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Analysis on three Informal Settlements in Africa – Khayelitsha (Cape Town), Kibera (Nairobi)
and Manshiet Nasser (Cairo)

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List of Abbreviations

ART	Antiretroviral therapy
BMZ	Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft und Zusammenarbeit (German Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development)
CATALYST	A global reproductive health family planning activity funded by the USAID
CBO	Community-based Organization
CPTED	Crime Prevention through Environmental Design
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
DCP	Directorate of City Planning
ecosan	Ecological sanitation
FBO	Faith-based Organization
FC	Financial Co-operation
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FNB	First National Bank
GoK	Government of Kenya
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Technical Co-operation)
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
HTSP	Healthy Timing and Spacing of Pregnancies
IACC	Inter-Agency Coordination Committee
IDPs	Integrated Development Plans
KBD	Khayelitsha Business District
KCT	Khayelitsha Community Trust
KENSUP	Kenya Slum Upgrading Project
KfW	KfW-Entwicklungsbank (German Development Bank)
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MKP	Map Kibera Project
MoHP	Ministry of Health and Population

MsF	Médecins sans Frontières
NCCM	National Council for Childhood and Motherhood
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PDP	Participatory Development Programme in Urban Areas
PIU	Program Implementation Unit
PMTCT	To prevent so called mother-to-child-transmission
RMB	Rand Merchant Bank
SEC	Settlement Executive Committee
STI	Sexual transmitted infection
SWOT-Analysis	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats Analysis
TAHSEEN	Tahseen sihitna bi tanzeena usritna (arab.); Improving our health by planning our families (engl.)
UN-ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
URDR	Unit for Religion and Development Research
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VPUU	Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading

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Abstract

The increased development of informal settlements/slums will be the dominant form of urbanization in most developing countries. Rapid urbanization and its related consequences have been difficult to handle and manage, particularly in countries like South Africa, Kenya and Egypt. The following thesis intends to present and comparatively analyze three informal settlements, namely Khayelitsha (Cape Town), Kibera (Nairobi) and Manshiet Nasser (Cairo). In order to address and achieve better living conditions, it is necessary to broaden the definition on upgrading and worth noting that urban upgrading is not perceived or seen similarly for the chosen examples. It can be observed a complex picture within these settlements and its various programs. Also the broader perspective on urban upgrading needs to be specifically context related defined.

Die zunehmende Entwicklung von informellen Siedlungen/Slums wird die dominierende Form der Urbanisierung in Entwicklungsländern sein. In Ländern wie Südafrika, Kenia und Ägypten wird es immer schwieriger werden, den Folgen der Urbanisierung entgegenzuwirken. Die vorliegende Arbeit stellt eine vergleichende Analyse 3er informeller Siedlungen, namentlich Khayelitsha (Kapstadt), Kibera (Nairobi) und Manshiet Nasser (Kairo) dar. Um bessere Lebensbedingungen zu erreichen, ist es vor allem wichtig die Definition von *urban upgrading* zu erweitern und ferner festzuhalten, dass der Prozess des *urban upgrading* unterschiedlich wahrgenommen und definiert wird. Sowohl die informellen Siedlungen als auch die existierenden Programme zeigen ein komplexes Bild. Dabei ist es aber auch wichtig zu erkennen, dass eine erweiterte Perspektive auf *urban upgrading* eine Kontext abhängige Definition und Analyse nicht ersetzen kann.

1. Introduction

Almost 1 billion people, or 32 percent of the world's urban population, live in slums, the majority of them in the developing world. Moreover, the locus of global poverty is moving to the cities, a process now recognized as the urbanization of poverty (Kofi A. Annan, Secretary General, United Nations 2003).

Poverty as such has been defined in several dimensions of human life, like hunger, poor material standards, poor health, lack of education, insecurity, lack of freedom as well as abuse of human rights and no power in decision-making (Dahl 2005 et. al. 2005).

The accelerated development of informal settlements/slums¹ will be the dominant form of urbanization in most developing countries (Howeidy et al. 2009). The UN HABITAT as well as the World Bank emphasize that the world is becoming more and more urban. This rapid urbanization and its related consequences have been difficult to handle and manage, especially in developing countries like South Africa, Kenya and Egypt. Declining access to shelter and security of tenure is resulting in severe obstacles like overcrowding, homelessness as well as health problems (Durrand-Lasserve 2006). Due to a fastened globalization, urban poverty and insecure occupancy is becoming a remarkable and not deniable feature of developing countries (Durrand-Lasserve 2006). However, challenges of an increasingly poor urban population as well as accelerating informal housing conditions have been acknowledged by both, local authorities and international development agencies (Howeidy et. al. 2009). Research needs to be done to conceptualize how to improve the living conditions of people in informal settlements (Richards et. al. 2007).

¹ During the following work informal settlement and slum will be used interchangeably, since both terms are often used in a common sense.

To address the research goals and objectives, the following thesis is going to review literature which considers prominent approaches and techniques on urban upgrading and summarizes experiences learned from this.

Therefore the present thesis will comparatively analyze informal settlements and the implementation of urban upgrading programs. It intends to present three informal settlements in Africa, namely Khayelitsha in Cape Town, Kibera in Nairobi and Manshiet Nasser in Cairo. The first part of the thesis is going to define and clarify the terms “informal settlements/slums” and “urban upgrading”. The literature comprises various debates on the terms, for example one debate on informal settlements is closely related to insecurity of tenure (Durrand-Lasserve 2006). The international debate on urban upgrading started in the 1950s and 1960s and was dominated by the demolition and replacement of housing which implies and requires a strongly interventionist role of the state (Abbott 2002). Although, commonly agreed definitions on informal settlements/slums and urban upgrading are developed neither “informal settlements/slums” nor “urban upgrading” should be seen or discussed separately rather than as closely related terms which have been developed in a debate of interdependency. The theoretical part of the present work will start by giving a definitional and historical overview on the classical debate on informal settlements and especially urban upgrading which includes the betterment of housing conditions.

The three chosen examples require taking into account, that upgrading is not necessarily only related to improved housing conditions. In order to address as well as to achieve improved living conditions, it is important to broaden the definition on upgrading. The upgrading of /informal

settlements/slums are not just a technical exercise. It means also a political, social as well as organizational plan which demands the involvement of different actors, like NGOs, CBOs or civil society etc..

The next part of the following thesis contains the presentation and analysis of three chosen human settlements, as previously mentioned Khayelitsha (Cape Town), Kibera (Nairobi) and Manshiet Nasser (Cairo). All three settlements are perceived by the governments as informal which means that the residents face severe constraints and disadvantages. Besides giving a historical, geographical as well as societal introduction, within these communities, it is essentially to define existing problems, like poverty, insecurity of tenure, violence, health risks, education etc. While demonstrating that similarities as well as differences co-exist in these areas, the research is aiming to figure out different programs, which have been implemented to improving the living conditions for the inhabitants within the three informal settlements.

It is worth mentioning that urban upgrading is not perceived or seen similarly for Khayelitsha, Kibera or Manshiet Nasser, that is why it is important to analyze upgrading in these specific areas. Possible different perceptions might have an influence on the programs for urban upgrading as such; further their implementation and the involvement of different actors for achieving improvements, e.g. in Khayelitsha and Kibera the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate requires different programs as in Manshiet Nasser where HIV/AIDS apparently is not an issue.

The case studies as well as the selected programs for urban upgrading are not chosen arbitrarily rather than demonstrate and represent the wide range of problems and their related slum upgrading programs and involved actors.

2. The Debate on informal Settlements and urban Upgrading

2.1. Informal Settlements and urban Upgrading – A historical introduction

The starting point and origin of the debate on informal settlements can be dated back to the 1950s and 1960s. Referring to impacts upon policy, especially theorists like Abrams (1964) and John F.C. Turner (1967, 1972, and 1976) have been most influential (Pugh 2000). Abrams, who was in charge of several UN-missions in developing countries in the 1950s and 1960s, favored the concept and idea of *in situ* slum improvement and installment construction. By contrast, Turner brought more social idealism into his advocacy of state-assisted *sites and services*, while basing it upon the people as such and their aspiration to self-fulfillment as well as their commitment to housing “for expressing things of value in their lives” (Pugh 2000, p.326). Housing was not just a physical commodity but also a human activity (Sedky 2010). During his work in Peru in the 1950s and 1960s, Turner discovered that local households normally improved their housings incrementally and strongly related to their earnings and savings. He recognized this as a better option for low-and middle-income people than subsidized public housing which attracts only higher income groups (Pugh 2000).

It is worth mentioning that on the one side all main urban services in developing countries, like health, education, water supply etc. have been almost ever provided by public provisions. On the other side, “provision of housing has been largely dominated by the non-public sector which includes the formal and informal private sectors, private households and co-operatives” (Keivani and Werna 2001, p.66). In particular, it can be observed that the physical production as well as “the design and consultancy work of public housing has been carried out by private building firms and consultants” (Keivani and Werma 2001, p.67).

Nevertheless, the first attempts by solving the housing problem in the developing world, appears during the 1960s and 1970s and was done by reproducing and implementing European examples, like building public housing. But it became rapidly clear that this was not able to provide what was required (UN-HABITAT 2003). Especially, slum clearances on the Western style have been perceived as the major tool in many developing countries, though its inadequacies were obviously (UN-HABITAT 2003). Eviction was a common response to the development of slums during the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in “political environments predominated by centralized decision-making, weak local governance and administration, non-democratic urban management, non-recognition of civil society movements and a lack of legal protection against forced evictions” (UN-HABITAT 2003, p.130). Anyways, this method just shifted the immense problems to the fringes of the city.

International housing policy is conceived and formulated by diverse international aid agencies; at which the World Bank has been most influential. This influence obviously derives from providing large loans for urban and housing programs, usually combined with given conditionalities (Pugh 2000). The World Bank policy can be divided in three chronological and historical periods. From 1972 until 1982, the World Bank adopted Turner’s formulated theories and advocated *sites and services* as well as *in situ* upgrading programs. The expected principles were based on and defined by affordability, cost recovery and replicability (Pugh 2000). The Bank and its allied writers developed a strategy for the public sector which enhances private market activities in housing provision in developing countries (Keivani and Werna 2001). In 1983, the World Bank redefined and redirected its housing policies. First of all, one acknowledged the need that institutional reform and support had to be widened “from project management to general urban policy and to full ranges of programs” (Pugh 2000, p.327). Further, geographically

delineated projects were characterized by self-limitation, because they lacked an impact on the economic and social development of the city or the town as a whole. Moreover, the World Bank had suitable as well as alternative means of advancing its housing programs, e.g. channeling funds through the conduits of housing finance systems. By the late 1980s, the World Bank successively mitigated its direct *sites and services* projects. Because the implementation of these programs have also failed to deliver the original promise and rarely reached the targeted groups, for example the inappropriate location of several projects on the fringes of a city results in problems of access for settlers to their jobs in the city; further residents do not receive proper technical support, and housing units were often unaffordable for the poorest sector of the society as well as the lack of financial assistance for improving their housing conditions (Keivani and Werna 2001; Sedky 2010). From 1983 until 1993, the approach of the World Bank was getting more programmatic based upon a broader and deeper institutional reform and development, e.g. the use of municipal development funds was seen as more appropriate and suitable in developing countries, where bond and financial security markets are more less undeveloped or non-existent (Pugh 2000). In the post-1993 period the World Bank redirected its strategic housing policy again. The new approach represented a gradually rather than a fully comprehensive conceptualization of housing. “Its strategic policy reform is defining a seven point program” (Pugh 2000, p.327):

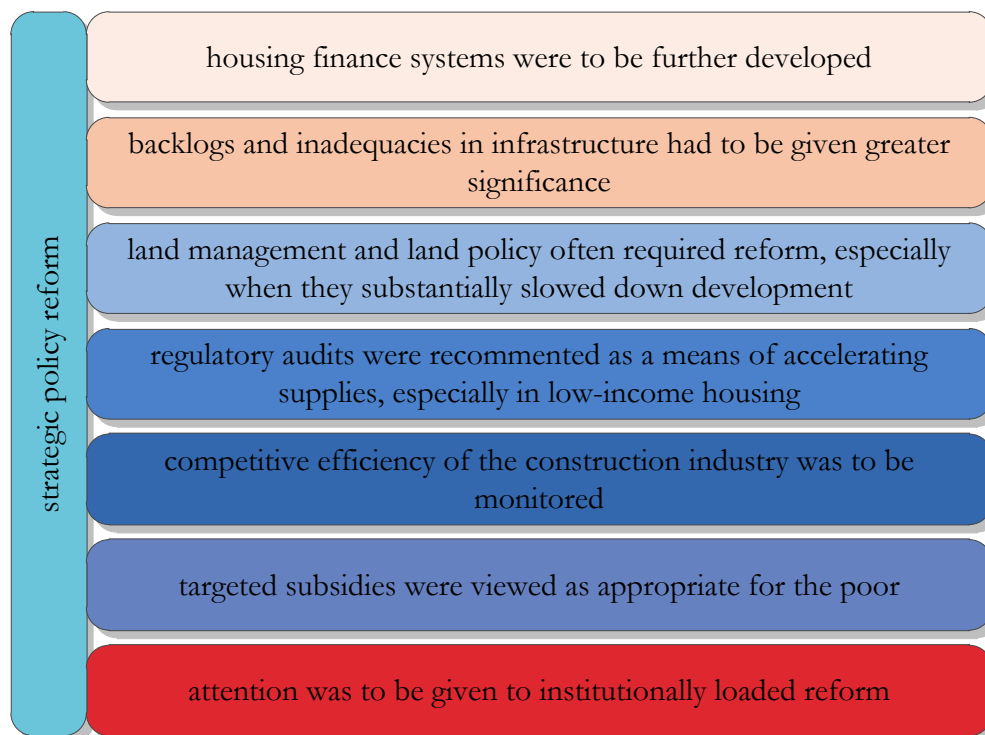


Figure 1 Strategic policy reform (Pugh 2000, p.327)

By taking into consideration all these aspects, housing was to be understood as economically productive. In the mid-1990s, the concept of governance entered into central positions, literally spoken into all development agendas and comprised economic, education, health, environment, housing, urban and other policies. Attention was turned to the community-based, participatory elements in upgrading (Pugh 2000). It seems obviously that the World Bank redirected its strategic approach to development as well as urban policies, whereas 'Turner' s theories are still perceived as useful and relevant within this broader housing context and were extended into the so called *brown agenda environmentalism*. It was conceptualized at the UN-conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The UNCED promoted and enhanced the involvement of local governments which should mobilize their communities

for a more broad-based participatory environmental improvement in urban areas (UN-HABITAT 2003). At the Habitat Agenda in Istanbul 1996, it was generally agreed that “forced eviction represents a dimension of urban violence and almost all governments obliged themselves to end illegal evictions” (UN-HABITAT 2003, p.104). Also in 1996, the UN Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) developed a new approach, the so called *Environmental Planning Management Approach* (EPM). The EPM is stipulating meetings of stakeholders, further identifies feasible priorities and transforms those into suitable and realizable plans (Pugh 2000). Nevertheless, even in this strategy the private market is still the main actor in shelter policies and recommendations (Keivani and Werna 2001).

Nowadays, particularly the concept of land pooling is perceived as more sufficient alternative for the upgrading of poor human settlements/informal settlements. It means to manage and finance urban land development, when a group of neighboring landowners, preferred on an urban fringe, come together for unified planning, servicing as well as subdivision of their land, while the project costs will be recovered by selling some of the building plots from the project and “with the remaining plots being distributed to the landowners in exchange for their rural land parcels in an proportional manner” (Karki 2004, p.68). Referring to this, it is worth saying that it does not depend on governmental budgets as well as being successful on the basis of efficiency. Further, land pooling is characterized by its fair treatment of landowners, improvements in plan quality, savings to the community and finally environmental benefits (Karki 2004). Thus, the question remains how far land pooling will be applicable to highly densely populated areas.

Since the 1990s there can be discovered a renewal awareness of informal settlements by setting up diverse programs. For example in 1999, the World Bank and the United Nations Center for Human Settlements (UNCHS) launched the Cities Alliance which is a coalition of cities and their

development partners, addressing urban poverty alleviation as global policy approach (Mukhija 2005). Currently, the Alliance plays a leading coordination role in the implementation of the “Cities without slums”-initiative by the World Bank and the UN-HABITAT (Durrand-Lasserve, 2006). “All involved actors like bilateral and multilateral agencies, national governments, local authorities as well as the urban poor commit themselves to partnerships which will be achieved through:

- 1) Supporting inclusive participatory approaches with local stakeholders which define their vision for their city and establish priorities for action to tackle urban poverty and growing inequality and
- 2) Strengthen partnerships with local authorities and community-based organizations (CBOs) to support city-wide slum upgrading and nation-wide scales of action” (Majale 2008, p.271).

The *Cities without slums* campaign was further incorporated in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as target 11, where it is one of the three targets of Goal 7 which ensures environmental sustainability (Khalifa 2010). Nevertheless, it is worth saying, that despite the wide range of actors involved in the Cities Alliance initiative, “it operates through a small secretariat based in the World Bank’s offices in Washington D.C. and the World Bank might play an important role” (Mukhija 2005, p.57).

Nowadays, it seems commonly agreed that especially top-down approaches in which governments acting independently in a non-consultative process are inappropriate (Majale 2008). For being effective, it is important to involve the three key societal sectors, namely public, private and civil society which can play a role at various levels in addressing the existing problems in

informal settlements. That is why participatory/bottom-up approaches are required which include the urban poor and their organizations. They need to be enabled to participate as well as to engage and further to realize their full potential in solving problems they are confronted with (Majale 2008).

2.2. Informal settlements and urban upgrading – By definition

Neither informal settlements/slums nor urban upgrading should be seen or defined as separate and isolated concepts. Both terms are strongly interrelated, and one calls for the other one. Especially with regard to further policy recommendations, it is obviously that the defining of informal settlements requires also the defining and conceptualizing of urban upgrading.

2.2.1. Informal settlements and slums

The obstacle of measuring informal settlements or slums appears with a lack of an agreed definition. “A slum is generally defined as a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city” (Caldeira 1996 quoted in UN-HABITAT 2003, p.10).

The Cities Alliance gives the following definition: “Slums are neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slum range from high-density, squalid central city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities” [...] (Jargowsky 1997 quoted in UN-HABITAT 2003, p.10).

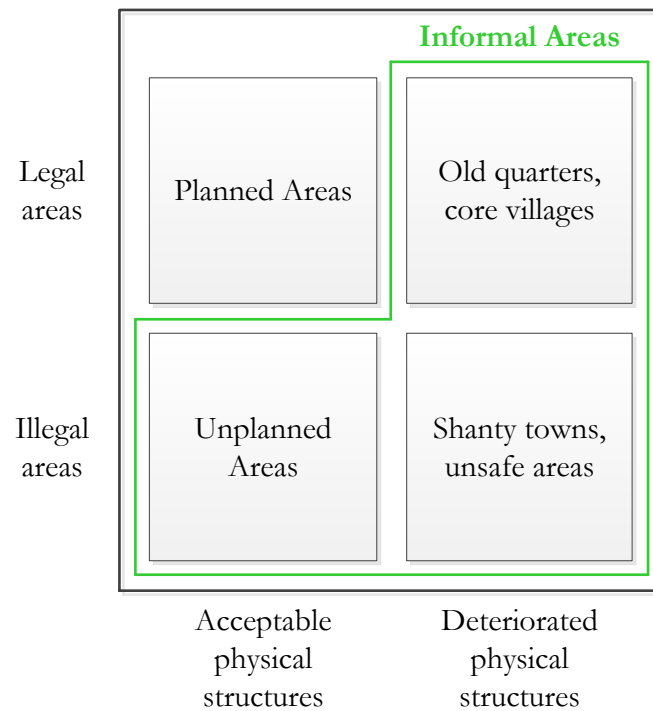


Figure 2 Classification of urban areas - legal status and physical condition (Abdelhalim 2010, p.3)

Thus, it is important taking into account that slums/informal settlements are complex constructs which cannot define just by one single parameter. Moreover, the whole concept of informal settlements/slums is a relative one and local variations of these areas co-existing. Informal settlements are quickly changing appearances; that is why it is not appropriate to apply on only one categorization of a long period of time (UN-HABITAT 2003). “Spatial forms and the physical location of informal settlements vary from region to region, from city to city and even within the same city” (UN-HABITAT 2003, p.79).

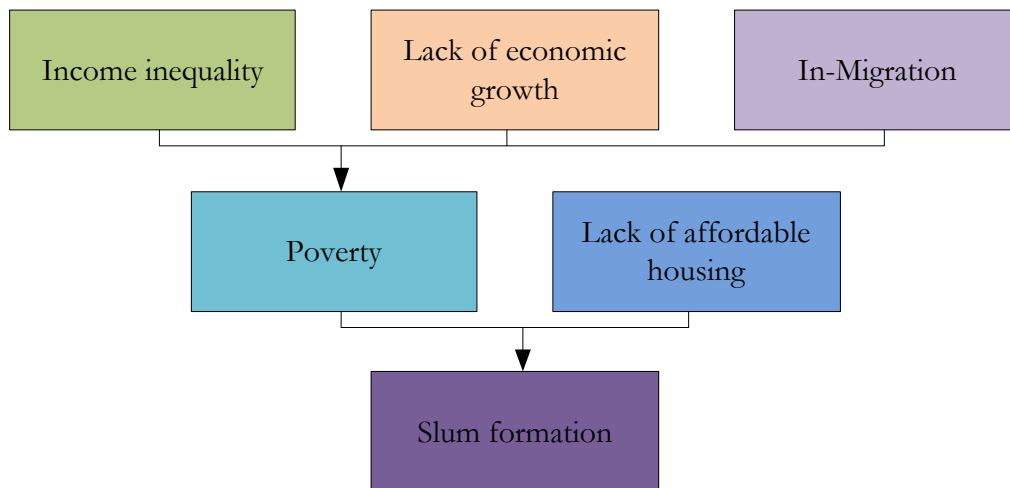


Figure 3 Inequality, poverty and slum formation (UN-Habitat 2003, p.17)

“For the last three decades, the debate on housing policy refers to the question of the informality and illegality of human settlements” (Durrand-Lasserve 2006, p.1). Before giving a further description on informal settlements/slums, it is important to adding something on “informality”. To apply informality to human settlements raised the same problems as when it is applied and used to economic activities or employment. The connotation is constantly negative. According to Durrand-Lasserve (2006, p.1) one can differentiate three main types of settlements, 1) squatter settlements on public or private land, 2) illegal commercial sub-urban land subdivisions on private or customary land, 3) occupation of overcrowded, dilapidated buildings in city centers or densely urbanized areas. In the 1970s and 1980s, governments of developing countries were ambitious in demolishing these informal settlements, while justifying that informal settlements were unsanitary and aesthetically questionable features of the urban landscape (Njoh 2009). But comprehensive slum clearances often destroyed well functioned communities (UN-HABITAT 2003).

The UN-HABITAT additionally defines informal settlements “as settlements where inhabitants are confronted and exposed to 1) insecure residential status, 2) inadequate access to safe water, 3) inadequate access to sanitation and other basic infrastructure and services, 4) poor structural quality of housing and 5) overcrowding” (UN-HABITAT quoted in Durrand-Lasserve 2006, p.2). A strong interrelation can be observed between insecure residential status and poverty alleviation. Poverty results in insecure tenure which is responsible for the worsen situation in informal settlements. At long sight, it negatively affects the situation and living conditions of the poor, e.g. poor access to basic services results in health problems. In almost all cases informal settlements and urban poverty represent some kind of a negatively symbiotic relationship. Tenure is characterized by a social relationship which means a diversity of tenure options should respond to the needs and demands of low-income households (Durrand-Lasserve 2006). Security of tenure should be acknowledged as an effective tool because it ensures poverty reduction and is for most urban poor in developing countries the mean for generating a livelihood. Unfortunately, most governments in developing countries are reluctant and not willing to provide these areas with basic services because this would mean, accepting such areas as formal and legal. Since quite some time, the issue of security of tenure is recognized and conceptualized by international agencies. Firstly, the necessity of tenure regularization which is often seen as pre-condition for slum upgrading programs. Nowadays, the approach and its sustainability are being questioned; regarding the limitations of urban development strategies. Another approach is strongly influenced by the UN; according to this approach, it is indispensable to broaden the perspective and view on informal settlements in taking into account and defining a social and economic dimension (Durrand-Lasserve 2006).

In summary, informal settlements are far from being chaotic and characterized by unpredictable structures rather than places which can provide basic needs in an adverse environment. “The inhabitants of informal settlements have the right to be recognized as full citizens of the city which requires the acceptance of the settlements as part of the whole” (DoH 2005, 2.1.1.3). “Informal settlements should be viewed as creating opportunities rather than causing problems” (DoH 2005, 2.1.1.3).

2.2.2. Urban upgrading

“Informal settlement upgrading does not have a clear and concise definition” (Abbott 2002a, p.307). Different settlements and communities will require a context suitable and appropriate approach. Urban upgrading is an obvious and unexceptional process which results in providing everyone acceptable living conditions. Moreover, it is not one monolithic approach rather than different modes of intervention. Firstly, **Servicing Informal Areas**, this mode of intervention delivers physical infrastructure and basic public services. It primarily meets informal settlements with appropriate housing conditions in a consolidated stage of development. In the situation of squatting on public land, servicing as well as upgrading can occur with land titling and sales. The approach focuses on physical improvements which entail improving access to the area in general, paving and lightening main roads, installing/upgrading infrastructure, like water, sanitation or electricity etc. Referring to this mode of intervention, physical upgrading is seen as an absolute pre-condition for the implementing of socioeconomic development (Abdelhalim 2010). A second approach of upgrading is **Sectorial upgrading** which emphasizes on providing services within a specific sector. Normally, this mode of intervention prioritizes infrastructure and roads but could also include educational, health etc. facilities. It is not just limited to service improvements or

physical upgrading rather contains also socio-economic programs (Abdelhalim 2010). **Planning and partial adjustment** concentrates on widening main streets and creates available land for public services. Within the context of upgrading, improvements are limited to the removal of some houses to modernize roads. The ongoing process is characterized by self-improvement, e.g. a better connectivity to the city. This mode of intervention is appropriate where housings are in good conditions but the area is highly dense and lacks public facilities (Abdelhalim 2010). The fourth process of upgrading, **on-site re-development** demands a whole replacement of housings structures through a demolition as well as *in-situ* construction of alternative residential units. It is especially useful in areas where houses are deteriorated, unsafe and the status of tenure is illegal (Abdelhalim 2010). The last approaches, **redevelopment and relocation** are the far-reaching one. It comprises both, demolition of housings as well as relocation of inhabitants. It is mainly taking place where slums are situated in preferred locations of redevelopment, commercial interest and real estate investment and their existence would hinder the afore mentioned innovations. “Each approach is appropriate under the particular physical, socioeconomic, and environmental framework conditions that are found in or affecting the informal areas” (Abdelhalim 2010, p.8).

In the 1950s and 1960s the dominant approach to informal settlements was one of totally demolition or replacement and installment of public housing. This proceeding implicates a strongly interventionist role of the state. It was assumed that this approach would eliminate the chaotic and disordered picture of informal settlements. But especially the bulldozer approach was neither unable to slow- down the housing shortage nor the continuing development of informal housing, because relocated inhabitants did not disappear rather than moved to other informal

areas (Sedky 2000). Nevertheless, urbanization of informal settlements or growth and overcrowding escalated (Abbott 2002a). It provoked a 2-site response. On the one side, an academic response, e.g. John Turner and other academics were criticizing the assumptions and implementations of public housing at that time. “A shift to greater autonomy or dweller control in the process of housing production was required. On the other side, a governmental response from developing countries which exerted pressure on International Agencies, like the World Bank to extend its range of development loans to urban infrastructure and housing” (Abbott 2002a, p.306). At this point the World Bank entered the scene. It alternatively advocated for the provision of *sites-services* schemes and *in situ* slum upgrading. The first mentioned were later perceived to have failed. The call of *sites and services* schemes into question aroused policy shifts, especially within the World Bank which calls for taking into account a wider ranging set of issues when it comes to upgrading informal settlements. It advises, that the approach to development should have a long-term impact. Regarding the influence of the World Bank at that time, it is not surprisingly that it gave direction to the consulting community, to major Western governments, the UN and other development organizations (Abbott 2002b). The World Bank’s initiated development shift, impacted on development thinking in two ways. First of all, the World Bank linked *sites and services* schemes and slum upgrading as twin approach. Secondly, the approach conceptualized by the World Bank emphasized “the centrality of physical infrastructure to settlement improvement” (Abbott 2002a, p.306). It means success is measured by hard service delivery. But “urban upgrading usually does not imply the construction of homes, since the residents can do this themselves, rather than offer optional loans for home improvements” (UN-HABITAT 2003, p.127). It might be questionable whether informal settlements can be treated in the same way as formally planned settlements (Abbott 2002b). Literally spoken, it has been

acknowledged that appropriate solutions must go further than just addressing specific problems of informal settlements. Moreover, each upgrading process is acknowledged “being part of a greater project or holistic approach which involves the community in decision-making about its own neighborhood” (DoH 2005, 11.1). The integration and involvement of the residents of informal settlements gives them the possibility in succeeding in life (DoH 2005). *In situ* (urban) upgrading is nowadays a recognized reality. As previously mentioned, the concept was initiated by Turner and others in the 1960s and focused on gradual housing. Indeed, a functionable physical infrastructure is an integral part of human settlements and goes hand in hand with the security of tenure. “It is clear that the improvement of the physical environment is seen as the core element in the upgrading process” (Abbott 2002a, p.310). Nevertheless, it is important to extend the definition of physical infrastructure because there are diverse services which can be accumulated (Abbott 2002a). Besides the physical infrastructure provision, community action planning as a participatory methodology should be taken into account. The community and its involvement is part of the project cycle which is “subdivided into different stages, like initiation, planning, design, implementation and maintenance” (Abbott 2002a, p.311). Especially, the stage of planning is seen as the most important stage in which the community should be involved in defining key decisions and the full program (Abbott 2002a). The last approach related to the improvement of informal settlements is a holistic one, called *plano* global which broadened previous approaches by taking into consideration economic activities as well as social needs of the residents within informal settlements. Besides this, it is also important taking into account perceptions of poverty, though definitions are highly influenced by the World Bank’s standards which mean a dominant economic definition of poverty (Abbott 2002a). That is why; the poor’s own perception of poverty is becoming more and more important and necessary to identify their

own priorities. Moreover, residents of informal settlements are not totally individualistic, rather than have needs at the level of the individually family. Although, informal settlements are generally characterized by elements of poverty, there is also an obvious stratification within the overall marginalization (Abbott 2002a). Upgrading of an informal settlement is a process. Approaching the process not only from a development perspective rather than in terms of urban renewal is an indispensable necessity (Abbott 2002a). It is not just about poverty alleviation but more about social inclusion, what is implicitly recognized in the community driven approach.

At this stage, none of the aforementioned approaches provide a complete solution to the diverse problems facing informal settlements. Moreover, each can learn from the other in an integrative way, which means covering all facets of the development process. By achieving this, it will be possible to improve the living conditions of the urban poor seriously (Abbott 2002a). In order to address and to achieve a social transformation and overall improvement, it is required to define the settlement as an entity as well as the families, living in these settlements (Abbott 2002a). The UN-HABITAT Global Report in Human Settlements 2003 defines and summarizes the following dos and don'ts of slum upgrading:

Dos	Don'ts
Promote good urban governance systems	Assume that slums disappear automatically
Establish enabling institutional frameworks involving all partners	Underestimate the role of local authorities, landowners, community leaders and residents
Implement and monitor pro-poor city development strategies	Separate upgrading from investment planning and urban management
Encourage initiatives of slum dwellers and recognize the role of women	Ignore the specific needs and contributions of women and vulnerable groups
Ensure secure tenure, consolidate occupancy rights and regularize informal settlements	Carry out unlawful forced evictions
Involve tenants and owners in finding solutions that prioritize collective interests	Discriminate against rental housing or promote a single tenure option
Adopt an incremental approach to upgrading	Impose unrealistic standards and regulations
Associate municipal finance, cross-subsidies and beneficiary contributions to ensure financial viability	Rely on governmental subsidies or on full-cost recovery from slum dwellers
Design and negotiate relocation plans only when absolutely necessary	Invest public resources in massive social housing schemes
Combine slum upgrading with employment generation and local economic development	Consider slum upgrading solely as a social issue
Develop new urban areas by making land and trunk infrastructure available	Provide unaffordable infrastructure and services

Figure 4 The dos and don'ts of slum upgrading (UN-HABITAT 2003, p.142)

Moreover, each urban upgrading program has its own advantages which suit the specific requirements of certain sections of urban population. Therefore it is necessary to identify and analyze the requirements and demands of the targeted group (Keivani and Werna 2001). “Such a comprehensive approach would be much effective in eradicating market failures and expanding low income housing provisions in developing countries” (Keivani and Werna 2001, p.114). Another main concern that has been revealed with upgrading programs, besides the implementation, is that they are mostly more beneficial for the owners than to the renters. The private sector is already dominant, that is why; it is more important to improve the efficiency of all aspects of private housing provision as well as taking into account that slum upgrading is not just a technical exercise rather than a political, social and organizational plan (Keivani and Werna 2001).

3. Analysis on three informal settlements in Africa

Urbanization of the African population during the last 40 to 50 years has been responsible for serious housing problems in urban areas which can be measured in quantitative and qualitative terms (Okopala 1986).

The role of housing in national development policy in Africa has undergone three main stages, from an emphasis on state-built public housing, through an aided self-help phase, to the present phase which shifted to the proper management of services and infrastructure (Stren quoted in, Amis 1990, p.49). Since the provision of housing for the urban poor has always been a major constraint faced by most African countries, the following chapter is giving an introduction and overview about housing policy in South Africa, Kenya and Egypt (Okoye quoted in, Amis 1990, p.73).

3.1. The debate on Housing and Informal settlements in South Africa

The history of townships and informal settlements started with the South African industrialization during the 1940s (Huchzermeyer 2002). Most of these settlements developed on segregated divisions of peripheral land. The establishment of the Apartheid-regime² shaped the following centuries of informal and housing policy and meant that attractive divisions of urban land were exclusively reserved for the Whites (Huchzermeyer 2002). The 1950s or literally spoken the “first phase of Apartheid legitimized segregation as well as racial discrimination through the

² Apartheid meant the translation of racist policies into a complex legislative system (Huchzermeyer 2002).

ideology of white supremacy” (Huchzermeyer 2002, p.88). This status quo also remained in the 1970s because the failure of public housing provision combined with continued urbanization in South African cities fostered the existence of squatter settlements at the fringe of cities (Wilkinson 2000). The beginning of the 1980s was characterized by the initiative of major low cost housing projects within South African urban areas (Wilkinson 2000). Nevertheless, this initiative was imposed as a strictly controlled, technocratic and well defined development and dealt less with the reality and demands of the residents within these informal settlements (Huchzermeyer 2001). In 1994 the new government was faced with the problem that the majority of black people were living in areas of poor quality. Due to this reality the new democratic government was under high pressure to find an appropriate solution (Wilkinson 2000). The policy on informal settlements and the delivery of housing is the outcome of a process of intense negotiations within the National Housing Forum from 1992 to 1994 (Huchzermeyer 2001, p.304). Obviously informal settlement policy has not changed remarkably with the change of the government in 1994 (Huchzermeyer 2004) rather than was still influenced by the Policy of Orderly Urbanisation of the 1980s which comprised the relocation of shack dwellers to developed housing divisions on the periphery (Huchzermeyer 2004). Nowadays, housing is understood as a basic need which means the “right of having access to adequate housing” firstly conceptualized in the African National Congress’ Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) in 1994 and also part of the 1996 South African Constitution. The South African policy was further influenced by the Habitat Agenda in 1996, so that the National Department of Housing has been created a Directorate of Human Settlement Policy and Integration, which was in charge for developing and defining an Urban Development Framework (Huchzermeyer 2001). Unfortunately, it lacks “to consult with mass-based community organizations or urban societal

movement networks” (Huchzermeyer 2001, p.320). In 2004 the Ministry of Housing proclaimed that the government will intervene to advance the living conditions in informal settlements by improving the infrastructure and promoting better governance (Richards et al. 2007). The very recent history and major constraint in the discourse and debate on housing and informal settlements has been its limitation to technical terms (Huchzermeyer 2001), which means that policy makers strictly focus on the illegality of these settlements and the housing type (Huchzermeyer 2004). But informality as well as illegality in human settlements has to be acknowledged from the perspective of those living in these areas. It can be asserted a shift from a single and uniform housing product for all towards specific project-linked subsidies (Huchzermeyer 2001).

It is very important that all involved actors being aware that housing is more than just the delivery of a product. It goes further and is also about economic growth, social development, justice etc..

3.2. Khayelitsha – A profile

Khayelitsha has been established by the South African Apartheid regime in 1983. As one of the last serious attempts of the government to keep cities segregated along racial lines (Alliance Française 2010, Slide 5). “Khayelithsa” means “our new home” in isiXhosa³, one of the eleven official languages in South Africa. It is the youngest and last established township of Cape Town (Bauer 2010). It was built to accommodate an increasing influx of migrants from the Eastern Cape as well as to thwart overcrowding in existing townships. At that time, Khayelitsha was

³ It is pronounced [izi'ko:za].

advertised as a model of a new township with better basic services and was further seen as a pool for cheap labor (Alliance Française 2010, Slide 5). It was defined by government officials as a dormitory town and its residents are forced to make use of public transport, because it is approximately located 35 km from Cape Town's Central Business District.



Figure 5 Khayelitsha townscape (Hathaway n.d.)

The township is part of the South East Region, nowadays also known as the Cape Town poverty trap. Formal settlements include Bongweni, Ikwezi and Khulani, Khanya Park, Tembani, Washington Square and Zolani Park. “Informal settlements include Site B, Site C, Green Point, Elitha Park, Makaza and Harare” (DPLG and

Business Trust 2006, p.4) which means that the township does not represent a uniform picture. Informal settlements comprise 64% of households and are mainly concentrated in the Northern Areas like Site C (Alliance Française 2010, Slide 18).

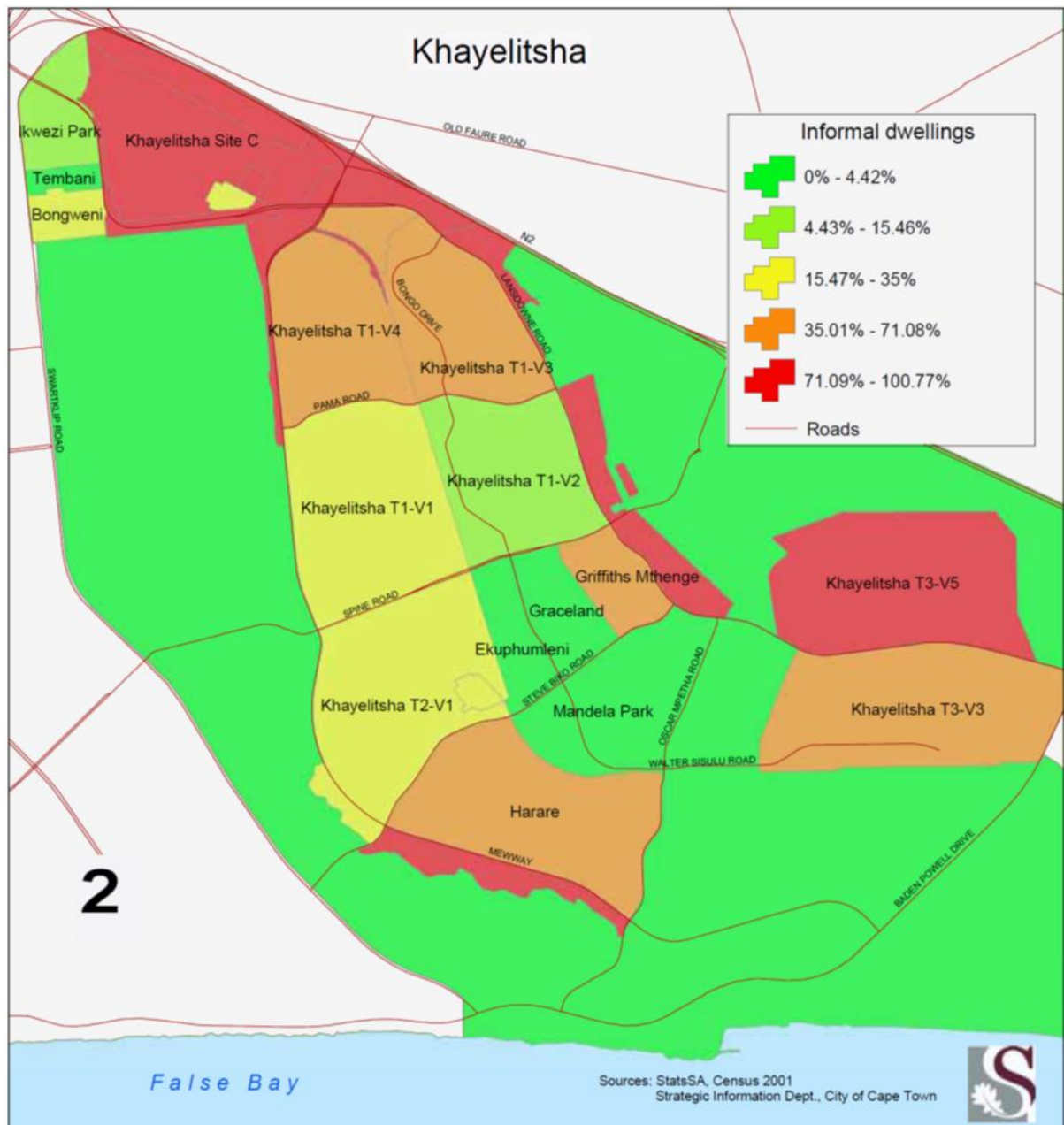


Figure 6 The map shows the percentages of households, in each of the smaller areas of Khayelitsha, where the houses can be classified by the Census as an informal dwelling. Several areas fall into the category described by the red in the legend namely 71% and higher. The area east and north east of Griffiths Mthenge, Site C, Khayelitsha T3-V5 and the area south of Harare, Khayelitsha T2-V2b have the highest percentage of informal dwellings (URDR 2001, p.15).

Nowadays, it is estimated that 800.000 up to 1, 0 Million inhabitants live in Khayelitsha (Bauer 2010). The Township contains and represents approximately 11% of the total population of the City of Cape Town (MsF 2008, p.5).

The settlement is characterized by “increasing crime rates including sexual and domestic violence, poverty, high unemployment and seriously taken health problems like HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis” (Bauer, 2010, p.7). “Khayelitsha has one of the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rates in South Africa and carries one of the highest burdens of HIV and Tb- Co-Infection” (MsF 2008, p.1).

Facts about Khayelitsha

800.000 up to 1,0 million residents in formal and informal housings

Almost entirely consist of Black People (90%) and Coloreds (10%)

Majority lives in informal settlements

76% of the population is younger than 29

71% live below the poverty line

30% of the population have no/no easy access to water

Sanitation average of 105 people per toilet in Site B and Site C

Almost 31 % of the residents are HIV-positive and TB-HIV con-infection is close to 70%

Figure 7 Facts about Khayelitsha (MsF 2010); (DPLG and Business Trust).

3.3. Urban Upgrading – Different Programs and Actors in Khayelitsha

As the previously part stated out, Khayelitsha is confronted with a lot of seriously taken problems, like informal dwellings, crime HIV/Aids etc. This chapter of the thesis is going to illustrate different programs and actors which are involved for improving the living conditions in Khayelitsha.

3.3.1. Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading

To understand parts of the current situation, regarding violence, crime and security in Khayelitsha, it is important to give an introduction on the question “who was and is responsible for guaranteed security?” During the apartheid-regime, state presence was characterized by oppression and less by guaranteed security or defense of law and order (Elliesen 2006). Therefore, people’s safety was ensured by a variety of self-help organizations; particularly street committees which consisted of elders or other respected people within the community. In the 1980s, the committees were not only mandated by guaranteeing justice and law but also with health care or education (Elliesen 2006). With the coming into power of the democratic South African government in 1994, the street committees were struggling to justify their presence and power, because “the state is seen itself as a monopoly in guaranteeing law, order and security and leaves no room for self-help action” (Elliesen 2006, p.4). Since, the state is not able to find a sustainable and efficient solution on its own; and “the street committees no longer have legal responsibility, it remains unclear who will be responsible for the security in Khayelitsha” (Elliesen 2006, p.5). The whole situation is further constrained by the fact, that most residents cannot identify themselves with the community they live in (Elliesen 2006).

“The 120 million Rand and five-year program Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading is funded by the City of Cape Town, the German Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development, and the German Development Bank (KfW)” (Pollack 2009, p.1).

The omnipresence of increasing violence as well as an emerged vacuum in Khayelitsha results in an economic, political and social exclusion of the inhabitants living within this area (Bauer 2010). Referring to this, the ultimate goal is to achieve “socially inclusive as well as sustainable urban development” (Bauer 2010, p.1). Thus, programs of Financial Cooperation (FC) for slum upgrading through the KfW have been implemented since the 1990s. It is acknowledged that nowadays experiences made with high rates of crime as well as social violence in informal settlements has led to “the development of a multi-sectoral approach for the prevention of violence” (Bauer 2010, p.2). Taking into account that different types of crime and violence need different sets of measures and demand the involvement of specific institutions, the following approach focuses on “violence prevention on three levels, namely situational violence, local governance promotion and social violence prevention” (Bauer 2010, p.3). The first one, **“situational violence prevention** aims to improve physical as well as spatial environmental conditions through improved urban planning”(Bauer 2010, p.3). With regard to this, the focus lies on the recovery of public space which means existing crime hotspots are eradicated and human settlements are improved by access to basic infrastructure as well as to parks and green areas (Bauer 2010). Elements and components of situational violence prevention comprise a coherent and integrated town planning, starting with larger areas down towards site-specific considerations. Secondly, the provision of social and economic public infrastructure which also implies the “engagement and participation of the local population and local business which should meet people’s need and create conditions for local economic development”(Bauer 2010,

pp.3-4). Further site-specific interventions, e.g. “the introduction of places that support and enhance individual safety and allow the population to identify itself with the areas”(Bauer 2010, p.4).

The second one, **social violence prevention** tackles factors arising from social interactions in the neighborhood. Programs are designed and defined to respond to urgent needs within the community which has to be taking place on a participatory basis and to analyze what the needs of the community are. The developed programs range from work with victims and offenders, health education, legal support to community development, and culture. Especially the preventive work with children and youth is perceived as a necessity (Bauer 2010). “Social violence prevention programs are characterized by preventive measures, active work with victims and offenders and measures with long-term perspective to enforce social cohesion”(Bauer 2010, p.4). Both aforementioned approaches are interrelated, literally spoken facilitate infrastructure and housing improvements and can encourage a broader community participation (Bauer 2010).

The third and last one, **local governance promotion** can be seen as a precondition for the implementation of financial cooperation programs. The goal of local governance is to promote and enhance the principles of good governance in public administration because while implementing financial cooperation programs, “local governments go through a learning process which empowers them to fulfill their stipulated roles and functions”(Bauer 2010, p.5). Besides the provision of basic services and support of community initiatives, it is necessary to improve legal and institutional framework for governing urban areas. The overall aim is to transform previous marginalized residents of informal settlements into full citizens who being aware of their rights and obligations (Bauer 2010). It particularly means the involvement of disadvantaged groups in the process of political decision-making which will be achieved by introducing and consolidating

legitimated elected structures within the community, besides strengthening the cooperation between state, civil society, private business etc. It should contribute to “renew confidence in the government and to integrate informal settlements and their inhabitants into the political and institutional environment of the city” (Bauer 2010, p.5).

The VPUU in Khayelitsha strongly focuses on situational violence prevention which contains an “integrated urban design and planning and their impact on the safety and living conditions of township settlements” (Bauer 2010, p.7). The situational prevention has been addressed on a “strategic level by the development of the Urban Design Principles on a Safe Node by the AHT Khayelitsha Consortium, based on the principles of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) and its South African modifications done by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) (Designing Safer Places, 2001)” (Pollack 2009, p.1.). The overall goal is to “improve and guarantee safety by improving the socio-economic situation of about 200,000 to 300,000 residents in defined “Safe Node Areas” through an area-based approach. These Safe Node Areas are located in Harare, Kuyasa, Site C/TR Section and Site B (Pollack 2009). It aims to reanimate dark, neglected and dangerous hotspots within the settlement (Bauer 2010). These “Safe Nodes” are very important because they create space for safe commerce (Bauer 2010). **One urban design element of the program** is the development and installment of small community centers, so called Active Boxes which are managed by residents. In 2007 these Active Boxes have been affiliated via the elaboration of Precinct Plans and are a result of two processes – “the urban design approach of VPUU based on a combination of CPTED principles and elements of social crime prevention, as well as the process arising out of the Baseline Survey process in 2006 that expressed the need of improved safety throughout the Safe Node Areas”(Bauer 2010, p.8). Depending on the local context, it contains youth and sport center to informal trader’s bays.

Volunteer civic patrols guard these buildings. Each Active Box aims to make a specific area in Khayelitsha safer (Bauer 2010).

Since the start of the program, the murder rate has denoted a decrease by one third and residents in these areas feel safer. The murder rate in this specific area has also declined by one third since the start of the program (Bauer 2010). Especially programs that focus on “preventive work with youth have also resulted in a decline in the importance of young offenders”(Bauer 2010, p.10).

The VPUU Program fills a vacuum that results of an unclear security situation. The program enhances that the residents feel themselves responsible for their community as well as can identify themselves with it. “Violence” as an omnipresent phenomenon is perceived as multi-dimensional, and not just reduced to physical violence and the destruction/harassment of someone’s life. The broader view of violence refers to the fact that the inhabitants are exposed to a multi-faceted exclusion. In this regard, urban upgrading means the improvement of previous public space. The broader perspective on violence has led to the development of a multi-sectoral approach for the prevention of violence. The VPUU program is a good example for the involvement of different actors (participatory approach) because each level of prevention requires different actors, especially the engagement of the local community.

3.3.2. Khayelitsha Community Trust (KCT)

“The Khayelitsha Community Trust (KCT) was established in 2003 and is municipal entity as part of the City of Cape Town. As an entity of the City, the trust acts within the overall delivery objectives, namely through the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and the City of Cape Town entered into – “a Cooperation and Collaboration Agreement” - with Rand Merchant Bank (RMB), whereby RMB would secure the necessary private sector funding”(KCT 2009, p.16). The

Trust aims to promote as well as enhance the so called Khayelitsha Business District (KBD) by developing commercial, residential and communal facilities. The following strategic themes, namely “shared economic growth/development, sustainable urban-infrastructure and services, public transport systems, integrated human settlements, safety and security, health, social and human capital development as well as good governance and regulatory reform are components of the IDPs”(KCT 2009, p.17).

As previously mentioned, the overall goal is to improve the living conditions in Khayelitsha on different levels. Referring to this, one of the major projects was the establishment and development of the aforementioned KBD which was achieved through acquired land and development rights, the establishment of entities to implement this achievement, implementation of community facilities and development of an empowerment strategy as well as continued fund-raising to realize the above mentioned achievements. One of the long-term aims is that the trust as well as its companies is getting financially self-sustaining (KCT n.d. 1). The objectives of the Trust are divided in short-, medium- and long-term goals. The short term objectives comprise a period of one up to three years. In this period it is important to ensure that there are responsible persons for strategic planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and accountability procedures. It is further important, to improve the collaboration with other relevant stakeholders, like the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading Program. And last but not least to conceptualize and finalize a development framework for the second phase of the KBD that contains market demands (KCT n.d. 1). The medium term phase of objectives encompasses three up to eight years and is distinguished by the finalization of the second phase of the KCT. Further steps are highly bureaucratically characterized, like the payment of outstanding loans or “the maintenance of a creative and strategic approach to partnerships and collaboration agreements

with relevant stakeholders in this field” (KCT n.d. 1) The long-term objectives comprises of ensuring the “sound fiscal management of the Khayelitsha Community District properties, and becoming debt-free and self-sustaining financially, investing in further developments and programs which align with the primary objective of KCT to alleviate poverty in Khayelitsha” (KCT n.d. 1)

One of the achievements by the KCT so far is the establishment of the **Khayelitsha Retail Center**, the first commercial development project in the KBD which was opened in November 2005. “The Khayelitsha Retail Center is currently running on an occupation level of 97% and Khayelitsha locals have shown great interest in acquiring space in the center, with specific marketing processes put in place to meet this demand”(KCT n.d. 2). “**The Khayelitsha Housing Project** is responsible for the delivery and construction of 12000 houses as well as infrastructure, like roads, electricity and water”(KCT n.d. 2). It also includes a *show village* in which potential interested person are able to select their homes. The First National Bank (FNB), will lend prospective buyers the required funds to purchase their houses, and won’t necessarily require them to secure the loan by way of a mortgage bond. When a prospective buyer applies his or her income will be assessed and a loan will be granted based on the individual’s income as opposed to his or her asset portfolio. This means that many people, who were previously unable to qualify for a loan from a bank, will now be able to purchase a house (KCT n.d. 3).

“The Khayelitsha Business District (KBD) development is primarily based on an integrated development plan which will provide economic, public and communal activities as well as housing, sport, leisure and transport infrastructure”(KCT 2009, p.23). The main goal is to ensure

that by 2020 Khayelitsha is completely transformed from a township to one of Cape Town City's thriving suburbs (KCT n.d. 4).

The KCT is a municipal entity within the City of Cape Town. The trust is further embedded into the IDPs. This initial situation reflects that all incentives do not come from International NGOs rather than fully established and developed by the trust and the city themselves. Due to the agreement between the City of Cape Town and the RMB, the trust promotes the development of the KBD, especially by implementing commercial facilities which are strongly characterized by the private sector of the economy. Overall improvements, like poverty alleviation are related to economic development and sustainability. Among these objectives, it is important to advance the collaboration with other relevant stakeholders, like the VPUU Program.

It seems to be a very classical approach of urban upgrading, because acquiring land as well as development rights is/are perceived as essential.

3.3.3. Providing HIV/TB Care at the Primary Health Care Level – Khayelitsha Annual Activity Report 2007-2008 and 2008-2009

“In January 1999, the Western Cape Department of Health in cooperation with Médecins sans Frontières (MsF), City of Cape Town Department of Health and the University of Cape Town, Infectious Disease Epidemiology Unit launched several programs for better treatment of HIV patients” (MsF et al. 2008, p.1). Khayelitsha is characterized by one of the highest HIV prevalence rates in the country and has simultaneously to cope with the highest burdens of HIV and Tuberculosis co-infections (MsF et al. 2008). This severe situation must require innovative strategies to reduce stigma and increase services (MsF et al. 2008). Approximately, “11% of the

total population of the City of Cape Town live in Khayelitsha and 34% of sexual transmitted infection cases (STI) being found here” (MsF et al. 2008, p.3). That is why in 2004, “focus of distribution of condoms has been shifted from health facilities to public and frequent distribution sites, like public toilets, taxi ranks, shebeens⁴ etc.” (MsF et al. 2008, p.3). “In a 3 year period from 2004 until 2007 an almost 50% drop in STI incidences was reported” (MsF et al. 2008, p.5). In 1999 the Western Cape Department of Health also launched a project to prevent so called mother-to-child-transmission (PMTCT) which was supported by MsF. In early 2000, MsF and the Department of Health initiated a HIV/AIDS care and treatment program at the primary care level in three Community Health Centers in Khayelitsha (MsF et al. 2008). The overall aim of this project was to “demonstrate feasibility as well as practicability of antiretroviral therapy (ART) at primary care level in a resource-limited environment of an informal settlement”(MsF et al. 2010, p.6). Due to the obvious fact, that HIV and Tuberculosis often affect the same patient, two new programs were launched in 2003. Therefore the Ubuntu Clinic Site B was established. At this clinic it was possible to offer an appropriate treatment of patients with a HIV/TB- co-infection. Concerning its effectiveness, this model was extended and introduced to other clinics in Khayelitsha (MsF et al. 2008). The long-run framework of the program and its affiliated sub-projects is to emphasize the rejection of discrimination, support openness about HIV and AIDS as well as to promote HIV prevention and TB/HIV care and treatment and last but not least to enhance and facilitate the awareness of HIV/AIDS prevalence within the community through treatment literacy, especially education sessions as well as door-to-door campaigns (MsF et al. 2008).

⁴ (anglo-irish, ir. [Sibín], A bar in which alcohol without a license is sold. It can be found in townships.

The HIV/AIDS program in Khayelitsha is one of the most important throughout South Africa, especially with regard to effective implementation and sustainability. At the beginning, the Program was intensively supported by MsF, “nowadays the City and the Province have taken over the core management by showing that continuity of several services will be achievable as well as feasible without the presence of an International NGO” (MsF et al. 2008, p.19). It is also worth saying that many local non-governmental organizations played an important role in success of this specific program.

The HIV/TB care at the Primary Health care level concentrates on one of the most striking problems in Khayelitsha, HIV and its related diseases, like the co-infection with tuberculosis. Referring to this, upgrading is strongly related to improving health conditions. Providing a sufficient health care is seen as a pre-condition for further development within this informal settlement. The program is sub-divided in several initiatives to tackle the problem, for example a project-to-prevent-mother-to-child-transmission, the Ubuntu clinic in Site B etc. Besides medical and clinical support, the program promotes openness and awareness about HIV, especially through door-to door campaigns in the community. Regarding effective implementation and sustainability, the program is one of the most important, throughout South Africa. It represents the involvement of different actors, namely from community-based NGOs to the City of Cape Town as well as Provincial health services which makes it further a good example of a participatory approach.

3.3.4. Khayelitsha Transformation Research Project

The Transformation Research Project on Khayelitsha was established within the Faculty of Religion in 2001. The Unit for Religion and Development Research (URDR) as a major initiative which has been researched the social development needs of local communities and further to empower and enhance faith-based organizations, so called FBOs in the communities. While supporting those communities, the overall aim is to play an active and effective role in the process of poverty alleviation and meeting the people's needs (URDR 2004). "The overall project was launched and presented by the Unit on 18th of April 2004 at the Khayelitsha Resource Centre where church leaders, business leaders and representatives of the government were invited to participate in the meeting" (URDR 2004, p.8).

The Unit's work underlies the assumption that problems related to poverty in Khayelitsha and elsewhere, can be addressed only if all responsible persons being networked, empowered as well as motivated to deal with obstacles (URDR 2004). "Within this process, the Unit wants to assist and participate by making Faith-based organizations aware of such problems" (URDR 2004, p.4). Faith-based organizations can play a major role because neither the South African state nor other NGO's can reach and influence the public more constantly than these organizations can (URDR 2004). "Its leadership, human and organizational resources are far-reaching as well as equipped with an effective infrastructure which can tackle everyday life problems" (URDR 2004, p.4).

Further, the work of the Unit is strongly influenced and motivated by the fact that the government is increasingly aware that it will not be able achieving its aims of a self-reliant society without partners who work at the basis (URDR 2004).

“In 2000 the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) found that the South African church received the highest percentage of trust, particularly 74%” (URDR 2004, p.5). Due to this fact, the government prioritizes a new strategic role for the religious sector in social development, literally spoken an ethical and relational dimension in development. It is formulated and defined by the Department of Social Development in 2002 as the following: “We will restore the ethics of care and human development in all welfare programs. This requires an urgent rebuilding of family, community and social relations in order to promote social integration” (URDR 2004, p.5).

Within the analysis process residents of Khayelitsha participate in the research and the focus of control was forwarded from the university to the local community because it was not only the aim to collect information rather than to change and transform the involved communities (URDR 2004).

The technically implementation was done by figuring out all places of worship and places which have been a significant influence on the wellbeing of people, like shebeens or places of drug sell. The research phase was conducted through field workers “who were expected having good knowledge of their community” (URDR 2004, p.8).

The Unit comes to the conclusion by evaluating its gathered data, that churches might be the only organization in Khayelitsha who is able to reach all members of the community (URDR 2004). The church as a whole can play a major role in the different stages of development. Since the abolishment of Apartheid in 1994, South Africa represents a secular pluralistic as well as democratic society having diverse public institutions and organizations which are dominating the public space. The church is one actor who competes, besides the government and the business for room in this sphere (URDR 2004). Moreover, the church should be perceived as a volunteer

organization which differentiates from the government sector as the “sector of demanding resources by means of threat, power and coercion or the business sector with economic power by selling products and services, while volunteer organizations focuses on the power of consensus, particularly in their identification with visions and values” (URDR 2004, p.36). Last but not least, the church can be seen as an agent for development which has the best-organized networks to tackle problems within its community (URDR 2004).

Nevertheless, also churches must develop strategies to strengthen the involvement of local people to address their own needs, and further to conceptualize strategies for sustainable systems. Churches should develop people’s movements: “Decentralized action to involve people in a movement at grassroots level, where there is less focus on money and resources, and more on motivating social energy in movements” (URDR 2004, p.36).

The Khayelitsha Transformation Research Project seems to be unique with regard to the involvement of actors from the academic side, namely the URDR within the Faculty of Religion at the University of Stellenbosch. The approach is obviously a participatory one, because the Unit’s work underlies the assumption that all responsible persons need to be networked as well as empowered. The church and its related FBOs are acknowledged as the main actors in the different stages of development because FBOs can reach more constantly the public. Upgrading is also perceived in a broader sense and mainly related to the improvement of social conditions. FBOs can tackle everyday life problems and also act as delivery agents. It is more about mobilizing social energy rather than money and physical housing delivery.

3.4. SWOT-Analysis on Khayelitsha and its Urban Upgrading Programs

The following SWOT-Analysis is going to put in contrast potential strengths, opportunities etc. for Khayelitsha.

Strenghts • Involve CBOs, NGOs and the residents themselves for tackling striking problems, like HIV/AIDS and violence • Willingness of the City of Cape Town and the South African state as such to find appropriate solutions	Opportunities • To make the township/informal settlement part of the city • Overcome the restricted housing situation; abolishment of townships as such • To see the people as potential/indicator for improvement • To treat the residents as full citizens→ social inclusion, equity and human rights • Broader perspective on the concept of urban upgrading • More networking among international, national, local actors etc.→ to achieve a comprehensive development/improvement for all
Weaknesses • No clear definition in what means „having access to adequate housing“ • Due the Apartheid legacy, prevalence of segregation→ gap between a poor black majority and rich white minority • Lacking cooperation between stakeholders of urban upgrading programs→ distrust among inhabitants • Try to cover all problems prevailing within the settlement therefore efficiency is questionable	Threats • Insecure situation in Khayelitsha affects residents and other involved actors • Occurrence of new kinds of violence, e.g. xenophic attacks • High prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS→ as a risk for sustainable economic environment

Figure 8 SWOT-Analysis on Khayelitsha

3.5. The debate on Housing and Informal Settlements in Kenya

Due to the fact that Kenya is still a rural population most research is done on Nairobi and its informal settlements. Segregation in Nairobi can be dated back to the onset of colonialism which means by 1900 a racially segregated city had been established (K' Akumu and Olima 2007). During this time the urban layout was designed by government-sanctioned population segregation, implying the installment of separate enclaves for African, Asians and Europeans. The colonial capitalist development imposed by the British administration was responsible for the occupation and control over land from local people and mainly to have a resource of labor for the settler farms and emerging urban centers (K' Akumu and Olima, 2007). The development of slums was caused through the highly unbalanced allocation of public resources towards the above mentioned different sections (UN-HABITAT 2003).

The post-colonial period was characterized by a relaxation of the colonial residential segregation policies as well as a major population shift. The phenomenon of rural to urban migration prevailed and the formation of slums covered the town because of employment opportunities. Most striking features of residential segregation in the city are its dynamics that involves “transformation into different socio-spatial manifestations”(K' Akumu and Olima 2007, p.87). “Nowadays, almost 55% of the total population of Nairobi lives in informal settlements that cover only 5% of the city's area”(K' Akumu and Olima 2007, p.88).

After Kenya's independence in 1963, rapid urban population growth did not accompany with the provision of housing which results in poor population settlements. Most of the informal human settlements developed after the independence. “Slums that are home for the majority of Nairobi's population can be divided in two types, 1) squatter settlements and 2) illegal subdivisions of

either government or private land. Between 1971 and 1995, the number of informal settlements within Nairobi rose from 80 to 134 and the estimated total population of these settlements increased from 167,000 to 1.886, 000” (UN-HABITAT 2003, p.219).

Nowadays, either natural growth or rural to urban migration continues to contribute to the growth of Nairobi’s informal agglomerations. Despite the desperate and poor living conditions, the number and size of informal settlements is expanding (K’ Akumu and Olima 2007). Apparent discrimination, particularly along ethnic lines, is resulting that most ethnic groups live in smaller entities of their own ethnic background (UN-HABITAT 2003).

Although, several policy initiatives have been carried out and institutions as well as facilities have been established for addressing the issue of slums, namely the “Nairobi Informal Settlements Coordination Committee, Nairobi Situation Analysis, The Poverty Reduction Strategy and the Local Authority Transfer Fund; over all policies and practices to address slum dwellers’ needs have been poorly developed and implemented because all lack a clear and precise policy which would have been necessary to guide as well as facilitate urban development in Kenya”. Instead urban interventions are often made on an ad hoc basis”(da Cruz et al. 2006, p.4; UN-HABITAT 2003. p.219). The latest master plan for the city has been developed in 1973 but has since been unable to respond to the continuing urban growth. The Physical Planning Act (1996) refers responsibilities of planning to local authorities which means the Directorate of City Planning (DCP) has the mandate to coordinate the development activities, particularly slum upgrading or municipal reforms. Despite this mandate, neither economic nor physical planning is integrated as well as harmonized with land use and land taxation (da Cruz et al. 2006). Further a precise definition of the concept of slum is missing and is responsible for the lack of an effective policy response. It can be summarized that the city lacks a “common vision to guide its development”

(da Cruz et al. 2006, p.8). Formal housing has been favored by urban development but was incapable to deliver on an appropriate scale and rate as well as to provide affordable housing (K' Akumu and Olima 2007). Moreover, since coherent and effective Nairobi-wide urban policies are rare, the situation for the inhabitants of Kenya's and especially Nairobi's slum dwellers remains severe (UN-HABITAT 2003).

It can be concluded that informal settlements in Nairobi are characterized by disparities like in density of population, physical structure, size availability of basic urban services etc.. The current situation requires that policy instruments and tools must be multi-dimensional which includes for example, regularization or upgrading of informal settlements or formalization of the informal (K' Akumu and Olima 2007). "The response to spatial segregation should be based on an understanding of local needs and factors such as age, gender, socio-cultural and economic activities" (K' Akumu and Olima 2007, p.97).

3.6. Kibera – A profile

Kibera lies at an altitude of almost 1,670 meters above sea level. It is the largest informal settlement in Africa, situated five kilometers south of the Kenyan capital Nairobi. “Kibera” comes from the Nubian word “kibra” and means “forest” or “jungle”. It started as a settlement of ex-African soldiers, mainly of Nubian and Boran origin who served in the British Army during the First and Second World War. With Kenya’s Independence in 1963,

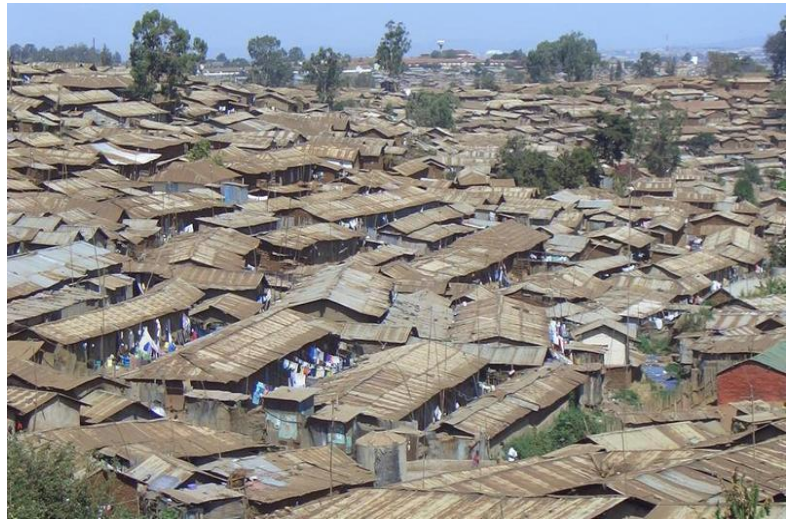


Figure 9 View on Kibera (Felton n.d.)

most of these former soldiers were assimilated as proper Kenyan citizens (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009). As Nairobi became the capital city of Kenya, they have been the first landlords. Kibera is divided into 12 official villages like Kianda, Soweto, Kisumu Ndogo, Lindi, Laini Saba, Silanga, Makini and Mashimoni. “The slum dwellers consist of different ethnic communities”(Ondieki and Mbegera 2009, p.15). During this time, housing units in Kibera have become so crowded and compact that very little space exists between them which mean that there is almost no possibility for vehicular movement (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009). Due to continued accelerated rural-urban migration in search for improved living conditions attendant with increasing pressure for low-cost housing in the city, Kibera became the first place of informal housing structures. Since this tendency remained over the following years, the settlement has grown to the largest slum in East

and Central Africa. More than a quarter of Nairobi's population, up to 1,5 million inhabitants live nowadays here (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009).

The settlement is distinguished by severe constraints. Being the largest slum in East Africa or even on the African continent means to be faced to insecurity on the highest degree; especially women and girls often feel insecure because they are exposed to rape, sexual as well as physical harassment. Housing conditions are mostly illegal, so that the residents live in the fear of being evicted (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009). Further, the combination of poor nutrition and lack of sanitation is responsible for many illnesses and deaths. Concerning, ineffective wastewater drainages that run through the settlement, Malaria is one of the most striking problems.

Facts about Kibera

Kibera is the biggest informal settlement in Africa

More than 1,5 million inhabitants or a quarter of Nairobi's population reside in Kibera

Kibera's slum dwellers consist of different ethnic communities, mostly Kikuyu

Characterized by tribal tensions between the Luo and Kikuyu

Only 20% of Kibera has electricity

Until recently Kibera has no water which has to be collected from the Nairobi dam

There are no government clinics or hospitals. The providers are the charitable organizations: African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF), Médecins sans Frontières (MsF), churches plus some others

Figure 10 Facts about Kibera (Kibera UK 2007).

3.7. Urban Upgrading – Different Programs and Actors in Kibera

Kibera as one of the largest informal settlements is exposed to overwhelming constraints like crime, HIV/AIDS, incredibly densely populated areas etc.. This part of the following work is going to demonstrate different programs and actors which are involved in the implementation of upgrading programs within this human settlement.

3.7.1. Kenya Slum Upgrading Project (KENSUP)

“The Kenya Slum Upgrading Project was initiated in 2001, as a result of a meeting with the former president Daniel arap Moi and implemented by the Ministry of Housing and the relevant local authorities”(Syrjänen 2008, p.13). In January 2003, in a so called Memorandum of Understanding, additional technical cooperation through the UN-HABITAT was ensured and outlined (Syrjänen 2008). “It was finally launched by Mwai Kibaki, the president of Kenya during the World Habitat Day on 4 October 2004”(Syrjänen 2008, p.13).

By 2020 the livelihoods of 5.3 million urban slum dwellers should be improved countrywide. The whole program is covering the period from 2005 until 2020 which is in line with the time frame of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Especially the commitment of the Kenyan government is essential because it is one of the few governments in Africa that acknowledges the real importance of slum upgrading. The Government of Kenya (GoK) shows strong political will and has been advocated funds in the national budget (Syrjänen 2008).

The broad goal of the KENSUP program is to improve the livelihoods of people living and working in slums and informal settlements in the urban areas of Kenya through provision of

security of tenure, housing improvement, income generation and physical as well as social infrastructure. Referring to this, the following objectives can be identified (Syrjänen 2008, p14)

- “Create conditions that can sustain long term nationwide slum upgrading in Kenya;
- Harness political will, strengthen nascent forms of organization of slum dwellers, and promote an inclusive process based on consensus and partnership;
- Address inappropriate policies that contribute to the growth of informal settlements and worsening of living conditions in slum areas;
- Consolidate, rationalize and institutionalize a broad range of shelter related policies including the creation of institutions and mechanisms for sustainable financing and development of shelter and related infrastructure;
- Operationalize concepts of decentralization, partnerships, consultation, stakeholder participation, consensus building, leadership and the empowerment of beneficiary communities in upgrading projects;
- Develop and implement appropriate service and livelihood improvements including designs, delivery strategies and approaches;
- Strengthen and enhance capacity for research, planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and replication of shelter and human settlements programs at the central government, local authority and community levels; *and*
- Address and mitigate the prevalence and impact of HIV/AIDS”

With regard to the above mentioned aims, the KENSUP Implementation Strategy defines several programmatic principles and values which are perceived as a pre-condition for the success of the program, such as “decentralization, sustainability, democratization and empowerment, transparency and accountability, resource mobilization, secure tenure, expansion and up-scaling and partnerships and networks” (Syrjänen 2008, p.14). For achieving this, the following institutional structures have been established. Firstly, an Inter-Agency Coordination Committee (IACC) is consisting of the Ministry of Roads, Public Works and Housing, the Ministry of Lands and Settlement, the Ministry of Local Government, the Ministry of Water as well as the Nairobi

City Council. Secondly, a national KENSUP-Secretariat at the Ministry of Roads, Public Works and Housing. Thirdly, a Program Implementation Unit (PIU) located at the Housing Development Department of the Nairobi City Council. Fourthly, a Settlement Program Implementation Unit which is based in each of the targeted settlements. And last but not least, a Settlement Executive Committee (SEC) which is made up of community members in each settlement (Syrjänen 2008). Kibera informal settlement in Nairobi was primarily chosen in terms of settlement upgrading in the KENSUP. “The Government of Kenya (GoK) has achieved several goals in Kibera such as (Syrjänen 2008, p.18):

- Election of Settlement Executive Committees in Soweto East and Laini Saba villages;
- Socio-economic mapping of the whole settlement has been completed;
- Physical mapping, undertaken in collaboration with Ministry of Lands (Physical Planning Department) is underway;
- A draft Master plan for Kibera, based on the above data, is being finalised;
- Construction works of 600 relocation houses at the Langata decanting site near the Langata Women’s Prison is currently underway. 60% of work has been done while the practical completion date for the project is targeting April 2008 (Presentation by Leah Muraguri on 3-5 June 2007);
- A road design approved and a tender awarded for the construction of 1.25km road (GoK funds the first 500m and UN-HABITAT 750m) beginning from Mbagathi Way. The full stretch of the road will cover 4km on completion in the final phase; *and*
- Four cooperatives formed with assistance from the Ministry of Cooperatives and registered in Soweto East. The groups were formed according to the zones in Soweto East”

“A decanting site will be provided by the Kenyan government for those slum dwellers who have to be moved to make way for upgraded infrastructure and services” (UN-HABITAT 2003, p.3).

KENSUP intended to improve the awareness of urban stakeholders that there is a need to change the living conditions of the inhabitants in Kibera. Additionally, one should take into account that a majority of the urban population is exposed to severe constraints. It has also resulted in an increased collaboration among different ministries and agencies, involved in the process of upgrading. Moreover, the initiative also gives incentives for the inhabitants themselves because nowadays they are willing to contribute to the improvement of their living conditions (Syrjänen 2008). The whole process of implementation strongly relies on the cooperation amongst three key institutions, namely the government, the local authorities and the UN-HABITAT supported by the civil society and private sector organizations, agencies and companies. The cooperation aims to create an environment for slum upgrading interventions to succeed (Syrjänen 2008).

In July 2010, about 1.500 families move to modern stone houses provided by the Kenyan government (Kiarie and Kiberenge 2010). “A crisis is looming as the relocation date nears, e.g. the landlords are bitter, because they are about to lose property that has been their source of livelihoods for decades. They therefore want compensation. Tenants opposed to the move say, they cannot afford Sh⁵ 1.000 monthly rent for the new housing units” (Kiarie and Kiberenge 2010, p.1).

⁵ Shilling (Kenyan currency).

The KENSUP is especially characterized by the involved actors, like the UN-HABITAT and the World Bank. Defined as a *prestige object* by the Kenyan government, it was officially launched on the World Habitat Day which also implicated a high media interest. The program started in Kibera but it is aligned to all urban densely populated areas in Kenya. The involvement of the Kenyan government is assumed as most important for the success of the slum upgrading program. The program covers a wide range of existing problems, which contains security of tenure, housing improvements, economic sustainability as well as social improvements. On the one side, it represents a classical approach of upgrading which implicates housing delivery by the Kenyan government and on the other side, a participatory approach which means the engagement of the central government, local authorities and community levels.

3.7.2. The Peepoo Bag in Silanga Village, Kibera

Due to poverty and poor living conditions in slums, especially water availability is a huge problem. According to United Nations Economic and Social Council (UN-ECOSOC) (1997), “the deprivation of water and sanitary facilities is resulting in severe diseases which particularly affected slum dwellers” (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009, p.1). Especially Kibera is distinguished by the above mentioned features. With regard to the informal character of Kibera, infrastructure is not planned or services are just provided situational. Although, the inhabitants of Kibera have been willing to pay, the Nairobi City Council as well as the Water and Sewer Department were denying to connect Kibera to the public water system for almost 40 years. The traditional view has been that the provision of water would legitimize the existence of Kibera (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009). But this lack of a regular planning framework for sanitation services is resulting in that owners are completely ignoring provision of sanitations facilities and their tenants. Besides a dramatic increase of the population within Kibera, it has also continued to lack adequate toilet

facilities which means that up to 150 people have to share one toilet. Further, the lack of space in-between housing units contributes to serious sanitation problems (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009). Most health problems suffered by Kibera residents are directly or indirectly associated with the quality of water and environmental sanitation. Since very few people have toilets less than 15 meters from their house, mainly women and children feel insecure at night when using the toilets. Meanwhile toileting facilities are located distant from the residential areas, the residents often defecate in plastic bags which they often dispose in ditches on the roadside (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009). This form of toileting is commonly known as so called “flying toilets” which harms the environment tremendously. Because of this “the Rapid Need Assessment indicated that Malaria, Diarrhoea, intestinal worms and vomiting are the major ailments by the community”(Ondieki and Mbegera 2009, p.13).

The Peepoo Bag Project in Silanga, one of the villages in Kibera intended to find out, if the Peepoo Bags meet the sanitation needs and demands of the users. The product is designed biodegradable as well as economically viable which means it is organic manure for sale, user-friendly and sustainable. During the field test, 53 families with five up to seven individuals were randomly chosen. These families were considered as representative samples of the Silanga Village population with 6,200 families. Moreover, five focus groups with 10 to 13 participants have been selected in each group. In advance of the field test, several meetings with community leaders as well as selected participants have been taking place (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009). “During a period of 28 days, 3,354 bags were provided to 278 family members it means each family member received 12 bags during that time” (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009, p.9).

The field test has shown that there was an urgent need for the Peepoo Bags in Silanga Village. Almost 90% of the users highly recommended the bag as the solution for the sanitation problem

within Kibera and 94% considered the bags as safe and clean to handle. Due to the use of the bags, users explained that they did not throw away waste, particularly from children which illustrates that especially children would take advantages. The majority of respondents preferred the fertilizer effect, the financial benefits, time saving as well as relieving (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009). In summary, the overall objective of the project “is to prove that a successful sanitation program improves health in a community, is sustainable at community and institutional level, is cost effective and does not cause negative environmental impacts” (Ondieki and Mbegera 2009, p.6).

Since the sanitation situation in Kibera is more than desperate, the Peepoo Bag-Project will meet the urgent sanitation needs in a less expensive and easier to implement way. Urban Upgrading is not only defined on housing delivery rather than concentrates on hygienic aspects, the risk of spreading diseases as well as the related security issues, because distant toilet facilities are a risky potential for children and women at night. For the first time, there is an environmental related approach because the bags are bio-degradable as well as have a fertilizing aspect. The Peepoo Bags can respond to an urgent sanitation problem, it will not be the absolute solution but it alleviates the living conditions. It also represents an example of a participatory approach in which the GTZ/ecosan, the local community, mainly the slum dwellers are involved in the process.

3.7.3. Map Kibera Project

The Map Kibera Project (MKP) was launched by an international team in May 2008. It aims to map the physical and socio-demographic features in Kibera (MKP 2008). “The project objectives can be described as the following, 1) sharing outcomes and open data base, 2) transmission of know-how to local communities and involvement of Kenyan researchers, 3) in depth field survey carried out door by door and 4) independence from actors who might have interests clashing with the MKP values and mission” (MKP 2008).

Since, the MKP is not a registered non-governmental organization rather than an independent informal project, it has not signed up formal partnerships. Moreover, “several non-governmental and community-based organizations, institutions and researchers from all over the world got involved in the project on a voluntary basis, e.g. the Koinonia Community Nairobi, the Università degli di Milano-Bicocca (Department of Sociology and Social Research), the Kibera Community Youth Program Nairobi etc.” (MKP 2008.).

The overall instrument will be the use of digital maps providing a multi-level view and further analysis which clearly shows the major problematic gaps and areas of intervention. The **physical and structural characteristics** contain “the topography of the terrain, structures by type, namely households, business, services etc., drainage and water systems (improved and local systems), electricity supply, quality of structures (building materials), schools and health services like clinics, chemistries and dispensaries”(MKP 2008). The **socio-demographic features** contain, “density of the population, female population, minors (under 18 years of age), familiar groups by status, and tribes distribution”(MKP 2008).

National governments as well as local authorities are still denying the existence of informal settlements like Kibera that is why they are often lacking reliable data. Therefore independent research projects like the MKP are becoming more and more a necessity for achieving a better understanding of the prevailing realities within these human settlements, especially their quantitative dimension as well as qualitative features.

The MKP perceived itself as an independent informal project and is particularly supported from academia. The detailed development of physical and socio-demographic features through digital maps should be seen as an absolute pre-condition for all upcoming programs in Kibera. It is not about a specific definition of urban upgrading rather than developing a multi-level view which shows the constraints as well as identify areas of urgent intervention. In-depth analysis helps to conceptualize more suitable, efficient and sustainable programs in the broad context of urban upgrading. Although, the project is not directly related to approaches of urban upgrading, the work is highly participatory characterized by the involvement of NGOs and CBOs.

3.7.4. Kibera Community Youth Program

The Kibera Community Youth Program (KCYP) is founded in January 2002 and is a community-based organization initiated and run by young people who are originated in the Kibera slum. The organization is multi-ethnic and characterized by Christians and Muslims who can be found in the informal settlement. Gender equality, equal representation as well as room for persons with disabilities are also of high importance (KCYP 2005/1). The organization's values are defined by the "principle of friendship and respect towards human rights and freedom of expression"(KCYP 2005/1). Referring to that, all initiators as well as policy makers are young

people who live in Kibera are guarantying that the organization will meet the targeted needs, concerns and aspirations (KCYP 2005/1).

The people involved in the program intended to offer services to the greater community in the field of environment, management and capacity building and further to create awareness about the HIV/AIDS pandemic within the informal settlement. To achieve these goals, it is important to work together with “existing local and national as well as international NGOs, development organization, corporate bodies, foreign missions, religious organizations and the local administration”(KCYP 2005/1). Moreover, it is important to work towards strong networking and collaboration in order to achieve the aspired objectives, sustainable implementation and to gather more information about urgent needs and how to meet those effectively so that the community as such will benefit (KCYP 2005/1).

The Program already achieved the successful implementation of a stigma reduction campaign on HIV/AIDS in Kibera through community theatre in partnership with Population Services International – Kenya. They further actively participated in youth community activities, e.g. sport. It could be realized to attract local as well as international volunteers. “In 2003, the organization was participating in a youth self-help initiative best practice competition held by the GTZ and the GoK and was selected among the best 20” (KCYP 2005/2). Moreover, they are involved in processes related to the national youth policy formulation.

Prospective aims are to start a computer training to reach young people, how to use current technology, to finance small-scale business start-up for young people in Kibera and last but not least to initiate a youth exchange program with other international youth organizations (KCYP 2005/3).

The KCYP has given young people a sense of social responsibility through community services and the creation of a theatre group and a soccer team. It purposes to sensitize especially young people, but also residents in general to the dangers of drug abuse, illegal firearms, domestic violence, and child abuse, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and development issues (KCYP 2005/1).

The KCYP is an example for a community-based organization which is entirely run by young people who also based within the informal settlement. They aim to reach the greater community of Kibera but first of all the vulnerable and often neglected group of young people. This approach goes beyond the classical housing delivery: Instead of getting young people involved and make them aware of their potential and social responsibility within their communities. It is also characterized by participatory networking from ranging international NGOs to the local community. Within this program *Youth* is acknowledged as a force for the betterment of their own living conditions and possibilities as well as the community at large.

3.8. SWOT-Analysis on Kibera and its Urban Upgrading Programs

The following SWOT-Analysis is going to put in contrast potential strengths, opportunities etc. in Kibera.

Strenghts • Young people represent the majority of slum dwellers→ youth as a potential force • the potential of local initiatives • The Kenyan Government shows a high interest and is strongly involved in upgrading processes • Broader perspective on the concept of urban upgrading	Opportunities • Geographical closeness to the head office of the UN-HABITAT might be further upgrading programs • More networking among all stakeholders required→ to achieve comprehensive improvements • To see the people as potential for improvement • MAP-Kibera project as a pre-condition to meet problems in a more effective way
Weaknesses • Problems to overcome possible distrust between the citizens and the Kenyan government→ unstable situation since the elections in 2008 • largest most densely settlement on the African continent • Geographical conditions, area is very flat and exposed to floods • Overall living conditions are barely to describe, e.g. sanitation • Nairobi City Council is reluctant to accept informal areas • No effective Nairobi-wide urban policies • Not able to deliver affordable housings	Threats • HIV/AIDS pandemic→ threatens sustainable development • Increasing political violence, e.g. separatism among political parties • Try to cover all existing problems might be inefficient • Fear of being evicted

Figure 11 SWOT-Analysis on Kibera

3.9. The Debate on Housing and Informal Settlements in Egypt

Similarly to South Africa and Kenya also Egypt is highly distinguished to informal settlements. Nowadays, the country is a complex social and political entity that is being exposed to poverty, population growth and an authoritarian government while on its way to equitable human development (Lowell 2006). To some extent, Egypt already successfully fulfilled the requirements related to the MDGs but with a dual identity. On the one side, it is partly led by a dynamic, reform-minded government and is determined to achieve prosperity and social cohesion due to the mechanisms of an overall economic as well as political reform. On the other side, it is characterized by alarming poverty and disaffection. The majority of Egypt's population can be assigned to the last category (Lowell 2006).

Cairo is often regarded as one of the world's megacities. As a result of its continuous population growth; evident in highly densely populated areas. A first master plan for the city was developed in 1956. The master plan from 1970 forecasted a strong population growth due to rural as well as urban migration to the city and formulated that urban planning and expansion should be handled and facilitated through the provision of satellite towns (Sutton and Fahmi 2001). However, population growth continued and resulted in housing shortage, poor infrastructure and deteriorated environment, thus "the Egyptian government launched a new master plan in 1983 which aims to

- 1) To meet the needs of a growing population, which was expected to reach 16 million by the year 2000
- 2) Sought to protect farmland by establishing 10 new settlements on desert land to the east and west of the city

- 3) Reorganize and restructure the older built-up areas seeking to reduce the concentration of people and services in the existing central parts of Cairo
- 4) Aspired to upgrade public infrastructure and facilities in part of/through a new metro and ring road”

(Sutton and Fahmi 2001, p.137).

The reason why the master plans failed has been the dominance of unplanned and spontaneous urbanization (Sutton and Fahmi 2001). The 20th century Cairo is recognized as “une mégapole en grande partie spontanée”(Sutton and Fahmi, 2001, p.142). Since, the Egyptian state has been refused to acknowledge such human settlements; it lacked urban services and public facilities which meant on the one hand peripheral informal and marginal settlements and on the other hand planned exclusive suburbs. “This prevailing situation demonstrated urban polarization as well as social transformation”(Sutton and Fahmi 2001, p.148). The emergence and growth of slums and informal settlements evolved over the last six decades. It began during the period from the 1950s to the 1960s with diverse governmental policy interventions in the housing industry and urban land use that negatively influenced the housing market for the middle and low-income population. The involvement of public housing project during the early 1960s was accompanied by significant withdrawal in the late 1960s. From 1965 to 1975, the production of housing was slowed down because priority was given to military expenses (El-Batran and Arandel, 1998). Most projects were constructed around newly industrial centers on the fringes of the city (Khadr et al. 2010). Further, the emergence of slums and informal settlements was intensified to rental control laws, inaugurated in 1947 with the aim to protect low-income groups from the high costs of housing. The complete opposite was achieved because these laws relocated the housing market from rental housing to owner-occupied housing. “The minority who maintained their

contribution to the rental housing market resorted to the illegal practice of *key money*” (Khadr et al. 2010, p.266). This sum of money was paid besides the contract but was beyond the affordability of middle and low-income groups. That is why, the practice led to a severe situation in the housing market of Cairo, many low-income groups were forced to adopt other forms of accommodation, like sharing flats or even rooms, which meant increased crowdedness and accelerated housing unit deterioration (Khadr et al. 2010). After 1975, the Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat led the country in a new direction, also known as the *Open Door Economic Policy* (arab.: Infitah) characterized by a greater political and economic opening to the west and a change from a state-controlled economy towards a market economy. The Egyptian state decided to be still in charge for the delivery and constructions of low-income housing while the private sector being responsible for the provision of housing units to the middle and upper classes. But it resulted in that the private sector primarily delivered housing units for the upper class and the public housing was beyond affordability for low-income groups (El-Batran and Arandel 1998).

Within the Egyptian context slums or informal settlements are known as *ashwa'yyat* which means *disordered* or *haphazard* and implies that these areas are unplanned and illegal constructed. They are least well served with regard to infrastructure, public services and suffer from poor accessibility as well as high levels of overcrowding (Sims 2003 and Khalifa 2010). These human agglomerations are also pejoratively connoted. Especially, governmental officials and the national media attribute it a variety of social ills. It seems worth mentioning that Egyptian officials try also to avoid the use of the term *poor* (arab.: el faqr), instead preferring to use the term *those of limited-income* (arab.: mahdoudi el-dakhl) (Sims 2003). This trivialization of the actual situation delivers an insight into the government's attitude. By the late 1970s, the government, the World Bank and international donors supported *sites and services* projects within informal settlements like, Manshiet Nasser in

1979. However, a major concern from government authorities was that the upgrading process would legalize an actual informal/illegal settlement and further the development of more informal areas. Nevertheless, these initiatives also contributed to the integration of residents by providing them with basic infrastructure, social services and the regularization of land tenure. But, overall upgrading and *sites and services* projects launched during the 1980s failed in their main objectives because the state was reluctant to transfer the approach at the national level and retain its policy of building housing units in the new towns. The earthquake in 1992 increased the awareness of informal settlements within the city. Due to security problems in some of the settlements, the government launched a National Fund for Urban Upgrading. Notwithstanding, in the end, it represented a classical top-down approach at which the local population was not actively involved to identify their needs and left less space for social issues rather than was limited to hard delivery aspects of housing. Moreover, most of the residents were even not informed about such a program in their community (Sims 2003).

In 1993, a systematic approach to the upgrading of informal settlements was initiated. This shifting attitude towards the recognition of informal areas is largely a result of a shift in the overall approach of the government towards the delivery of housing (El-Batran and Arandel, 1998).

3.10. Manshiet Nasser – A profile

Manshiet Nasser can be defined as informal area on former desert state land and distinguished by “private residential buildings constructed on vacant state land by citizens under the process of *band claim*. This typology is analogous to the squatting invasions which can be found throughout developing countries” (Sims 2003, p.6). The development process of Manshiet Nasser is completely informal and dependent on personal trust or mediation by the community, when necessary and required. Despite its illegality, it is worth noting that the regularization of tenure status would not have been difficult if the state made it a definite policy (Sims 2003).



Figure 12 View on Manshiet Nasser (Mamdouh, H. 2006)

Manshiet Nasser is a squatter settlement entirely built on government owned land located among the low foothills of the Moqattam plateau in the Governorate of Cairo (El-Araby 2002). It occupies land that was originally carried for limestone for centuries during the Fatimid and

Mameluke years (969 A.D. – 1517 A.D.). Until the 1950s, Manshiet Nasser was an area outside Cairo's. Today it is home for 800.000 to one million inhabitants. The agglomeration forms an eastern physical boundary to the city of Cairo. "Along the western boundary of the settlement are a single track rail line and a main highway (autostrade), which runs west of the tracks. The area occupies in total 8km²"(Sedky 2000, p.85). The social strata of the community is reflected in the geography of the area, literally spoken the "richer merchants are living in the more prestigious first row near to the main street, while the poorer people live close to the rock cliffs" (Howeidy et al. 2009, p.49). "One part of the human settlement is inhabited by the zabaleens, so called garbage collectors, who brought and recycled a part of Cairo's rubbish. The people, mostly impoverished Christians, began to settle outside the city during the 1920s" (Howeidy et al. 2009, p.50). Most of them have their origins in the Upper Nile Valley, particularly Sohag, Luxor, Qena or Assiut (Sedky 2000). The zabaleens mostly collected paper and organic material which they fed to their animals, regularly pigs. As the city of Cairo expanded, it moved nearer to the district of the garbage collectors. The smell of the pigs was increasing and the people were forced to leave the area. In total the community was obliged to move eight times and settled finally in the area between the Moqattam cliffs and the Northern Cemetery. Due to their stigma as rubbish collectors as well as their history of being displaced many times, the social network is very close (Howeidy et al. 2009). At the foot of Manshiet Nasser is a large cemetery, commonly known as the *City of Dead*. This area is inhabited by the very poor of the community. "Most chambers are constructed under the earth with a small house above the chamber. The people are living in these mausoleums and are taking care of the graves. Instead paying rent, they take care of the graves and were able to bring their families" (Howeidy et al. 2009, pp.49-51).

Facts about Manshiet Nasser

800,000 up to 1,0 million inhabitants

Due to the closeness of Moqattam plateau→ potential risk of rock falls

HIV/AIDS is not considered a significant health problem

No social discrimination based on ethnicity or religion

Secondary status of women and their lack of opportunities reflect traditional rural, particularly Upper Egyptian values

Child labor is common

Area is suffering from poor living conditions

Crime rate is extremely low, excepted Al-Duwaiqa which is characterized by domestic and gender based violence

Figure 13 Facts about Manshiet Nasser (Sims 2003).

3.11. Urban Upgrading – Different Programs and Actors in Manshiet

Nasser

Bad living conditions go along with the feeling of being unfairly treated which led to the frustration of many inhabitants of Manshiet Nasser. The present part of the thesis is going to present the involvement of different actors as well as the implementation of urban upgrading projects.

3.11.1. Participatory Development Program in Manshiet Nasser

In 1997 the Egyptian government gives up on the plan to demolish the squatter settlement Manshiet Nasser. It decided instead to formulate programs for integrating the informal area into a legalized district. The BMZ welcomed this shift in policy-thinking and is financing since then the Participatory Development Programme in Urban Areas (PDP), inter alia in Manshiet Nasser (KfW 2010). On behalf of the German government, the Egyptian Ministry of Economic Development; the KfW, as well as the GTZ are in charge of a participatory development program for establishing and securing basic needs in cooperation with the Governorate of Cairo, local administrations, civil society organizations and NGOs (KfW 2010).

Although, all dwellings have installed septic tanks, severe environmental and public health conditions are prevailing. Neither the quantity of potable water resources nor the pressure in the supply network is suitable to cover the overall demand. Therefore, the aim is to develop a sufficient water and sewerage system and to improve the living conditions and reduce potential serious health risks by substantially upgrading the infrastructure within the community. This

includes the provision and extension of a secure water supply distribution system, the implementation of an organized sewerage system and the improvement of the road network. In order to fulfill the demands of the residents on the one side, and obstacles with several authorities on the other side, a participatory approach is applied. That is why, residents are involved in the planning processes, and local democracy is promoted and furthered (KfW 2010). Moreover, the inhabitants are directly encouraged to formulate their needs. Particularly, the sense of ownership for the improved facilities by the inhabitants is perceived as guaranty of the sustainability of the project. Further, the project is implemented in the form of an open fund in using the available resources, while concentrating on “the three main infrastructure sectors of water supply, sanitation and roads which have been prioritized according to the Manshiet Nasser guide plan as well as the subsequent Participatory Budget Planning” (KfW 2010, p.2). The project will also promote and support the wider urban development, mainly through community development investments in public facilities and communal activities, while getting advices from a technical cooperation program provided by the GTZ. The technical cooperation assists the public in formalizing the urban planning and community development as well as the administration on process development for legalization (KfW 2010).

“The first phase began in Ezbeth Bekhit a subdistrict of Manshiet Nasser in 1998. It comprises 28,900 people in 6,490 households and covers an area of almost 20ha, mainly located along the King Khaled Autostrada” (KfW 2010, p.2). The topography is distinguished by extreme differences in elevation. In the second phase the project was extended to further parts of the community. The allocated fund will realize full water distribution and sewerage services which can be extended to approximately half of the resident population and also to pave four up to five km of the internal roads (KfW 2010).

Since the start of the program several improvements have been taking place in Manshiet Nasser. A central sewage collection plant was started up, and many have been connected to the drinking water network. Since 2002 the program is explicitly promoting local initiatives and local trust building through development from below because it is commonly acknowledged that women, youth as well as local business people etc. are well informed about their community and the required needs and demands (KfW 2010).

Moreover, it seems that the whole community does not simply being happy about the program's implementation so far, inhabitants really identify themselves with the new improved neighborhood (KfW 2010).

The PDP should be perceived as an umbrella initiative which is realized and implemented in different urban areas in Egypt, inter alia in Manshiet Nasser through the involvement of several partners; from the local level, like civil society to the international level, like the KfW. The first phase of the process is particularly characterized by urban upgrading through hard physical delivery, like road network. In the long run, it is more about a wider and differentiated perspective on development which entails communal activities. The value of a bottom-up approach is prioritized; therefore the inhabitants are involved from the beginning. Especially, the communication, coordination and integration among all stakeholders make the project successfully efficient as well as sustainable.

3.11.2. Unit of Informal Areas Upgrading by the Cairo Governorate

The second program in Manshiert Nasser is characterized by its urgent need. “After the Al-Duwaiqa catastrophe on 6th September 2008, the Governorate of Cairo issued decree no. 3268/2008 to authorized scientific committees to evaluate unsafe areas in Manshiert Nasser” (Morsi 2010, p.1). The classification of unsafe areas in Manshiert Nasser was done according to criteria and definitions of the UN Treaty of Social and Economic Rights for Residents. During their research, the experts identified “13 unsafe areas of which were 8 already evicted due to the unsafe classification category 1, Life threatening areas which requires immanent removal. The total number of units needed to deal with all unsafe area Category 1 comprises 24,000 units” (Morsi 2010, p.3).

Shortly after, the geological committee defined unsafe locations around the area. The Executive Bodies of Cairo Governorate started the negotiation process with the affected residents on relocating and facilitating their re-location to newly built government-owned residential units. The existing houses located in the dangerous areas



Figure 14 Al-Duwaiqa after the rock fall (Picassa 2008).

were demolished (Morsi 2010). The Cairo Governorate emphasized that all demolition took place after residents have been resettled to their new units and it does not start any re-location processes without the provision of new apartments. For the time being, “the governorate has rehoused 6300 residential units in the area of New Duwaiqa by residents of unsafe areas” (Morsi

2010, p.4). Additionally, there are 6000 units that are being provided in El-Nahda which is located 10 km from Manshiet Nasser. This process of re-location was planned for the end of February 2010. Furthermore, 8000 units will be allocated by the Ministry of Housing in June and July 2010 on the purpose to relocate residents from the unsafe areas (Morsi 2010). Cairo Governorate pointed out that it is still trying to mobilize all local, national as well as international resources to guarantee the delivery of extra 3000 units to entirely resettle the inhabitants from the unsafe areas. It is agreed that all land that is evacuated and categorized as unsafe will not be re-used or invested in anyway due to its geological character and related potential risks caused by it. “Cairo Governorate has handed over the already evicted 30 acres land to Army Forces to be guarded in order to prevent any future squatting and face life threatening situation again” (Morsi 2010, p.4).

During the eviction and re-location process negotiations with residents of the concerned area were held in accordance with the rapid sequence of events. The inhabitants expected a quick re-location. Regarding the urgent need, residents were willing to move according to the Cairo Governorate steps, namely to register with the local authorities in charge of the relocation logistics.

The Cairo Governorate is constantly emphasizing that the responsible persons and officials always maintain close ties to the residents through the process of resettlement (Morsi 2010).

The Unit of Informal Areas; initiated by the Governorate of Cairo is distinguished by its quick implementation, due to the urgent need, regarding the rock fall in Al-Duwaiqa, a sub-district of Manshiet Nasser in 2008. Before the implementation process started, a scientific committee has defined unsafe areas in Manshiet Nasser. It concentrates on housing provision which is of great importance during such a situation. Since the whole area will be demolished and further squatting prevented through the control of military forces, it seems that a wider perspective of social inclusion and economic sustainability is not taken into account. The project represents a classical approach of urban upgrading, totally realized by state intervention.

3.11.3. Manshiet Nasser Upgrading Project

The Egyptian government has formulated diverse strategic objectives as well as policy measures for promoting sustainable human settlement development which implies first of all a balanced settlement structure. The Ministry of Housing, Ministry of Local Development and the local Governorates are bearing responsibility for the implementation (UN 2002). The Manshiet Nasser Upgrading Project is a pilot program for rehabilitating the informal character of Manshiet Nasser. The overall objective is to develop a stable plan for the area by taking into consideration the nature and location of the area, its topography and contour variations. Further, to deliver the needed requirements of the inhabitants e.g. the need for green areas and an integrated road-network that links the settlement to the neighboring areas and roads (UN 2002). The program is divided in different phases of physical upgrading which intended to accommodate residents with new buildings and preserve existing buildings with good conditions (Ministry of Housing 2001). At the end of 1999 the first phase was realized and completed. The project is characterized by the involvement of different actors. Governmental partners/institutions are in charge of the

construction of four schools, a hospital and 2500 units which are supplied with both, services and infrastructure. Further, they provide the whole area with infrastructure and greening it (Ministry of Housing 2001). The private sector is responsible for the establishment of small-scale initiatives, namely personal services, commercial facilities, handicraft units and small industries. It is assumed that these innovations will contribute to job creation and poverty eradication. The engaged/involved NGOs communicate in order to find a way to cooperate and complement the overall achievements (Ministry of Housing 2001). “They have been oriented to include other interests in their agenda, e.g. women activities, youth productivity, environmental awareness and residents’ orientation to live in harmony with their new urban setting “(Ministry of Housing 2001, p.4).

The project’s aim is to promote, facilitate and enforce the contribution and participation of all stakeholders as an approach to implement the project and achieve its goals by perceiving all partners as mutual equivalent (Ministry of Housing 2001).

The Manshiet Nasser Upgrading Project is a state-invented program by the Ministry of Housing, Ministry of Local Development and comprises different phases of improvement. One of the first phases contains physically upgrading and therefore the provision of housing. The following phases are characterized by broader aspects of upgrading, namely job creation and poverty alleviation. All involved actors are in charge of specific aspects of the implementation, like the private sector will establish small-scale initiatives and NGOs will include community interests. The project is participatory characterized by the involvement of diverse actors to target all within the community.

3.11.4. Tahseen Project – Duweika Manshiet Nasser Slum Area

“Al Duwaiqa is a sub-district of Manshiet Nasser with a population of 64,000 inhabitants. It meets the United Nations criteria for urban slum”(Berhane and Dupont, 2007, p.4). The inhabitants of Al-Duwaiqa have no access to potable water, no closed sewage system which is still causing severe health problems. The living areas are overcrowded and some residents even live in tents. There are almost no social services existing. It is further distinguished by a high prevalence of domestic and gender based violence, as well as a high illiteracy rate as many children have to work for complementing the family income (Berhane and Dupont 2007).

In 2004 to 2005, the TAHSEEN (Tahseen sihitna bi tanzeena usritna – Improving our health by planning our families”) project (2003-2005) which was funded by the United States Agency for International Development and managed by the CATALYST consortium, adapted as well as implemented an integrated, multi-sectoral model in Manshiet Nasser, particularly in Al-Duwaiqa (Berhane and Dupont, 2007). “The project was coordinated and realized in partnership with the Ministry of Health and Population (MoHP), the National Council for Childhood and Motherhood (NCCM), a quasi-governmental agency that works in the field of mother and child protection and development, Asheera Mohamedia, a faith-based NGO with a long presence in Al-Duwaiqa and other private sector partners” (Berhane and Dupont 2007, p.1).

TAHSEEN was designed and developed to emphasize the prevailing service-delivery gaps across income levels among underserved populations, inter alia in Al-Duwaiqa, a subdistrict of Manshiet Nasser. “A memorandum of understanding was negotiated and signed between TAHSEEN, the MoHP and the NCCM that laid out the roles and responsibilities of each partner”(Berhane and Dupont, 2007, p.10).

Before the realization and implementation phase could start, a preliminary situation analysis took place. Therefore focus group discussions with residents, for example on gender based violence

have been conducted. The evaluated results have been used to meet the demands and needs of the inhabitants in Al-Duwaiqa.

The MoHP endowed the Asheera Mohamedia clinic with health care providers and delivered drugs and contraceptive methods. “The National Council for Childhood and Motherhood were responsible for assuring the clinic physicians’ salaries and clinic staff supervision”(Berhane and Dupont 2007, p.10). The TAHSEEN project expanded the health services available at the Asheera Mohamedia clinic, renovated the Asheera Mohamedia site, and introduced new social services, like literacy courses. It further mobilized the community to use the services which are offered at the clinic and increased awareness about harmful practices and support for healthy behaviors. At the community level, all involved project partners promoted awareness about reproductive health and family planning issues and mobilized residents to make use of the health and social services, e.g. the NCCM was in charge for the organization of seminars for parents and children to increase awareness about issues related to drug addiction, school dropout, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and early marriage (Berhane and Dupont 2007) It was organized a community health program which engaged local youth in community service projects such as tree planting, classroom furniture repair, and painting of schools. During the program, young people also took part in health-related seminars on topics like personal hygiene, early marriage, FGM, Healthy Timing and Spacing of Pregnancies (HTSP), and drug addiction. The program was initiated by the TAHSEEN staff in cooperation with the NCCM. Further it was set up the Arab Women speak out Program to help and support as well as sensitize women for their rights, start income generating activities and develop negotiation skills which enable them to communicate with their families (Berhane and Dupont 2007).

In summary, TAHSEEN and all involved project partners did successfully implement an integrated family planning model in a sub-district of an informal settlement and was able to realize positive health and social changes that were apparently demanded and needed. It addressed local reproductive health and family planning issues as well as essential social needs, like literacy education. It is worth noting that the program met its objectives due to mutual efforts from all partners. Especially, the involvement of the community in all stages of the implementation process contributes to its sustainability. Despite some teething troubles, the integration of religious leaders was lately taken into consideration; TAHSEEN has gained positive changes in the community (Berhane and Dupont 2007).

The TAHSEEN project as well as the previously mentioned Unit of Informal Areas Upgrading by the Cairo Governorate concentrates on Al-Duwaiqa. Urban Upgrading is primarily seen from the perspective of improving social and health conditions, for example the renovation of a clinic. It represents a good example of a participatory approach because all involved actors contribute positively to the improvements within the sub-district. A preliminary situation analysis was taking place for evaluating the prevailing situation, e.g. a high rate of domestic and gender-based violence and FGM. Referring to this, it is worth noting, that the program gets involved with promotion of women rights.

It should be further noted that the TAHSEEN is the only program which is giving a self-critically evaluation of its results.

3.12. SWOT-Analysis on Manshiet Nasser and its Urban Upgrading

Programs

The following SWOT-Analysis is going to put in contrast potential strengths, opportunities etc. in Manshiet Nasser.

Strenghts • Involve NGOs and CBOs→ well informed about the needs and do have the confidence of the residents • First basic networking approach among all stakeholders for prospective sufficient development	Opportunities • To see the people as potential for improvement within their community • Recognize the value women and youth • • To treat the inhabitants as full citizens→ social inclusion, equity and human rights • Islamic believe as binding force, independently of social origin
Weaknesses • the situation is neglected by the Egyptian government • Broader perspective on urban upgrading is needed, more than just housing delivery or re-location • bad image of informal areas among governmental officials and the media • upgrading process is still seen as legalization of illegal and informal settlements • still promote the concept of “New Towns”	Threats • trivialization of the status quo in Manshiet Nasser • very densely populated area→ may influence specific upgrading programs • geographical conditions, e.g. potential risk of rock falls • violence as such is not an issue but domestic and gender based violence prevail • radical Islamist tendencies increase

Figure 15 SWOT Analysis on Manshiet Nasser

4. Conclusion

The process of urban upgrading is as complex as the situation in informal settlements. It covers the classical approach of housing delivery and a broader perspective which tackles social inclusion. The present thesis shows that informal settlements are not monolithic and the programs have to reflect the complex and difficult situation as well as the needs and demands of the inhabitants. The three chosen settlements Khayelitsha, Kibera and Manshiet Nasser have entirely different settings and various problems/constraints but characterized by the implementation of urban upgrading programs.

In all three case studies, the development of settlements towards informality has a long tradition and since their existence all governments have been reluctant to accept them. Compared to the long history of upgrading, since the 1950s, it is relatively recent that the South African, Kenyan and Egyptian government started to develop and implement programs for the improvement of these areas. Even recently, the three governments are having difficulties to fully accept and tolerate the existence of informal settlements because there are still negative associated perceptions on physical, societal and environmental issues. But it is also very important taking into consideration, the perspective of the people who live in such settlements. Due to external factors, in almost all cases they have been forced to live there. To sum it up, these areas represent an affordable opportunity for low- and middle income groups.

It is worth noting, that the economic value is often underestimated but “informal areas host many small industries and productive activities that are interrelated to formal economic activities in cities” (Abdehalim 2010, p.9). Although, the people in Khayelitsha, Kibera and Manshiet Nasser are confronted with severe problems and extreme obstacles, like violence, HIV/AIDS,

eviction etc.. The programs have shown that there can be observed the so called *social capital* of residents. Inhabitants of these areas support and help each other. Particularly, these strong ties within the community as such or within sub-communities have to be taken into account, when it comes to urban upgrading. The inhabitants' point of view is the most important aspect while upgrading informal areas because it will only succeed when the interventions bring maintenance and sustainable development for the community. Moreover, the process of upgrading will bring also benefits for the governments since it is much more viable, resource-efficient and of course humane than demolition of their houses. "Because the poor should not be punished for the systemic failure of urban governance" (UN-HABITAT 2008, p.13). Upgrading does not just bring an immediately improved situation. In the best case, it also furthers social justice and inclusion, participation, human rights, sustainable development and equity. In summary it means no longer being illegal or informal rather than being part of the legal. The process of urban upgrading enhances the promotion of good governance because it rebuilds trust between the government and the people of informal settlement where residents feel marginalized, neglected and disadvantaged. A real partnership between the government and the residents of informal areas will take place. The residents will feel as part of the society, as valued full citizens who get access to taken for granted basic services like health care, education etc..

As previously mentioned the present thesis and the three chosen case studies show a complex picture of the situation in the informal settlements and its various programs. It should be stated out that the thesis does not have the intention or will not be able to give a complete and overall presentation of all programs implemented in Khayelitsha, Kibera and Manshiet Nasser rather than giving an insight into the wide range of programs and initiatives. Throughout the thesis it becomes clear that the perception on upgrading as well as the necessity of programs is not seen

in a similar way. The chosen programs have demonstrated that upgrading should involve integrated sustainable development as well as the solution of urgent problems and needs, like the situation after the rock fall in Al-Duwaiqa, Manshiet Nasser or the Peepoo Bag initiative in Silanga, Kibera.

Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the chosen programs also reveal weaknesses, especially regarding their less self-critically presentation and perception because only one program, namely the TAHSEEN program in Manshiet Nasser, has been evaluated its achieved results. Although, the programs proclaim a participatory approach further questions might appear, like to what extent will all programs be sustainable in the long run and who will further benefit from it?

For the South African context, it is first of all important and necessary to overcome the still prevailing segregation between Blacks and Whites, the gap between a poor black majority and a rich white minority. “Huge disparities remain with islands of prosperity in a sea of poverty” (UN-HABITAT 2008, p.146). The legacy of Apartheid has to be taken seriously and need to be resolved. The South African society is distinguished by distrust, especially among South Africans and Foreigners in informal settlements. Therefore it is very important to mitigate mistrust and to prevent xenophic violence, like the attacks in May 2008. With one of the highest prevalence rates of HIV/AIDS in the world, it can be asked to what extent this influence or even hinders the whole process of urban upgrading.

Taking into account, that Kibera is the biggest informal settlement on the African continent makes the initial situation very difficult. During the research process for the present thesis, it becomes clear that Kibera seems to be a hotspot for all kinds of upgrading programs. Especially, so called volunteer organizations are strongly engaged in a wide range of dubious initiatives.

One might get the impression that a huge part of the upgrading programs in Kibera is influenced by the geographical closeness to the head office of the UN-HABITAT in Nairobi. The question should be allowed whether programs, especially initiated by the Kenyan government, are seriously done. For example the KENSUP program may try to cover too many problems and represents in the long-run a classical top-down approach. Further, it seems that the high media interest will always influence the outcomes of the programs. Furthermore, Kenya and especially Nairobi as such is distinguished to a prevailing unclear political situation. After the presidential elections in 2008, the disaffection and distrust with the Kenyan government increased and resulted in riots and violence and almost ended up in a civil war. Though, the current situation appeased, the circumstances within the country remain highly unstable. It might be questionable how far the Kenyan government will regain the trust of its citizens, especially within informal settlements, like Kibera and how to achieve mutual cooperation, networking and coordination for processes of upgrading. Finally, HIV/AIDS will become a pandemic in Kenya, particularly in Kibera and might influence prospective sustainable development.

The Egyptian government, international aid agencies, NGOs etc. strongly concentrate on upgrading in the classical sense, namely the delivery of housing. In three out of four chosen examples the provision of housing is firstly prioritized and afterwards a broader perspective of development is taking into consideration. Since urban planning and administration is still highly centralized; it pre-dominates a lack of autonomous financial resources for local initiatives (UN-HABITAT 2008). Compared to Khayelitsha and Kibera, the situation in Manshiet Nasser is not characterized by a high prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS rather than an existence is almost neglected by officials. The current low rate of HIV/AIDS in Egypt is responsible for an overall low awareness and results in a treatment failure of the affected persons. Although, the inhabitants

of Manshiet Nasser are stigmatized as such, there are strong ties among the residents and distrust or violence does not play a significant role as for example in Khayelitsha and Kibera.

Nevertheless, one might get the impression that the existence of so called informal settlements is still neglected or not taken seriously, because governmental officials often associate these settlements with a variety of social ills and try to avoid the use of the term *poor*. From official side it is being preferred to talk about *those of limited income*. Since, the existence of poverty is somehow negated, it can be asked whether programs of urban upgrading will enhance and support further developments. Due to the geographical conditions on the Moqattam Plateau, it might be debatable how far approaches of urban upgrading will be succeeded. Last but not least, it may be interesting, taking into account the Islam as binding force for improvements or as separating power.

During my research I asserted that informal settlements and the related process of urbanization are still considered as causing problems and obstacles. In my opinion, both have to be considered as a positive force, especially urbanization should be seen as a potential of change for the whole society and even the economy. I have come to the conclusion, that all informal settlements are characterized by a high involvement of diverse actors in upgrading. All programs give positive incentives to the specific community and intend or already improved the situation. Nevertheless, it is very important having in mind that different settings require different modes of intervention, namely urban upgrading.

It is necessary to overcome classical top-down approaches towards bottom-up approaches which comprises a broader perspective on urban upgrading. But also this wider perspective cannot be generalized and needs to be specifically context-related defined. And last but not least, it has to

be extended as a city-wide initiative, which means to bring to together diverse projects and achieve mutual cooperation for a sustainable planning framework.

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02/2009 bis 07/2009	Studentische Hilfskraft am Lehrstuhl für Afrikanistik der Universität Leipzig, Organisation der European Conference on African Studies
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03/2004 bis 04/2004	Sprachkurs in Damaskus und Beirut
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