no relationship with the LVSWBS, despite the fact that this board has indicated that DMM is to be used as the main strategy for increasing water provision. The intention is that representatives of 'water-users' are to sit on the board to order, monitor, and regulate KIWASCO—a mitigation strategy adopted by the Water Act 2002 to check the effects of privatisation (K'Akumu, 2004). However, the reality is that the existing structure requires MANADEG to resolve all water issues solely through KIWASCO, a highly problematic situation in instances where MANADEG has issues related KIWASCO.

The impacts of this arrangement are clear in the case of Manyatta B. For example, KIWASCO and MANADEG's contract stated that KIWASCO was to transfer their connections (numbering around 100) in Manyatta B to the control of MANADEG. From the perspective of

MANADEG these connections are vital to the viability of the DMM project. However, this has yet to be fulfilled, with KIWASCO maintaining that a lack of funds has prohibited the transfer. This is a recurring issue that many MOs have faced with KIWASCO (Schwartz and Sanga, 2010). It holds serious repercussions for MANADEG which has been unable to recoup its costs, expand its water coverage, or fulfil its promise of revenue sharing. MANADEG members have expressed the opinion that this has also resulted in a declining community participation and interest in the DMM project.

A second implication related to poor communication between key actors revolves around risk. The logic of the DMM maintains that risks associated with the high levels of 'unaccounted-for' water would fall if water lines were transferred and managed by the community. However, there is little evidence to support this rationale (Schwartz and Sanga, 2010). Indeed, from the perspective MANADEG, these risks persist: their MM was stolen months after it was installed, leakages and bursts occur with certain regularity, and illegal connections are a challenge that they face daily.

This combination of LVSWBS's limited responsibility, and weak lines of communication with actors like MANADEG, act as an impediment to the expansion of the DMM to support well-being outcomes. This model has meant that risk is devolved to the community, and greater benefits are accrued by KIWASCO, rather than by managing community groups or settlement residents. While the DMM model holds the potential to grant greater authority to Manyatta B residents over their water services, without further supportive mechanisms in place, this risks more limited well-being impacts that do not move beyond the material access to resources.

### 3.3. Accountability structures

There are two key issues that emerge from MANADEG's weak communication with the LVSWBS. Firstly, MANADEG members have expressed the opinion that the Board is not the appropriate place to seek additional support, as MANADEG operates on a small scale. Secondly, this opinion is reinforced by the fact that there are no formal networking structures in place that would allow MANADEG to be heard at higher organisational levels. Currently, the only channel of communication with the LVSWBS is through a desk in which community members can deposit their complaints and recommendations, which are then reviewed by the LVSWBS on a monthly basis. This approach is felt to be tokenistic at best, and disempowering for community members and groups like MANADEG at worst. Without more meaningful channels of communication and accountability, the organisational structure of MANADEG may support 'participation' in the market, but not necessarily at the wider political or social level.

## 4. Recommendations

As highlighted in section three, the main challenge faced by the DMM is the structural condition of privatisation in which the model is embedded. Consequently, the recommendations presented below emerge from the understanding that this market-based logic is not sufficient to address the needs of water in Manyatta B. As Allen et al. state:

*“... the inability or incapacity of governments in developing countries to guarantee their citizens' supposed right to water has given rise to increasing scepticism among many who claim that business and the market can resolve the world's water crisis...”* (Allen, Dávila and Hofmann, 2006: 32).

While the market/ business model can improve to support the financial sustainability of the DMM, at a wider level a more holistic approach is required to support vulnerable groups when they cannot adequately access entitlements through the market, as during periods of financial instability or times of environmental shock, such as drought.

In response, the following recommendations are framed around Levy's (2006) 'Strategic Action Planning', which proposes a positive response to rapidly urbanizing settlements and seeks to address issues of equity. The basis of Levy's Strategic Action Planning is the identification of a **collective intent** among community members to build dialogue and advocacy structures, the generation of a **reframing diagnosis**, and the **development of institutional relationships and public learning** from their actions. The purpose being to **develop strategies** customised by and for the urban poor to support more just urban environments.

### 4.1 Collective intent

While traditionally Levy's concept of collective intent refers largely to internal negotiations within a given community, this section expands this understanding to include the motivations of key stakeholders to improve the DMM. Given LVSWSB's interest in operating via the DMM, and considering its mandate "to ensure the provision of safe, adequate and sustainable water and sanitation services for economic growth by developing viable Water Services Providers (WSPs) and facilities", there appears to be room to open these spaces of participation between MANADEG, other MOs and LVSWSB. Harnessing this mutual interest can be used as an entry point to advocate for strategic partnerships between these actors, or for MANADEG to renegotiate the terms of the DMM model.

For example, in reference to the LVSWSB's nature and Constitution, K'Akumu (2004) highlights that the Water Act 2002 states that the minister, when appointing the board, must consider: "...the degree to which water users, or water users of particular kinds, are represented on the board...

at the time of appointment". K'Akumu suggests that in this context the urban poor can and should be considered as "water users of a particular kind", allowing the board to be a forum where MANADEG can lobby and push for their rights. Furthermore, for KIWASCO, there is the incentive for more open channels of communication with their MOs, which can support groups to resolve their potential problems and meet payment deadlines. Beyond greater inclusion of MOs such as MANADEG onto the water board, other potential spaces for participation could include regular meetings between the three actors, with the support of NGO observers working with the community groups.

### 4.2 Reframing diagnosis

Following the establishment of new spaces for partnership, there is a need to shift the conversation towards a more equitable distribution of risk amongst actors, to renegotiate the terms upon which the privatisation of water in Kisumu takes place. This would grant MANADEG a greater ability to function for the benefit of their community. The applied logic is to leverage the business discourse to debate deeper problems of inequality in water distribution. Practical Action can support capacity building with MANADEG in lobbying and advocacy to facilitate this process. In particular, open debates should address issues of responsibility when there are problems with the water lines, as well as the concerns voiced by MANADEG members that KIWASCO lines have not yet been transferred to their care.

### 4.3 Institutional and organisational development

It is important for MANADEG to establish strong relations not only with KIWASCO and LVSWSB, but also with NGOs to strengthen advocacy networks. It is therefore recommended that existing relations with Practical Action continue to be strengthened, to push advocacy aimed at state actors. This could be achieved through a greater emphasis on documentation from the part of Practical Action on the learning processes emergent from the steps, alliances, and spaces created, as this could serve as catalysers for the implementation of the DMM in other parts of the city. Additionally, this would also contribute to greater international visibility of Kisumu, which would allow for the strengthening of advocacy structures at multiple scales, including in city and national governance, and internationally. The DMM model is one which has been adopted in a variety of contexts and places, and lessons from Kisumu can be added to this learning.

### 4.4 Strategy development

As previously stated, there are already several entry points for MANADEG to lobby at higher levels, as well as a clear policy commitment to opening channels of communication

between the Board and users. This offers a clear opportunity for action, but what remains is the need for the expansion of the quantity and quality of spaces for community participation (Healey, 1997), in order to generate a greater impact on the well-being components discussed in this report. Ultimately this would require addressing the market-based approach to water service delivery in which residents access water rights as consumers. This approach has proved a challenge to the achievement of wider well-being impacts in certain situations—for example, with the very poor, or during periods of drought when water access may be limited. Rethinking the DMM strategies with structures in place to support vulnerable groups or during more volatile periods could enhance its ability to support Manyatta B residents.

## 5. Conclusion

The use of the delegated management model in Manyatta B has supported the material and subjective well-

being of residents in several ways. Real gains have been achieved in the quantity and quality of water, more water points have led to a decrease in the physical effort required to carry water and the perception of increased security, and residents sense that water supply is safer for consumption. Moreover, new spaces for resident participation in the management and operation of water service delivery has allowed for gains in the areas of empowerment and livelihoods, supporting an entrepreneurial relationship with water services. Despite these strong successes, the model as it currently exists serves as a mechanism to cope with the current system of entitlements, rather than working to contest the unequal distribution of resources and recognition. As such, the research detailed here encourages both community organisations such as MANADEG, and NGOs such as Practical Action (and partners such as KUAP and Shelter Forum) to take on a greater role in advocating for a renegotiation of the terms of the DMM, seeking a more just distribution of the risks and the benefits, to challenge the rules shaping access to water.

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## Chapter 3.

# Community facilities model. *Water spring / eco-sanitation toilet, Nyalenda A*

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### 1. Research overview and context

*Location:* Nyalenda A, Kisumu (pop. 33,000)

*Model:* Community Facility (Water spring / eco-sanitation toilet)

*Implementing Actor:* Practical Action

#### 1.1 Neighbourhood profile: Nyalenda A

Nyalenda A, with an estimated population of over 33,000, is one of the poorest informal neighbourhoods in Kisumu, with nearly 65% of the population living at income levels below the poverty line (SWAP, 2010). Running parallel to one of the major roads of Kisumu city, the Ring Road, and adjacent to the wealthy neighbourhood of Millimani, the neighbourhood is divided into four units: Central, Dago, Kanyakwar and Western A. Reaching densities of approximately 8,475 people per km squared, it contains a mixture of free-holders and tenants.

Nyalenda A lacks basic infrastructure and significant access to formalized sewerage, drainage, sanitation or water supply systems—with residents dependent on various water sources such as communal stand pipes, individual household connections, tanks, roof catchments, boreholes, water springs and water kiosks. The provision of water and sanitation facilities is complicated by the positioning of the settlement on low-lying marshy ground, and high water table, leaving the settlement prone to flooding.

#### 1.2 Model overview: community facility (water spring / eco-sanitation toilet)

The importance of access to secure water and sanitation is internationally recognised—both instrumentally for its contribution to health, livelihoods, and well-being—and intrinsically as a natural right without which other rights cannot be achieved:

*“The right to water and sanitation is seen as indivisible from other human rights, such as the rights*

*to health, work, shelter and, more fundamentally, the right to participate in the decision-making process” (Davila, Allen, Hoffman, 2006: 32).*

Accordingly, access to secure water and sanitation has become a fundamental right recognized in resolution 64/292 (2010) of the United Nations General Assembly, and is similarly expressed in Millennium Development Goal 7, which seeks to halve by 2015 the proportion of the population without sustainable access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation. Such commitments have also been upheld within the Kenyan Constitution in the 2002 Water Act, which contains the provision to realise water and sanitation rights for citizens.

At the same time, the wider trend of privatisation—occurring both in Kenya and globally—has increasingly shifted

**Picture 1:** Eco-sanitation toilet



the responsibility for the provision of basic services to private companies, facilitating access to water and sanitation through market mechanisms. This has generated a particular set of concerns for residents of informal or unplanned settlements such as Nyalenda A. Private companies may lack incentives to operate in 'high-risk' environments such as informal settlements, and low-income residents may be unable to afford fees related to the access of secure, clean water. A lack of legitimacy for informal settlements may similarly hinder the establishment of formalized or official spaces to access water. As a result, citizens residing in informal settlements may be unable to access their rights to secure water in practice, instead relying upon other unclean or unsafe options, compromising the achievement of greater levels of security, dignity, health, and well-being.

In response to this gap, Practical Action, through the initiative People's Plans into Practice (PPP), has worked with residents in settlements such as Nyalenda A to develop alternative arrangements to access water and sanitation services. In June 2010, Practical Action initiated a series of public consultations with residents of Nyalenda A to identify and prioritise needs in water and sanitation service provision. Through this process a natural water spring in Nyalenda A was selected to be rehabilitated and protected, to safeguard against contamination and reduce the incidence of cholera and diarrhoea. Following from this initial project, the PPP programme saw the construction of an 'eco-sanitation' toilet, an environmental sanitation facility that allows faeces and urine to be collected and treated separately, generating a low-cost source of fertiliser to support urban agriculture (picture 1). This 'eco-san' toilet was implemented as a preferable option to the more traditional pit latrines, given the high water table in Nyalenda, and tendency for pit latrines to overflow and contaminate surrounding areas.

Both projects are operated according to a 'community facility' model, relying on the collective and public management of resources and infrastructure at the community level. In this model, caretakers are appointed to oversee the day-to-day management and operation of the facilities, and service costs are typically set by the user community.

### 1.3. Framework of analysis

#### *Relational well-being*

As discussed, the provision of water and sanitation has been recognised internationally and nationally as having a key role in the support of human flourishing. This acknowledgment moves beyond the understanding of water as a critical material resource, to the affirmation that the human right to water is a prerequisite for the realisation of other human rights. In understanding the right to

water as encompassing more than its material value, this underlines the relevance of relational well-being, defined as the ability for citizens to access and shape entitlements within their wider societies (White, 2010). This foregrounds a particular set of relationships between those 'duty-bearers' designated to facilitate access to water services, and 'rights-holders', which are entitled to the secure access of water.

However, it is also recognized that the ability of citizens to access rights in practice may be conditioned by social roles and identities, constraining the ability to translate legalistic entitlements into substantive rights (Jackson, 2003). Exploring the abilities and opportunities for residents to shape and claim their entitlements to water is thus critical to assess the extent to which relational well-being outcomes can be achieved.

#### *Pursuing well-being: framework and methodology*

In order to investigate this tension between the provision of formal legalistic water rights, and the ability of various identities and groups to access entitlements in practice, this research proposes the adoption of a 'rights-based approach' to examine the extent to which the community facility model, expressed through the protected water spring, supports material and relational well-being. A rights-based approach: "works towards strengthening the capacity of rights-holders to make their claims" (United Nations, 2006), seeking to promote a positive shift in relations of power operating at different scales.

In order to analyse the community facility model adopted by Practical Action, this research further draws upon Ostrom's (1990) notion of the commons. This refers to resources, such as water, which do not have an owner but may incur risks from overuse— and therefore require an institution to govern its consumption. However, adopting a communally-grounded institutional approach to natural resource management foregrounds the relationship between individual agency and collective rights. In particular, if the management of a commons is delegated to a certain set of actors, this generates new dynamics and relations of power in the access and deployment of resources. While a shift to the community facility model may produce new and formalized rights to a certain set of resources, it can equally hold the risk of reproducing socio-economic inequalities related to age, gender, tenure status, religion or ethnicity.

Accordingly, in approaching an analysis that takes into account both these formal provisions and the informal systems that condition access to entitlements, this research proposes three key areas through which to explore this intersection: equity, inclusivity, and accessibility (figure 1). The notion of equity draws on an understanding of social diversity, taking into account the various aspirations and experiences of different social groups. Inclusivity refers

not simply to involvement within pre-existing structures of governance or modes of service delivery, but rather the ability to shape what these structures are. Finally, accessibility refers to the ability to obtain rights and entitlements in practice.

Drawing from these three key areas, the community facility model will be examined in relation to its ability to support access to formal entitlements to water, as well as with regards to the more informal arrangements and strategies used in practice to access entitlements. This is placed within a wider analysis of the structural conditions affecting Nyalenda A and Kisumu and Kenya more broadly, to draw conclusions on how collective participation in the management of the water spring facility supports greater levels of well-being for diverse groups of people.

## 1.4 Policy context

### Water and sanitation

At the policy level, the provision of secure water and sanitation services has been upheld both internationally and nationally within Kenya. Internationally, the UN has promoted the access to water and sanitation services as a fundamental human right:

*“states and international organisations must provide financial resources, help capacity-building and technology transfer to help countries, in particular developing countries, to provide safe, clean, accessible and affordable drinking water and sanitation for all” (UN, 2010).*

At the national level, the Kenyan Water Act (2002) was introduced with the aim to: “improve allocation and dis-

tribution of water to address the skewed distribution and access to water sanitation services (WSS), particularly with regard to the poor and marginalized areas” (Osinde, 2007: 25). Significantly, the Water Act heralded the privatization of the previously state-owned water supply, transferring responsibility for the maintenance and operation of water and sewerage lines to the private Kisumu Water and Sewerage Company (KIWASCO).

### Decentralisation and participation

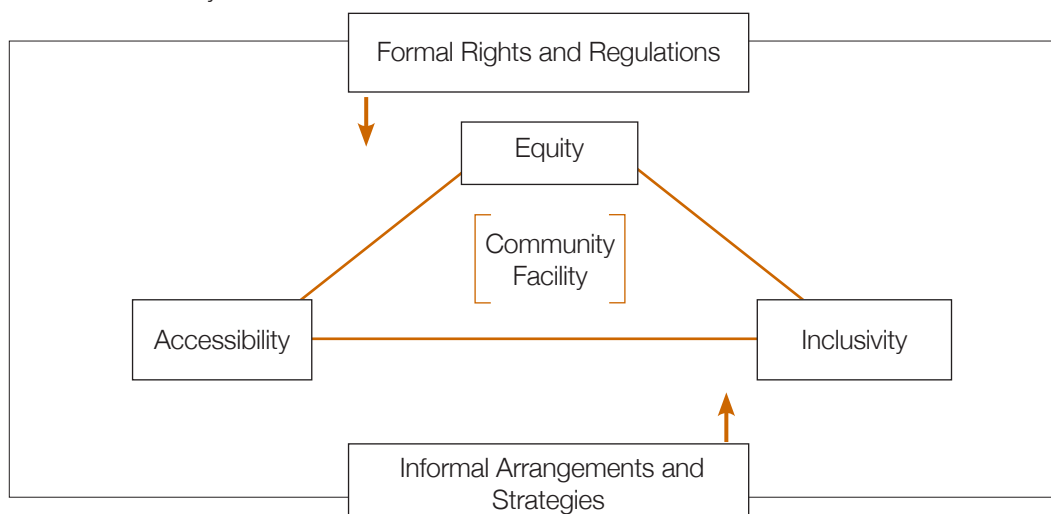
The Republic of Kenya's new Constitution (2010) adopted an increasingly participatory approach, emphasizing the need for improved participatory processes and inclusive engagement. This is represented, for example, in Article 174, which describes the aim to: “give powers of self-governance to the people and enhance the participation of the people in the exercise of the powers of the State and in making decisions affecting them.”

From this discourse, it is clear that increased public participation is understood to strengthen local capacity, ensure greater voice for previously excluded groups, and link developmental initiatives with the articulated needs of citizens (Omolo, 2013). Additionally, the notion of participation as espoused in the Constitution explores the interaction and influence citizens have within their communities (Meer and Sever, 2004). This links with the understanding of ‘citizenship’, or the rights and responsibilities associated with belonging to a particular (national) community.

### Privatisation

While the policy documents examined above indicate an increased commitment to the provision of water and sanitation services and public participation, this is framed

**Figure 1:** Framework of analysis



by the additional trend of privatisation. This is evidenced, for example, in Kenya's poverty reduction strategy paper, 'Vision 2030', which advocates the use of public-private partnerships to supply services such as water and sanitation. This is understood to increase the efficiency and efficacy of service delivery, benefiting the state, the private water company, and consumers. However, this recasting of basic services to the private sector has also been criticised for "rescript[ing] water as an economic good rather than a collective of the citizen" (Bakker, 2003: 4). Taking this into account in Kisumu, and more specifically in Nyalenda A, this underlines the importance of examining how the central government and local authorities have looked to extend service delivery and decision-making authority to poorer or more marginalized groups residing in unplanned or informal settlements.

## 2. Well-being impacts

Focusing on the three cross-cutting thematic areas outlined above—accessibility, equity and inclusiveness—research carried out in Nyalenda A on the protected water spring highlighted three major findings related to the ability of the community facility model to support access to water entitlements and increase well-being.

### 2.1 Quantity and quality

A clear area in which the water spring community facility supported well-being was in facilitating a general increase in water accessibility, particularly in relation to cost. The protection of the water spring allowed nearby residents to collect water at a much cheaper rate, one shilling per jerry can, than would be available at water taps, which typically cost between two to five shillings: "we save a lot of money as we pay only one shilling per jerry can at the spring. It helps in managing [our] finances without compromising on water use" (female resident, Nyalenda A). The protected spring has supported access to a cleaner water source and reduced costs, promoting a greater ability to access water sources for cleaning and drinking.

However, while the reduced cost associated with the protected water spring supported a certain level of accessibility and equity in relation to water rights, this only addressed one barrier, as illustrated through the following comment from a resident of Nyalenda A: "I walk from a far distance to fetch water as it is cheaper. I cannot afford the 1 bob (shilling) but it is better than paying 3 bob at the tap". While the community facility model has supported the management of alternate water points, this does not always allow a more critical reflection on those conditions within Nyalenda that continue to condition access to water resources. Residents, or perhaps more accurately—women and children—still face trade-offs between pricing, time com-

mitments, and physical exertion when collecting water for consumption. Nonetheless, the use of the spring from residents spanning a wide geographical area in the settlement does demonstrate a certain level of inclusivity.

### 2.2 Social networks

As the community facility model relies upon the management and maintenance of the spring by a wider group of people, it is critical to examine the network of relationships that this establishes. In Nyalenda A, the implementation of the community facility model to manage and operate the water spring forged new relationships and identities shaping entitlements and access to water and sanitation. Research focused on the water spring highlighted the new relationship patterns emerging at a micro-level between individual community members. In particular, caretakers of the spring seemed to experience a greater ability to benefit from the facility, perhaps stemming from a stronger sense of ownership over the facility. As stated by one of the elderly caretakers of the water spring: "my husband's family owns the land on which the water spring and eco-san toilet are placed. I collect the money and so does my granddaughter." In this instance, a heightened perception of ownership is connected to land tenure, as the protected spring sits upon private land. In the case of the resident above, her role as a caretaker emerged through familial ownership of the land—a role that passed on equally to her granddaughter.

While this stewardship does not necessarily pose a challenge to the potential of a community facility model, in the case of Nyalenda A it held certain ramifications for the surrounding user community. It effectively limited management responsibilities to a small group of people (a particular family), granted by virtue of land ownership. Consequently, surrounding residents expressed some confusion as to who was responsible for maintaining the spring, and why. Most significantly, interviews with neighbouring residents indicated a certain ambiguity on the roles and responsibilities related to decision-making affecting the spring. This contributed to a perceived lack of transparency and accountability related to, for example, costs associated with the use of the spring or eco-sanitation toilet.

This lack of clarity on the use and management of these facilities compromised potential gains in accessibility and inclusivity. For instance, what emerged most significantly through the research was the fact that the caretaker maintained responsibility for setting levels of payment for the use of the water spring. To a certain extent this promoted greater levels of equity; this flexibility allowed, for example, poorer households or those experiencing a certain financial crisis, to access water from the spring at a decreased rate. Such social solidarity acts as a critical support mechanism for households that might oth-



erwise be unable to access water in a more formalized and regularized space. At the same time, this practice generated a certain sense of exclusivity where relatives and friends of the caretaker were perceived to receive an unfair or unwarranted advantage. This leads to an uneven distribution of resources, which, if perceived as partial by the wider user community, may serve to undermine community bonds: “I do not pay at the water spring as I am friends with the caretaker” (female resident, Nyalenda A).

### 2.3 Community management

The final finding relates to the mode of communal management envisioned for the water spring. In general, interviews conducted in the settlement revealed a certain level of misinformation on the spring and eco-sanitation toilet. This was directly related to a lack of capacity on the part of the managing group to raise a greater awareness with potential users. For example, the most common misconception was that the water spring was inadequate for drinking, leading to its primary use for washing purposes: “we use the spring water for washing and laundry as the water is very hard as well as untreated, so we cannot drink it. We use tap water for drinking and cooking” (female resident, Nyalenda A). As a result, residents often collected water in the early hours of the morning, before the water was perceived to become more contaminated by children or the pipes. Reports of water concerns varied, from those claiming that the pipes had rusted over the years, to apprehensions over seeing “green dots” (female resident) in the water in the late afternoons, indicating contamination. Thus despite the protection of the spring, residents still experienced a (perceived) restricted access, reducing the potential for more significant well-being gains.

Significantly, a variety of factors hindered the ability to confront these perceptions. Firstly, the mobility of the community in Nyalenda A created difficulties in sustaining an on-going community participation, dialogue and awareness related to the spring. However, this was in turn exacerbated by a lack of resources to support the management and dissemination of information related to the facility. Focus group activities undertaken with residents indicated that this affected the monitoring and maintenance of the spring: “there is a lack of time and no one is held accountable. Talking to the people I found that members might not understand how to maintain the facilities. We need to sensitize the community” (male resident, Nyalenda A). This lack of resources and clarity regarding the management of the facility reduced its effective use, particularly in the case of the eco-sanitation toilet. This perceived lack of accountability, and spaces for greater decision-making authority for the wider user community, reduced the inclusiveness of the model, and compromised material and relational well-being impacts to a certain extent.

## 3. Working to scale

While the findings presented above have highlighted the potential role for the community facility model in supporting increased well-being—particularly if key issues of transparency, management, and resources are addressed—there still remain certain structural barriers affecting the model at the wider city-level.

### 3.1 Water as a commodity

The primary factor hindering the potential of the community facility model as it is currently expressed is the continued understanding of water as a commodity—regulated through market forces. The implications of this logic are particularly apparent within the context of water scarcity and insecurity faced by residents of Nyalenda A and other informal settlements in Kisumu.

For example, residents of Nyalenda A often experienced major water shortages related to power failures, drought conditions, or disputes between water providers and KIWASCO. While water provided at KIWASCO-run taps is regulated to maintain prices even during times of crisis, this same protection is not necessarily extended to the communally maintained water spring. As discussed above, here pricing is set by the managing group, with residents reporting that costs often increased during times of scarcity. As expressed by a female resident of Nyalenda A:

*“burst pipes, KIWASCO issues, or power failures cause water shortages very often. It causes a lot of inconvenience. I feel helpless and have to look for alternative options which involve spending a lot of money and walking long distances to collect water.”*

These types of wider concerns impacting the provision of and access to secure water cannot be addressed by the community facility model alone, and requires greater protection from the state or private actors to support residents during times of vulnerability. While the community facility model itself holds the potential to act as a catalyst for social mobilization or active participation to lobby for such measures, the lack of communal ownership discussed above has limited this potential.

### 3.2 Decentralisation

The second major finding is related to the decentralisation process currently taking place in Kenya, reflected in the newly adopted Constitution in 2010. As discussed in the policy section, the revised Constitution further divided Kenya's provinces into counties, with the aim of delegating responsibility to improve participation and accessibility through local authorities. However, a lack of

clarity on the newfound roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders has generated a gap in communication, with particular implications for the provision of safe water and sanitation. For example, KIWASCO—whose creation predates the new Constitution but was a result of water reforms and the decision to privatize essential services—was formed in an effort to support the provision of secure sources of clean and potable water. However, this has not always extended to residents of informal settlements in Kisumu. Although subsidised prices exist, the lack of reliable pipes and sewerage means that residents of the settlements do not always benefit from formalized water provision.

Within this context, community actors take on a greater role in the management of water services, as is the case with the protected water spring in Nyalenda A. However, research in Nyalenda indicates that the potential for this devolved service delivery is hindered by a lack of feedback mechanisms from the community level to different scales of governance. For example, though KIWASCO aims to work with actors such as the Water Services Regulatory Board, the experienced reality is a lack of communication between these actors. As a result, interviews with managing community groups indicated that they do not perceive the ability to liaise with and link into higher levels of governance. Similarly, the research highlighted a gap in support from local authorities or KIWASCO in relation to monitoring and evaluation of the facility, or in providing access to resources. As such, the community facility model is hindered by a lack of accountability channels extending both from the managing group to the wider neighbourhood, and from local authorities to the managing group.

## 4. Recommendations

This report elaborates several recommendations which can build upon and strengthen the community facility model as a vehicle to provide access to secure water and sanitation rights, and support well-being.

### 4.1 Upwards advocacy

The first recommendation centres on strengthening the linkages already established between local authorities and managing community groups, to support the flow of information, increased accountability, and the generation of a more enabling environment for managing groups. This research has identified a potential entry point for this through the City Planning Department of Kisumu, given its mission statement to: “initiate planning that is responsive to the needs of the urban populace while actively engaging their participation in providing strategic development and planning” (Kisumu City Planning & Architecture Department).

Practical Action assistance in lobbying local authorities for increased support in the form of mediation, resources or monitoring might help diminish the gaps in service delivery and information flows to the managing community group. Simultaneously, this upwards advocacy can support increased accountability and transparency, facilitating access to entitlements and strengthening the capacity of residents to engage with their local authorities. This might equally support the greater legitimacy of managing groups within the neighbourhoods in which they work. This type of nested institutional support has been highlighted by Ostrom et al. (1999) as a key organisational strategy for the successful management of common pool resources.

### 4.2 Strengthening collective management

The second recommendation proposed here is to facilitate an increased level of inclusion, transparency, and participation of surrounding residents in the management of the community facilities. The research undertaken here largely indicated that tensions in the management of the water spring were the result of misperceptions from the wider residents and users. Accordingly, the improved involvement and participation of community members might work to increase capacity, facilitate inclusiveness and internal trust, and generate more awareness of the community facility model.

One method to increase participation in the management of a commons is to assign property rights to resources, generating greater incentives for sustainable resource use. However, this might prove difficult in the case of the water spring in Nyalenda A, given its positioning on private property. As such, a secondary strategy might consist of holding elections for a wider management committee to oversee the facility. This could hold the dual benefit of both instituting accountability structures, as well as supporting resource-users to participate in decision-making processes related to the provision of water.

### 4.3 Partnerships with the Water Services Trust Fund

The last entry point identified is the potential for greater partnership with the Water Services Trust Fund, an entity created to ensure access to clean water and sanitation for vulnerable groups. According to Wagah et al. (2010), the Kenyan government has undertaken a series of measures to restructure and improve performance, seeking to address problems in terms of the management of water resources and the delivery of water and sewerage services. As a part of this, the Water Services Trust Fund (WSTF) has been highlighted as a key institution, with the role of assisting in financing the provision of water services to informal settlement areas. However, research in Nyalenda indicated little relationship between this body and the

group working to manage the water spring. A heightened partnership with the Water Services Trust Fund could be an opportunity for strengthening horizontal bonds and streamlining the efficiency of the maintenance and management of the community facilities.

## 5. Conclusion

The research presented above has highlighted a number of key findings in relation to the ability of a community facility model to promote increased well-being. At a localized scale, social relations have shaped the use of the community facility, with certain misperceptions, a perceived lack of transparency, and lack of wider participation in decision-making constraining the full potential of the model. At the Kisumu-city level, a lack of clarity in governance roles and responsibilities has created inadequate feedback mechanisms between local authorities, KIWASCO, and settlement residents, leaving managing community groups disconnected from structures of governance.

These findings are interlinked by the understanding of water as a commodity, an orientation that is pervasive throughout policy and programmatic responses in Kenya (Bakker, 2007). This underlying logic has limited state oversight in the sector, and community capacity has accordingly been further limited by a lack of supportive or regulatory mechanisms. This has contributed to the sense that the community facility model is unconnected to wider governance structures dealing with the provision of water and sanitation services. Nonetheless, users of the community facility model are profoundly shaped by these actors, such as when disputes between kiosk owners or vendors and KIWASCO result in water cuts.

Despite these concerns, the shift towards more collective and communal strategies for resource management has supported a certain level of social solidarity, allowing for more flexible arrangements that support access to water and sanitation services—particularly for more vulnerable residents. Building upon this strength, and fostering a wider level of resident participation in the facility management, can further increase the possibility and scope for this model to generate greater levels of well-being.

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## Chapter 4.

# Pro-poor public-private partnership model. LASDAP public toilet, Nyalenda A

Alexander Ascencio  
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### 1. Research overview and context

*Location:* Nyalenda A, Kisumu (pop. 33,208)

*Model:* Pro-poor public-private partnership (Public toilet block)

*Implementing Actor:* Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP)

#### 1.1 Neighbourhood profile: Nyalenda A

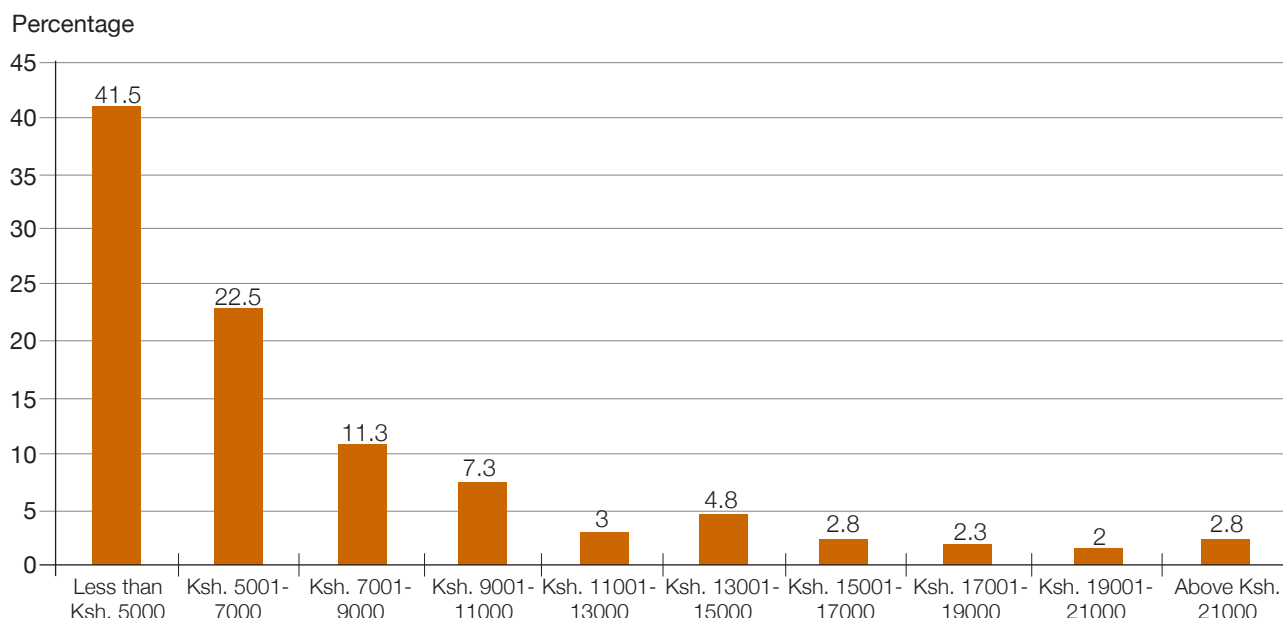
Nyalenda is located on the eastern edge of the city and is one of Kisumu's largest informal settlements. The northern half of the settlement, designated as Nyalenda A, has an area of 2.8km<sup>2</sup> and is currently home to over 33,208 residents (MCI, 2010: 10), although the population is rapidly expanding. Nyalenda A is bordered by the Kisumu-Nairobi highway to the north, the Ring Road to the west, Nyalenda B to the south, and the marshlands of the polluted Auji River to the east. The neighbourhood consists of four units: Kanyakwar, Central, Western and Dago,

with the Central unit due to be further subdivided later in 2013.

Nyalenda A is predominantly a low-income area, with a high incidence and depth of poverty that coexists with significant inequality within the slum. Nyalenda A's Strategic Ward Action Plan (SWAP, 2010) (figure 1) shows 41.5% of residents living in the lowest income bracket, on less than 5000Ksh per household per month. Like other unplanned settlements around Kisumu, Nyalenda A lacks formal planning, has few access roads, and is mostly isolated from the city's water and sewerage infrastructure. Residents of Nyalenda mainly rely on pit latrines (57%), while 5.5% use so-called 'flying toilets' (defecation into polythene bags that are subsequently dumped), and 24.9% practice open defecation/urination (SWAP, 2009).

The settlement is built on low-lying marshy ground that is prone to frequent flooding. The soft quality and poor drainage of its black cotton soil makes the construction

**Figure 1:** Average monthly household incomes in Nyalenda A (Source: Nyalenda-A Strategic Ward Action Plan 2010-2014)



and use of latrines perilous, as pits may collapse during periods of heavy rain and flooding. Together with the settlement's lack of access to sanitation facilities, these factors contribute to a high prevalence of water-borne disease in the area, such as cholera, dysentery and typhoid.

## 1.2 Model overview: pro-poor public-private partnership (public toilet block)

The entry point for this study was the Nyalenda A, 'Kachok' public toilet block. This block—situated in the north-west of Nyalenda A in Kanyakwar unit, adjacent to the Ring Road and close to the Nairobi Road—was opened in 2011 as a part of the Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP) programme administered by the Government of Kenya.

The LASDAP process is designed to grant municipalities greater authority to articulate and implement planning priorities, and entails an annual process in which stated priorities are converted into a 3 year rolling program of projects intended to improve service delivery to citizens. LASDAP activities are intended to have a "poverty focus... with priority areas in health, education, infrastructure and upgrading of informal settlements" (ODPM & MoLG, 2009: 2). Satisfactory completion of a Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan is one of the conditions for drawdown of the Local Authorities Transfer Fund (LATF) by the Municipal Council of Kisumu (MCK) from Government of Kenya. The Nyalenda A toilet block is one example of an initiative financed through the LASDAP/LATF funding cycle of 2009/10. Timings of the annual LASDAP process and key activities and spaces for community participation are shown in figure 2.

The Nyalenda A toilet block is located near two major thoroughfares and hubs for small business and market activity. It has a ladies side with two toilet stalls, and a gents side with two toilet stalls and one bathing cubicle—although the ladies side was locked during the research period. Excreta drains to a septic tank installed on the side of the block, and piped water is provided via a connection to KIWASCO lines that run along Nairobi Road. A tap is fitted within the block to provide water for hand washing, cleaning and flushing. Though the toilets were originally fitted with flush mechanisms, these are not currently functional. All users pay a flat charge for each use of the facility: 10 Ksh per use of toilet, and 15 Ksh per use of the bathing facilities.

The block is managed through a 'Pro-Poor Public Private Partnership' arrangement between the Local Authority and Nyalenda A community organisations. A weekly rotation of 13 CBOs maintains the block, with members taking daily shifts to clean, provide supplies and collect payment by users. Individuals are paid 100 Ksh per day for

this work and profits from the operation of the block (after salaries, payment of water bills, payment to the Local Authority, supplies and maintenance costs) are distributed among the managing CBOs and their members. Additionally, seven residents from the Kanyakwar and Central units of Nyalenda have been appointed to a LASDAP Project Committee by the County Representative and Assistant Chief, and are responsible for the overall management of the project including price-setting, maintenance and reporting.

## 1.3 Framework of analysis

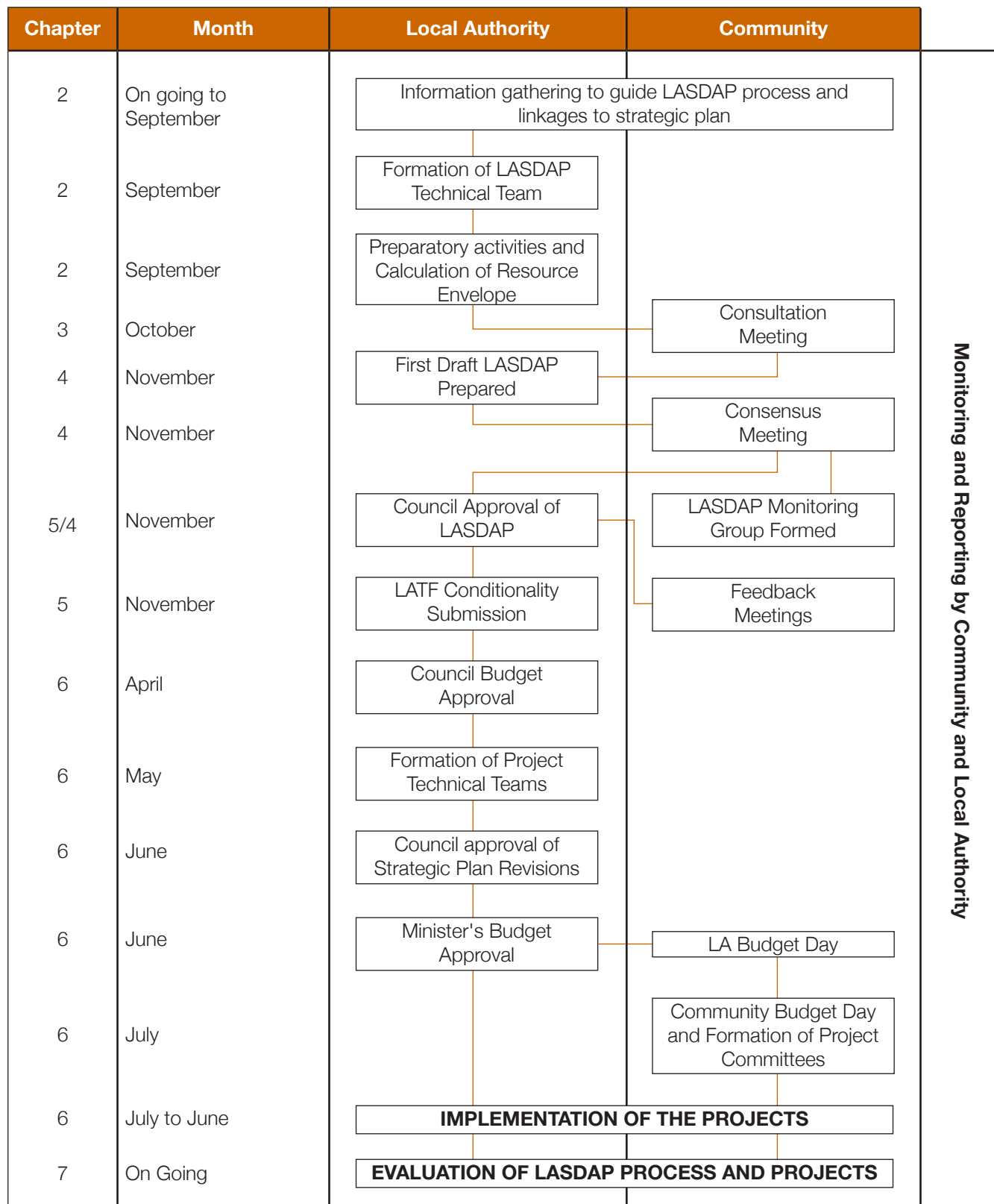
### *Subjective well-being*

Improving access to material urban services has an undeniably important role to play in promoting the well-being of residents in informal settlements. In Kisumu, only 61% of residents have access to improved sanitation (CRC, 2007), and in Nyalenda A, 24.9% routinely rely on open defecation and 5.5% on so-called 'flying toilets' to relieve themselves (SWAP, 2009). Clearly, the implementation of water and sanitation infrastructure is essential to offer residents of informal settlements alternative options and reduce the adverse effects on dignity and health caused by unsanitary practices.

However, the improved provision of services and technology alone is not sufficient as a development goal or a measure of the effectiveness of development interventions. If development approaches are to be 'people-centred' they must recognise that "feeling good" (people's subjective sense of their quality of life) is at least as important as "doing well" (the meeting of people's material needs) and that the two are intimately connected (White, 2010: 160). On the one hand, the perceptions and feelings people have about aspects such as livelihoods, water access, or housing represent an intrinsically important aspect of human well-being which can be profoundly shaped by the nature of material interventions and the procedures by which they are implemented. On the other, failing to account for the ways in which interventions are experienced on a subjective level by beneficiaries will undermine the achievement of so-called 'objective' indicators of well-being such as life expectancy, morbidity, or access to resources.

### *Pursuing well-being: framework and methodology*

This research uses 'subjective well-being' as the entry-point for our analysis. As such, the Nyalenda A toilet block was assessed in relation to the extent to which it supported residents to achieve four dimensions of well-being: health, security, dignity and self-determination through the lens of residents' own perceptions and feelings. These dimensions were identified on the basis of desk research, and verified through initial field activities. In

**Figure 2:** LASDAP timetable and spaces for community participation (ODPM & MoLG, 2009: 7)**Milestones in the LASDAP process**

view of limited time in the field, other possible dimensions for analysis were excluded.

Semi-structured interviews and a range of participatory activities with residents, service users and community representatives formed the back-bone of the research methodology. Structural constraints on residents' achievement of well-being were additionally investigated using a combination of policy analysis, analysis of secondary data and interviews with municipal staff, elected representatives and key informants from the NGO and private sector.

The analytical framework for this study (figure 3) is based upon Amartya Sen's (1985) Capability Approach and has enabled us to locate our findings and recommendations on the nexus between subjective and material well-being. This focuses on the individual and collective agency of residents in relation to different opportunities, options, and abilities to pursue the four specified dimensions of well-being, situated within an institutional map of the structural conditions of Kisumu and Kenya. In addition, given the heterogeneity in the population of Nyalenda A, the framework of analysis integrates five cross-cutting components: gender, ethnicity, age, tenure and income. The LASDAP intervention is placed within this opportunity context, exploring the capacity of diverse residents to convert the material resources of the public toilet project, and the procedural processes of the LASDAP service delivery model, into improved well-being. Using the mapping of structural conditions, a wider analysis was undertaken to determine the extent to which the LASDAP delivery model could generate increased well-being to scale.

## 1.4 Policy context

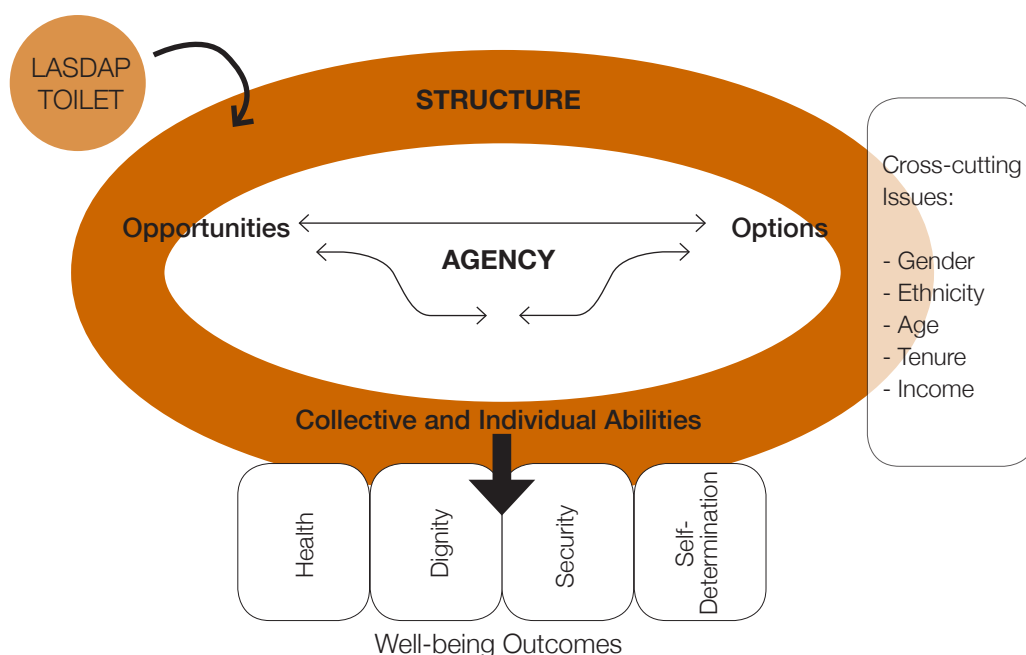
### *Decentralisation, devolution and citizen participation*

Kenya has been going through a period of institutional decentralisation over the last 15 years. This transformation has been accelerated by the recent 2010 amendments to the Constitution which established strong rights for citizens to increased participation in the political decisions affecting their lives, as well as granting greater powers to regional centres of governance.

The Kenya Local Government Reform Act (1996) was one of the first steps in this journey to devolution, and aimed to address the high levels of debt, corruption and poor service provision of local authorities. The LATF Act (1998) introduced a devolved fund attached to conditionalities that aimed to give local authorities clear financial incentives to improve their service delivery to citizens, improve financial management and increase revenue collection. Completion of a participatory planning process—the Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan—was introduced as an additional requirement in 2001 in order to support more effective and efficient allocation of resources, improve targeting of the poor and enhance ownership and “choice” of citizens over service provision (ODPM & MoLG, 2009: 1).

Political commitment to devolving power and increasing citizen participation in governance and development is also a feature of Kenya's 2008 Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) which argues that decentralised governance will bring major benefits in the form of “meeting the strongly expressed needs in parts of Kenya to bring

**Figure 3:** Analytical framework (Source: Authors)





services and decision making procedures closer to the people” while also increasing the responsiveness of government by allowing them to “receive initial feedback on the impact of development projects from the people themselves” (GoK, 2008).

Kenya’s experience of ethnic violence in 2007, and the strong public discontent this revealed with relationships of governance, can be seen as a key driver of this new political commitment to “enhancing equitable sharing of national and local resources”, “recognising the right of communities to manage their own affairs and to further their development,” “promoting the interests and rights of minorities and marginalised communities” and to “enhance... the separation of powers” (NCLR, 2010) that is now enshrined in Kenya’s Constitution and the other documents described above. On paper, Kenya has set a strong direction for the achievement of greater self-determination and increased access to services that promote health and dignity.

#### *Privatisation and the public-private partnership model*

The use of public-private partnerships to improve service delivery is strongly promoted in Kenya’s PRSP ‘Vision 2030’ which defines the model as “a performance-based contract under which the private sector supplies public services over time and is paid by the public sector, end user or a hybrid of both” (GoK, 2008). Advocates of public-private partnerships argue that this model delivers gains in the form of increased efficiency of public services and improved quality of service delivery, while allowing the government to retain control of assets in the long-term. Although citizens are now asked to pay for what was previously delivered as a right, the Kenya Gazette Supplement Act (GoK, 2013: 311) emphasises that the cost of a service “should not impose an unreasonable financial burden on the end users.”

In addition to Vision 2030, the PPP model is also promoted by UN-HABITAT which stresses that the public and NGO sector cannot meet all the needs of the urban poor, and that the PPP model thus has a crucial role to play in meeting the demand for urban services. It regards the Kenya Slum Upgrading Program (KENSUP) as having strong potential for facilitating PPP partnerships in Kenya (UN-Habitat 2008: 33). However, there is currently no clear PPP framework for the provision of sanitation services, and small-scale independent sanitation service providers (SSIPs) lack proper legal recognition, supervision or business support (IEA, 2007: 37).

#### *Sewerage and sanitation*

Responsibility for sewerage was devolved and privatised under the Water Act 2002, and responsibility for the maintenance and extension of the sewerage infrastructure in Kisumu is now managed under the privately-run Kisumu

Water and Sewerage Company (KIWASCO). Previous investment concentrated on water provision at the expense of sewerage, and as sewerage offers fewer returns than water, underinvestment in the aging sewerage network has continued with the trends of privatisation/devolution. This has resulted in further deterioration in the condition of existing infrastructure and very limited coverage in urban areas, especially in informal settlements (IEA, 2007: 41). Improper disposal of waste water/excreta exacerbates the health risks from water-borne disease faced by settlements such as Nyalenda A.

An enabling policy environment and clear national strategy for improving the provision of sanitation facilities across Kenya is also lacking. Although an Environmental Hygiene and Sanitation Policy has been drafted, which “recognises the need for a people-centred and national participatory approach to sanitation” (IEA, 2007: 35), defines lines of responsibility for leading on sanitation, and mandates the use of various methodologies, this has not yet been enacted. Programs to operationalize the policy through promotion and development of sanitation facilities are limited. Furthermore, the absence of latrine construction standards means that many facilities are poorly built or sited, collapsing or flooding in heavy rain or causing cross-contamination of wells. This is particularly true in areas such as Nyalenda A with poor drainage, black cotton soil and at a high flood-risk.

## **2. Well-being impacts**

Findings centred on the well-being impacts of the LAS-DAP process and Kachok toilet block have been categorized into four areas: accessibility, decision-making and management, security, and environmental impacts.

### **2.1 Accessibility**

While the Nyalenda A toilet implemented through the LAS-DAP process is intended to address accessibility gaps in sanitation services, low-income groups continue to rely upon undignified, hazardous sanitation options.

The majority of users of the Kachok public toilet consist of workers and shoppers from the Ring Road. The low-level of usage by residents was explained as primarily due to high user fees relative to the incomes of many local residents. Poor residents in the area prioritised spending on essential items such as food, water or rent over access to the sanitation facility, and as a result continued to rely on the free but hazardous and undignified sanitation options available to them. These options included use of ‘flying toilets’, open defecation and poor quality pit latrines (box 1). While residents recognised and valued the potential gains to human dignity and health associated with using

the public toilet, their low incomes were a barrier to access. Some described making variable use of the public toilet according to fluctuations in their income.

As a result, the public toilet project had had very limited impact expanding the opportunities, options or abilities for local residents, and particularly the poorest groups, to achieve well-being gains. Individual sanitation practices had remained largely the same, with the continued use of flying toilets or open defecation, and overflowing or leaking pit latrines continuing to have a negative impact on the collective dignity and health of the neighbourhood, creating flows of raw sewerage in the alleys and compounds of the settlement (picture 1).

Weaknesses in the block's design and location also undermine its impact on well-being and particularly affect the project's accessibility for women, the elderly and the disabled. Due to the inconvenient alignment of the block, which faces away from the shop which manages it and prevents proper monitoring of the entrance to both male and female sides, the female site of the toilet had been closed and locked to prevent unpaid use.

In addition, the block was originally designed without shower facilities. A single bathroom was fitted on the male side of the block following protests by residents. However, no bathing facilities were added to the female side. Women are thus obligated to share the shower on the male side of the block. In general, users and residents of both genders find this arrangement highly inappropriate and perhaps even unsecure for female residents (box 2).

As a result, the block is poorly used by women, and women who do use the facility choose to bathe at home. The location of the block by the Ring Road and away from the more residential and poorest parts of the settlement also means that comparatively few residents are able to access the facility.

Furthermore, residents were concerned that the elderly or disabled were unable to physically access the block as it was built on a raised platform.

## 2.2 Decision-making and management

Interviews with residents in Nyalenda A indicated low levels of awareness of the LASDAP process. Those who had participated considered that the community's ability to set the agenda of the planning process was limited by the Local Authority's tendency to overtake the process with their own priorities. A common complaint was that projects implemented by the LA did not reflect the needs and suggested projects agreed at consultation meetings.

Although official guidelines for LASDAP stress that "priorities [submitted in consultation] should not change but

### Box 1: Coping strategies of poor residents

"You are somebody who had only bought vegetables at 200 shillings and you expect a profit of 80 shillings a day. You have 5 children. You pay 10 shillings per person per time. What is easier? You pay almost half your profit, half your income on public toilets, or you look for a bush, or wait for night-time or use flying toilets? ...So that is what they do."

(Omuga Kabisai, Area Chief)

*[Shows us the site of a former latrine, which had no door]* "People used to come and use this very proudly, while people were watching. For our tradition this was not good. The neighbours said take it down, because it is smelly and filthy. Until then people were just going without doors. But people can't use the public toilet, because they can't afford 10 Ksh. It is better to go for mandazi or some food."

(Bob, Resident and tuk-tuk driver)

### Box 2: Design flaws and well-being impacts

"One major challenge is that on the women's side they never put in a shower, it has disadvantaged the gender balance. When the latrine was being built, it was originally just latrines alone. But when the engineer came I stopped them and said that it has to have a bathroom. So they put in one on the gents side... These people [LASDAP technical team] only emphasised on toilets, because they know it was only passers-by that would use it, so they thought there was only need for latrines. But because I was thinking about the community, I wanted showers."

(Female member of LASDAP project committee)

**Picture 1:** An overflowing latrine releasing raw excreta into the slum (Source: Authors)



should be taken as stated to the next stage" (ODPM & MoLG, 2009: 24), the process is structured in such a way that a report carried out by the LASDAP Technical Team is the main driver of the Consensus Meeting which follows Consultation. The report converts the needs of the community into proposed projects, scoring and ranking projects against those suggested by the Local Authority. Only the highest scored projects are brought forward for implementation. The report is not compiled in collaboration with community members, and the criterion of scoring is not available before the Consensus stage. The overall experience was described as "demoralizing" by one of the community LASDAP representatives. In addition, those involved in monitoring and evaluation complained that the unwillingness of municipal staff to share information undermined their ability to represent their community effectively. These perceptions can be understood as holding a negative impact upon the ability and opportunity for residents to achieve a greater level of self-determination and recognition through the LASDAP process.

Following construction, residents involved in community groups that were part of the management of the Kachok toilet described benefiting from modest increases in income as a result of their involvement, which positively benefited the health of their household by improving their food security and diet. Managing groups may also be assumed to have made some gains in self-determination and dignity, since focus groups described income as an important enabling factor of these dimensions. The 13 managing CBOs were dominated by women's savings groups with youth groups and a disabled/widows group also represented, facilitating collective networking and granting greater management rights over public space to groups that traditionally hold less influence in positions of authority. The well-being effects of these income-generating opportunities should not be overstated however, since gains (when divided among all group members) are very modest, and key informants suggest that there is a perception that opportunities tend to be monopolised by middle income groups and those selected as a result of political patronage.

## 2.3 Security

The insecure environment of Nyalenda is a major obstacle to accessing safe and dignified sanitation at night. Although men and women both felt affected, off-site sanitation was considered particularly unsafe for women even when located a very short distance from the house or within their own compound (box 3). As a result, most women as well as some men, described using unhealthy and undignified sanitation practices at night such as flying toilets or "persevering" (delaying urination or defecation), even if by day they accessed public toilets or better quality private toilets. Factors linked by residents and community representatives to insecurity in the slum included unemployment, poor lighting and access roads, flooding and political/ethnic tensions. Although the Kachok public toilet closed between 8pm-6am, it is unlikely that extended opening hours would have improved outcomes for health, dignity or security because of its location apart from the compounds and close to the Ring Road.

Enabling women to access safe and dignified sanitation will require either a significant improvement in the security environment of the slum or on-site and preferably private sanitation arrangements. However individual households have limited financial capacity to construct their own sanitation services, and landlords have little incentive to provide adequate facilities for their tenants, frequently transferring the cost to tenants for this provision.

## 2.4 Environmental impacts

Despite low use by local residents, the Kachok public toilet was perceived to have created collective benefits by improving the cleanliness near the Ring Road, supporting more dignified and healthy living conditions for residents in the immediate area. Some also linked this to a perceived reduction in water-borne disease (box 4).

### Box 3: Insecurity and shared sanitation

"There is no security at night. You may think you are secure, but maybe someone will be hiding behind [the latrine]. But the toilet block, [20 seconds walk from her front door] is in a good place, if it was nearer it would be smelly... There are alot of boys, that is why we are afraid. You can sleep, but at around 8pm you are now afraid, because you may think that there is someone waiting. If you are pressed at night, someone must escort you, unless you know you are courage enough, then you can just go."

(Mercy, aged 17)

### Box 4: Sanitation and environmental hazards

"If someone with cholera has somewhere to do their business, it is better because if they do it in public, a child may step in it and become infected. [The public toilet] has reduced the case of flying toilets because now people have somewhere to go, and also the environment is a bit cleaner. Before we could get faeces everywhere but right now it is not there."

(Lillian, Mother, samosa/banana vendor  
Unable to afford use of the public toilet)



It is evident however that improvements in cleanliness are extremely localised. Residents continue to be concerned by the generally “filthy” environment of the slum (Lavender, aged 12), and during transect walks we observed flows of faecally-contaminated water throughout the settlement, often passing through housing compounds themselves.

These flows were attributed to the continued reliance of the majority of residents on flying toilets and poor-quality pit latrines, and the practice of emptying septic tanks into drainage ditches to avoid the costs of an exhauster.

Similarly, residents and community representatives stressed the threat to their health, security, dignity and self-determination posed by the area’s frequent flooding and poor drainage. They described how flooding causes latrines to overflow or collapse releasing raw sewage, endangering lives by damaging poor quality houses, enables looting, and increases the cost and effort required to build pit latrines. Some residents suggested that flooding had worsened in recent years as a result of run-off from recent urban development. Addressing these wider concerns remains of critical importance for water and sanitation interventions to address the broader spectrum of human well-being.

### 3. Working to scale

The second analytical focus of this research was the examination of the potentials to scale up the LASDAP and pro-poor public-private partnership model to achieve greater levels of well-being. While the research undertaken here has indicated that there remain several structural barriers to the achievement of greater dignity, security, health, and self-determination in regards to sanitation, the LASDAP process does set a valuable precedent in participatory planning that can be built upon and strengthened.

#### 3.1 Public participation

The LASDAP process as experienced through the Kachok toilet block, while grounded in a strong policy-level commitment to public participation, demonstrated a more limited ability to improve the well-being of the Nyalenda A residents. Overall, research undertaken in Nyalenda A found that the model of participation used in the LASDAP process and advocated by MCK staff emphasized a consultative approach to participation, rather than a partnership approach in which citizens are regarded as key decision-makers at every stage.

This was evidenced in restricted opportunities for citizen participation in the design and implementation stage, together with the assumption of the Local Authority that technical staff have sufficient ‘objective’ knowledge to design effective solutions without community involvement.

During the LASDAP process, residents identify problems and suggest projects at the Consultation meeting. However, there is no further participation until the Consensus meeting, when community representatives are invited to approve solutions developed and presented by the LASDAP Technical team. This participation gap had strong impacts upon the material outcomes of the project, illustrated most clearly in the case of the design and location of the Kachok toilet block. This case demonstrated that solutions designed by technocrats may not result in projects sensitive to the particular needs of community members, in this case women and the disabled. Without more inclusive and genuine points of engagement, the LASDAP process risks losing the ability to generate more substantive impacts for settlement residents.

#### 3.2 Market-based logic

Despite the intended pro-poor focus of LASDAP, the public-private partnership model used for management of the public toilet favoured financial sustainability over mechanisms that would support the well-being of poorer user groups. This holds particular ramifications given the incidence of inequality within the settlement. A participatory well-being ranking exercise undertaken by the authors divided Nyalenda A into five well-being categories, of which the two lowest-ranked groups were the largest. Both of these groups were considered unable to afford to pay current user fees for public sanitation, and the bottom “not managing” group was perceived to rely primarily on open defecation or flying toilets. The inequalities within the slum were also graphically illustrated during transect walks (picture 2) and were also described at length in participatory exercises and interviews. While evidence is inconclusive that inequality is increasing in the slum, some residents did voice the concern that “the poor are getting poorer and the rich are getting richer.”

The public-private partnership did not always deliver on its pro-poor focus due to a lack of regulating mechanisms to

**Picture 2:** A mud house and high-quality permanent housing side by side: evidence of the inequality in Nyalenda A.





protect lower-income groups from disabling market forces. For example, the toilet block placed no restrictions on the level of user fees that could be charged by the managing groups. In the case of the Kachok block, user fees doubled one year into the project in order to off-set costs and increase the level of income of the managing CBOs. Management reported this causing an almost complete drop-off in residents accessing the toilets. Similarly, the placement of block—adjacent to the nearby shops and busy Ring Road and Nairobi Road, better served passing customers or shop owners, rather than directly addressing the needs of residents in the immediate vicinity.

This combination of high levels of inequality and a lack of regulation from market forces has in effect excluded low-income groups from the use of more dignified and hygienic methods of sanitation. Further, as participatory exercises indicated that widows, female-headed households, orphans, street children and the disabled were over-represented among the poorest group of slum-dwellers, this may also serve to perpetuate gendered, age-related, and disability-related patterns of disadvantage. Thus an overemphasis on economic empowerment objectives and financial sustainability has proved a challenge to improving the access of the poor to sanitation and urban services, underscoring the importance of supportive regulatory measures.

### 3.3 Delivery of urban services

LASDAP faces many significant challenges in meeting the needs of residents of informal settlements. Although the LATF fund allocated through LASDAP makes a significant contribution to municipal resources, only 39% of the total allocation must be directed to pro-poor service delivery (ODPM & MoLG, 2009: 13) and the resources available are easily outstripped by the scale of need in densely populated and rapidly expanding informal settlements like Nyalenda A. Resources are further diluted by the division of devolved funds across administrative levels (LASDAP is allocated at the Local Authority level, and the City Development Fund (CDF) by Constituency for example), poor coordination or duplication in projects implemented

by the different funds, and local political pressure to divide LATF funds by ward in order to reward voters.

As a result LASDAP is often confined to initiating small-scale community development projects described as “rescue measures” by Nyalenda A’s County Representative (box 5). Such projects cannot address the wider structural issues constraining the capacity of residents to lead healthy, dignified and secure lives such as flooding, unemployment, low incomes, crime and violence, which also work to undermine the impact of micro-projects. Population pressures and continuing migration into the slum from rural areas and other urban centres has also severely limited the availability of public land which results in the poor siting of projects.

Although LASDAP has experienced well-documented problems in delivering on its promises to enable fair and equitable participation in service delivery (TISA, 2011: 12), which in part may be attributed to the low staffing levels and limited budgets of the Department of Social Services which is primarily responsible for implementing the process, research in Nyalenda A also suggests that LASDAP has generated substantial institutional learning around the practice of participatory planning. As the devolution of power continues in Kenya (see policy analysis) and urban governance is restructured under the new government, LASDAP offers many lessons which can be incorporated into new planning frameworks and governance arrangements and used to make the power-sharing promises of Kenya’s Constitution a reality.

As such, despite the limitations highlighted above, the introduction of LASDAP as a mechanism for allocation of the LATF fund represents a very significant first step in substantiating the rights of citizens to participate in urban governance and planning now enshrined in Kenya’s constitution. It has clear legislative force, a comprehensive participatory framework and direct financial penalties for non-compliance. In contrast, desk and field research found that the spaces for citizen participation in programmes such as the City Development Funds and Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme are much more limited and weakly enforced, and in Nyalenda A did not engage with important ward-level community structures such as the Neighbourhood Planning Association. As such, it represents an established entry point from which to advocate for more meaningful citizen participation in the planning process.

#### Box 5: Limitations of LASDAP projects

“Public toilets are just rescue measures. The important thing is the sewerage. Putting in sewer lines means that those who are able can construct their own toilets [but] to eradicate poverty, people need to raise their incomes, so they can pay for them.”

(Jackson Onunga, County Representative  
Nyalenda A)

## 4. Recommendations

Drawing from the above analysis, there are several key areas in which Practical Action can continue to work with governmental processes such as LASDAP to support more equitable access to water and sanitation, and the increased achievement of the four identified dimensions of well-being.

#### 4.1 Meaningful participation

An additional stage of participation is required in LASDAP which allows community members to take on an active role in the design and implementation of solutions. Practical Action advocacy could support a revision to the LASDAP process and the inclusion of a participatory design stage into any participatory frameworks introduced in replacement of /addition to LASDAP. Similarly, Practical Action has an opportunity to use its capacity building work with planners and Local Authority staff to promote an understanding of community participation that goes beyond consultation and emphasizes the involvement of community stakeholders in every stage of development and planning.

#### 4.2 Increased emphasis on *pro-poor*

Practical Action can work with its Local Authority partners to develop their understanding of how to deliver financially sustainable but pro-poor urban services. There is a need for poverty assessments to be conducted and for information from these assessments to be used to set appropriate price levels for public-private partnership projects to ensure their affordability for poor residents. This is particularly the case in public sanitation where reliance on free but unsanitary options is likely if the price is not properly adjusted. Cross-subsidization between projects in low and middle income/business districts can also be used to promote the financial sustainability of projects in low income areas, although this will require the Local Authority to retain greater control over implemented projects to enable the reallocation of income.

#### 4.3 Coordination

Approaches to slum upgrading and service delivery are currently too fragmented and require better coordination. Practical Action should join other actors in lobbying the government of Kenya for the pooling of devolved funds such as CDF, LATF, and Road Maintenance Levy Fund (IEA, 2009: 28) and their allocation through a single participatory framework. Consolidating the budget available in this way would allow more costly projects capable of tackling the structural issues of informal settlements to be implemented, while reducing problems with duplication.

#### 4.5 A learning model

The LASDAP model is more usefully seen as prototype for participatory planning, rather than a lasting solution

to service delivery. The current political climate offers an opportunity for Practical Action to lobby the government of Kenya for the institutionalisation of public participation in local governance and planning, building on the learning generated through the experience of LASDAP. South Africa's Local Government Municipal Structures Act 1998 is a useful example of a legislative approach to broadening and formalising the right of citizens to participate (IEA, 2009: 30, Republic of South Africa, 1998). A Citizen Engagement Desk within the Department of Planning to replace the current LASDAP desk could also be established to lead on mainstreaming a participatory approach into municipal planning.

Similarly, LASDAP can be used as a model for strengthening citizen involvement in the Kisumu Urban Project (KUP) initiative. According to the KUP pre-feasibility study (Nodal Conseil, 2009) avenues for citizen involvement in the KUP consisted only of informal working groups. Practical Action can pro-actively encourage and support its partners at MCK to incorporate a comprehensive LASDAP-style participatory framework into this programme that formalises spaces for citizen participation in planning and establishes clear lines of accountability to community stakeholders.

### 5. Conclusion

While overall the pro-poor public-private partnership model, as expressed through the public toilet block, has granted minor gains in relation to greater levels of autonomy in the management of public sanitation options, it has overall not generated significant impacts in relation to health, dignity, security, or to a large extent, self-determination. While this is partially the result of design flaws or inadequate participation mechanisms, well-being impacts were also limited due to the wider interlinked problems of low incomes, insecurity, unemployment, and environmental hazards. At a structural level, a continued emphasis on financial sustainability and reliance upon market-based approaches to the provision of sanitation options continues to hinder the ability for particularly vulnerable groups to access dignified and healthy sanitation options. However, lessons from the LASDAP process do hold the potential to inform a more inclusive and equitable form of planning, which could be harnessed to address some of the concerns cited above. Building upon and improving the structures already in place, with a stronger commitment to evaluating the meaning of and implementing a pro-poor approach, could be used as the basis for informal settlement interventions that support greater levels of well-being.

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## Conclusion

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The findings presented in the chapters of this report addressed similar themes of participation, decentralisation, privatisation, and citizenship, using the four case studies as an entry point to examine the role of participatory informal settlement upgrading to support human well-being. Here, the analytical focus on material, relational and subjective well-being proved critical in highlighting the different processes and impacts underlying each intervention, to comment on the quality of these spaces. This shared lens helped reveal a convergence across the four case studies on a common premise, related to the wider urban context shaping Kisumu and Kenya more broadly. That is, while all the projects facilitated a greater access to basic services such as water and sanitation, and supported the development of resident associations to manage the provision of these goods—each still faced certain structural barriers to scaling-up these institutional relationships to generate wider material, subjective and relational gains.

More specifically—at the policy level, for the 60% of Kisumu residents residing in informal settlements, the triplicate trends of privatisation, devolution, and participation are understood to hold a three-pronged effect: supporting service delivery—allowing for more flexible arrangements and increased coverage in (politically and practically) hard-to-reach areas; opening critical livelihoods opportunities for small-scale operators; and creating decision-making spaces for residents to control their urban environments. These three entry points are leveraged by Practical Action, taking advantage of devolved spaces of governance as stipulated in the 2010 reforms to the Kenyan Constitution. However, while policy changes enshrined in the revised Constitution, as well as in documents such as the Water Act (2002) and environmental By-laws, support the role of public-private partnerships in devolving the delivery of urban services to communities, this is often embedded within a market-based logic that does not always serve the well-being of diverse groups of women and men. What emerged from the research was that such institutional change required challenging the predominant vision of the ‘citizen as consumer’ embedded in key policy documents, programmatic approaches and in the rhetoric of the Kisumu municipal council.

For example, and as highlighted in the section exploring the LASDAP process, the market-oriented approach to

the provision of water and sanitation services was problematic for particularly vulnerable residents that might have to prioritize amongst a set of financial demands. In this case, the financial sustainability of the model was emphasized over the design and development of alternate strategies to favour more vulnerable groups. Similarly, and as emerged in reference to the community facility model, the impacts of this lack of more regulatory or support mechanisms were particularly evident during periods of shock, such as drought or financial variability, or where there were disputes between service providers and managing community groups. In these cases, citizens had little recourse to challenge the terms of service delivery, indicating only marginal gains in the decision-making process.

Also significant was the interface between the individual and the collective, particularly in relation to communal services such as waste collection. Here, while the social enterprise model facilitated the entrepreneurialism of particular residents, the individualized approach to service delivery was not sufficient to address collective challenges such as waste collection in public spaces. Thus while the devolved management of services did generate some important well-being impacts, for example in the case of the delegated management model, which supported gains especially in health, livelihoods, and community cohesion—there is still space to challenge the terms of the relationship established between managing community groups, local authorities, and private water and sanitation actors.

As a result of these structural conditions, while Practical Action played a key role in the development and support of networked residents, the potential of these spaces were not fully unlocked when implemented within this wider market-based narrative. Public-private partnerships often represented real gains for the public and private sector in the form of increased efficiency and reduced expenditures, while leaving small private operators or the managing community groups with a greater share of risk and responsibility. Approaching this analysis from the perspective of residents’ own perceptions, priorities and values helped animate this process—allowing for a deeper reflection on the subjective and relational dimensions of well-being—and unfolding broader lessons on the challenges and opportunities for participatory informal settlement upgrading initiatives to support residents’ aspirations.



## SDP Students Report - DPU

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