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Examining the influence of multiple boundary spanning agents on slum upgrading outcomes: Studying Muungano Wa Wanavijiji Huruma settlement upgrading project.

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Summary

Adequate housing is a chronic headache for most of Kenyans and more so the urban poor. Both the private sector and the government acting singularly have been unable to address this problem satisfactorily and provide sufficient and adequate housing stock for all socio-economic groups. This was the basis for the formation of Slum Dwellers Federation Muungano Wa Wanavijiji a vehicle with which the urban poor communally sought solutions to their shared housing problems. One of the redressal solutions pursued by Muungano Federation for its members is the bottom-up approach of 'community-led settlement improvement' in Huruma.

Realization of such a settlement upgrading is by no means an easy feat considering the community limitations in resources, ability to negotiate for required support from external partners and organizations, the gaping diversities in needs and interests among the community members as well as the hardship in aligning their community interests with the environment other intervening factors arising from the political and policy dynamics in Kenya.

This research was therefore instigated by the interest in the strategies the representative community agents applied in bridging these diversities of groups and the extents to which the abilities and competencies of these community agents in applying those strategies impacted the settlement upgrading outcomes realized from a boundary spanning perspective.

Theoretical review divulged the essential tasks that these agents must undertake in traversing these barriers to realize a fulfilment of the involved partner's needs. These are Establishing connections and linkages among parties, engaging in informational exchange between separate groups, and facilitating cooperation of all parties to ensure the realization of a co-joint objective. This research undertook an explanatory case study with three embedded units in Huruma. It followed a mixed method approach where in-depth semi-structured interviews with respondents directly involved in leadership positions in the Huruma upgrading project. Questionnaires were issued to the beneficiary community as well as content analysis of the reports made of the upgrading process to measure the success of the project outcomes as well as provide insight into the activities of the community agents and the limits to which they fulfilled their roles.

The research established that informational exchange was the task that had the most impact on the upgrading outcomes realized. The community response and decisions were strongly based on information available and thus participation was limited to the extents to which relevant information on the upgrading was received. Secondly, due to the long-term nature of an incremental settlement upgrading project, it was found that multiple connective agents are necessary to muster and maintain positive involvement of vital partners from the household levels in the community to the organizational levels of external supporting bodies. Community agents bearing different characteristics are required to leverage their strengths where they complement each other's skills and competencies by focussing on the areas of their core competencies and leaving others to do the same. It also found that the legitimization processes had impact on the extents to which the community agents fulfilled their roles, consequently community agents are required to achieve both vertical and horizontal legitimization and where impossible then a mix of community agents deriving different legitimization sources is necessitated to create sufficient connections between their constituency and the external supporting organizations.

For future studies, I recommend a similar research but focussing rather on the boundary spanning agents located externally to the community but involved in this project to find out the extents to which they impacted the project.

Keywords

Boundary Spanning, Legitimation Sources, Huruma Settlement Upgrading, Settlement Upgrading Outcomes, Slum Dweller Federations

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Abbreviations

CBO	Community Based Organization
COOPI	Cooperazione Internazionale
KCS	Kituo Cha Sheria
GOK	Government of Kenya
HI	Homeless International
ITDG	Intermediate Technology Development Group
NCC	Nairobi City Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PT	Pamoja Trust
SDI	Slum Dwellers International
SPARC	Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Records show that presently, more than half of the global population lives in slums or informal settlements with the numbers estimated to reach 1 billion people by 2030. This is especially true of African cities where increased urbanisation goes hand in hand with the emergence and growth of slums.

UN-Habitat argues that humans have always organised themselves into social movements. This enables them to meet their needs collectively—needs that they cannot meet individually. These organisations act as vehicles upon which communities of poor people collectively campaign against disregard and marginalisation from cities. They also use these associations as structures that allow poor communities to move from desolation and inadequacy into a collective strength that generates a resolution to communal interests and dilemmas (UN-Habitat, 2011).

Housing the urban poor is a very complex affair, one in which neither the government acting singularly nor the private sector acting by itself has been able to fulfil. It can be considered as what is oftentimes referred in literature as a wicked issue. This complexity has been the main motivation towards the formation of urban poor housing movements. Throughout the world, there are numerous examples of such organisations that have transcended even national and regional boundaries to form movements that agitate for the interests of slum dwellers. Muungano Wa Wanavijiji (Henceforth referred to as Muungano) is the national federation of slum dwellers in Kenya. Weru forwards that it was founded in 1996 by a mixture of Non-Governmental organisations and legal advocacy group as a grassroots organisation opposing government policy of mass evictions and bulldozing of slum dwellers and threat to thousands of others of forced eviction. Even while NGOs led many protests and legal advocacy groups led litigations against the trend, the demolitions continued with increased accusations of government oppression of the poor, exploitation by influential individuals, and police highhandedness in the demolition processes. It is against this background with advice and support from international associations like SDI, SPARC, and South African Homeless People Association among others that Muungano was formed (Weru, 2004).

Gibson projects that the movement aims at improvement of dignity and well-being of all informal settlement dwellers. Improvement of dignity zeros in on citizenship in line with the international objectives of Slum Dwellers International but within a local context (Gibson, H., 2013). (Butcher and Apsan Frediani, 2014, p.120) concur by stating that, “The movement adopts three major mechanisms to achieve their visions of change: the forging of a collective identity; engaging from a position of marginality and entering into strategic partnerships. Importantly, the Muungano approach is founded upon a distinct understanding of citizenship and represents a specific manifestation of both the wider SDI strategies and more localised political and contextual realities”.

This is what is applied in pursuance of the slum upgrading objective. This objective is the agitation for better tenure security, the improvement of the dwelling structures and finally, the enhancing of basic services and infrastructure in informal settlements. Various actors both within and external to the government are approached for the realisation of this mandate as well as for the provision of viable livelihoods to the federation members (Gibson, H., 2013).

Problem statement

The contextual reality of the federation's work is very complex. The urban settlements that Muungano operates in are contested spaces riddled with micro politics, class divisions and tribal tension involving many groups and sub-groups (Weru, 2004, p.54). Further, the association insists on management that centrally places women in all facets of the upgrading

process. This, however, is in a collision with patriarchal social order considering that the roots of the movement are based on combat as well as the masculine nature of the upgrading tasks (Lines and Makau, 2017, p.74).

The Federation, in seeking to generate a broad range of solutions to different slum scenarios engages in collaborative and participatory processes. Yet, its own foundation is a merger of many autonomous local factions with differences in needs bound by their subscription to the guidance of SDI. The federation has also to remain aware of its context within the confinement of government regulations.

The stakeholders involved are as diverse as they are many. From the slum dwellers and slum landlords to the national and city governments as well as local and international development partners and, civil societies and universities (Lines and Makau, 2017). The dilemma in merging the views of all these parties together is acknowledged especially by the statements made as “the Kenyan state and Muungano have been working constantly towards developing and refining methodology for slum upgrading. Some of the innovation and thinking have occurred in partnership, some separately, and sometimes advances have been achieved in situations where Muungano and the state were in opposition – perhaps even because of conflict” (Lines and Makau, 2017, p.14). Weru adds to this by opining that any pursuits towards enhancement to Nairobi’s slums become a convoluted affair marred by potential conflicts between proprietors and dwellers of the slums (Weru, 2004).

Mistrust among and between the stakeholders in the Federation Upgrading objective does materialise. This could be in suspicion of betrayal to the government by some factions to others or the accusation of the Federation by the government of meddling in its upgrading programs (Lines and Makau, 2017, p. 38). To the denunciation of the government actions as benefiting ineligible parties, enhancing gentrification and of massive corruption that stalls upgrading project. Development agencies are also not spared the mistrust and stand accused of pursuing own agendas instead of interests of the poor in their engagement with Muungano (Weru, 2004, p.61). There are also many areas of impediment and disunity among the slum dwellers themselves as observed by in 2011 “At the time, political constituencies were polarised along tribal lines. In Korogocho, the split was between the Kikuyu, the tribal group to which most structure owners belonged, and the Luo, many of whom were tenants” (Weru, 2004, p.53). This has sometimes soured relationships within the organisation as well with other stakeholders especially in civil society (Lines and Makau, 2017, p. 49).

Overall, within all these hardships, it has been noted that the federation in Kenya, especially within the Nairobi region, accomplished in very short periods what other SDI-affiliated federations in India and South Africa had taken one to two decades to accomplish (Weru, 2004, p. 62). This was a time accompanied by many periods of change in terms of expansion in the federation, political and representative changes within Kenya and within SDI, changes in government policy towards informal settlements and the involvement of even more actors as it marches on towards realisation of its mandate.

(Lines and Makau, 2017) posit that emergence of social movements is founded on communal issues. They endure over time not because of the persistence of the issue but rather by their adaptability to the evolution of the issue. This is supported by the view forwarded by Joel Bolnick, a Co-founder and secretariat member of SDI as quoted by (Lines and Makau, 2017, p.80) that, *“What strikes me about the Kenyan federation is that it fits into a fairly small category of federations in the SDI network. And that is that its internal roots, its contextual influences, are constantly as important as the external influences that it gets from being part of the network. They blend issues that are Kenya-specific in terms of community organising, in terms of organisational culture, with the instruments that they borrow from the SDI process.*

And that gives them I think a lot more adaptability, versatility, and hopefully potential to survive”.

Experts of many fields and experiences have offered solutions that are applicable in resolving the social and economic hardships in slum areas. However, up to date in the field of structure and housing very few successes have materialised. Considerable differences exist between policy and implementation (Satterthwaite, 2005). Everywhen a milestone is celebrated; a new challenge arises. The above assertion is, therefore, a very interesting observation as it generates interest as to what factors are specifically the causes for the performance of this organisation to these levels.

Of interest, especially is how all the actors involved in a slum upgrading projects are unified under the same blanket where they share common goals, visions, and objectives. How this is made possible and especially who are the actors that make this collaboration possible, what they do to make it happen, where in the network they are located and what positions they hold in enabling the realisation of the positive outcomes complimented above. There are many studies pursuing the various factors causing varied outcomes in organisations. These studies have recently undertaken to look at this from the perspective of the individuals involved rather than from an institutional outcome perspective see (Williams, 2010, van Hulst, de Graaf, et al., 2012, Forester, 1999). It is, therefore, relevant to look at this from a global south view. In a Kenyan slum upgrading process, the realities are very complex with actors drawn from a wide spectrum of objectives. From the slum tenants to the slum landlords, to the neighbouring communities and to the various state bodies, private sector (Lines and Makau, 2017). There exist great cleavages and boundaries thus the need for different types of boundary spanners to overcome them and realise a successful slum upgrading. These are individuals who work tirelessly behind the scenes in bringing actors together behind a common objective and afterwards, in maintaining these relationships and interactions so as the common objective is fulfilled. This study, therefore, seeks to see the mechanism behind the spanning of these boundaries, how the different types of individual boundary spanners located diversely in a network interact to span various boundaries. This will provide further insight as to how boundary spanning impacts on a network performance.

This paper will thus focus on the individuals are referred to as boundary spanners. Their presence is more apparent in non-hierarchical collaborations as a slum upgrading process would take. Thus, the impetus towards the selection of boundary spanning as an area of study. This perspective can help explain how different boundaries are spanned as well as find out whether boundary spanning can be used to explain the success indicated by Jane Weru above. This paper will also seek further insight on boundary spanning and its translation in the developing world. It will attempt to understand if indeed boundary spanning in its current form derived from mostly global north views can be generalised to the global south to explain the success of Muungano Wa Wanavijiji Federation has realised.

Research objective

The main objective of this study is to explain the mechanisms surrounding different boundary spanning positions and strategies how they impact on the network outcomes of conjoint urban poor housing interventions through the evaluation of a Muungano Wa Wanavijiji Federation slum upgrading project in Huruma.

Research question:

How and to what extent do performances and interactions of different boundary spanning positions and activities influence the outcomes in the case of a slum upgrading project?

Sub-questions.

- What positions do boundary spanning agents play in a community-led settlement upgrading projects and how do they relate to each other?
- How do community members gain acceptability to serve boundary spanning positions in a community-led project?
- Do boundary spanning strategies exist on the community-external bodies perimeter and how are they aligned?
- What is the level of competence of each community boundary spanning agent in applying boundary spanning strategies?
- What types of network performance outcomes are pertinent to informal settlement upgrading projects?

Significance of the study

This research is important as it will contribute further to boundary spanning theory by providing further empirical insight into the practice of boundary spanning in the global south. This is especially so by exploring boundary spanning theory with boundary spanning practice interpretation at the fragile boundary between community-state interaction in civic projects (Van Meerkerk and Edelenbos, 2014).

Bottom-up, community-led urban governance processes have gained massive popularity in recent times (Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk, 2016). This research will contribute to existing literature on the role and relevance of slum dweller federations towards pro-poor housing. It will also give further insight into the understanding of the facilitative role of boundary spanning activities in poor urban neighbourhoods which are often characterised by complexities like immense social and economic challenges, stratifications, fractions, and disagreements among actors involved in the slum upgrading projects (Weru, 2004, Patel, 2004) by focusing on the individual actors rather than the institutions at play. Further, this research will add to the literature on boundary spanners by concentrating on the multiple positions and individuals and how these actors interact with each other from different positions in a network and how that translates to the performance of the network.

It will be of relevance to the practice of boundary spanning by enabling awareness to individual boundary spanners to measure their qualities, it will also add to voices calling for organisations to recognise and utilise the value and benefit of competent boundary spanners within their organisations. It will be particularly applicable to developing societies like are in Kenya that is ordered more informally than formally as to the benefit of boundary spanning in enabling the realisation of a common objective even where individual needs are more pressing.

Scope and limitations of the study

- This study was limited to Muungano community-led slum upgrading project in Huruma and localised on Gitathuru, Kambi Moto and Mahira.
- The research period was 30 days in July 2017.
- Respondents were individuals who were directly involved in the upgrading process of the mentioned projects.

Chapter 2: Literature Review / Theory

This chapter will provide an outline on theoretical literature pertaining network processes, informal settlement¹ approaches and the role of slum dweller federations in slum upgrading, boundary spanning, and finally a connection between boundary spanning and network effectiveness. Boundary spanning is forwarded as having a direct impact on governance networks performance. A conclusion will present the theoretical framework for this research.

2.1 Slum Upgrading

Availability of adequate housing for many urban settlers is often a complex and formidable fact. This is especially due to the high deficit in housing all over the world and especially in the global south. This situation gets graver year to year for the urban poor and is the basis for the arguments made that development of urban informal settlements is inevitable if urban areas continue to remain as the central areas of agglomeration that possess high economies of scale (Srinivas, 2005). In developing countries, informal settlements serve a positive role in providing housing for the millions of poor households that cannot access shelter through the regular avenues (Wekesa, Steyn, et al., 2011, Srinivas, 2005).

Srinivas gives the best definition of informal settlements as will be used in this thesis by defining them as physically and socially deteriorated residential areas where decent family life is unrealizable that are characterised by the deficient housing. Deficient housing to mean habitations that have insufficient lighting, air and ablution areas and are in bad repair, are damp, improperly heated and exposed. They are overcrowded, are prone to hazards and lack recreation areas (Srinivas, 2005). UNFPA estimated that the highest proportion of slum dwellers per region to be in Sub-Saharan Africa where more than 62% of all urban dwellers living in informal settlements in 2010. They also classified Africa as the fastest urbanising region in the world (UNFPA, 2016). It is imperative therefore that urgent interventions be made in these areas both for the sake of current dwellers and for the future dwellers.

Despite the strong feelings from many quarters of apathy and antipathy to informal settlements as urban invasions, a consensus among developing world housing sector stakeholders exists that most of low to mid income earners housing is provided informally. Headway, however, has been realised from the 1960s Sub-Sahara where governments first directly got involved in housing with pursuits in the production of low-income housing to meet growing housing demand till the 1990's when the main approach was eradication and demolition of slums was the trend. Conventional formal interventions fall into either or both following perspectives. Adaptive perspectives where corrective interventions are made in existing informal settlements to embed the dwellers into the city and involves improvement to urban services and provision of tenure security. Proactive approaches, on the other hand, are geared towards the management of the expansion of urban areas to safeguard them against the future emergence of informal settlements (Mehta, B. and Dastur, A., 2008).

In developing countries, several formal schemes have been forwarded towards the resolution of the inadequacy of housing for the urban poor. This paper will focus on informal settlement upgrading intervention as a process towards housing the urban poor. This method is presented as the best informal settlement approach as it is low-cost in that it costs less to upgrade existing structures than removing the residents. It also incorporates infrastructure improvement, tenure regularisation as well as the construction of communal facilities facets in its scope (Keivani and Werna, 2001, p.88). Slum upgrading is also complimented by some for being a

¹ For clarification purposes, this thesis will use Informal settlements and slums interchangeably to mean the same thing

participatory process that brings together community representatives, government authorities, private organisations, community and non-governmental organisations and landowners in the determination of a program that is socially, culturally, and economically sensitive to its target group (Wekesa, Steyn, et al., 2011). Some corners, however, hold contrary opinion towards the participatory processes that cause delays in project conclusion and censure it as well for benefiting landowners instead of the settlement dwellers (Keivani and Werna, 2001).

Therefore, to understand better how slum upgrading is realised especially in the context of this paper, the role of community federations in housing is evaluated here below.

2.2.1 The role of slum dweller federations in slum upgrading

“Today’s social movements are seen as playing a central role in producing the world in which we live, its social structures and practices, its meanings and cultural orientations, its possibilities for change. Social movements emerged out of the crisis of modernity; they oriented themselves towards the constitution of new orders, and embody a new understanding of politics and social life itself. They result in the formation of novel collective identities which foster social and cultural forms of relating and solidarity as a response to the crises of meanings and economies that the world faces today.” (Alvarez and Escobar, 1992, p. 396).

Despite legal obligation, developing world governments have been unable to sufficiently provide housing and basic services for the urban poor. This has been the foundation for the formation of slum dweller federations which were formed to act as centres for common strategy as well as for resource mobilisation. The idea of slum dweller federations in its current context was developed in India as a modification of techniques used by slum dwellers in Latin America to agitate for inclusion (Patel, 2004). Weru forwards that this would ideally be based in the establishment and bolstering of agent community associations through the tried and tested technique of enumerations and saving schemes as well as the generation and maintenance of links between the slum dwellers and the state (Weru, 2004, p.49).

There are urban informal settlement federations geared towards many different causes for example gender, education, HIV/ AIDS. Federation in this document follows the Selsky definition of associations in which affiliates are organisations rather than people (Selsky, 1998). This paper will focus on federations focused on shelter improvement for its members through construction or renovation of dwellers structures, infrastructure improvement, mobilising for tenure security as well as providing services that aid in earning of subsistence. The slum dweller federations, therefore, serve the following roles in Slum Upgrading.

They forge new relationships between the urban poor, the government, donors, and the private sector creating constructive networks among them. (Patel, 2004, Otiso, 2003) forward that cooperation is particularly useful in the articulation and communication of the specific community’s needs to the government and donor agencies to ensure achievement of the objective. This undertaking involves generation of rules of engagement thus reducing tension and suspicion among the different actors and presents the federation as a buffer between involved parties (Selsky, 1998). This task is frequently left to community leaders and Non-Governmental Agencies. While Community leaders do possess an intimate local knowledge, get tangled in the communication of diverse and fragmented groups of people as well as between their individual needs and the needs of the community. NGOs, on the other hand, are socially disconnected and subjective due to their political explorations. (Otiso, 2003).

They are powerful for mobilising and organising both communities and resources around a certain issue. This is the basis upon which community organisations federate as they find empowerment in increased numbers thereby enhancing their influence. It also enables individual members to counter threats to their shelters especially evictions as well as other

external constraints (Selsky, 1998). Through facilitating of community enumerations and mapping that enable planning for slum upgrading processes easing the tension between the community and the government. The federations often participate directly in communities using their own resources as is the case of Slum Dwellers International with their poor fund as well as solicit for funding from other sources. In their unification, communities generate trust that enhances involved parties' capacity to work together to address problems and resolve the problem (Patel, 2004). They become active participants rather than subjects in the process generating a keen sense of ownership.

They serve as influencers of policy by acting as incubators of innovation and thus solutions that set pace towards change in policy or planning. Communities living in these slums have developed many resilient and specific solutions to their survival context. In the federations, opportunities are availed for communities to exchange their "best practice" ideas, opportunity to test new ideas as well as try new ideas in learning cycles (Weru, 2004, Patel, 2004, Khan and Pieterse, 2004). Federations assist in the replication of these practices to other regions as well as agitation for their inclusion in national policy to benefit wider scope of slum dwellers. This has been criticised in that some federations lack the requisite capacity to influence more powerful actors especially the government thereby joining forces with other federations or NGOs that do not reinforce their objective (Otiso, 2003). It has also been argued that there could be an unintended ricochet effect arising from how other parties perceive and respond to specific federations' ideas that could have negative repercussions that could possibly hinder the federation's strategies and objectives (Selsky, 1998).

Finally, federations act as advocates and promote cohesion and amalgamation among all the diverse actors towards the realisation of a common objective. They enable the processes by straddling the diverse actors – the community, the public, donors, the government, and private sectors as well other associations that facilitate sectoral partnerships into a network of a common objective. (Weru, 2004, Khan and Pieterse, 2004) argue that federations allow the urban poor to have an equal relationship through their numbers and through governance perspective that reinforces accountability and democracy while building consensus regarding upgrading and tenure. This strengthens the autonomy of the community associations allow them to negotiate appropriately. (Selsky, 1998) posits that it is this role that places federations at the centre of a complex network that has propagated the other alternative descriptions used for them to include, albeit with modest differences in meanings "—coordinative structures, collective action organizations, federation management organizations, mediating institutions, and social movement organizations, bridging organizations and spanning organizations (1998, p. 286). It has however been argued that the outcome of these unions is uncertain as federations may subsequently find themselves embedded in matrices of expectations that they cannot uproot themselves from and therefore fail to meet their primary objectives (Selsky, 1998).

2.2 Network processes

Following the above discussion, it is therefore clear that housing the urban poor can be regarded and analysed as an issue of network governance. This is an objective in which neither the government acting singularly nor the private sector by itself can achieve, concerted efforts are needed where they have called for diverse groups of contributors to band together to find lasting and viable solutions to this problem (Pamoja Trust, 2015). They forward that in the slum upgrading processes of Kenya, networks consisting of wide arrays of actors derived from the national, regional, and local government, from political groups and from societal groups (pressure, action and interest groups, societal institutions, private and business organisations), aid agencies and even communities by themselves are necessary for any headway to be realized.

The debate encircling governance has been gestated as the “governance narrative” (Rhodes, 2000). In the last 40 years, research on networks has identified three areas of study; research on policy networks, research on inter-organisational service delivery and policy implementation, and research on managing networks (Klijn, 2007), posits further that these three traditions of study have converged to establish the basis for governance network theory. This term centres around the horizontal coordination structures between actors that share a common interest and conclude that the ensuring outcomes as being resultant of the engagement between a variety of actors rather than the actions of a singular actor.

Subsequently, upon the convergence of these three areas of study, researchers have summarised network governance as consisting of the following characteristics (Thorelli, 1986, Kooiman, Bavinck, et al., 2008, Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012). Mutual interdependence of actors, (strategic dependency) with divergent views of the world, on problems and solutions leading to sustainable relationships among the actors. Interactions and complexity, (trust issues) processes are unpredictable due to the variety of actors, perceptions, and strategies. Complex interactions and negotiation patterns abound. Institutional features (institutionalisation), patterns of social interactions and the rules are generated that govern the relationships. Network management, for guidance and management of interactions (durability factors). Thus, conflict management, risk reduction and cooperation enhancement.

Governance networks are used especially where governments function in multi-actor situations that consist of horizontal governance relationships (Klijn, Steijn, et al., 2010). This view is pursued by Lewis who forwards that this structure of governance is particularly interesting in contemporary governance where policy is functionally directed by network collaborations and is significantly impacted by the interconnections within (Lewis, 2011). The process for this outcome is frequently a complex interaction between autonomous legions of players, per Klijn they are “divergent interests and perceptions about desirable solutions” (2007, p.592).

2.3 Network performance

A network is eloquently defined as “a concept that describes the process of facilitating and operating in multiorganizational arrangements to solve problems that cannot be solved or easily solved by single organisations. Collaborative Bingham says it means to co-labour to achieve common goals working across boundaries in multisector and multi-actor relationships” (2008, p.75). The difficulty of this is not lost as the impossibility of selecting a singular objective as the ultimate indicator of the performance of the network is overt. Many authors have suggested operational frameworks that can be applied to measure network performance see (Provan, 2001, Klijn, Steijn, et al., 2010). Others, however, have stated that indeed there is no one singular technique that could be applied to conclusively reach such a determination on a network while suggesting their own frameworks (Mandell and Keast, 2007, Kapucu and Demiroz, 2011). Determination of performance must first respond to the question of what outcome and for whom. This paper shall use effectiveness as a measure where effectiveness is defined as the realisation of positive outcomes which normally no singular actor would have achieved acting independently (Provan and Kenis, 2008). Normally is used as this measurement is liable to subjectivity in the perception of positive outcomes.

Acknowledging this in difficulty, this paper will seek to evaluate the performance of the Huruma Slum Upgrading network going by the perceived outcomes of the users. Guidance will be offered by the vision encapsulated in the objective of this slum upgrading as captured in manager`s report as an integrated and multi-faceted goal featuring housing, community facilities, livelihood, and infrastructure (Wegmann, 2004). This approach has further support provided in the premise for slum upgrading by both the Kenyan government and the United

Nations as an approach that seeks to improve the physical living conditions and general well-being of informal settlers and increase their satisfaction with life (The Kenyan National Slum Upgrading and Prevention Policy, 2013, UN-Habitat, 2012). This paper will, therefore, measure network performance by the extents to which the slum dwellers perceive achievement of this objective in the upgrading processes they were part of.

(Brakarz and Jaitman, 2013) forwards a perspective borne out of his reviews of slum upgrading evaluations in South America. His perspective is especially relevant as it provides the indications in with which the effectiveness of slum upgrading interventions can be measured through the three distinct types of outcome bases. These are offered as individual outcomes, housing outcomes, and neighbourhood outcomes.

Housing outcomes are indicated by the condition of the dwelling structure. Inadequacy in housing does not only mean the hazardous nature of the dwelling structure but means as well it's location. This in informal settlements is often in unsecured areas that are prone to health and environmental dangers lacking in services and legal rights and are usually overcrowded. Adequate housing is critical to wellness, adequate housing is very important for health, capacity for improvement and productiveness which contributes positively to the quality of life. They posit that “people’s satisfaction with their homes and the cities in which they live is a primary determinant of their overall life satisfaction.” (2013, p.16)

Neighbourhood outcomes arise from the positioning of slums where they are frequently in areas that are lacking in civil services are perilous in nature due to especially the social problems within the neighbourhood. To improve neighbourhood outcomes, activities intended to reform neighbourhoods with the intention of desegregating them from the city are undertaken. Through the improvement of connections to the city and providing increased provision of urban and social services especially those that enable factors that reduce criminal activity. Further they argue, provide that neighbourhood improvement “increases their living standards and their satisfaction with life. Dwellings, neighbourhood characteristics, and urban amenities have direct and indirect effects on life satisfaction”. (2013, p.18)

Finally, the individual outcomes, this focuses on the micro on the impact at the individual and household level. Interventions that are provided at community level often impact individual outcomes. Dwelling structure and community attributes are significant in determining opportunities available to individuals and households. These attributes are sometimes apparent for example the low levels of education and a high unemployment level of slum dwellers and others no too overt for example the social stigma surrounding living in slums and poor connection with the wider city. Individual outcomes do not only mean labour factors but include education, health, the standard of living and levels of contentment with life. They argue that “Spatially discriminated communities tend to be spatially segregated as well, in terms of potential access to private and public resources and services,” (2013, p.19). Slum upgrading interventions seek to increase labour and income yields coupled with capacity building and availing.

Having established that indeed relationship exists between boundary spanning and the outcomes of the network processes like slum upgrading processes. (Yip, Wong, et al., 2008) present the nexus effect which they construe to define the higher, collective outcomes that are achieved when boundaries that are above and beyond what each group could achieve on its own are spanned.

2.4 Boundary spanning

The mechanisms of conjoining all the diversity of actors towards a singular vision of slum upgrading network process are very intricate. Accordingly, wide-ranging networking between

actors with the intention to widen contact with others and with the environment in a network governance framework is fundamental. Research has shown that the more that actors engage in networking and the more connections actors create, the better the outcomes they produce (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012). This is the premise by which boundary spanning gains importance in this paper. By applying boundary spanning principles, the group structure, interaction, and relationships with people across boundaries of a distributed network would be redefined. Interfaces between the environment, the actors and the objectives of the network are created. (Van Meerkerk and Edelenbos, 2014) support this idea with their assertion that presence of competent boundary spanners creates more appropriate connections between their organisations and the environment through their actions as an interface between the organisation and the environment.

Boundary spanning then can be visualised as either a notion or as an activity. In this paper, the usage relating to activity will be pursued. Consequently, boundary spanning refers to interrelated activities that individuals and firms undertake that transcend internal and external organisational borders with the intention of generating connections, relationships, and inter-dependences upon which useful information can be gathered and transferred (Tushman and Scanlan, 1981, Williams, 2002). Firms involved in shared projects tend to establish strategic alliances, partnerships, networks, and other collaborations across organisational borders (Williams, 2002). Boundary spanners, therefore, are the individuals who take up these positions that establish tenable inter-firm relationships between and among individuals and corporations that reinforce collaborations that are intended to resolve complex problems.

Provision of shelter and more especially slum upgrading is one of the processes whose outcomes require concerted efforts, from a diversity of actors for outcomes of levels that none of the actors could accomplish on their own. It is one of those “wicked issues” and “messes” that literature references that transcend all manners of boundaries from the organisational, to the professional, sectoral, and even generational. They are beyond traditional regulatory or professional remedies. These kinds of cross-boundary issues, therefore, call for comprehensive and integrative solutions encompassing relationships, interconnections and interdependencies as Williams defines postmodern organisations (Williams, 2002). In slum upgrading processes this is especially true due to the fragmentation that knowledge, resources, and visions. It is particularly important that collaboration between the government and the community occurs for slum upgrading to be realised. Thus, parties involved have the onus to establish and maintain links that enable them to leverage their individual as well as joint strengths. Urban regeneration literature anchors this by asserting that to competently and jointly engage in public concern issues, large volumes of information are exchanged between concerned actors. Connectors arise to create and maintain these links that affiliate all the diverse goals and objectives among the interdependent actors in the network (Koppenjan and Klijn, 2004, Klijn, 2007).

2.4.1 Types of boundaries and spanning activities

For boundary spanning to have occurred, both internal and external boundaries must be canvassed. It is, therefore, futile to discuss boundary spanning where the boundaries have not been identified. Classical theorists of management like Fayol have previously argued that institutions are rational and closed systems that have definitive boundaries and clear objectives. This notion has been disputed recently with many theorists advancing a flat and borderless world (Rodrigues, 2001). The relevance of boundaries is however not to be entirely rubbished; their importance towards the management of demarcation of functional and geographical territorial spaces for organisations is important and so is their role in service as mechanisms

for organisations to protect themselves and keep certain levels of autonomy to the environment (Miller, 2008).

Following this, (Ernst, Chrobot-Mason, et al., 2010) have identified five main types of boundaries that this thesis will follow which they argue are very challenging in that they involve identity and relationship thus heavily influenced by strong emotions such as trust, loyalty, pride, and respect.

- Vertical boundaries. These are the forwarded as hierarchical barriers based on rank and privilege where strategy flows downwards and production flows upwards.
- In horizontal boundaries, obstacles are based on functional differences, groups are separated depending on their expertise and areas of experience.
- Stakeholder boundaries are also identified where participating stakeholders in a value chain each apply different codes in their processes irrespective of the inter-dependences they share.
- Demographic boundaries; these are barriers based on social differentiations and diversity in background among involved partners in a value chain.
- Geographic boundaries which arise out of differences in location, distances, and regions.

While the above boundaries are identified as the main types of boundaries that are easily identifiable in all manner of organisations and networks. Other authors have suggested that there are other types of unique stratifications that are apparent in projects where bottom-up initiatives are practised for example in an informal settlement upgrading. Basing on development studies, the uniqueness is derived from the need to establish long-term solutions for vulnerable groups which is only possible when the community is involved in the identification of their problems and in the implementation of the resolutions. However, these initiatives are never successful on their own and always have resources or influence derived from other actors like the state and development agencies (Van Meerkerk, Zwanenburg, et al., 2017). They, therefore, identify four other forms of boundaries whose relevance is not desolate but goes in tandem with the above-identified boundaries.

Table 1: Types of boundaries

Boundary Type	Description
Community group boundaries	Based on the heterogeneity of members, social differences, diversity of needs. Boundary spanning activity would be of connecting and linking individual and groups to enhance cohesion
Community-administrative boundary	Characterised by clashes in aligning the views between the community, the government, and the experts. These differences are functional boundaries that cause problems in blending all the fragmented expertises. Boundary spanning would be relevant for selection and translation of information putting all parties in tandem.
Community and political System boundary	Arising from differences in values between communities and political systems, power struggles among stakeholders is rife. These boundaries would be routed through the promotion of cooperation by boundary spanning where suspicion would be routed and trust enhanced.
Community-private/societal sector boundary	Mostly based on disagreements over resource distribution as well as the broad difference in objective and institutionalised rules. This would be

	what is considered a stakeholder boundary where differences exist in values and in processes.
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Due to the presence of these boundaries and the requirement for boundary spanners to fit a fit between their organisation and the environments governance networks literature forwards that boundary spanning undertakes three main and interconnected activities in a network. (Van Meerkerk, Zwanenburg, et al., 2017, Van Meerkerk and Edelenbos, 2014).

It serves as a connective and linking agent between different factions and processes across organisational boundaries Boundary spanners have strong internal and external linkages due to the interdependency of actors in achieving common objectives. The activities take three distinct stages per (Williams, 2002). In stage one interactions enable the identification of partners and consensus on operationalization of a common agenda reached, secondly, contacts for implementation period follows where links for the technical aspects like contracts and agreements are had and finally the evaluation phase contacts where accountability and outcomes are jointly measured.

The second activity involves information exchange. This takes two dimensions, firstly selection of relevant information from all sides of the boundary. This is a two-forked process where firstly information is obtained from the environment. Secondly, the boundary spanner ensures that the firm remains protected from possible informational overload by selecting only the relevant information (Tushman and Scanlan, 1981). It is further noted that the information can be gathered from both formal and informal sources and this activity is not only exclusively meant for nominated boundary spanners. It's a task for all boundary spanners in practice. Secondly, translation of information to the side of the boundary. This is the summary of what a translator does with the information he/she selects. Possibilities of non-translation could occur should the information be deemed irrelevant (Pel, 2012) forward that the information can also occur where there has been interference if information is resisted, embracement where information is easily accepted, modification where the translator interprets it himself, alien modification as a way of translation that makes the information unrecognizable or finally self-translation whereby senders adopt the message as they disburse it.

Recently a final role has been added especially in networks that have community-led processes. This has been guided by the principal need to generate cooperation among the diverse factions so a project can continue uninhibited. This role is identified as the generation of novel cooperative arrangements that bolster relationships between local communities, the local governments, and professional organisations (Van Meerkerk, Zwanenburg, et al., 2017).

To achieve the maximum effect and realize the outcomes which no singular actor, acting alone can achieve, in what is called nexus, boundary spanning agents use as well certain specific methods. These practices are used in the provision of direction, alignment, and commitment among all the diversity of actors and their resources. These practices are coupled with boundary spanning activities to achieve nexus and are detailed as below.

2.4.2. Boundary spanning practices in community-based networks

The cross-boundary nature of a slum upgrading is one way of defining contemporary social problems. Boundary spanning activities are put forward to deal with this feature. This is especially true as it critical that all actors are in tandem for the realisation of the objective. Boundary spanning is applicable notably for the realisation of direction, where direction is what generates a shared vision among all actors, it is also important for alignment which is the joint coordination of resources and activities and of course for forging commitment where everyone pulls their weight towards the accomplishment of collective success.

To achieve this (Ernst, Chrobot-Mason, et al., 2010) forwards the following practices to serve this purpose;

- **Buffering:** This practice shelters group members from risks or undue external influences so they can form and maintain a distinct group identity, therefore, generate intergroup safety. The group becomes empowered then, to work with other groups external to their boundaries and create shared identities with them.
- **Reflecting:** this is the action that creates respect through intergroups interaction where groups acknowledge their differences and realize their similarities. Whereby groups see through their boundaries sensitising groups to their fellow group's values and duties creating an understanding that enforces intergroup respect and partnership.
- **Connecting:** works towards the creation of interpersonal relationships between previously disparate individuals and groups through the bestowal of neutral zones that facilitate the emergence of these connections and personal relationships. This presents conditions necessary for the creation of new relationships that break down boundaries and allow the trust to grow.
- **Mobilizing** seeks to restructure boundaries to establish common goals and collective identities. Here actors are implored to rise from their smaller groups to form a larger identity shared by all while upholding the unique characteristics of their composite sub-groups. This creates an intergroup community.
- **Weaving** enables the growth of intergroup interdependence. This is done through the extracting of the differences within groups and forging them into larger wholes.
- **Transforming** focuses on groups reinvention. It redefines the boundaries after diverse groups have joined together, formed a new whole, and created new dynamics of operation. Transforming enables these groups to reinvent themselves as the new whole.

These practices as shown as hierarchical in order and should be applied at diverse times in the lifetime of new partnerships. Each practice yields different outcomes upon application. The amalgamation of these practices would hence provide several ways that a boundary spanner acts to satisfy their intended purpose. Mediating roles must be present to work across the divides created by the different stratifications (Akkerman and Bakker, 2011), this is where boundary spanning falls, for gelling diverse actors and focusing them towards the realisation of common objectives is a very laborious and intricate task.

This theoretical framework understands the distinction between boundary spanning practices and boundary spanning activities. However, boundary spanning practices are embedded within boundary spanning activities in this thesis as they seen as the methods used to realize boundary spanning activities. Therefore, this paper will use the inclusive phrase of spanning strategies in the conceptual framework whose composition will be boundary spanning activities which will be indicated by boundary spanning practices. Three main sets of strategies are identified as being connecting and linking, informational exchange and cooperation building. These strategies will then apply the specific practices as shown above as indicators of the various strategies and will be operationalized and indicated as thus.

2.4.3. Boundary Spanning positions and their relationships with each other.

Having identified the diverse types of boundaries existing in a slum upgrading process in the previous section, focus shifts to the type of positions that canvass these boundaries. Slum upgrading processes are manifestations of a governance network. Boundary spanners are expected to be stationed different organisations each based on their own contingent reality. Therefore, the positions they play within the network varies according to this. (Van Meerkerk, Zwanenburg, et al., 2017) posit that the effectiveness of any boundary spanning role is not only

reliant on the intentions and capacities of the boundary spanner, it is also dependent on the wider context that their activities are embedded on.

All these identities, however, can be classified further by role and practices that they play in the network. The premise is that strong actors are not always the determinant of what is practised on the ground, rather, the actions of specific individual actors are what determines this. As individuals have various capacities of performing certain duties, then, of course, there are significant consequences that their individual actions cause. The outcomes of an interaction are not always strategic plans or intended. They at times can be credited to the actions of certain individuals.

Firstly, interpreter or informational boundary spanners, (Tushman and Scanlan, 1981) forward that these are actors mainly involved in the acquisition of information from external sources and dissemination of information to the relevant parties in their organisations. These individuals are argued to have very high feelings of social construction in heterogeneous teams which they use towards the realisation of the intended outcome. This would be enfolded in the practice of buffering and weaving that is especially in embedding relevant actors especially those placed lower in the leadership hierarchies to the common objective. Blending capitalises on the distinctiveness and unique competencies of each individual actor's contribution to the large whole, creating a fully cohesive and highly functioning team to meet the common objective. This type of boundary spanner can be found located mostly on the community side. They seek to align the diverse needs of the community to the requirements of the network. By having a high knowledge of the social constructs of their communities they also serve to gather and disseminate information that keeps the community involved and engaged in the process where a lack of this would imply the stalling of an upgrading project. To a lesser side, they can be found on the state side as informants who tell on the actions of the community or on other differently involved state departments thus enabling responses that address this accordingly.

The second set of boundary spanners are the Front-line workers also. It is forwarded that this is the group of individuals working to ensure satisfaction of certain agendas that they may possess. They are individuals who apply any number of street-level bureaucracy strategies to ensure the realisation of their intended relations between the organisation and the society. This role is frequently a formal role but varies by sector. (Karatepe and Tekinkus, 2006) argue that these are the individuals who hold intrinsic characteristics and skills befitting of the front lines. They know all actors involved intimately and due to this recognise opportunities and instantly act upon them, a practice-based type of intelligence. They also sometimes referred to as everyday fixers. These are talented individuals who possess the will and capacity to create connections and collaboration. There is no technique beyond them, they use confrontations and cooperation equally. Hendrik and Tops define them as “fixers, rebels with a cause, bridge-builder, pragmatic doer and networker” (2005, p. 65). These people are active citizens, dedicated and have been eager to get things going and this type of boundary spanner would most likely be realised on the government side of the boundary. They would be especially focused on aligning their organisation with the environment to ensure a better fit through the practice of buffering and connecting to the vast network that is accessible to them to ensure the realisation of their individual organisation objective.

The third category is the deliberative practitioners. These individuals operate in the position between two or more organisations with a focus of negotiating the interactions between them. (van Hulst, de Graaf, et al., 2012). They have rather large and diverse network of affiliations which enables them to understand other actors well and have knowledge on mitigation of any conflicts that arise among the partners in a practice defined as reflecting in boundary spanning literature. They deal with people on both sides of the boundary and specialise in negotiating

the interactions between parties involved in a conflict and stop them from making rash interpretation of issues thus the term deliberative (Williams, 2002). This role corresponds with the blender boundary spanner fronted by Butler, who he opines act as “in-between” among diverse collections of individual actors (Butler, Zander, et al., 2012). They would include the liaison, the mediators and representative boundary spanners that (Long, Cunningham, et al., 2013) indicated. Deliberative boundary spanners are useful for weaving the diversity of interests into a collaboration that meets their universal objective thus implying the location of this boundary spanner would be in this study be found within the Muungano Federation. They would be involved in practices ranging from transforming to mobilising and reflecting that would aid in the generation of cooperation between the actors by mediating through the different parties and resolving disagreements enabling the establishment of a stable relationship among parties involved.

Finally, **the entrepreneurial role** is forwarded (Williams, 2002, Butler, Zander, et al., 2012) these are individuals who are willing to invest their resources in anticipation of future gains. These could either be political, who are actors at the top of the political hierarchy capable of seeking resources. Policy who connect people, agendas, and policies. They are particularly good at defining problems, have an acute capacity for recognising opportunities, are exceptional transformational agents that build teams and set the example for a new route. Social entrepreneurs are private individuals who take the initiative to address social issues in their communities. These boundary spanners serve a linking and connective role where they create various avenues for the utilisation of discarded resources to meet unrequited needs, they also engage in transformational practices that bring together traditionally disparate factors in to create novel ways of handling issues as well as transform institutions they are responsible for into dynamic creative ones. Williams refers to them as reticulists who he advances are people renowned for their networking which connects unlikely partners facilitating communication over social rather than bureaucratic lines. They are especially competent in connecting interests, professions, and institutions. Through the networking social bonding is enabled which creates beneficial feelings like trust, the sharing of values which reflects positively on network outcomes (Williams, 2010). This type of boundary spanner can be found from within communities or institutions and would normally be individuals in overt leadership positions.

2.4.4 Boundary spanning and Legitimacy

Expertise forms the basis of legitimacy for any individual, Williams argues that legitimacy is acquired through the ownership of a distinct combination of knowledge and prowess in a certain subject (Williams, 2010). For boundary spanners, this would be in know-how in contexts of their areas of operation such as the functions, cultures, motivations and objectives of people or agencies operating in their network. To gain legitimacy from the different partners, therefore, practical knowledge by the boundary spanner of the collaborative process must be apparent and transdisciplinary knowledge demonstrated. This paper will, therefore, use legitimacy as defined by Suchman as “a generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions.” (1995, p.67).

Following our definition, this paper will use legitimization as a process approach. This approach forwards legitimacy as an ongoing process of social negotiation involving multiple participants. As an unstable state that must be repeatedly created, recreated, and conquered and relentlessly negotiated (Suddaby, Bitektine, et al., 2017). This is not an easy task as Levina and Vaast opine in that it involves perturbing relations of power within settings and serving "as a source of power or powerlessness, in affording or preventing articulation and interchange

among settings" (2005). In community set-ups, contestation arises in that community leaders have difficulty realising recognition from institutions and in that they wield informal mandate.

2.4.4.1 Gaining and maintaining legitimization.

In community contexts the, legitimacy is borne out of two sources; from the state and from the community. Different strategies are applied to fortify their mandate among their local constituents as well maintain validity among associated institutes that yield different authority. This is projected as mainly following two strategies; building legitimacy from the top and building legitimacy from the bottom.

Building legitimacy from the bottom is a process of seeking mandate where horizontal contestations are undertaken where certain individuals with iterative processes considered emerge as de facto leaders. (Benit-Gbaffou C. and Katsaura O., 2014) posits that in legitimization from the bottom, prospecting leaders seek implied informal endorsement from the citizenry that creates political legitimacy for them. The basis of this acceptability is hinged on issues of representation whereby the candidate reflecting the distinctiveness of his backers as well as exhibiting the most competency and efficiency required to safeguard their supporter's interests. In the factor of reflecting oneness, relevance is given to issues like availability, approachability, ability to mobilise locals etc. An essential element to demonstrating competence is shown in the capacity of a leader to solve both individual and collective problems.

Another way of generating legitimacy is forged from vertical aspirations where individuals seek acceptance and recognition from the top against all the other contesting parties. This form of legitimacy capitalises on good governance practices that necessitate community engagement by strategically presenting themselves as the relevant individuals for this. (Benit-Gbaffou C. and Katsaura O., 2014) argue that community leaders act agents of organisations that enable their access to the community, enlightening them of community contextual issues and providing local knowledge. Further, they argue, this type of legitimacy is also closely connected to loyalty and the limits that the subjects can prove the dependability to the institutions. This is often in the forms of availability to attend institutionally convened meetings, evidence of their moderate temperance etc.

Due to the instability of legitimacy as envisioned in this paper, once it is earned, the actor does not go to rest but rather take actions solidify their positions and vanquish probable usurpers. Both forms of legitimacy reinforce each other and loss of one would be tragic to the leader in what would become a delegitimizing process. (Benit-Gbaffou C. and Katsaura O., 2014) forward that leaders partake in objectification where leaders attempt to display their validity through displaying numbers of supporters, being in pictures with prominent persons etc. They do as well undertake institutionalisation which is the acquisition of titles that bear relevance to institutions, for example, being elected chair in organisational boards, increasing their political capital etc.

2.5 Community Context

In the 1948 UN General Assembly, a declaration of the universal human rights was first codified. Among the important tenets of this declaration is the fundamental right to adequate housing and shelter. This means that in principle all human should access safe, secure, livable, and affordable shelter which should be free from threats of eviction (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), 1948). The onus is therefore on global governments to ensure that their citizens can exercise this right notwithstanding their levels of incomes or economic resources. In the current neoliberalism time, this does not mean that governments must directly provide housing to all their citizens, rather, they must enable markets to complement government efforts.

In the developing countries, however, this has not been the case. Both the state and the markets have not adequately provided housing for the urban poor largely because of their diminished capacity to pay. This contextual influence is what prompts (Choguill, 1996) argument this exclusion is driving alternative methods of housing low-income groups. Contextual factors were defined as the environmental realities stemming from social, political, and economic pressures that collectively represent the neighbourhood into which the entities operate (Perkins, Florin, et al., 1990). This is often through participation in structures such as local committees, associations, and assemblies.

The practice and interpretation of boundary spanning in a slum upgrading process require significant consideration of the realities of the contexts of the local communities. This is driven by the fact that slum cannot at all be undertaken without the involvement of the community and it indeed bears a monumental impact on the livelihoods of the dwellers. Slum dwelling communities have specific characteristics about them that could be positive or negative that have the capability of either severely impeding or enabling boundary spanning activities regardless of the competencies of the boundary spanner.

Subscription to community associations helps in the mitigation of broad-based communal issues. They form an interesting focus in a social study as being undertaken here for assorted reasons. Firstly, because of norms and collective efficacy which is shown as the indicating emphasis on shared beliefs in community's mutual aptitude for action to achieve an intended effect, and hence an active sense of engagement on the part of residents heterogeneity of its inhabitants; politically, economically, culturally, and socially. That notwithstanding, the residents have personal ties and are more likely to know and share similar concerns that drive them towards joining or forming systems that work towards the resolution of their common headaches (Perkins, Florin, et al., 1990). This linkage of mutual trust and shared expectations for intervening on behalf of the common good that defines the neighbourhood context of what they call "collective efficacy". These characteristics are unique and rare among poor communities a view (DeFilippis, 2001) argues about in the myth of communities by arguing that poor people avoid links as they harbour freeloading and the sharing of already impossibly low resources. Therefore, where collective efficacy exists, communication lines and openness to innovative ideas and collective action is available. All characteristics that would significantly enable boundary spanning.

Secondly, (Sampson, 2003) presents social norms and values enforced through social networks. It generates social capital through which the members can gain and control capital or exclusion of individuals fail to conform. The synchronising of individual needs is a very fragile process which uses specific tenets of social capital to ensure the partnership binds. (Máñez, Carmona, et al., 2014) forwards the specific principles to include: Equitable treatment of all members where processes are open to all stakeholders in all planning phases; from the designing to the assessment phases. Secondly, the matter of communication and information which is critical to any collaborative process. Whereby, the access of information used, adopted, and generated in this inclusive process should be open to all actors. Local social values affect how any intervention is to be implemented and which parties get to participate and benefit from the intervention. Trust among all parties is critical. It is trust that preserves cooperation, enables collective behaviour and that encourages consideration for the stakeholders' interests. Social norms and values are however very difficult as they are open to interpretation depending on communities (Sampson and Graif, 2009). Finally, the social controls to be applied. These are reliant on the historical and cultural contexts of the actors involved. The magnitude of the actors' confidence and the extents to which they defer to both the informal and formal rules are essential to cooperation and collaboration. This could be argued is what boundary spanners do but there are specific factors that create contextual

interpretations to boundary spanners in a slum upgrading in Kenya. (Weru, 2004) forwards that they could include the tribe of the boundary spanner as tribal tensions in slums are very high, the gender of the individual where women leadership is still difficult to generally achieve among Kenyan people, tenant-landlord divides in a slum upgrading and the difficulty of determining for whom the process should benefit. Household vs communal competitions strife as presented by DeFilippis.

Socioeconomic factors are also a considerable contextual aspect (Sampson and Graif, 2009). Arguments abound on the roles of power and power struggles in communities. (DeFilippis, 2001) furthers this argument by stating that power relations play a key role in intergroup relations. While slum dwellers are presented as uniformly marginalised, vulnerable, and poor this assumption is not universal to all the slum dwellers. Among them are apparent social hierarchies which perpetuate the continuation of social order as it is in among the residents. Elite capture of the processes intended for certain groups is very high and the poorer, weaker, and more vulnerable households are severely impaired in their engagement, interaction or even subscription to federations like Muungano. Therefore, their propensity to enlist and get involved in communal processes as in the case of a slum upgrade is critically handicapped. (Cleaver, 2004) reckons more by arguing that there exist boundaries to the inclusion or exclusion of households to memberships of associations like Muungano. That it is not enough for households to just be identified with certain geographical spaces (for example informal settlements) or to be categorised in certain ways (for example as the urban poor) to receive intended benefits that they deserve (for example slum upgrading). There are many areas of social and economic stratification that exist in a community that can cause hindrances to the realisation of project processes and goals (Cleaver, 2004).

Institutions based in communities as well as their perceived actions are a factor impacting boundary spanning. These groups include CBOs, NGOs, Local Governments, national governments etc. Community participation has been placed as a cardinal base for governance processes, a right bestowed constitutionally. This paper will use participation as in the definition provided in (Máñez, Carmona, et al., 2014) to mean the ability to join a governance process and to act within it. However, there are still difficulties in determining the actual level of participation that would give slum dwellers a voice and control in an upgrading decision-making process. The challenges are as true now as they were when Sherry Arnstein wrote of the ladders of participation in 1969. It remains just a window-dressing ritual and few slum communities have been able to achieve control of the outcome of their processes. In many occasions, in fact, the real objective of these institutions is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting programs, but to enable power holders to "educate" or "cure" the participants of their ignorance's. (Arnstein, 1969) There exist very few success stories of communities that have achieved the highest rungs of citizens power (Cleaver, 2004) ventures that by active citizenship, the exercise of voice, championing of interests and rights advocacy by households or their representatives through an association membership, the inequalities urban poor suffer in housing would be mitigated. This he opines further, is due to the advantages provided by collective bargaining negotiations for resources at the junctions between private and public livelihood strategies that cut across different interventions provided by the divergent response networks. Therefore, the assertion by (Perkins, Florin, et al., 1990) that organizations can simultaneously enhance the instrumental support of *Gesellschaft* and the emotional support of *Gemeinschaft*. This relationship between community representatives and institutions in practice is rather difficult. Often, Powerholders wherein a slum upgrading could range from the state to the landlords, depending on their interest, use community leaders, to co-opt poor communities, to placate them, or utilise their unique skills and insights while at the same time applying underhanded tactics to keep the representatives in check. The outcomes,

therefore, are not exactly derived from the participation per se but by power relations within the have-nots and the power holder. It is therefore relevant to note that boundary spanning practice would inordinately be impacted by this characteristic for the better or for the worse.

Therefore, given that a slum upgrading is a process function within a specific time and financial limits factors that are community-based rather than individual have implication on how boundary spanning would be interpreted and applied to realise intended outcomes.

Following the framework suggested by Provan and Milward, (Provan, 2001) at the community level analysis, focus will be on the principals and clients where evaluation is on what the network outcomes are in terms of satisfying community expectations and needs and the overall impact on the well-being of the community dwellers.

2.6 Conceptual framework

In this paper, the relationship between boundary spanning activities and network performance is sought. It will be built on the works on community networks as established by (Miller, 2008, Benit-Gbaffou C. and Katsaura O., 2014, Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk, 2016, Van Meerkerk, Zwanenburg, et al., 2017). Firstly, Miller's assertions that boundary spanners on community side have elevated levels of contextual know-how, interpersonal skills, and connectedness as well as motivation due to community loyalty and that they strive to engage in community advocacy through strategic collaborations (Miller, 2008). Coupled with (Van Meerkerk, Zwanenburg, et al., 2017) assertions that boundary spanners on both sides of community-government boundary have a critical role in ingraining and facilitating community-led urban renewal programs, then it can be established that indeed, for the sake of establishing and maintaining collaborations, boundary spanning strategies impact network performance.

The success of networks initiative is an equitable mandate of all actors involved in the utilisation of their synergies. They must employ their know-how to pinpoint the dominant factors touching on collaborations. (Klijn, Steijn, et al., 2010) provide for these factors as being either process oriented such as trust, teamwork, conflict resolution and the general satisfaction in the journey towards the outcome. They also could be structural or content oriented which relates to the complexity and dynamics of engagement. Thus, Williams argument, The dynamics and dilemmas of support relationships in boundary management is difficult because boundary spanners "must be adept at breaking down boundaries between themselves and recipients to listen empathetically and build trust; they also need to enforce the boundaries to protect themselves from enmeshment with the recipient's problems" (2002, p.26). This is a balancing act between inclusion and separation, dependence and autonomy (Provan, 2001). In this case, therefore, boundary spanning positions are shown as serving roles in maintaining relationships. This is relevant to performance as the thicker the connections between the actors, the more effective their relations are and thus the better the outcomes of the network.

Extensive research has shown that the success of networks does depend on the handling of the interdependent interactions between actors within a network and with the environment (Van Meerkerk and Edelenbos, 2014) this is supported in the assertion that the more that actors engage in networking and the more connections actors create, the better the outcomes they produce (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012). This, therefore, brings the factor of the positioning of the boundary spanners and their interactions with each other. Boundary spanners must be accepted by all parties in a network for the work to be effective. Legitimacy must be earned on both sides of the network, from the institutions and from the community. As many community leaders possess informal political power, this poses difficulty in realising recognition of their mandate from institutions. Therefore, legitimacy is depicted as serving an intervening role in the limits to which and boundary spanning positions can undertake and boundary spanning

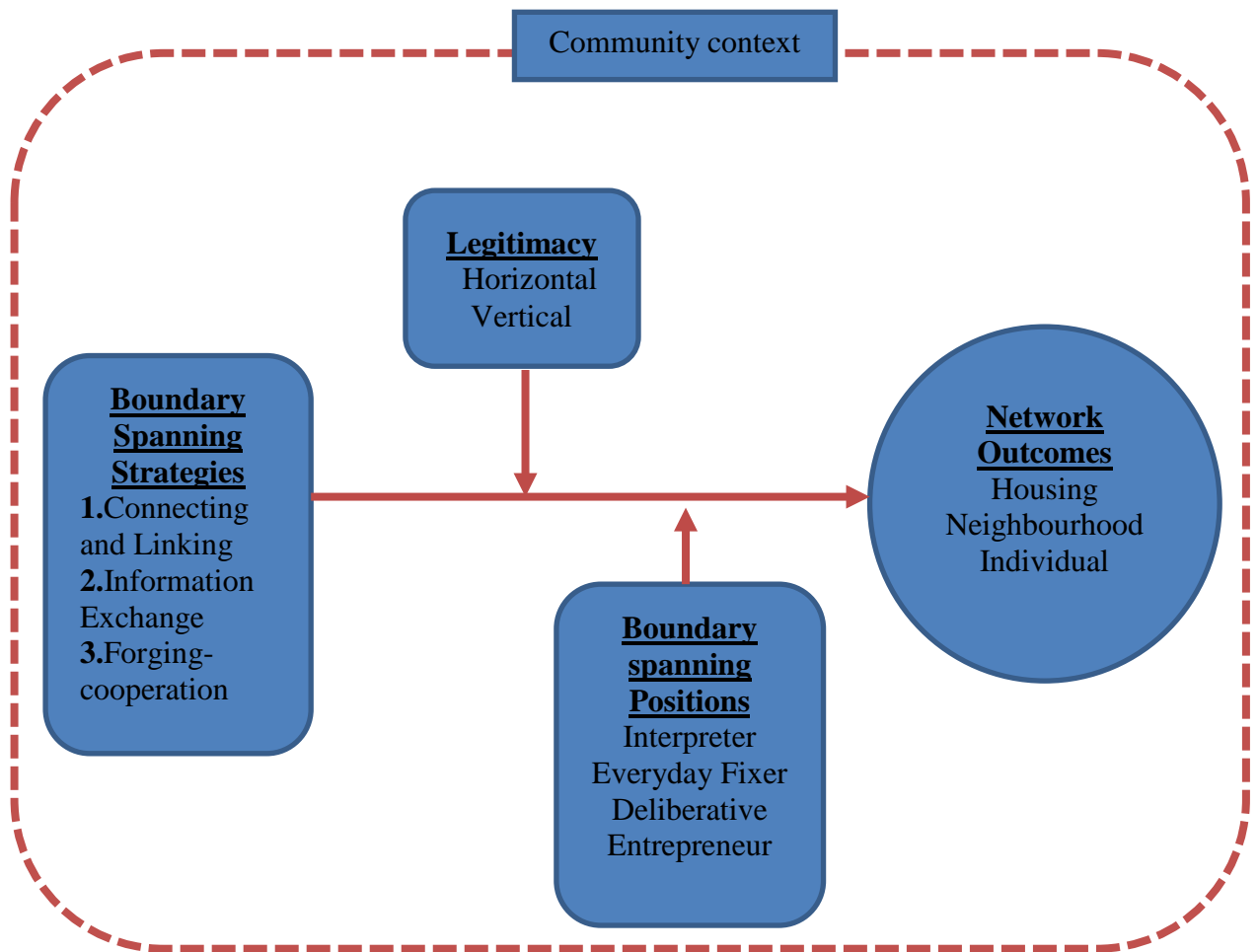
strategies. Slum upgrading processes require participatory processes that use boundary spanners positioned in diverse locations in the network for its achievement (Van Meerkerk, Zwanenburg, et al., 2017) thus the contestation of power borne by boundary spanners located among the community bears the possibility of impacting the network outcomes negatively. It is of note then that the different boundary spanning strategies are applied by different boundary spanners diversely located in the network. Specific individuals undertake different boundary spanning strategies based on the positioning of their function. Therefore, boundary spanning positions are indicated as an intervening factor between the utilization of different strategies to realize specific outcomes.

Slum upgrading processes have very high impact on the livelihoods of vulnerable groups like the slum dwelling community in Kenya (Brakarz and Jaitman, 2013, Rakodi, 2002). (Rakodi, 2002) It is therefore imperative that any interventions planned for such communities have a clear grasp of the contextual realities of those neighbourhoods to link them to mitigate any unforeseen hiccup; a role that ideally falls upon boundary spanning positions on the community side. However, as power struggles, constraints on budget and time are a reality to an upgrading process, the extent to which boundary spanning strategies can be applied is relevant. This paper proposes that the community contexts and vulnerability characteristics have a significant impact on the strategies of boundary spanning and could infer to variations in the interpretation in boundary spanning strategies when comparisons are drawn with the global north perceptions of boundary spanning. This aspect informs the background of this study and the researcher will keep an eye on this.

Therefore, by using the objective of slum upgrading as positioned by (UN-Habitat, 2012, The Kenyan National Slum Upgrading and Prevention Policy, 2013) this paper will measure the performance of this slum upgrading network. The outcomes will be applied as forwarded by (Brakarz and Jaitman, 2013) to determine whether the objective as defined was realised and what role boundary spanning activities played in the realisation thereof by measuring the satisfaction perception of the users in both the process and the outcomes.

Following the above discussion, the Conceptual Framework

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework



Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

This chapter shows the research methods that were applied in response to the research question of this paper. The operationalization of the concepts will be undertaken following variables and indicators defined in the literature. Afterwards, the approach, instruments, sample sizing, sourcing will be covered. The chapter is divided into two main parts; firstly, the research design and secondly, research methodology.

3.1. Operationalization of variables and indicators

The variable depicted by the conceptual model was operationalized to break the concepts down to measurable formats. Boundary spanning activities and practices are defined in theory separately, conceptualization for this paper creates overlaps and therefore each can be distinctly indicated. The two have been merged into a concept referred to as Boundary spanning strategies where boundary spanning practices act as specific indicators of the strategies and it is operationalized as here below.

Table 2: Operationalization of variables and indicators

Concept	Variable	Factor	Indicator
Boundary spanning Strategies	Connecting and Linking	Mobilizing (Williams, 2010, Ernst and Chrobot-Mason, 2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Activities undertaken to facilitate connections between groups, creating conditions enabling formation of personal relationships through which trust is created. Actions are undertaken to develop a common vision and identity whilst respecting the component groups identities and constituency
		Reflecting (Ernst, Chrobot-Mason, et al., 2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enabling intergroup interactions where groups acquire awareness of their differences as well as realization of what is common among them
	Informational Exchange	Selecting (Tushman and Scanlan, 1981)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Was essential information acquired mostly from conversational sources? And/or reading materials? Or both? Who was the information given to? Why was that so? Was there a significant whisper that you were made aware of about your organisation, the upgrading process or outcome? What did you do with the heard information?
		Translating (Pel, 2012)	At point of information dissipation; <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How well the message was delivered The basis for information translation <i>How receivers responded to their messages</i>

	Enabling Cooperation	<p>Weaving (Ernst, Chrobot-Mason, et al., 2010)</p> <p>Transforming (Ernst, Chrobot-Mason, et al., 2010)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Activities taken to extract differences from within groups and embedding them into larger wholes whilst maintaining the uniqueness of each individual group Enables group re-invention through the merger of divergent groups under one larger umbrella that has a common identity
Boundary Spanning Positions		Interpreter/ Informational (Tushman and Scanlan, 1981)	Specific actor mostly on that gathers information, understands, and helps others understand the information at dissemination point.
		Front-Line worker (Hendriks and Tops, 2005; Karatepe and Tekinkus, 2006)	Individuals with high knowledge on the dynamics of slum upgrading processes and actors, and often in positions of influence gained either professionally and through practice
		Deliberative (Williams, 2002; van Hulst, de Graaf. Et al., 2012)	Actor engaged in mediation and relationship maintenance, keeping actors in tandem. Most likely to be found within the Federation group
		Entrepreneurial (Williams, 2002, Butler, Zander, et al., 2012)	Actor of the acute capacity of recognising the opportunity and frequently generates novel solutions to problems. Can be located anywhere in the network
Legitimacy		Vertical (Benit-Gbaffou C. and Katsaura O., 2014)	<i>the basis of acceptability?</i> Via affiliation and acceptability by institutions based on their grassroots connections.
		Horizontal (Benit-Gbaffou C. and Katsaura O., 2014)	Via informal endorsement by citizenry driven by the ability to command connections and resources from institutions.
Network Performance		Housing Outcomes (Brakarz and Jaitman, 2013)	<p><i>Quality and location of the dwelling structure. Satisfaction on.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To what extent are you satisfied with the upgraded housing structure? Extents to which final dwelling structure resembles the housing model Considerations for opinions on dwelling structure upgrading Reduction to exposure to hazards after SUP To what extent were communal decisions representative of household needs?

		Neighbourhood Outcomes (Brakarz and Jaitman, 2013)	<i>Conditions and the positioning of the neighbourhood infrastructure. Satisfaction on communal aspects</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent is the general community satisfied with the improved infrastructure? • Muungano Federation as representative of urban poor communities. • Extents of community influence on upgrading process and outcomes • Extents of the assigned representative success in speaking for community • How would you rate the extent to which the upgrading benefited all the previously identified beneficiaries? • Transparent management of community contributions
		Individual Outcomes (Brakarz and Jaitman, 2013)	<i>Impact on individual and household levels of opportunity. Measure satisfaction</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To what extent were household upgrading expectations met? • Did households receive sufficient communication on the upgrading process? • How would you rate your satisfaction with the leadership and representation in the upgrading process? • Impact of mandatory savings contribution on HH daily living costs • SUP decision-making processes transparently managed.

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Research Strategy

The research design is defined as the plan applied by a researcher to collect and analyse data to generate an answer the questions they have asked (Scholz and Tietje, 2002). This research was an empirical research that sought to give meaning to a social reality. Therefore, a case study with embedded units was chosen as the strategy as it investigated contemporary problems within their context to give in-depth understanding (Scholz and Tietje, 2002). The embedded case study was chosen for its flexibility as cases can be altered pending certain circumstances arising. Further, the method allowed for the comparison of different units existing within a similar context. As the case under evaluation provided. It therefore presented high levels of similarities among the units as well as differences in outcomes that enabled the sufficient evaluation of the influence of multiple boundary spanning agents on the outcomes. Reference is also made to details on case selection in section 3.3.2. Case studies allows for the combination of both qualitative and quantitative types of data where evidence can also be both qualitative and quantitative to reach a conclusion. (Baxter and Jack, 2008). It was also selected for the handicaps in time and resources that allow the researcher to undertake only a single data collection expedition. The context here referred to the immediate pertinent settings of the

situation or individual under investigation, as well as the pertinent conditions of the social structure in which the individuals or situation occur. (Scheepers and Scheepers, 2003). Thence, by being a real-life context, researchers have minimal control over the phenomena and the ability to gather deep, holistic, and succinct views of the phenomena of study is enabled.

The research followed a mix of *deductive and inductive approach*. The existing theory on boundary spanning and slum upgrading established the deductive frame of the research with the conceptual framework serving as a lens through which the mechanisms of boundary spanning in terms of positions, practice, location, and activities were expounded and their impact on the realisation of a slum upgrading network process explained. It was as well open to the potential of other factors impacting upon the relationship or differences in interpretation of the theory forming the inductive aspect of it. The logic model illustrated in the conceptual framework depicts the themes under study where patterns, themes and linkages in the data collected were framed. Thus, binding the cases and keeping it focused (Mills, Durepos, et al., 2010)

Further, it was an *explanatory study* that looked to provide more insight into the boundary spanning positions and strategies that were involved in the realisation of the outcomes of this slum upgrading process. (Scheepers and Scheepers, 2003) hold that explanatory case studies especially seek to uncover the essence of phenomena by locating them within a specific contextual frame. In this study then, the observed outcomes that Jane Weru and Joel Bolnick (ref page 3) refer to, formed the perspective where a causal connection to boundary spanning was pursued. Mills et al., forward that in social sciences “causation is construed more broadly where we identify actions or ideas that have a strong causal influence on subsequent events as causes,” (2010, p.78) Accordingly, the subjects were closely evaluated at both surface and deeper degrees to arrive at an analytical conclusion that was most congruent with the facts (Yin, 1981).

3.3 Research Methodology

3.3.1 Data collection

This section details the practical process applied in data gathering. A key feature of a case study is the application of multiple data sources to acquire converging findings of a study in what is called triangulation. To this effect then, this paper will apply both primary and secondary data from various sources including the community, Muungano, government sources and other external observers. This combination is what will provide in-depth know-how of how different boundary spanning positions, activities, and strategies interacted and how that impacted the network outcomes. Secondary data will also be used to centre and interpret the findings as well as reinforce triangulation.

1. Primary data

To gain an in-depth understanding of the social realities of the study subjects, primary data was gathered. Qualitative and quantitative data was sought. Type of main research question was qualitative in nature as it sought opinions and perceptions from the respondents coupled with (Scholz and Tietje, 2002) arguments that qualitative research seeks to reveal subjective meanings in cultures and sub-cultures thus enabling the researcher to understand the construction of the social world of the study group. That called for primary data to be gathered.

Yin offers that evidence can be gathered from any of six sources of evidence: “Documents (letters, agendas, progress reports), Archival records (Service records, organizational charts, budgets etc.), Interviews (typically open-ended, but also focused, structured & surveys are possible), Direct observations (formal or casual; useful to have multiple observers), Participant

observation (assuming a role in the situation & getting an inside view of the events),” (2003, p.13).

The first source of primary data was a survey in the form of a *questionnaire*. The tool was targeted towards the informal settlement dwellers who were direct beneficiaries of this in-situ slum upgrading in Huruma. It was used in the examination of the different outcomes observed in the slum upgrading intervention they were involved in. Huruma undertook an in-situ slum upgrading process where the residents who lived in those locations before the upgrading were intended to be the same residents living in the upgraded facilities. These households contributed money to a savings scheme managed by Muungano which was afterwards further supported by other actors like SDI, Nairobi County Council (then called the Nairobi City Council) and other actors to be realized. Acknowledging prior relationships between this researcher and some community groups, a research assistant drawn from the Huruma community was engaged to assist the researcher issue the questionnaires. As each village has approximately 300 households, 40 questionnaires were issued to every 10th Household in each village with a representative total of 120 respondents being expected. However, in instances of non-response, the study issued the questionnaires to the households next to the 10th household to increase response rate. Enabling the quantification of the qualitative data gathered with questionnaires, a 5 range Likert scale was applied to collect perceptions based on the three outcomes of individual, housing and neighbourhood as were fronted by (Brakarz and Jaitman, 2013).

The questionnaire used a 5point Likert scale in which the respondents gave one of the following responses ((1) Very dissatisfied, (2) Dissatisfied, (3), Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, (4) Satisfied, (5) Very satisfied per village. As the Likert scale was used to measure Satisfaction levels this research grouped the responses into a “survey scale,” of 1(Dissatisfied), 2 (neither satisfied nor dissatisfied) and 3 (Satisfied). Then, a calculation of the total score of mean score for the scale items derived from the indicators was realized. The process followed was that responses were arranged in the five satisfaction levels by the number of percentage respondents that answered each of the satisfaction responses for each indicator and a mean score of each satisfaction level generated. Afterwards, a summation of all the means of the percentage respondents on the 4(satisfied) and 5(very Satisfied) was made to indicate the positive interactions with the upgrading project and hence positive satisfaction levels for the 3 network outcome levels. Alternately the same was done for the two levels of dissatisfaction 2(dissatisfied) and 1(very dissatisfied) where a summation of the total respondents in percentages was derived to create a new ranking level of dissatisfaction. An evaluation of the satisfaction levels based on the means of where most respondents laid for each of the three outcome levels per village provided the basis for the scoring granted per outcome per village. This is indicated in Table 3 here below.

Table 3: Survey Data quantification evaluation scheme

Variable	Village	Indicator	Scoring
Network Performance Outcomes	Kambi Moto	Individual outcome	Unsatisfactory (Scored (-))
	Mahira	Housing	Development Needed (Scored (+-))
	Gitathuru	Neighbourhood	Successful (Rated (+))

Open-ended semi-structured interviews were used to gain depth from perceived boundary spanners in the diverse positions and locations to get insight into boundary-spanning-in-

practice to understand their interpretation of boundary spanning positions and strategies and how those mechanisms impacted network performance. To understand this further, other boundary spanners who were involved and yet external to this process were interviewed for further insight and triangulation purposes. All the interviews were kept open-ended, and the respondents had the freedom to bring up any other details they deemed relevant to the subject without overwhelming the researcher due to the pseudo-structure of the tool.

To create a comparison between the different boundary spanning agents and between the diverse villages a scorecard was applied as shown in Table 4. This scorecard is based on the extents to which the boundary spanning agents fulfilled their roles based on the rating that was provided by other boundary spanning agents of the individual or from the network performance satisfaction levels provided by the community survey respondents.

Table 4: Boundary Spanning Strategies evaluation scheme

Variable	Village	Indicator	Scoring
Boundary spanning Strategies	Kambi Moto	Connecting and Linking	Unsatisfactory (Score (-))
	Mahira	Enabling cooperation	Development Needed (Score (+/-))
	Gitathuru	Information exchange	Successful (Score (+))

2 Secondary data

This data was collected from documents and archival records as per Yin's suggestion through desk research. This information to be valid it was collected from reliable sources that were proven to have had uninhibited access to the settlement upgrading project or its records.

Archival records included slum upgrading implementation status reports, project performance reports, minutes of the meeting and study reports. These were reviewed from the perspectives of the community.

- Pamoja Trust (2001), Huruma Informal Settlements – Planning Survey Report, Pamoja Trust, Nairobi.
- Aaron J. Wegman Muungano Saving Group, Nairobi Planning Reports 2005/2006.
- School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) Team report on Pamoja Trust 2005
- Aaron J. Wegman Muungano Nairobi Planning Reports 2006/07
- Aaron Wegman Huruma Community Housing Projects Progress Report 2010
- Cities Alliance, Nairobi inventory 2011
- Pamoja Trust Slum Upgrading Brief, January 2011
- Systematisation of Huruma Housing Upgrading Project Final Report 2014

This information enabled triangulation of data collected from the various responses gathered from the various interviews and questionnaires thus increasing construct validity.

3.3.2 Case selection

The case of Muungano Wa Wanavijiji was selected as it provided interesting dynamics of consolidating groups of people with diverse interests to realise a common objective. Network theory has already demonstrated the difficulty in this. In focusing on the informal actors involved in such a wicked issue as housing the urban poor, a variant perspective was provided depicting how the independent variable boundary spanning strategies impacted performance in network process that involved vulnerable communities wholly.

Huruma Slum Upgrading Project that ran between 2003-2014 had been identified as the unit of analysis. In this project, the community acting through their saving groups embedded in Muungano instigated the upgrading process with the Nairobi City Council, Pamoja Trust, Slum Dwellers International, donor agencies and a caucus of other supporting stakeholders coming on board later. Most of the savings group members were tenants rather than landlords (Lines and Makau, 2017). In-situ upgrading of dwellers housing structures, the neighbourhood amenities and infrastructure was to be undertaken.

Based on theoretical considerations, this case was selected as in it community representatives arising from the Muungano Slum Federation were presented as serving a central boundary spanning role. A diversity of actors was brought together behind a common objective indicating the presence of boundary spanning strategies. Therefore, in the selection of this case, an opportunity was presented for an in-depth study of the individual boundary spanning actors variously located in this network to understand what their positions were, and how they realised these boundary spanning positions and how they coordinated the interactions with other boundary spanners in the upgrading project network. It aided in understanding better the application of the mechanisms involved in boundary spanning strategies and how its workings could be used in explaining the outcomes realized after undertaking of the project.

Further, this project is sited in various documents as one of the most successful Muungano projects. see (Lines and Makau, 2017, Weru, 2004). This also served as a further basis for the selection of this unit within the Muungano Federation.

The embedded units selected are in Huruma informal settlement where a community-led settlement upgrading was undertaken. The Huruma community with the support of Pamoja Trust organized itself under Muungano Federation. It was to this vehicle that a variety of Community-Based Organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations and other stakeholders gave support in negotiating with the Nairobi City Council to demarcate Huruma as a special planning zone that exempted the community from the rigidities of the building and densification codes. After the special planning zone was established, the composite villages each was to separately organize the planning and implementation phases for their settlement upgrading although the external support pledged to the communities was universal to all five Huruma villages.

The basis of the selection of the studied sub-units; Kambi Moto, Gitathuru and Mahira highlights the potentials of community organization and brings a sharp focus to the individual representative actions and how the quality of their actions impacted the outcomes each of the sub-units realized. These villages, however, had different outcomes realized even when the external support offered was similar across the board. They, therefore, give exceptional opportunities to study the roles and actions of the individuals guiding each of the villages processes and how their qualities influenced the outcomes observed in each of the villages. We examine Huruma here because it will enable us to highlight both the remarkable potential of community federations and community-led settlement upgrading approach, as well as its shortcomings and challenges that is relevant to housing the urban poor in the 21st Century.

This case, therefore, bore hallmarks of the presence of network processes and boundary spanning strategies being undertaken to achieve the outcomes pursued communally through a dweller dwellers Federation vehicle. It was the primary basis for the selection of Huruma settlement upgrading project as the case study.

3.2.2 Sampling

Sampling refers to the specific principle used to choose the members of the population that will be included in a study (Scholz and Tietje, 2002). (Curtis, Gesler, et al., 2000) suggests a six-axiom checklist for a sampling strategy, as follows;

- The sampling strategy should be relevant to the conceptual framework and the research questions addressed by the research
- The sample should be likely to generate rich information on the type of phenomena which need to be studied
- The sample should enhance the 'generalizability' of the findings. In qualitative sampling, it must be noted that qualitative samples are only relevant to analytical generalisation and not a statistical generalisation. This means it should be in tandem within existing theoretical constructs and not to populations
- The sample should produce believable explanations, in the sense of being true to real life.
- Is the sampling strategy ethical? In terms of whether there are benefits or risks associated with selection for and participation in the study, and the ethical nature of the relationship between researcher and informant
- Is the sampling plan feasible? In terms of the resource costs in money and time, the practical issues of accessibility and whether the sampling strategy is compatible with the researcher's work style and competencies.

Once this has been fulfilled, the sampling method must be enacted. For a study that seeks to build into theory, issues of representativeness are not critical, *therefore non-random, and non-probability* method would be best (Bryman and Bell, 2007). In this instance, for the selection of the interviewees, *snowball sampling* was used. This researcher has had a long-standing relationship with a variety of individuals and groups in Huruma. The local Secretary of Muungano, Peter Chege was appointed as the first point of contact. This initial respondent nominated other respondents who met the criterion of being potential boundary spanners and they participated in the identified slum upgrading projects for interviewing. (Bryman and Bell, 2007, Eisenhardt, 1989). The respondents were drawn from both the community side and from the coalition partners that supported this community-led process. That gave sufficiently diverse views of boundary spanning as spelt in this study although it was an unrepresentative one.

For the quantitative data collection, *Probability method* in the form of *cluster random sampling* was used for the surveys where the sample frame in the three identified slums was divided into streets and each 10th household within the randomly selected housing block were taken as respondents. However, where non-response, was observed then this researcher issued the questionnaires to the households next to the 10th household to increase the response rate. The research intended to issue 40 questionnaires each village to gather a total of 120 respondents, however, that was not realized and the final definite number of respondents was 90. A response rate of 30 households per village. That generated a representative sample while responding to the practical constraints of this research.

Table 5: Data Collection schedule

Variable	Collection method	Sample
Network Performance Huruma Upgrading (2003-2014)	Survey (Likert Scale) (see annexe 1) Coupled with Content Analysis	<i>Cluster random sampling</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 30 Households from Githathuru, Mahira and Kambi Moto Villages. Each village has an estimated population of 300 House Holds. A total of 90 questionnaires was realized. Document list above provided further insights.
Boundary Spanning strategy and positions Legitimacy	Semi-Structured Interview (ref annexe 1)	<i>Snowball sample</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2 respondents from Muungano Federation 1 respondent from SDI 1 respondent Homeless International 1 respondent from Nairobi County Government. 2 respondents from Kamaregima. 2 community leaders Mahira 2 community leaders Kambi Moto 2 community leaders Gitathuru 1 External respondents (Project architect). Total 14 respondents

3.3.3 Challenges of the research and coping strategy

Construct validity refers to the correct operational measure of concepts (Yin, 2003). In this study, application of a logical model based on theory as elaborated in the conceptual framework and afterwards with the operationalizing of the variables are transparently presented. The research instruments are based on this operationalization thus allowing for the correct measurement of the concepts as they were determined for use in this study. Further, regarding methodological problems of case study research in establishing the boundaries of the study (unit of analysis), this research identified the unit of analysis as Huruma with three sub-units selected where individuals directly as community agents or were beneficiaries of the Muungano led Huruma slum-upgrading project in the identified villages were sampled. Further, it used a snowball method of sampling for the interviews where member checks ensured the identification of valid respondents. This was also used in the questionnaire where the research assistant charged with the issuance of the survey document was a long-term resident of Huruma and helped in sufficiently establishing the validity of each respondent household for this research.

Internal validity which refers to the logical consistency of the research design in the establishment of a causal relationship in an explanatory study (Yin, 2014). It concerns the extent to which conclusions can be decisively drawn after application of the undertaken research design. The embedded case study design applied for this research resolved this. By the evaluation of the interaction and application of a variety of boundary spanning positions and strategies in three villages and across a network of actors also, established a multiplicity of data sources allowing for sufficient variations in both the dependent and independent variables

that enabled this researcher to satisfy the research question. Further, the research used a variety of data sources encapsulated in the surveys, interviews and content analysis that included both internally and directly involved respondents as well as an external and removed observer and sources of data. In this process, data triangulation was enabled that was solidly applied to establish relevant patterns in the data used to depict the causal link between boundary spanning strategies and the network outcomes.

Reliability is concerned with the stability, accuracy, and precision of measurement in a study (Yin, 2003). It depicts the extents to which equivalent results can be achieved were the research to be repeated. This is especially relevant to this research where interviews were conducted and the possibilities of researcher bias was high. Several steps were undertaken to ensure reliability. Firstly, the topic list applied for this study is presented in Annex A. Secondly, a case study database that documented all events, sources of information and processes throughout the data collection period was kept. Thirdly, the researcher also made notes and reports of each interaction with the respondents as well as recorded all interviews that were played back to check for biases. Lastly, to ensure reliability, the data was gathered from diverse sources, as well as based on both primary and secondary data for triangulation thus minimising bias. Further, the report was evaluated by academic supervisors as well as some key respondents before final presentation to check for inconsistencies.

3.4 Data Analysis.

Interpretation of the data collected is very important as it is what links the outcomes of the research to the research questions. In this research, the quantitative data was used to corroborate the findings of the qualitative data to establish a firm relationship between boundary spanning strategies and network performance. This process was guided by the conceptual framework herewith.

This research applied a hybrid approach as per (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). This is because of the flexibility it offered to the interpretation of data. Therefore, the gathered data was organised into themes based on deductions arising from the conceptual framework. However, acknowledging the possibility of existence of other underlying factors impacting boundary spanning strategies and network performance an inductive process was applied that sought to incorporate the unexpected data that arose out of the research. Inductive coding dealt with the unexpected connections while remaining aware and careful to considerations of alternative interpretations of the findings.

3.4.1 Descriptive analysis

This thesis was an explanatory study that applied an explanatory strategy framework in organisation and analysis. In this framework, Atlas ti as well as SPSS enabled the synthesis of data gathered from a variety of sources to establish relevant themes and patterns. These themes and patterns rose from a deductive set of codes based on theory and contained in the conceptual framework as well as any other unforeseen aspects (inductive codes) that materialized upon data collection.

These themes were analysed to realise an explanation that can be severally corroborated from the variety of data sources to develop a consistent and applicable response to our research question (Rowley, 2002). The themes followed boundary spanning positions, strategies, legitimacy as well as the outcome theme. Its analysis is what ultimately established the extents to which the network performance outcomes can be explained or attributed to the boundary spanning strategies and positions of the community agents involved in this slum upgrading network.

Data display involved the presentation of gathered data in a compact and easily understandable form. Upon, analysis, then patterns were found, explanations justified and conclusions drawn. The cross-case synthesis was used where the researcher studied the sub-units in tandem noting the differences and similarities which then founded the response to the main research question (Curtis, Gesler, et al., 2000).

Chapter 4: Research Findings

This chapter presents the research findings as to the extents to which performances and interactions of different boundary spanning positions and activities impact on the outcomes of a slum upgrading project.

Findings are founded on primary data gathered from semi-structured interviews with key respondents involved in the settlement upgrading and survey data collected from beneficiaries of the project. Relevant secondary data is also used in this analysis to corroborate the primary data findings.

The chapter is divided into two parts firstly, description of the case study, then, presentation of the research findings and data analysis pertaining to the study area.

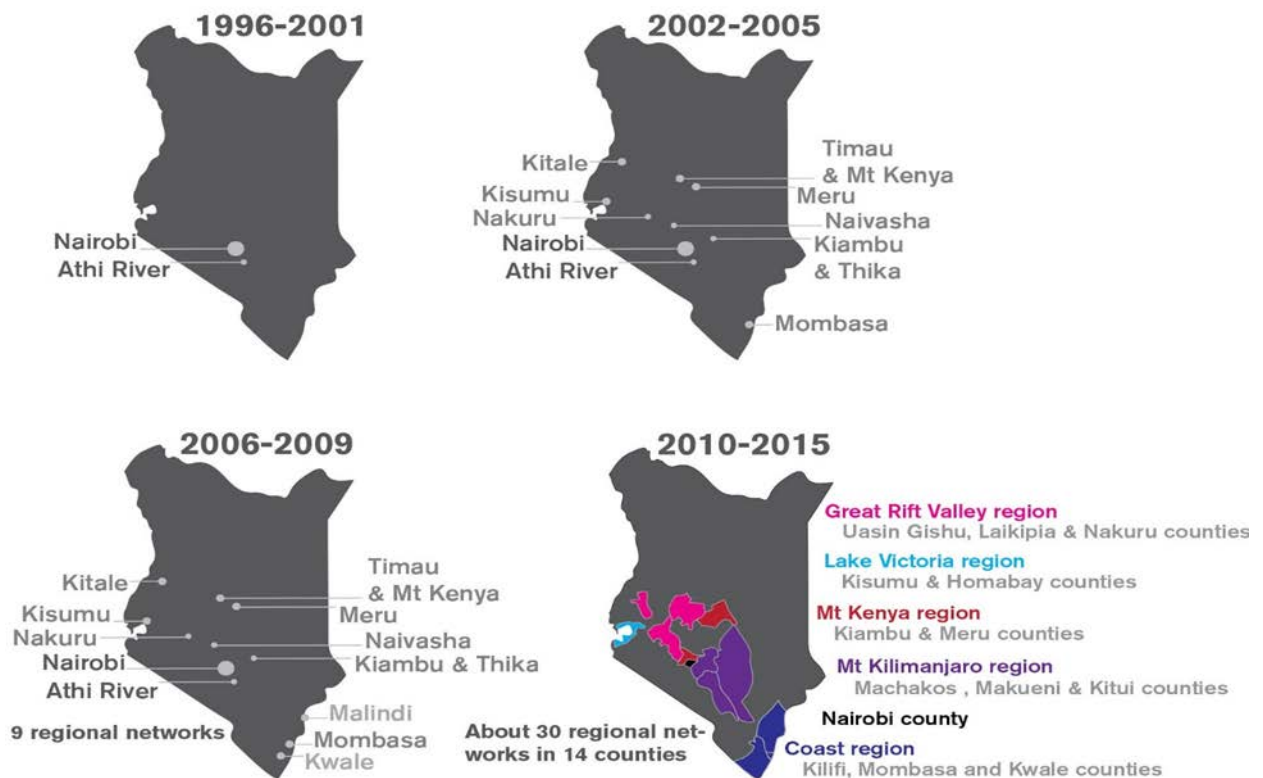
4.1.0 Profile of Muungano

This research was based on the Muungano Wa Wanavijiji Settlement Upgrading project in Huruma Nairobi. Muungano Wa Wanavijiji is a Swahili phrase meaning coalition of poor people. This movement emerged in Nairobi informal settlements in the 1990s as a vehicle through which the urban poor could systematically advocate for improved urban services, security of tenure and to fight displacement caused by demolitions, forced evictions and land grabbing.

The efforts of Muungano were supplemented by support from an assortment of local and international Non-Governmental Organizations and Civil Society groups among them Kituo Cha Sheria, MISEREOR (the Catholic Bishops' Organization for Development Cooperation), SDI, SPARC, and South African Homeless People Association among others. Muungano joined the international network of Community-Based Organizations Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) and became a federation in 2001 (Alam, Baliga, et al., 2005). Muungano also realised rapid demographic and geographic expansion since 1996 to be found in more than 400 informal settlements located in over 30 regional networks in 14 counties in Kenya currently (Ref Fig 2 below).

The expansion is what drove the need for the supporting institutions to restructure Muungano in line with the federation model used by SDI affiliated movements worldwide under the umbrella of the Kenyan Alliance. This organization is composed of Muungano Wa Wanavijiji which was the Federation of Kenyan Slum Dwellers, Akiba Mashinani (AMT) the financial arm which was the urban poor fund and a supporting CSO which would be a professional unit focused on capacity building for Muungano as well as policy level support on upgrading, provision of services and security of tenure. Over the years there have been changes in the representative CSO (Pamoja Trust serving (2000-2009), Muungano Support Trust (2010-2015), SDI Kenya (2016 onwards)) (Lines and Makau, 2017).

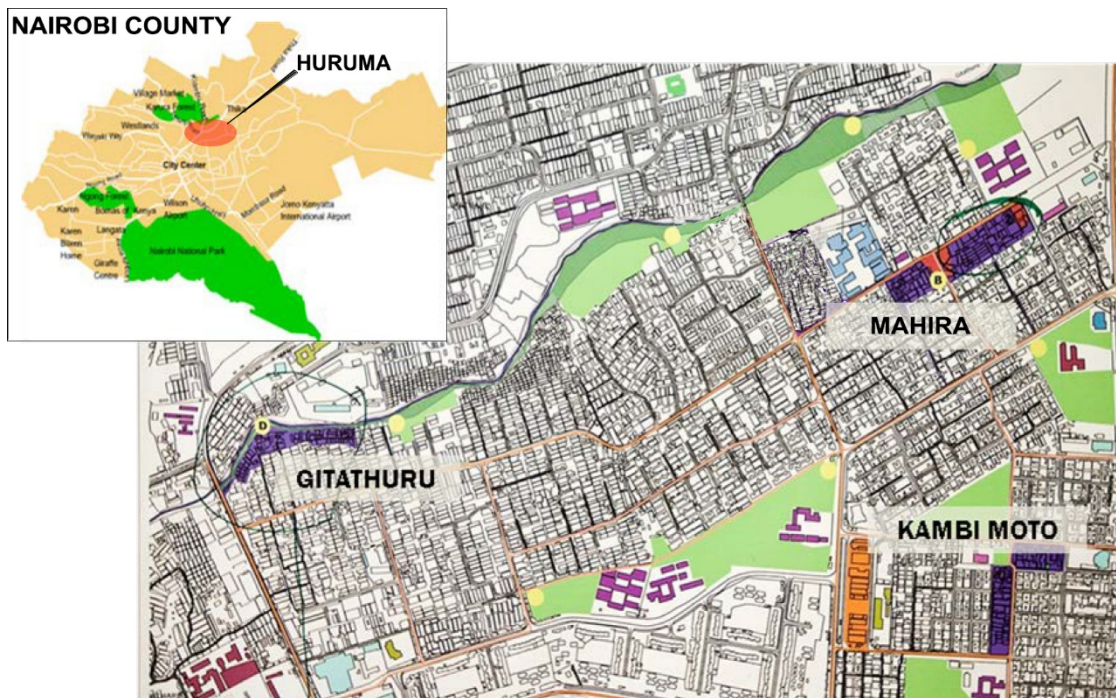
Figure 2: Expansion of Muungano



Source: Pamoja Trust and AMT annual reports

Source: (Lines and Makau, 2017).

Figure 3: Location of case study within Nairobi County



Source: maps.google.com

4.1.2 Overview of Muungano Wa Wanavijiji Huruma Settlement upgrading project

Huruma is in the eastern part of Starehe constituency of Nairobi. The community is constituted of Kambi Moto, Mahira, Ghetto, Gitathuru and Redeemed settlements. These villages occupy 3.817 hectares with 2309 households. The land on which Kambi Moto and Mahira are located was intended for parking and for a market while Gitathuru is located on riparian land ². This land was owned by the Nairobi City Council which has now been reconstituted as the County government of Nairobi upon Inauguration of the 2010 constitution establishing devolution in Kenya (Lines and Makau, 2017)

Before the settlement upgrading, Huruma was typically characterised by 12foot by 12foot structures of earth walls and floors with very narrow footpaths. The roofing was a variety of nylon bags, metal sheets and cardboard. There was a limited connection to basic infrastructures like ablution, roads, electricity, and water. 95% of the residents were tenants with the rest occupied by structure owner occupiers. There was a representation of community movements with Muungano as the largest movement. In Kambi Moto especially, most of the residents subscribed to Muungano which was the case in villages like Ghetto and Mahira (Weru, 2004). For a person to become a member of Muungano Federation, they needed to be registered with a savings group and be a participating saver in it.

With Joining SDI, Muungano representatives got exposed to SDI principles among them best practice learning from India and South Africa on how to organize themselves best in agitation for their mandate. This is where the idea of daily savings was learned from and this is a tool that Muungano leveraged in their Settlement Upgrading projects. SDI principles insisted especially on community-led processes and empowerment of communities to participate was at the heart of it. In the Huruma Upgrading this was in three ways; community mobilization by Muungano, community own leadership and consensus in all partners involved (Alam, Baliga, et al., 2005)

Once planning was completed and implementation was intended, then commencement of construction was dependent on several factors, one, the village had to be financially capable of applying for loans to start construction and afterwards the individual beneficiaries had also to meet the criteria for saving schemes and external loans (Pamoja Trust, 2014). The criterion for household qualification to settlement upgrading was:

- Be a resident of the village for at least five years and be in the enumeration list.
- Active participation in Muungano meetings and activities
- Be an active saver with Muungano Savings groups, indicated by the frequency of contribution for both structure owners and tenants.
- Savings must have reached at least 10% of the house construction cost. The beneficiaries had to raise this 10 % through their individual savings. The savings scheme would provide a further 10% as a guarantee. 80% would be provided as a loan by AMT.
- Absentee structure owners would get priority, followed by the enumerated tenants living in their structures.

All this would not have been possible were it not for actions undertaken earlier on in the settlement upgrading discussion. These earlier discussions are what had given Muungano Federation the role of spearheading the participatory in-situ settlement upgrading in Huruma. The project was to be implemented in phases. In the year 2001, with support from NGOs and

² Wegmann, Aaron; Nairobi Planning Report 2005/2006

other civil society groups in Nairobi, the five Huruma community settlements reached a concession the Nairobi City Council for the upgrading of their settlement with an MOU afterwards signed. This established Huruma as a “special agreement planning zone” with increased densities allowed as well as a relaxation of building regulations pertaining to quality of structures and building materials and size of the structures understanding where the local government agreed to allow residents to build on the land using more affordable materials and smaller structures than the city bylaws allow. (SDI Respondent)³.

4.1.3 Actors Involved in Huruma Settlement Upgrading

This Memorandum of understanding laid bare that the settlement upgrading was not entirely hinged on the works of Muungano Federation and the City Council of Nairobi alone. It also confirmed the rights and obligations of other significant stakeholders. The signatories to this agreement were, the community leaders of each village, The Mayor of Nairobi Representing City Council of Nairobi, Pamoja Trust for Civil Society Groups, Kituo Cha Sheria for the Non-Governmental Organizations, ITDG for the Technical support companies and COOPI that were granting the community plumbing connections⁴. It delineated the rights and obligations of each of these partners by formally recording the promises they had made to participate in the upgrading process in their areas of expertise and assigned each facet to a specific stakeholder as follows⁵

The first identified stakeholder was the **beneficiary community** which was undertaking this community-led process as Muungano Federation. These were the five Huruma villages. Beneficiary community was principally what was referred to as Muungano which took the pole position in the upgrading process as well as roles in the representation of each of the villages in diverse platforms as well as community organization around the different upgrading processes. There is no established hierarchy for the leadership, however each village has between four and six community members that took leaderships positions. Their main role was in consultation on diverse protocols like land tenure negotiations with the Nairobi City Council as well as construction procedures, consensus building within the community, decision making on behalf of the community, representation of their village in diverse committees and platforms as well as managing the village upgrading protocols information sharing, as well as initiating action from the supporting communities in response to diverse motivations including list of beneficiaries. These representatives were previously overall community leaders, however, these community leadership was finally swallowed and replaced by Muungano and the roles merged.⁶

Secondly, was the **local authority**, City Council of Nairobi. This body was also signatory to the MOU establishing the special planning zone where it was articulated to serve the following roles, physical mapping of the Huruma settlement in detailed format of the socio-economic characteristics, physical spaces, and community enumerations. Further it was to undertake the decisions and technical support on the planning process through the delivery of requisite community infrastructure like water and sewer lines reticulation, approvals on community building plans, enable consensus building among the communities, It undertook the role of relocation and resettlement of any community households displaced by the upgrading process, and finally the most important role which was the provision of secure tenure arrangements to

³ Interview with Jack Makau, SDI, Nairobi, June 29, 2017

⁴ Sipa Team Report on Pamoja Trust, 2005

⁵ The Memorandum of Understanding on the upgrading of the slums in Huruma, July, 30, 2003.

⁶ Interview with Judy Njuguna, NCC, Nairobi, August 19, 2017.

the Huruma community therefore giving them the certainty of residence without fear of eviction.

Additionally, involved were local **Non-Governmental Organizations** ITDG, COOPI and Shelter forum were to provide their expert assistance in distinct roles. For example, the provision of technical support on appropriate technology for housing and infrastructure development by ITDG, assist in monitoring and documentation of the process of upgrading and policy formulation by Shelter Forum and the provision of financial and technical support for the provision of secondary and tertiary infrastructure by COOPI.

Finally, was the **Community Based Organization** led by the Pamoja Trust team whose role was underlined as: facilitate meetings between community and other stakeholders, dissemination of information from and to the community, facilitate collection of relevant information to the upgrading, hold workshops with community to determine direction of the upgrading, capacity building for skills and knowledge pertinent to the upgrading, assist the enhancement of community cohesion, resource mobilization for community development, technical support and financing, network with local and foreign partners for the purpose of resolving hardships observed in the upgrading project, prepare evaluation reports.

These coalition partners did not get into special agreements with any of the villages to provide any support that was different from what was being offered to other villages. They pledged standardised support available to all the five villages. The extents to which the villages achieved this support was based on the extents to which each village and each household could organize itself and meet the different criterions set by the different coalition partners⁷. Therefore, this study by focusing in the three villages does so with the understanding that the assistance provided to any of the villages was dependent on the extents to which the village organized itself to receive it.

4.2.0 BOUNDARY SPANNING OUTCOMES

The following findings are based on three settlements within Huruma where upgrading occurred; Mahira, Gitathuru and Kambi Moto. This is because the three villages possessed diverse accomplishments from the moment of the signing of the MOU in July 2003 till 2014. These distinctions are outlined below under the upgrading outcomes.

4.2.1 Settlement upgrading outcomes

The above data relates to the dynamics of the boundary spanning agents and the practices available to them for application to realize the best fit between their communities or organizations as well as to make a viable contribution towards the realization of common objectives. This section will provide the findings on the network performance in terms of realized outcomes.

Firstly, the content outcomes. These are indicated by the number of units constructed per village. This is under the premise that Huruma was established as a special planning in 2003 all at the same time, under the same terms for participating villages. How the communities managed themselves afterwards was up to them. So, then, the number of units constructed under the same period of evaluation gives indications as for the network performance.

Additionally, the settlement upgrading ultimate objective was to create an improvement of the housing, neighbourhood, and individual conditions of the people of Huruma. This tenet arises

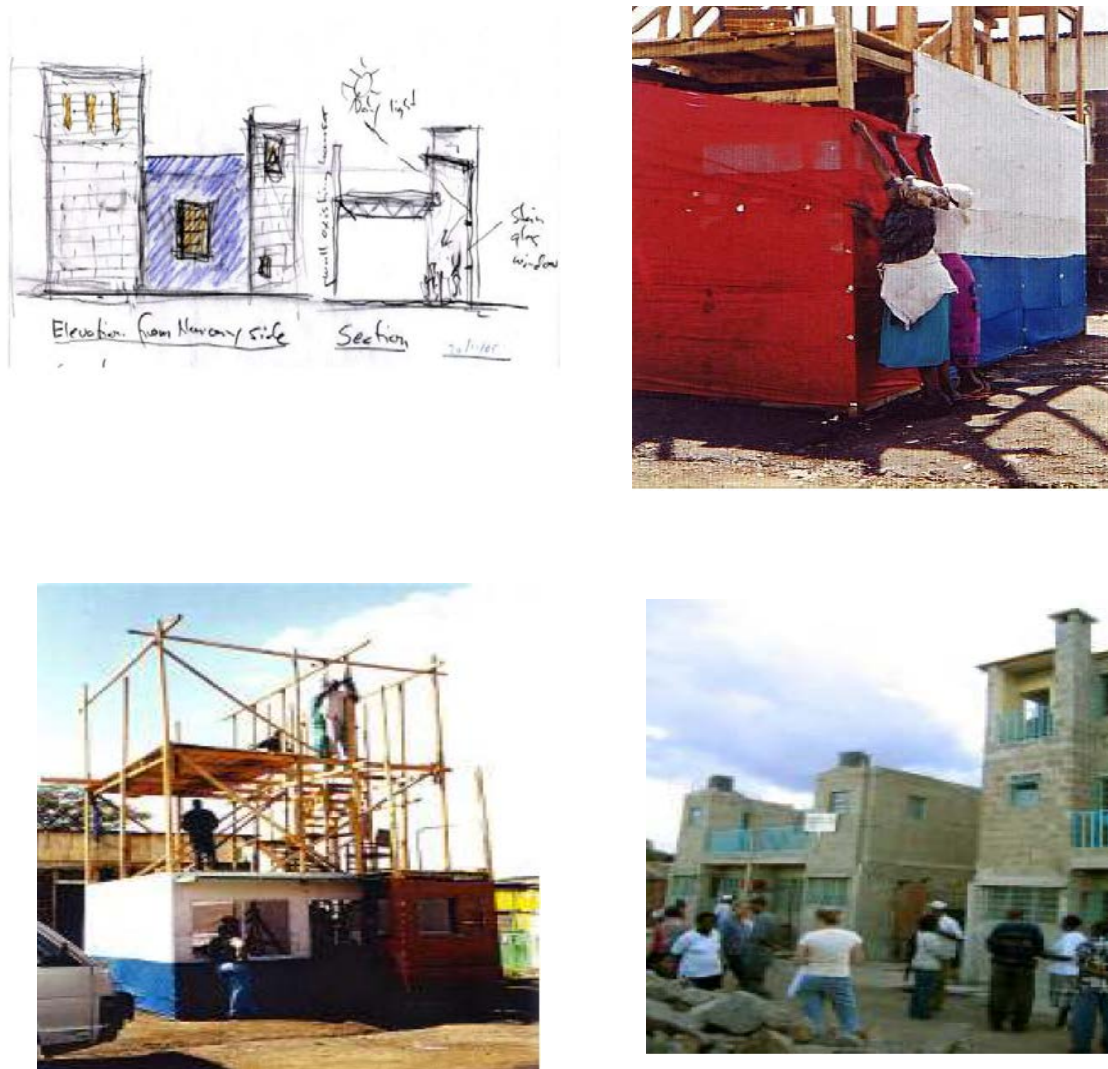
⁷ Interviews with Muungano Chairlady, Susan Wanjiku 14/7/2017

both from the vision encapsulated in the objective of this slum upgrading as captured in manager's report as an integrated and multifaceted goal featuring housing, community facilities, livelihood, and infrastructure (Wegmann, 2004). It arises as well from the Kenyan Government and the United Nations principle that a settlement upgrading seeks to improve the physical living conditions and general well-being of informal settlers and increase their satisfaction with life (UN-Habitat, 2012).

We surveyed 30 households in three villages in Huruma over a variety of factors responding to each of the three outcomes. An evaluation determining satisfaction levels based on the percentage number of respondents that had either Satisfied (3), neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (2) or (1) dissatisfied as per the scoring criterion detailed on Table 3 above will be used.

4.2.2. Kambi Moto settlement upgrading outcomes

Figure 4: Kambi Moto dwelling structure upgrading process



Sources: Aaron Wegmann, Nairobi Planning Reports 2005-2010

This settlement was the first to undertake a community-led settlement upgrading in Kenya. They undertook five phases of settlement upgrading on incremental housing for its community. The upgrading characteristics were:

Table 6: Kambi Moto upgrading fact sheet

Settlement	Enumerated Households	Implementation year	Cost per Unit	Dwelling upgraded	Structures
Kambi Moto	270	2003	KSH 220,000 ⁸	114	

Further, this research undertook a survey of 30 households in Kambi Moto on the housing outcomes considering satisfaction levels with the realized outcomes. The responses are illustrated here.

Table 7: Kambi Moto Housing outcomes satisfaction levels

	HOUSING OUTCOMES					
	Extents to which final dwelling structure resembled the housing model	Considerations for opinions on dwelling structure upgrading	Reduced exposure to hazards after SUP	Satisfaction with upgraded dwellings?	Satisfaction with community-led process SUP	TOTAL
Very Dissatisfied	0%	3%	1%	0%	6%	2%
Dissatisfied	0%	3%	5%	0%	13%	4%
Neither Satisfied nor dissatisfied	8%	14%	6%	8%	20%	11%
Satisfied	58%	40%	51%	50%	31%	46%
Very Satisfied	33%	40%	37%	42%	30%	36%

These findings show that 36% of all the survey respondents were very satisfied with their housing outcomes and so did 46 % who were satisfied. In Kambi Moto, therefore, for housing outcomes, this community had 82% of all respondents having a positive relationship with the upgrading outcomes realized. They were listed as either being satisfied or very satisfied. The evaluation criterion scores conclude then that Kambi Moto community had positive satisfaction levels with most respondents satisfied with the housing outcomes they achieved.

These findings are driven especially by the fulfilment of the provision of improved dwelling structures where the community moved from a residence in shacks to more permanent structures. Most of the respondents registered contentment with the improved dwelling structure that they achieved that accorded the community protection from the elements. Of all respondents, only 6% registered some level of dissatisfaction with the levels to which exposure to the elements was mitigated. Another driver of the high scores in Kambi Moto housing outcomes was a similarity between the model house the community had presented and the final structure. The house modelling process was a collaborative effort among the community members with a lot of negotiations at to what would be included or not. Ultimately 92% of the respondents affirmed that the final structure adequately resembled the forwarded sample.

Kambi Moto Housing Outcomes Score (+)

⁸ 1 US\$ = KSHs 103.15 19/8/2017

We surveyed the same number of households on their satisfaction levels on the neighbourhood outcomes and their responses were as shown as below

Table 8: Kambi Moto Neighbourhood Outcomes satisfaction levels.

	NEIGHBOURHOOD OUTCOMES							
	Community general satisfaction with improved neighbourhood	Community leaders success in speaking for community	Community needs articulation to coalition partners	Extents of community influence on upgrading process and outcomes	Improved access to services compared to un-upgraded areas	Transparent management of community contributions	Upgrading benefitted ONLY rightfully registered residents?	TOTAL
Very Dissatisfied	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Dissatisfied	8%	5%	6%	17%	4%	8%	17%	9%
Neither Satisfied nor dissatisfied	21%	19%	21%	8%	4%	4%	17%	13%
Satisfied	46%	43%	42%	42%	54%	50%	50%	47%
Very Satisfied	25%	33%	29%	33%	38%	38%	17%	30%

77% of the survey respondents rated themselves as experiencing positive satisfaction levels in the general neighbourhood outcomes of Kambi Moto. For this reason, the scorecard for Kambi Moto rates it at a satisfied level. These ratings are particularly enhanced by the improved access to services in the upgraded Kambi Moto compared to other un-upgraded areas in the locality. These responses can most likely be attributed to the neighbourhood services that became accessible to the members, for example, the legal connections to water, electricity and sewer lines services that were completely lacking previous to the upgrading. Further, the upgrading included as well paving of roads and placement of street lights that significantly reduced criminal activity by increasing the accessibility levels. Provision of these auxiliary services is also noted by Aaron Wegmann in (Nairobi Planning report, 2007) *“In additions to the 247 individual house sites there are also areas reserved for a small community centre, a chapel and some neighbourhood squares bedside the necessary internal roads and footpaths.”*

However, there are indications of disquiet pertaining to the quality of leadership this community had. More so in the levels in which the satisfaction in the levels to which its needs were articulated to coalition partners and the extents to which it influenced the upgrading processes and outcomes as well. A portion of the populations felt alienated from the process in that they felt that the community needs were not well articulated to the supporting organizations and they also felt that they had limited influence in the upgrading process and outcomes and that some external people to the upgrading had benefited from their effort. Implying therefore that although there was community representation in these aspects, about 25% of the population found it wanting whether in quality levels or in competency levels that the representatives they had.

Kambi Moto Neighbourhood Outcomes Scored (+)

Finally, we asked the respondents to give us their satisfaction levels on the outcomes that were specific to their person or to their household.

Table 9 Kambi Moto Individual/household outcomes satisfaction levels

INDIVIDUAL OUTCOMES						
	Realization of Household expectations in SUP	Extents household received sufficient communication on SUP	Impact of mandatory savings contribution on HH daily living costs	Household satisfaction with the SUP leadership and representation	SUP decision making processes transparently managed.	TOTAL
Very Dissatisfied	0%	0%	0%	3%	6%	2%
Dissatisfied	4%	8%	8%	6%	13%	8%
Neither Satisfied nor dissatisfied	4%	15%	30%	13%	20%	16%
Satisfied	63%	44%	33%	49%	38%	45%
Very Satisfied	29%	33%	29%	29%	23%	29%

Out of 30 respondents, 74% indicated having achieved positive interactions with the project and were therefore were at (satisfied) level on the individual or household outcomes realized. Although all the three settlement upgrading outcomes in Kambi Moto scored highly, there was a slight decline in the respondent's satisfactions when evaluated at individual levels. Nonetheless, this community scored an outcome score level of satisfactory.

The impact of mandatory savings contributions to the individual daily living costs had 30% of the respondents expressed a medium position. This is an interesting observation that is interpreted for this paper that the respondents could not make a complete decision as to how that affected them. A possible explanation for this response is offered (Joseph Mukeku⁹ 2010) *"Discussions have been initiated with the community on how to centrally manage the incremental construction of houses and avoid the isolated construction by individuals that not only go without proper supervision by the technical team but also go against loaning provisions."* On this basis then, there would be a reluctance by those who undertook the process privately to provide a genuine response on that.

Further, the credibility of the decision-making procedures in Kambi Moto is questioned by up to a fifth of the population. This can as well be linked to the neighbourhood outcomes findings that indicated a feeling of limited leaderships and control of the process as well subordination of community protocols by external actors. There was a heavy involvement in the process by experts positioned externally to the community and their work in the community was not properly understood and the community lacked access to their activities and protocols. These factors could be interpreted as the subordination of the community process.

The individual outcomes in Kambi Moto are thus scored (+).

⁹ Architects' progress updates and activities progression report to Pamoja Trust by Site Architect Joseph Mukeku

4.2.3 Gitathuru settlement upgrading outcomes.

Figure 5: Upgraded structures



Source: (Alam, Baliga, et al., 2005)

Prior to the signing of the MOU in 2003 that created Huruma as a special planning Zone, Gitathuru community had had practice in community-led processes when they had undertaken to construct a toilet facility from the year 2001. This community undertook 2 phases of upgrading firstly, 16 structures constructed in 2006 and afterwards 10 further dwelling structures in 2010.

Table 10: Gitathuru Community fact sheet

Settlement	Enumerated Households	Implement ation year	Size of structure	Cost per Unit	Dwelling Structures upgraded
Gitathuru	300	2005	19.1m ²	Kes220,000/- ¹⁰	26

We sought to find the satisfaction levels realized in the housing outcomes in Gitathuru. The responses were as follows

Table 11: Gitathuru Housing outcomes satisfaction levels.

	HOUSING OUTCOMES					
	Extents to which final dwelling structure resembled the housing model	Considerations for opinions on dwelling structure upgrading	Reduction to exposure to hazards after SUP	Satisfaction with upgraded dwelling structure?	Satisfaction with community-led process SUP	TOTAL
Very Dissatisfied	3%	23%	14%	17%	20%	15%
Dissatisfied	20%	21%	20%	8%	17%	17%
Neither Satisfied nor dissatisfied	7%	20%	19%	13%	24%	17%
Satisfied	53%	30%	10%	17%	27%	27%
Very Satisfied	17%	6%	38%	46%	12%	24%

¹⁰ 1 US\$ = KSHs 103.15 19/8/2017

The Gitathuru community appears evenly distributed in satisfaction levels of the housing outcomes in their community. 32% of all respondents indicated dissatisfaction with the outcome and 51% of the respondents reported satiation with this outcome scoring a midpoint score of neither satisfied nor dissatisfied.

Although 300 households had joined Muungano and undertaken the saving scheme in anticipation of the upgrading only 10% realized dwelling structure upgrading. Construction began 2005 for 16 houses, then the project lay dormant for 4 years until 2010 when the second phase of 10 houses was constructed. This start-stop basis of construction had an impact on the observed distribution of satisfaction levels. Aaron Wegmann attests to this and states *“there is a pending issue with Town Planning Council in regards to the river waterfront setback building line [...] At present that construction “start-stop” to approach did not help the community mobilisation and cost control.”*

Secondly, satisfaction levels for the resemblance of the housing model with the outcome are positive for 70% of the respondents. This indicates rather developed levels of collaboration within the community that enabled arrival at a consensus on the final construction plan for their community. Further, in terms of articulation of community needs to secondary actors as well as significant levels of positive influences are shown for communication of the results from a house modelling process into a dwelling structure. However, about 40% of the respondents expressed the lack of faith in a community-led process and the neglect of their opinions in the project. This shows the existence of feelings of exclusion of the community from the upgrading process meaning that community ownership of this project was low.

There are indications of inconsistencies for the scores for satisfaction with upgraded structure. 46% of the respondents indicate being very satisfied with the upgraded structure. Cognizant of the fact that only 26 dwelling structures were upgraded via the Muungano community-led process, these indications could be implying the presence more upgraded structures in Gitathuru but the undertaking for the upgrading of the structure was done at household levels rather than through the Muungano process as earlier mentioned in Aaron Wegmann’s reports. **Gitathuru Housing outcomes scored (+-)**

We pursued the community response on their satisfaction levels with the neighbourhood outcomes. Their responses are detailed here with:

Table 12: Gitathuru neighbourhood outcomes satisfaction levels

NEIGHBOURHOOD OUTCOMES							
Community general satisfaction with improved neighbourhood	Village representative success in speaking for community	Successful articulation of community requirements	Extents of community influence on upgrading process and	Improved access to services compared to un-upgraded areas	Transparent management of community contributions	Upgrading benefitted ONLY rightfully registered residents?	TOTAL
29%	17%	13%	28%	13%	13%	13%	18%
17%	27%	20%	34%	10%	15%	7%	18%
25%	23%	34%	18%	10%	18%	20%	21%
26%	21%	17%	11%	27%	33%	17%	22%
3%	12%	16%	10%	40%	20%	43%	21%

These findings are consistent with the housing outcomes in terms of community satisfaction levels. There is an even distribution across the satisfaction levels from high to low. As before the most viable explanation is based on the sparse numbers of upgraded structures realized and the minimum improvement of the neighbourhood as a result of the Muungano process. The score per the rating criteria registers 43% of all respondents rating the neighbourhood positively

and 36% rating it negatively. Therefore a “neither satisfied nor dissatisfied for this community.” This response is especially so because of the community, albeit being a beneficiary of the 2003 MOU, there was nothing for them to show for it until 2014.

Many of the respondents were noncommittal in giving full feedback about their satisfaction. However, 67% of all respondents saw improvements in the access of services to the upgraded areas when compared to the un-upgraded areas. Gitathuru Community is located deep within Huruma without direct access to the roads, (Pamoja Trust Slum Upgrading brief, 2010) indicated “[...] *upgrading provided a community centre and toilet block in 2004 afterwards in 2010 one road connecting Gitathuru to Kambi Moto was paved and legal electricity reticulation to some households.*”

33% of the respondents were dissatisfied with the articulation of the community needs to the coalition partners. More so the City Council of Nairobi. The signing of the MOU was expected to provide tenure security to the general Huruma Community. The stoppage of the site in Gitathuru was induced by the City Council environmental body insistence on 30meter river front setback although Gitathuru was designed as part of special planning zone. This pinpoints to poverty in information exchange among the city council departments as well as power struggles within the city council that reflected negatively on Gitathuru community self-organized process. Further, it this conflict with the City council created fears in this community that impeded on their desires on undertaking long-term capital-intensive settlement upgrading project for fear of loss of property and displacement and this is well indicated by the 62% response rate for the query on the extents to which the community influenced the upgrading process and outcomes.

Neighbourhood Outcomes also scored (+-)

Finally, the 30 respondents gave us feedback on the satisfaction levels of the individual or household incomes:

Table 13: Gitathuru individual outcomes satisfaction levels

	INDIVIDUAL OUTCOMES					
	Realization of Household expectations in SUP	Extents household received sufficient communication on SUP	Impact of mandatory savings contribution on HH daily living costs	Household satisfaction with the SUP leadership and representation	SUP decision making processes transparently managed.	TOTAL
Very Dissatisfied	27%	13%	13%	3%	7%	13%
Dissatisfied	16%	33%	13%	17%	10%	18%
Neither Satisfied nor dissatisfied	17%	21%	63%	43%	36%	36%
Satisfied	23%	19%	7%	23%	31%	21%
Very Satisfied	17%	13%	3%	13%	16%	12%

The table about shows consistency results with other outcomes in this community. There is an even distribution of respondents across the tow satisfaction levels and the middle level. We cannot therefore conclusively provide a clear rating per the score card without further information.

That said, however, we see the highest number of respondents that had a concurrence on any subject on the individual outcome being the 63% respondents who gave feedback of neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with the impact of the mandatory savings on their daily living costs. There was a four-year period of inactivity in Gitathuru between the construction of the first and

second project phases in 2010. This result could be indicating that the respondents were not financially engaged with the project long enough to determine the budgetary impact it would have on their daily living costs at they were.

Additionally, there are prominent levels of dissatisfaction with the realization of household expectations with the settlement upgrading. Apart from the already outlined reasons of the difficulties with the Nairobi City Council, there is as well inadequacies in the bridging the various demographic groups and failure to accommodate community characteristics that were unique to this community. The upgrading criterion for qualification for settlement upgrading that was applied in Huruma required beneficiaries to have lived in that community for a minimum of five years. This cut off a significant part of this community as indicated in (Alam, Baliga, et al., 2005) *“One problem here is that the transitory nature of residents in this village means that the “owners” of the process are becoming a smaller, tightly knit group of villagers who were present at the original enumeration five years ago and are part of the savings group.”* This, for example, is excluded from all the Muungano Federation activities in terms of information exchange, mobilization efforts as well as the alignment of household needs with the environment. This adds a further explanation to the findings observed in Gitathuru.

Individual outcomes scored (-)

4.2.4 Mahira community settlement upgrading outcomes

Figure 6: Construction process



Source: (Wegmann, 2004)

This settlement upgrading was undertaken in two phases commencing 2007 and concluding in 2010. The upgrading details are shown here:

Table 14: Mahira Community fact sheet

Settlement	Enumerated Households	Implementation year	Size of structure	Cost per Unit	Dwelling Structures upgraded
Mahira	332	2007	20.1m ²	Kes240,000/- ¹¹	58

¹¹ 1 US\$ = KSHs 103.15 19/8/2017

Upon determination of the content outcomes, we set upon determining the process outcomes by seeking the satisfaction levels of the Mahira community on Housing outcomes, here below are the findings:

Table 15: Mahira satisfaction levels on Housing outcomes

HOUSING OUTCOMES						
	Extents to which final dwelling structure resembled the housing model	Considerations for opinions on dwelling structure upgrading	Reduction to exposure to hazards after SUP	Satisfaction with upgraded dwelling structure?	Satisfaction with community-led process SUP	TOTAL
Very Dissatisfied	7%	3%	3%	3%	3%	4%
Dissatisfied	0%	7%	30%	7%	3%	9%
Neither Satisfied nor dissatisfied	13%	13%	13%	30%	7%	15%
Satisfied	43%	53%	33%	30%	63%	45%
Very Satisfied	37%	23%	20%	30%	23%	27%

This table shows that 72% of all respondents had achieved positive interactions and payoff from the settlement upgrading.

The findings are generally positive for most of the outcome indicators, more so on the satisfaction with a community-led process. 86% of all respondents indicated their faith in a community led process. This indicates the presence of a strong community feeling where the members observed advantages of pursuing objectives jointly rather than singularly. Further, it displays levels of confidence among the community members of reaching agreements that were considered positive for most of the community members. (Aaron Wegmann Report Planning support in Nairobi 2006/07) indicated his when he opined “*This community [Mahira] was involved in a long planning process and culminated in the resolve of internal community issues.*” This is further supported by the high affirmation rates for the extents to which the model structure resembled the final built structure as well as the consideration satisfaction levels shown for the community opinions in the upgrading. These denote strong collaborative processes that the community engaged in severally. an outcome which is as resultant of collaborative processes in a community.

However, there is a sizeable number of respondents whose satisfaction levels for safety against hazard is very low. 30% of all respondents fell into this category. This firstly is expected due to the number of housing units that were upgraded in this location. More than 200 households continue to live in un-upgraded dwelling structures. It also could be driven by the weather conditions at the time of the survey where the rains made the respondents much more aware of the hazardous conditions of their dwelling structures.

Mahira Housing Outcomes scored (+)

Table 16: Mahira satisfaction levels for Neighbourhood outcomes

	NEIGHBOURHOOD OUTCOMES							
	Community general satisfaction with improved	Village representative success in speaking	Successful articulation of community	Extents of community influence on upgrading	Improved access to services compared to un-	Transparent management of community	Upgrading benefitted ONLY rightfully	TOTAL
Very Dissatisfied	22%	15%	7%	18%	10%	20%	14%	15%
Dissatisfied	6%	30%	7%	17%	3%	13%	27%	15%
Neither Satisfied nor dissatisfied	27%	8%	34%	20%	10%	0%	13%	16%
Satisfied	26%	30%	21%	17%	37%	43%	30%	29%
Very Satisfied	20%	17%	31%	29%	40%	23%	17%	25%

On querying for the neighbourhood outcomes, 54% of respondents indicated having positive interactions and opinions of their community settlement upgrading. About a third of all respondents however, indicated dissatisfaction with the project.

This neighbourhood bears indications of fragmentation where different households had completely different experiences with their neighbourhood albeit similar. There is a fair distribution of all the scored indicators to this effect.

There is, however, a very high dissatisfaction levels with the village representative in speaking for his community. 30% of respondents found this quality insufficient and 15 found it completely lacking. This finding is as well concurrent with the extents to which the community influenced the upgrading process and the households that benefitted from the upgrading. This indicates the presence of a powerful negative external influence in the process that hampered the full participation of the community to the limits they desired. The community leaderships is illustrated as handicapped in speaking for the community more respondents on the fence as to extents community needs were articulated to supporting organization.

These findings, therefore, depict a possible gentrification where other groups that were more financially capable deluged this community and offers a possible explanation why the settlement upgrading project ceased to function before all 332 households had acquired improved housing.

Neighbourhood outcomes in Mahira scored (+-)

Table 17: Mahira satisfaction levels for individual outcomes

	INDIVIDUAL OUTCOMES					
	Realization of Household expectations in SUP	Extents household received sufficient communication on SUP	Impact of mandatory savings contribution on HH daily living costs	Household satisfaction with the SUP leadership and representation	SUP decision making processes transparently managed.	TOTAL
Very Dissatisfied	3%	3%	13%	3%	10%	6%
Dissatisfied	15%	21%	19%	10%	12%	15%
Neither Satisfied nor dissatisfied	17%	19%	20%	27%	13%	19%
Satisfied	40%	41%	27%	17%	38%	33%
Very Satisfied	25%	17%	21%	43%	28%	27%

Finally, the individual outcomes in Mahira have a score card satisfaction (Score +). The community has consistently high satisfaction levels but there are areas of note.

Firstly, these findings have 32% of the respondents saying that the daily savings contribution was strenuous to their households. Which provides a possible explanation for the small number of dwelling structures upgraded as driven by the socio-economic characteristics of the dwellers of Mahira. Yet, it is this group with financial inhibitions that should derive the most benefit from a communal process like this settlement upgrading where individual financial burdens in undertaking a dwelling upgrading would be mitigated via the loans and labour provided through their subscription to the federation leading the community-led process. Hence empowerment.

Further, this community expresses reservations regarding the adequacy of settlement upgrading communication that they received. About a quarter of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with this and therefore indicating that this lack of information might have had a bearing on to the extents to which the community involved themselves in the process as well as impeded on households decision-making procedures that would have been aided by availability of legitimate and adequate information about the project.

Further, the community shows moderate support for their representatives and leadership they were accorded in this upgrading project. This deduction is arrived at from the satisfaction levels shown in the transparency in community decision-making protocols indicator as well as in the indicator for satisfaction with representation and leadership where more than 30% of all respondents indicated dissatisfaction with the leadership and representation accorded.

Overall, Mahira **Individual outcomes scored (+-).**

Upon the above analysis, the comparisons for performance of all three villages for each of the upgrading outcomes is indicated in the scoresheet on Table 18 below:

Table 18: Upgrading outcomes 3-village comparative performance Scorecard.

COMMUNITY	SETTLEMENT UPGRADING OUTCOMES		
	<i>Housing</i>	<i>Neighbourhood</i>	<i>Individual</i>
<i>Kambi Moto</i>	+	+	+
<i>Gitathuru</i>	+-	+-	-
<i>Mahira</i>	+	+-	+-

Conclusively, Kambi Moto is indicated as the best performing unit across all upgrading outcomes scoring (+) for the three outcomes. However, Gitathuru performs inadequately in all outcomes more so on the individual outcomes where the satisfaction levels were the worst observed across all outcomes and among the three villages. Mahira performance is unremarkable achieving average scores but with high satisfaction levels for the housing outcomes.

4.3.0 TYPES OF BOUNDARIES

Huruma Settlement upgrading provided a platform for a variety of boundary spanning agents to operate. There were a variety of boundaries that needed crossing for the upgrading to occur. The most notable boundaries identified were:

Demographic boundaries were noted. These are boundaries within a community arising from the heterogeneity of its members more so on social differences and diversity of needs. Firstly, the households surveyed and interview respondents sampled were drawn from two main groups, The structure owners, and the tenants' groups. The respondents were drawn from two categories *"comprising of tenants and structure owners and they varied per village. For example, in Mahira, the structure owners were more than the tenants which was not the case in Kambi Moto (Muungano Respondent 1)¹². (NCC Respondent) brought out the differences by stating the role she played in the project as, "support dispute resolution among members of Muungano the tenants and structure owners [...] ensuring that all those who were enumerated and expected to be beneficiaries were included in the project."* In 2002 in Kambi Moto and Gitathuru, the structure owners were less than 10% of the residents. In Mahira, the enumeration was resisted and the figure was not arrived at until 2005. The structure owners were very uneasy with this arrangement¹³. Other demographic boundaries seen were as a basis of socioeconomic composition of the communities that where for example in Mahira most of the community composition included business owners who were groups external to Huruma. Further, the Mahira community is depicted as less financially capable than the other Huruma communities. the rest of Huruma as noted by (Aaron Wegmann, Planning support in Nairobi 2007) stated *"The informal Mahira neighbourhood had traditionally residential as well as commercial components, due to its location and mix of residences. Hover ever, Mahera community's members are not able to bring up the (20%) savings for the house down payment"*

Additionally, there were stakeholder boundaries noted where all the actors despite their interdependencies applied different codes in their processes. This upgrading process had no formal agreement indicating the rights and obligation of all parties involved. Each actor had the flexibility to interact with the process freely and flexibly. (SDI Respondent) stated *"All the*

¹² Interviews with Muungano Chairlady, Susan Wanjiku 14/7/2017

¹³ Mentioned throughout the interviewees and reiterated by Jack Makau, SDI, Nairobi, June 29, 2017

actors that were involved were voluntarily there and there was no contract binding them to each other. Each just sort of did what they were there to do and moved along". The community held the same beliefs as occasioned by the statement offered by (Muungano Respondent 2), *"Adherence was more an ad hoc basis as many of the people working in this process were volunteers. From the support organizations side, where they failed to meet an expectation we would seek alternative solutions and proceed"*. The structure of these differences was further detailed by (External respondent) who offered, *"there arose huge rifts between groups, the NCC was very noncommittal and could not stick to the MOU"*

Vertical boundaries noted. These are hierarchical barriers based on power, rank, and privilege. *"The NCC used to impose top-down policies on the communities, but the communities now use professional tactics and their negotiation power to influence the NCC. The communities have developed their professionalism through various training"*¹⁴. (Gitathuru Respondent 2). Further, all six community leaders from Kambi Moto, Gitathuru and Mahira indicated that the threats by the Nairobi City Council to pull out of the process if consensus could not be build were the cohesion. (Muungano Respondent 2¹⁵) asserted *"The NCC had made us understand that if any significant disputes that arose in this process, they would immediately stop the project without discussion. So we made sure to deal with any matter that arose as soon as it came up to avoid future situations where that matter could potentially jeopardise our project"*.

Finally, there were also horizontal boundaries noted, which are barriers based on functional differences between the actors. (SDI Respondent) opined, *"We especially had difficulties with the accountants with too many delays in moving things along or even in releasing funds. This would delay the activities of the technical team and hence delaying the whole project"*. Further, (Homeless International Respondent)¹⁶ opined *"The SDI movement has a lot of distrust towards experts and professionals. Yet they are needed. Of course, experts have to put the communities first but trust, not distrust is what must be created"*. All these were demonstrations of the boundaries existing at both the planning and implementation phases of the Huruma Settlement Upgrading project.

In this settlement upgrading, several parties were involved and they bore divergent characteristics that made the determination of a singular objective difficult. Further, there were other types of differentiations as indicated above and it was for the presence of these gaps that certain individuals worked throughout the network to ensure that these differences and gaps were resolved. There were two types of divergent groups, the coalition actor, and

4.4.0 COMMUNITY BOUNDARY SPANNING STRATEGIES

In this community upgrading, a variety of boundary spanning factors is queried. These factors will be handled in this section on a case by case basis. The factors under analysis are the boundary spanning positions, the legitimization process for boundary spanning agents and the boundary spanning customs they apply to meet their outcomes.

4.4.1 Kambi Moto Boundary Spanning Strategies

This community has the most favourable outcomes as detailed in the outcomes section. Therefore, we start by analysing the quality of the boundary spanning witnessed in this village and the extents to which the agents fulfilled boundary spanning tenets.

¹⁴ Sipa Team Report on Pamoja Trust, 2005

¹⁵ Interview with Peter Chege, long-term committee member of Muungano on 14th July 2017

¹⁶ Drawn from Interviews with Remi Kaupp

This study focusses specifically on individuals and how their roles and practices in a network process impact the outcomes their networks realize. Cognizant to the varieties of boundaries that existed in Huruma we turn to focus on the individuals who were engaged in traversing these boundaries to enable their community to realize positive outcomes on their goals.

These individuals took the lead in undertaking activities that ultimately aligned their communities with the context they were living in. They are indicated as having an active role in the upgrading process throughout the upgrading period. For instance, In Kambi Moto, (Kambi Moto Respondent 2) who forwarded *“I was actually the village chairman then. I served 2 two-year terms and a further 2 two-year terms as secretary of Kambi Moto.”* He indicated his further involvement by saying *“I was chairman of the village and all the while to date I have sat as a committee member of Kambi Moto Village in Kamaregima.”* He explained the cause of appointment to these committees as follows (Kambi Moto Respondent 2) affirmed this by stating *“many people started approaching me to support the settlement upgrading because of my connections with different organizations and institutions.”* This boundary spanning agent was positioned between the community and the supporting organizations. This deep involvement indicates the respondent as an accepted authority figure within Kambi Moto through his selection to sit in various positions of leadership in diverse community committees over the period and thus placing him as a community agent who would have an influential place in the project.

Further, there was a different type of leader occasioned in this village. This was the leader that was distinctly known through their actions for their agitation and for fighting for community's interests in various platforms taking a position between the diverse community groups for example between the structure owners and tenant groups. As well as their role in safeguarding the interests of the general community (Kambi Moto Respondent 1) was one such leader as demonstrated by *“role as a community leader was always in the project team [...] I almost lost my home fighting for community rights. I was always so busy. I was very brave, it was my expertise [...] I fight for community rights. I don't normally care for gender. I fought for everyone men and women [...] I am a firebrand, I know very many people and possess the knowledge and skills of getting people to move quickly.”* This acceptability was particularly useful for the renegotiation of power structures especially between the tenancy and structure owners' groups as well as with the NCC.

The characteristics that made these respondents be pursued to take these leading positions was based on the abilities both latent and pronounced that would command resources that their community needed to achieve the improved living conditions they were pursuing in this upgrading. organizations. Further, the characteristics of these two leaders are different where one would pursue negotiations through coercion while the other would more likely apply diplomatic means to reach an agreement. These two examples show that this community had means of enforcing a negotiation with the diverse groups more so the structure owners and the NCC to usurp the support needed to achieve the upgrading. This would be through the leveraging the boundary spanning agents' strengths in negotiations or through agitation for the alignment of the community needs with the environment. Thus, for the ability to enabling of Cooperation these community leaders were successful.

Community-based boundary spanning agents had a critical role as of germinating links and support among all the diverse groups both internally and externally to the community. Within the community, the basic area of connection was in the savings group. This was stipulated in the guidance established in Muungano upgrading guidelines 2002 in (Nairobi Planning Report, 2005, Wegmann Aaron), which stated *“Each new house owner needs to be an active member of a saving group, and the construction affordability is related to the individual savers*

capability as well as to the community's saving's performance." This indicates therefore that the final number of upgraded structures that the village achieved was hinged on the ability of the community to catalyse savings among its members. The performance of Kambi Moto in this outcome was exceptional. They succeeded in building the highest number of new structures showing them that they had indeed made inroads among their community members to actively participate in the savings groups. (Muungano Respondent 2) opined to this effect *"in 2003 only a handful agreed to join the savings group. However, by 2006, 60 out of about 90 structure owners had become Muungano members."*

Judicious of the presence of divergences and differences within this community, to effectively carry out a connecting role, there would be a need for agents that would undertake activities that enabled the formation of common ground. Agents that would negotiate the interactions between parties on two opposite sides of a boundary to establish useful interactions and relations among the concerned parties. In Kambi Moto this took two dimensions, there were groups negotiating relations with other differing community members especially the structure owners and the tenants to reach a consensus that was useful to the whole community because there was recognition that the settlement upgrading would not happen unless the structure owners supported it. There were practices undertaken that sought to encourage trust and creation of interpersonal relationships. This was through acknowledge the differences in the parties involved and yet deriving consensus by reducing suspicion (Kambi Moto Respondent 1) cited the final compromise position that ultimately won over the dissenting Structure owners. He forwarded *"I was sent to go and negotiate with them [structure owners and business owners]. We agreed from the outset how the upgrading would be done. The system and criterion to be followed. The tenants had to take the space that would be available but the structure owners would be given priority and allowed to choose the space that they wanted. They took most of the spaces on the front line near the road."* The deliberative agent in Kambi Moto was particularly effective in the role of negotiating the gaps between the structure owners and the tenancy groups. In it private individuals were convinced to give up their sources of income for the well-being of the community for this connecting and linking the community gaps his community.

Additionally, boundary spanning agents were relevant for the creating positive associations with other parties' external to Kambi Moto, more especially the NCC and other coalition partners (Muungano Respondent 1¹⁷) *"The community chairman then vigorously pursued the NCC and other government bodies in very helpful ways. He was involved in negotiations with NCC and other government bodies for settlement upgrading uses just as he chased the Ministry of Lands to lobby for tenure security."*

The extents to which these agents fulfilled their connecting and linking role is demonstrated in the code frequencies that actions intending to create and boost support from diverse groups were the most important facet of the boundary spanning agents' roles much more so than actions enforcing intergroup interactions after they had come together. In Kambi Moto, marshalling the diverse community groups as well external groups to join and support their project was important and it is well indicated by the 92% of survey respondents that said that the household's expectations for the upgrading were realized. The mobilization was vigilant and it explains this positive outcome in the household outcomes especially.

The exchange of knowledge is also amply undertaken by the boundary spanning agents in this community. A competent function of information exchange is shown as paying attention to the selection of information and is also attentive to translation. (Kambi Moto Respondent 1) offered *"Some people I know even up to date in our committees I cannot give them information."*

¹⁷ A community member of Kambi Moto.

I know everyone in this community, there are people who cannot be trusted with information.” With this statement, she also indicates the importance of the receivers of information getting information that is only relevant to them and from credible sources and actionable as required and is aware of the selecting tenet of informational exchange. Informational exchange agents must also be wary of the weight of the messages they bear (Kambi Moto Respondent 1) is aware that information has the ability of causing disharmony and expresses caution in its handling by insisting that selection is careful she forwarded that *“information was open. I, however, think committee members must be chosen clearly so that everyone is happy [...] even to so many opinions try to give best practice if you know it and keep to your competencies. Do not jump around everywhere [...] we are obligated to defer conflict where we can and then maybe the information must be modified a bit to reduce tension.”* This respondent ranks very highly as an informational boundary spanner. She demonstrated exceptional knowledge of the social constructs of her community and provided ways of overcoming them to effectively engage in information exchange while still generating support for the project.

The respondent was as well an accepted community communicator which is a further indication of her legitimacy in this process and was involved in information translation and she illustrated this by stating (Kambi Moto Respondent 1) *“I acted as a community translator. I understood and spoke English where in this community very few people could. This enhanced and enabled communication between the institutions and the community. My community would ask me many questions after meetings with institutions, they knew I understood their English and activities better and wanted me to explain to them better. I was also engaged as a trainer of trainers, may be because of the characteristic I was talking about before where many people would look up to me for information and communication.”* Externally, the informational roles that mobilized support are indicated. Kambi Moto relied on the community committees through the community leaderships, Kamaregima and Muungano to handle information to and from external bodies. The external information protocols were via these bodies as demonstrated (Kambi Moto Respondent 2) *“We would get information from the institutions through them. We would then dissipate this information to the village in our once weekly Wednesday meet most usually. The weekly meetings were community wide and villages took turns in hosting these meetings so we could spread the spirit of ownership of the project and also create a sense of belonging.”* This shows that the community leadership was aware and cautious of the possibility poor informational exchange happening where each group to directly engage the coalition partners, they show a respect to this understanding that was translated to the community as well. All this acquisition of relevant information as well as the caution in dissipation of the same information empowered the strategic planning at household levels and it as well provided information at the right mix that did not overwhelm the community to keep the community interested, engaged and participating.

Finally, considering the long-term nature of the project as well as the interdependence among the community members in the aspects of the communal saving that provided collateral for construction loans. Protocols to ensure adherence and cooperation are necessary. Kambi Moto from the outset undertook transformational practices that united all the partners under one blanket generated by-laws that allowed the diverse groups to evolve into new groups that were governed by the same principles. Both respondents from Kambi Moto spoke of these by-laws (Kambi Moto Respondent 1) *“At that time we had by laws for all community committees and also for all the associated partners. It described each groups roles. I was part of the team that was involved in the drafting of this document in Kambi Moto.”* Further (Kambi Moto Respondent 2) opined, *“each group was supported by the by laws. They were very clear [...] as stipulated by our community bylaws. Every Sunday at the community meeting one permanent agenda was the checking and evaluation of the various task groups and the limits to which they*

were serving their roles.” These by-laws were not a mandatory requirement in the project but rather a reformatory innovation of Kambi Moto community where groups individuals would no longer be identified by the groups they belonged to but rather by the stipulation of the by-laws that guided the community interaction.

Evaluation of Kambi Moto Boundary spanning Strategies

Strategy	Respondent 1	Respondent 2
Connecting and Linking (Examples of agents' activities geared towards facilitation of connections between internal and external sub-groups)	<p>Mobilizing</p> <p>Community mobilizing through membership to negotiation team between business owners and tenant's groups.</p> <p>Founder of Kambi Moto Caterers a community business for supplementing community savings.</p> <p>Social Entrepreneur</p> <p>Campaigned for both men and women.</p> <p>Attended all Kamaregima and Kambi Moto Community meetings.</p> <p>Score (+) (Agent shows high capability in establishing connections between sub-groups)</p>	<p>Mobilizing</p> <p>Elected as a committee member with a role of mobilizing the village and other structure owners to get behind this process</p> <p>Engaged in contact with and involved in negotiations with NCC and other government bodies for settlement upgrading uses.</p> <p>Pursued different government organizations in a bid to lobby for secure tenure</p> <p>Negotiated with local government officials when there were breakdowns in relations between community and these bodies.</p> <p>Score (+) (Agent shows high capability in establishing connections between sub-groups)</p>
	<p>Reflecting</p> <p>Involved in Muungano connection efforts with other local communities as a trainer on Slum Dwellers International Protocols.</p> <p>Committee member of Kamaregima the melting point of all other Huruma communities engaging in the upgrading.</p> <p>Score (+-) (Agent involved in enabling inter-group interactions but not too deeply).</p>	<p>Reflecting</p> <p>Occupied senior leadership position that created direct connections between the community and the partner organizations.</p> <p>Founder of the welfare committee for helping the community with social hardships.</p> <p>Member of Kamaregima</p> <p>Score (+-) (Agent involved in enabling inter-group interactions but not too deeply).</p>
Information Exchange (Examples of agents' activities undertaken in the process of acquisition and dissipation of information)	<p>Selecting</p> <p>Strong awareness of communication protocol of selection before dissipation</p> <p>Informational boundary spanning role. Competent and Accepted community communicator.</p> <p>Led training on settlement upgrading procedures.</p> <p>Contacted many groups within and beyond the community on Muungano basis</p> <p>Score (+) (Agent highly proficient in pursuit and acquisition of essential information)</p>	<p>Selecting</p> <p>The frequent instigator of community forums to enable conversation between different stakeholders.</p> <p>Community informational agent through his position as an appointee to Kamaregima that connected directly with the coalition partners.</p> <p>Communicated verbally and electronically. Information well received and acted upon exactly</p> <p>Score (+-) (Agent open to receipt of relevant information but does not pursue it)</p>

	<p>Translating</p> <p>Community translator from English to Swahili.</p> <p>The decoder of hard to comprehend upgrading communication.</p> <p>Frequently received new information from both the community and the coalition partners and spoke community meetings explaining different things at various times.</p> <p>Was aware of the rights and obligations of all involved partners and helped community reach this delineation</p> <p>Score (+) (Agent a careful and eloquent information decipherer, strongly aware of the depth information carries)</p>	<p>Translating</p> <p>Worked hand in hand with village committees in dissipation of information.</p> <p>Spoke often at Community gathering with positive response from the community.</p> <p>Brought project information from Pamoja Trust especially for activation in Kambi Moto and vice versa.</p> <p>Was aware of the rights and obligations of all involved partners and helped community reach this delineation.</p> <p>Score (+) (Accepted community communicator explicates knowledge from external sources to community)</p>
<p>Enabling Cooperation (Examples of indication of agents' roles in the merger of divergent groups and interests under a common identity)</p>	<p>Weaving</p> <p>Involved in the drafting of community by-laws.</p> <p>Involved in diffusing community problems arising from the upgrading project.</p> <p>Advocated for the community or assembled them in response to eviction threats or shortcomings in relationships with police.</p> <p>Enabled accountability for community finances by announcing collections and expense on daily basis.</p> <p>Pursued the support from diverse groups where those with more experience stepped up and helped even more.</p> <p>Score (+) (Agent high proficient in extracting differences and embedding smaller groups into the project)</p>	<p>Weaving</p> <p>Aided other structure owners in understanding the tenant's groups stand points by chairing meetings between these two groups as well as dissolving conflicts and complaints</p> <p>Chairman of the committee that created the community by-laws.</p> <p>Was deeply involved in the supervision and evaluation of the various community task groups and the limits to which they were serving designated objectives.</p> <p>Appointed mediator between warring groups and meddling individuals in Kambi Moto and Huruma.</p> <p>Score (+) (Competent conflict dissolver, engaged in creation of group safety for community sub-groups and external partners)</p>
	<p>Transforming</p> <p>Part of the team that drafted Kambi Moto upgrading by-laws.</p> <p>A firm believer in the involvement of all community groups in the process without exclusion based on gender, socio-economic aspects, or position.</p> <p>Undertook no activities to merge community groups to one. Left the role to Pamoja Trust</p> <p>Score (+-) (Aware of importance of presence of common identity, however undertakes minimal activities to enable it)</p>	<p>Transforming</p> <p>Was Kambi Moto secretary that drafted and published Kambi Moto by-laws.</p> <p>Is credited for bringing many structure owners and business owners to give up their structures and join the upgrading bandwagon.</p> <p>Uncomfortable dealing with certain gender.</p> <p>Strongly depended on external organizations to enforce unity and cohesion in Kambi Moto.</p> <p>Score (+-) (Interested in enabling collaborations between structure owners and support from NCC but hesitant deeply interact with opposite gender).</p>

Legitimacy (<i>Demonstration of the basis of their acceptability as agents</i>)	Leader of Project Team Uniting figure among the tenancy groups. Fire-brand, strongly involved in agitation for community welfare especially with NCC Signatory of community bank account Horizontal Legitimacy (+) (Agent very popular and bear strong support at grassroots level. Is always the first point of contact for community decision-making hence the basis for acceptance by partner organizations)	Various village leadership positions. Member of Kamaregima Committee Strong Affiliations with Nairobi Council contacts Leader of the structure owner's groups Vertical Legitimacy (+) (Agent has very strong connections with external formal organizations that is the basis for acceptance by community. Appointed to diverse leadership positions over the course of time)
Key: Unsatisfactory (Rated (-)) Development Needed (Rated (+/-)) Successful (Rated (+))		

Table 19: Kambi Moto Boundary Spanning Strategies score sheet

4.4.2 Mahira Boundary spanning positions and strategies

Mahira was the last village to commence upgrading as it started work in late 2007.

There were indications of the presence of boundary spanning agents in this community, firstly were the agents operating in between the many divergent community groups that gained legitimation horizontally for instance “*I was given a position in the auditing faction in Mahira [...] They voted for me because they said that I fit, that I am a good speaker in formal meetings and that I articulate very well the community needs.*” (External Respondent) “*I witnessed some strong community leaderships, these were the enlightened groups, mixed in gender. I will also say quite representative because the communities elected their own leader's nobody from the institutional side was involved in the election of these leaders.*” (Mahira Respondent 1) added, “*The people would publicly vote for their leaders and their jobs would be well-defined and published for all to know [...] If one meddled they would be immediately sacked if the community agreed to this proposition*”. The legitimation process mostly undertaken in Mahira was mostly horizontal and leaders gained and lost their positions based on community election procedures. By having a horizontal legitimation protocol mostly in use, the community lacked external links relevant to manoeuvring the upgrading process as well as showing an inadequacy in the ability to access resources and tools held by external bodies that might have been influential to their goal.

The aspect of interdependence was particularly strong for the Huruma upgrading where the construction loans accessible to households were hinged on the ability of the community savings group to provide 20% as collateral to AMT. So, the cooperation of all individual savers was mandatory if any upgrading was to happen. (Mahira Respondent 2) indicated to us how the cohesion for the project support was undertaken, “*Rapport building in the community was built through PT [What of relationships with the coalition partners?] I did nothing directly to connect with institutions, I interacted with them only in Ufungamano where they had offices and we held meetings*” Additional insight about the cooperation levels of community support for the project was indicated by this aspect in Mahira was demonstrated further (Mahira Respondent 1) forwarded “*The challenge that was most significant was that this community did not have sufficient interest in the upgrading. This demoralised me a lot*”. This indicates failures in weaving practices that would have extracted all the differences arising in the community allowing them to focus on a common objective. Respondent additionally indicated the presence of weaving tactics by forging said “*We would agree what we would do in Huruma*

together. It took a cyclical format. Every Wednesday we would take turns per village to host this meeting. We met in neutral spaces. On the pathways, in churches, in town and other neutral places like that.” The essence of neutral spaces is particularly relevant to group interactions as it enhances the safety feelings that make people feel included.” All the above are denotations of deliberative roles in Mahira although the quality of the strategies applied in this role was weak in a few ways.

These boundary spanning agents in Mahira as well undertook activities geared towards the establishment of kinship in their community. There was the mobilization of support from the community members more so based on the savings group where all the construction financing was hinged (Mahira Respondent 1) stated *“I was also the village Vice Chairman. I was charged with motivating membership and collecting money that we leveraged with financial institutions for upgrading purposes”*. Mobilization of support from external sources is also present in Mahira, especially using the information to reach other groups that were relevant to the upgrading project (Mahira Respondent 1) spoke of this stating *“I once approached a person who owned many structures in Mahira and invited him to our meetings so he could learn for himself. I would also send him information for the meetings that he missed. This created interactions that could be once weekly and the relationship that we build was excellent. He finally joined the process and became chairman of the Project team.”* This boundary spanning agent is therefore depicted serving an informational role. Furthermore, reflection is denoted in this community (Mahira Respondent 2) *“Sometimes I would also see groups of the less fortunate even though all of us were in bad positions and I would speak to Kamaregima to help them.”* This reflected the internal needs of the community on which basis alignment of their community expectations with the objective was undertaken.

However, it was not all lacking for an informational role, especially for the sake of connecting with the collation partners with the community Mahira respondent 1 forwarded the reflecting activities she undertook *“as for community dynamics, they were not too aware but i enlightened them by sending them messages, going to their offices to educate them of the community knowledge. I have even carried out demonstrations with the community for their benefit sometimes”* She however mentioned the hardships she encountered while engaging the community that had elected her as their representative to the project, *“Sometimes when I sent messages people ignored me. It would be hurtful but people are of that nature. Others ignored me because they thought that this process would never see the light of day.”* This statement undernotes the failures in effectively taking the position. Further, for reflection of community needs and protocols, informational roles were indicated as serving this purpose (Mahira Respondent 2) offered *“I knew what they were doing, I knew each of their competencies and jobs. They were also very much involved in the community. I am a community expert and was able to advise them accordingly.”* This is important for the expected outcomes as all involved partners would then be positioned in a way where the diversities of skills and perspectives could be interchanged arriving at the best possible criterion for reaching intended outcomes. Further, through the memberships of some of the community agents to Kamaregima and through the pride they took in serving this role

Pamoja Trust primarily undertook mobilization efforts, thus there is a demonstration of inadequacies in undertaking an informational role that would provide the illumination the community needed to properly engage and sufficiently get involved in the project. However, effort towards creation of cohesion among the diverse groups are denoted in Mahira. This was held once weekly. If urgent, I would go door to door and take the message. I always delivered the message exactly as it was given to me. No matter what. Sometimes when I sent messages people ignored me. It would be hurtful but people are of that nature. Others ignored me because they thought that this process would never see the light of (Mahira Respondent 1) said *“My*

principal areas of expertise were and still remain community communication, where I gather information from the community and distribute it to relevant parties and I also bring back information from other sources to my community” Further he added he acted as a community interpreter to the external organization by forwarding.” This as well enabled the alignment of all the factors and actors to enable the realization of outcomes. This community the presence of weaving tactics by forging said “We would agree what we would do in Huruma together. It took a cyclical format. Every Wednesday we would take turns per village to host this meeting. We met in neutral spaces. On the pathways, in churches, in town and other neutral places like that.” The essence of neutral spaces is particularly relevant to group interactions as it enhances the safety feelings that make people feel included.” All the above are denotations of reflective tasks in Mahira. More so regarding the less advantaged groups in Mahira by seeking support for them from the Kamaregima in whose committees all community decision-making was undertaken. was the refence of these cases to the Kamaregima for assistance although this problem was specific to Mahira community.

A mediatory role enabled the establishment of a cooperative and collaborative relationships among parties involved and these relationships continued to be fragmented in Mahira as indicated by Wegmann. In fact, the (Mahira Respondent 1) indicated that their community had not recognised the relevance of having their own community deliberative roles. They left this role to Pamoja Trust team, a group based mostly externally to the community. He stated “The PT people would mediate. They governed the process, leading the meetings, take the position of communication between the various actors. They also helped resolve crises and conflicts between all parties.” The aligning of the individual needs of the community members to the communal objectives was not undertaken and this could be responsible for the undistinguished outcomes that were observed in Mahira.

Mahira settlement upgrading outcomes and Boundary spanning strategies evaluation

Strategy	Respondent 1	Respondent 2
Connecting and Linking (Examples of agents' activities geared towards facilitation of connections between internal and external sub-groups)	<p>Reflecting</p> <p>Used to give own money to rent meeting spaces for his community.</p> <p>Displayed the sweat equity rotas, schedules and man hours served on the door of his house for everyone's supervision.</p> <p>Was a founding member of Muungano and was involved in detailing community needs to coalition partners and vice versa.</p> <p>Openly pursued responses for questions from both sides of the project</p> <p>Score (+) (Agent successful in creating knowledge between different groups on each other's activities)</p>	<p>Reflecting</p> <p>Communicated the financial hardships of a section of Mahira members in engaging in the project to Kamaregima.</p> <p>Undertook presentations and shows for external guests of the Mahira project.</p> <p>Was sought by Pamoja Trust representatives for knowledge of community dynamics</p> <p>Was not a member of Kamaregima Committee.</p> <p>Score (+-) (Sufficient identifier of community realities who sought means of showing them)</p>
	<p>Mobilizing</p> <p>Approached Pamoja Trust to introduce the settlement upgrading in Mahira.</p> <p>Was involved in stimulating participation in community savings scheme as community Vice Chairman.</p>	<p>Mobilizing</p> <p>Interacted with a wide network of people in churches, streets, and residences on a door to door campaign seeking them to join basis of joining Muungano.</p> <p>Was influential in converting many business owners in Mahira to Muungano Federation.</p>

	<p>Reached out and gave information to the Somali tribe that was living in a mostly Kikuyu tribe area.</p> <p>Met external coalition partners every Wednesday.</p> <p>Has significant local knowledge</p> <p>Score (+) (Pursued and succeeded in generating support across the board.)</p>	<p>Score (+-) (enabled connections within community groups but uninvolved with external actors)</p>
<p>Information Exchange (Examples of agents' activities undertaken in the process of acquisition and dissipation of information)</p>	<p>Selecting</p> <p>Was trusted to deliver information from community to diverse coalition partners involved in Mahira.</p> <p>Accepted community communicator that was given information by many community members.</p> <p>Understands effective communication protocols well and applied them.</p> <p>Score (+) (Got essential information from diverse sources)</p>	<p>Selecting</p> <p>Active in collection of relevant information from other villages for Mahira community</p> <p>Attended all community and Kamaregima meetings.</p> <p>Got training information on auditing from Kambi Moto and taught other Mahira community members in the project and audit committees.</p> <p>(Score (+-) (Gathered relevant information for Mahira but mostly from uncredited sources))</p>
	<p>Translating</p> <p>Attended and been part of the SDI grassroots exchange program that brought information on upgrading dynamics to Mahira.</p> <p>Was a member of Kamaregima translated information from other project partners in Mahira.</p> <p>People responded positively to most of his communication.</p> <p>(Score +-) (Was relevant in demystifying upgrading information in community, handicapped in English competences)</p>	<p>Translating</p> <p>Some of her messages were ignored.</p> <p>Did not dissipate information regularly.</p> <p>Low English competences thus handicaps engaging coalition partners.</p> <p>Score (-) (Dissipated information regularly ignored by recipients.)</p>
<p>Enabling Cooperation (Examples of indication of agents' roles in the merger of divergent groups and interests under a common identity)</p>	<p>Weaving</p> <p>Was involved in the publishing of the rules governing Mahira community committees.</p> <p>Community record keeper of sweat equity man-hours.</p> <p>Part of the dream team that managed the building of the community model house in rags.</p> <p>Had difficulties dealing with youth and slower groups in the process.</p> <p>Encouraged participation and attendance of community meetings by Mahira residents.</p> <p>Was involved in community conflict resolution.</p> <p>Score (+) (Successful engaged in ingraining different groups in community to project)</p>	<p>Weaving</p> <p>Effective peace keeper and deliberative agent.</p> <p>Did not engage in rapport making with the supporting organizations. It was a task for Pamoja Trust she felt.</p> <p>Sympathetic to the poorer members of their community.</p> <p>Undertook shared responsibility by stepping me whenever other leaders were indisposed.</p> <p>Score (+-) (Undertook in creating community unity, minimal interactions with external supporting bodies.)</p>

	<p>Transforming</p> <p>Renegotiated a flexi-time payment schedule for Kes 7,500 construction deposit.</p> <p>Was one of the original 10 founders of the community association that brought all villages under one umbrella of Kamaregima.</p> <p>Invited other ethnic groups living in Mahira to join a process that had one ethnicity as the majority.</p> <p>Invited representatives of each coalition partners to all the weekly community meetings to reinforce oneness and cohesion.</p> <p>Score (+) (Frequently involved in activities restructuring the community dynamics around the project)</p>	<p>Transforming</p> <p>Would pursue Pamoja Trust community facilitator to increase capacity building activities to gel the community sub-groups.</p> <p>Unaware of the roles and positions of the agents of institutions represented in the community.</p> <p>Score (+-) (Aware of importance of community cohesion but expected the role to be undertaken by external forces.)</p>
<p>Legitimacy (<i>Demonstration of the basis of their acceptability as agents</i>)</p>	<p>Was community Vice Chairman</p> <p>Legitimacy both vertical and horizontal based on his long affiliation with NGO's fighting for land rights in Nairobi in the 90's. As well as his volunteer efforts for hard tasks in the community</p> <p>Score (+) (Agency position habituated within community based on long-term activities safeguarding community interests as well as affiliation with important external resources)</p>	<p>Was Chairlady of Audit Committee.</p> <p>Is depicted as a weak representative</p> <p>Trusted by a wide section of the community with money. Horizontal legitimation.</p> <p>Score (+-) (Very tender individual whose agent position was frequently under contestation and panned)</p>
<p>Key: Unsatisfactory (Rated (-)) Development Needed (Rated (+-)) Successful (Rated (+))</p>		

Table 20: Mahira Boundary Spanning Strategies score sheet

4.4.3 Gitathuru Boundary spanning positions and strategies

The community plans for a settlement upgrading in Gitathuru started in 2001 when a representative of Slum Dwellers International visited Muungano in their community and found there was an absolute lack of toilets in the whole community (Huruma Systemization Report, HORIZONT3000, 2014). Further, Gitathuru by its location on a riparian land needed further negotiations with the Town Planning Council to avoid displacement of its community members from This location.

Interviewed respondents in Gitathuru indicated their boundary spanning position as (Gitathuru Respondent 2) “I was in the savings committee during planning phase [...] the project team was later formed and I was elected treasurer of this team because of my connections with NGOs”. Those days, we had different committees per village which met separately and together with other villages committees, the Savings team, the Project Team, the Audit Team, The Advocacy Teams also the Welfare Group.” Respondent 2 gave insight at to their position in the community “I have always been in the savings committee as well as in Kamaregima [...] Each village then, appointed members to represent them in the greater Huruma Kamaregima Committee [...] Gitathuru only wanted people with a public appeal, if they knew the supporting organizations was best I was one of such people.” These boundary spanning agents are indicated as mostly located within the diverse boundaries within the community. However, they had representatives in Kamaregima committee as was the norm in all other villages and

these people were the community interface with other external bodies more so the coalition partners.

In Gitathuru, affiliations with external bodies and resources is shown as an important legitimization characteristic for leadership. Both respondents of this community indicated their appointments as arising from their connections with these bodies. This type of vertical legitimization process indicates that the leaders in Gitathuru would more likely be agents of other external bodies rather than act as representatives of their community. Based on these deep connections with external associations could be the genesis of suspicion and mistrust from the community that would feel alienated from their leaders. Further, the effectiveness of these leaders in articulating their community needs was undermined by their external agency position of being and so was their ability to cogently undertake relevant boundary spanning strategies that would be fruitful for their community. This might explain the lower scores across all network performance outcomes and well as the lower number of units upgraded through the Muungano Project.

Nonetheless, there was evidence of activities being undertaken to create connections among the community of Gitathuru as well as with external bodies. Firstly, is an informational exchange, the external informational exchange process that was followed in Gitathuru resembled the Kambi Moto process closely. There were two open community meetings where information would be exchanged with the community in a way that they understood it. There was a Gitathuru Community meeting all Tuesdays and there was also the Kamaregima Meeting all Wednesdays. (Gitathuru Respondent 1) pointed out *“I collected and dissipated information from so many sources also I acted as a translator where I could explain to various groups anything that they did not understand. It was a very useful position and also helpful. I motivated people to attend meetings and demystify the upgrading process.”* This was important boundary spanning strategy where the community could engage each other in the recognition of their common needs and participate in the pursuit of viable solutions. Serving of the informational role in Gitathuru shows a strong presence of informational gatekeepers in this community as demonstrated in these comments (Gitathuru Respondent 2) *“the then Chairlady of this village was in the Kamaregima committee she would also attempt to withhold information that she had from the Kamaregima or participating institutions that was meant for all of us.”* Further, assertions were added by (Gitathuru Respondent 1) *“Before Kamaregima we had the Madoya Association...they excluded most of the community from its membership. They would go to meetings and keep all the information and experiences to themselves. Communities did not get the information, finally, the association just died.”* This hoarding of information undermined the communities trust and belief in the upgrading. Most of the community did not get any information thus did not adequately involve themselves or respond appropriately to goings on in the process. This provides insight into the community inability to productively negotiate with the City Council environmental body that put a stop-work notice on the Gitathuru Upgrading project. There was lack of information within the community and therefore they did not pursue their MOU rights as would have been expected.

Although the communication processes in Gitathuru were severely impeded by the presence of the informational gatekeepers, when there was a communication to be undertaken, a community as well had its protocols for the informational exchange. (Gitathuru Respondent 2) revealed it as follows *“When information reached me, firstly I would give it to my immediate neighbour and from there we would spread it as far, as wide, and as quickly as possible. If it was an urgent matter, urgent community meetings would be convened where the information would be issued. I have sent letters in my time, prepared informational posters, and made so many phone calls pertaining the settlement upgrading we had.”* This denotes the lack of solid communication procedure that village communication followed and this could have led to poor

exchange. Further with selecting information (Gitathuru Respondent 1) said *“We would also give clear instructions to any representative chosen. They would go and speak in the voice of the community in the words that they gave them rather than saying what they thought or felt.”* A view further confirmed by (Respondent 2) *“I, however, did not receive additional information or urgent information often. Whenever I did though, I would give it forward exactly as I heard it. I would not add or deduct anything from it. This information would likely have been given to some more people and I would not like to look like I was modifying information for some suspicious reasons.”* The community expectation impaired the levels to which a community emissary would engage in informational exchange. This also denotes the prominent level of mistrust within the community to the extents that hampered the activities of their community agents more so in negotiations or deliberations with other sub-groups providing therefore an explicit connection between the poor outcomes realized in Gitathuru and the shortcomings in undertaking informational exchange.

To mitigate the strong barriers existing in this project, connecting, and linking activities both within the community and between the community and external bodies like the NCC were necessary. Community meetings were established as the centre of all interactions for the community as well as with external members (Gitathuru Respondent 1), *“we had our community meetings on Thursdays, structure owners, tenants, old people, youths, every community member was welcome. Pamoja Trust would come, the day was situated as such we could respond to issues coming from Kamaregima network meeting on Wednesday [...] with supporting organizations, there were community meetings where all diverse groups and organizations would be represented. This was done once monthly.”* these meetings presented safe zone platforms where opportunities for interpersonal relationships that could build common groups identities among the attendees could grow and this would enable the removal of roadblocks arising in the process. However, many community members did not attend the wider Huruma gatherings as (Gitathuru Respondent 1) demonstrated further *“I attended Kamaregima meetings all by myself in this community for many years.”* In so doing this mobilization tactic failed to meet its use as the community continued remaining disenfranchised and estranged to the other groups involved in the process. Reflection is also noticed however this role was undertaken more by external actors as demonstrated by (Muungano Respondent 2) forwarded, *“For the hardships in Gitathuru, Pamoja Trust was very instrumental in highlighting this. In Gitathuru for example, they would call community gatherings and tell the community about the status especially with the NCC and tell them of other organizations helping with that.”* Further to allow the works of the diverse committees in a community where mistrust levels were rather heightened (Gitathuru Respondent 1) illustrated that *“We held open tender processes in public. We asked any of our community member who could deliver supplies or knew someone who could be a supplier to bid. After tendering, we would publicly go over each proposal and chose the cheapest bid.”* The dependence on external parties to intervene in community factors is noted and this behaviour could be traced back to the legitimization procedures in this community. This poses problem in the power dynamics and impeded on the effective negotiation with the NCC machinery. Further, there are shortcomings in the clear articulation of community needs as the external bodies had variant objectives in the process from the community needs. In this case then, the community boundary spanning agents were inadequate in aligning their community with the environment and the low scores on outcomes are not surprising.

Hardship among the Gitathuru community to cooperate and collaborate on a singular objective is noted. (External Respondent) indicated *“in Gitathuru, a community toilet took 3 years to build instead of 3 months [...] there were difficulties in realizing cooperation from the structure owners as well as the NCC.”* This view was elaborated further by the community respondents

too (Gitathuru Respondent 1) told us “*we were not a singular uniform group when undertaking to upgrade. There were tenants, there was the Nairobi City Council and the land we had settled. There was some sort of competition going on in the community.*” These hardships were noted and the community showed will to remedy this as (Gitathuru Respondent 2) elucidated an example on how the weaving tactics that they used to extract differences within groups to keep them moving in tandem by giving an example “*regarding the sweat equity in terms of the free labour we were meant to offer. Some people were extremely uncooperative [...] many disputes would arise and the site manager was a neutral person he usually adjudicated these cases and passed judgement agreeable to all. He was a trusted man and his fairness was never questioned.* In dealing with the differences within the community, she opined “*we would just discuss the problems in each village and Kamaregima would help by intervening, interceding at village level and sometimes escalating the matter by involving the supporting bodies if the problem was of such a nature or seeking external assistance.*” These here create suggestions of the presence of a deliberative role but one executed by a mediator who was external to this community. rather poorly where the community does not trust their leadership to lead them from fragmentation to unity. Thus, for There is instead used to strong tactics of coercion through the application of more powerful figures to create order. These characteristics do not reinforce collaboration and this is reflected in the poor upgrading outcomes observed in Gitathuru.

Gitathuru Evaluation on Boundary spanning Strategies

Strategy	Respondent 1	Respondent 2
Connecting and Linking (Examples of agents' activities geared towards facilitation of connections between internal and external sub-groups)	<p>Mobilizing</p> <p>Member of savings group committee involved in motivating membership to Muungano</p> <p>Shows minimal understanding of social constructs surrounding the tenant's group.</p> <p>Founding member of Kamaregima in Gitathuru</p> <p>Adequate knowledge of settlement upgrading actors in the project.</p> <p>Attended all Gitathuru and Kamaregima community meetings</p> <p>Took external actors around their community</p> <p>Score (+) (Successful agent of support creation from both community sub-groups and from coalition partners)</p>	<p>Mobilizing</p> <p>Created connections to the NCC through the local councillor.</p> <p>Attended meetings led by NCC agents to plan on how to win structure owners over</p> <p>Was unable to sufficiently engage structure owners to demolish their structures after the decision.</p> <p>Deficient relationship with other active coalition partners</p> <p>Score (+-) (Insufficient in enabling support within community groups but better at external connections)</p>
	<p>Reflecting</p> <p>Would seek intervention for community difficulties from Kamaregima.</p> <p>Demystified the roles of the external partners to community and communicated community procedures to external bodies</p> <p>Score (-) (Inadequate in depicting needs of different Gitathuru sub-groups to each other or to coalition partners)</p>	<p>Reflecting</p> <p>Was part of leadership that undertook community enumeration process that was disputed by the NCC.</p> <p>Pursued only the priorities of the structure owner groups and not the tenant's group.</p> <p>Was community treasurer and supported the open tendering processes</p> <p>Was a community expert for NCC.</p>

		Score (+-) (Fairly demonstrated the activities of the external actors to the community but not vice versa as well as enabled financial accountability)
Information Exchange (Examples of agents' activities undertaken in the process of acquisition and dissipation of information)	Selecting Attended training on settlement upgrading projects translated sporadically to the community. Dismissive of the local communication procedures in Gitathuru. Adequate knowledge of the communication protocols for the settlement upgrading. Brought relevant information from the Kamaregima to the community in a minute book Score (+-) (Acquired information from many sources, depicts no knowledge of choosing the essential information only)	Selecting Was not a member of Kamaregima the source of community communication with the coalition partners. Unaware of effective communication procedures. Mistrusting of other informational agents Score (-) (No indication of receipt of pursuing and gathering essential information for the village)
	Translating Explained upgrading process to many community members. Acquired significant information from Kituo Cha Sheria on land tenure protocols and assisted other community members to understand. Score (+-) (disseminated information to community but pertinent to only one issue only)	Translating Spoke English and translated external materials to those who wanted. Competent record keeper Dissipated information exactly as they got it to the first person they met. Score (+-) (Put information in understandable ways for community, dissipated information recklessly.)
Enabling Cooperation (Examples of indication of agents' roles in the merger of divergent groups and interests under a common identity)	Weaving Showed involvement in the house modelling process. Unaware of the diversity of needs among the different involved sub-groups in the community. Insufficient knowledge of conflict resolution skills Unaware of the common objective among all involved parties Was involved in the creation of the meeting protocols especially the routine program Score (-) (uninterested in community cooperation. More interested in furthering interests of Kituo Cha Sheria.)	Weaving Attended community meetings led by NCC agents to decide on how to win structure owners. Incompetent in resolving conflicts with diverse groups for example structure owners and project committee Sourced information from other villages pertaining to upgrading Score (-) (Aware but incapable of enabling cohesion in capacity of community agent without support of powerful external bodies)

	Transforming No indications of undertaking of such a role Score (-)	Transforming Pursued external bodies like Kamaregima, Pamoja Trust, NCC to influence the thickening of ties between variant community sub-groups Score (-) (No indications of undertaking any activities leading to this)
Legitimacy (<i>Demonstration of the basis of their acceptability as agents</i>)	Was part of tenant group. Voted to Upgrading leadership due to long term affiliations with Kituo Cha Sheria. Mobilized community to picket against NCC Was not an all-round accepted community representative. she 'thought they were jealous' Score (++) (Agency position strongly opposed by community however remained a representative at insistence of external coalition partner Kituo Cha Sheria as their community expert)	Was part of structure owners group Was elected due to affiliations with the NCC Unaware of the roles to serve as a community representative Score (++) (Acceptability based on long-term affiliation with key partner NCC. But unaware of roles to undertake as a community representative.)
Key: Unsatisfactory (Rated (-)) Development Needed (Rated (++)) Successful (Rated (+))		

Table 21: Gitathuru Boundary Spanning Strategies score sheet

4.5.0 COMPARATIVE SUB-CASES ANALYSIS

In this section, the relationship between the two variables of settlement upgrading outcomes (Dependent Variable) and the Boundary Spanning Strategies (Independent variables) will be generated through the analysis of the three cases.

4.5.1 Summary of performance outcomes

Summary of evaluation of Boundary spanning Strategies and Performance Outcomes

Boundary Spanning Strategies		Kambi Moto Respondents		Gitathuru Respondent		Mahira Respondent	
		1	2	1	2	1	2
Connecting and Linking	Mobilizing	+	+	+	+-	+	+-
	Reflecting	+-	+-	-	+-	+	+-
Information Exchange	Selecting	+	+-	+-	-	+-	+-
	Translating	+	+	+-	+-	+	-
Enabling Cooperation	Weaving	+	+	-	-	+	+-
	Transforming	+-	+-	-	-	+	+-
Legitimacy	Vertical	+	+	+-	+-	+-	-
	Horizontal	+	+	-	-	+-	+-

Network Performance		Kambi Moto Outcomes	Gitathuru Outcomes	Mahira Outcomes
Settlement Upgrading Outcomes	Housing	+	+-	+
	Neighbourhood	+	+-	+-
	Individual	+	-	+-
Key: Unsatisfactory (Rated (-)) Development Needed (Rated (+-)) Successful (Rated (+))				

Table 22: Three cases performance evaluation score sheet

These results show that the boundary spanning agents in Kambi Moto were more successful in undertaking the boundary spanning strategies detailed than the other two villages. Gitathuru is shown as deficient in many strategies especially in those reinforcing cooperation.

The network performance outcomes follow the same trend with Gitathuru having the most unsatisfactory outcomes, followed by medium level but better outcomes in Mahira and Kambi Moto showing the best outcomes.

Subunit performance score card

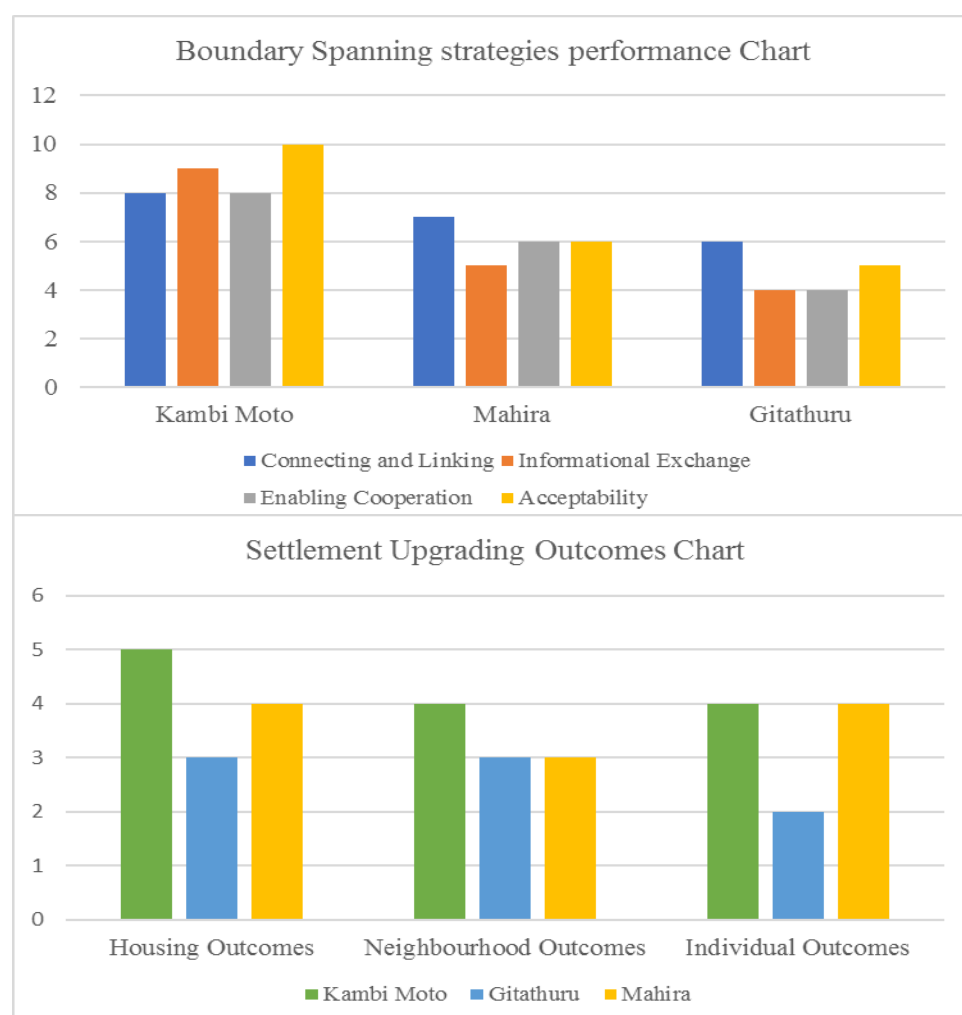


Table 23: Comparative sub-case analysis on boundary spanning strategies and upgrading outcomes

4.5.2 Case analysis: Explaining how multiple boundary spanning agents influence slum upgrading outcomes

Firstly, all the respondents agreed that it was the poor condition of their dwelling structures that was the reason for their joining the upgrading project. They sought to acquire secure housing. There were other reasons, for example, the renegotiation of the relationship between the community and the local administration as well as the NCC as well as opportunities to acquire new skills which they could utilize to meet their livelihood strategies but this was the principal reason.

Respondents in Kambi Moto are presented as generally the most fulfilled with the settlement upgrading. In each of the outcomes, Kambi Moto had the best scores. More so in the individual outcomes where the respondents gave answers according to the experiences of their households or on themselves. Yet, at the outset of the upgrading, many of the community members were tenants and had no room to erect houses. All the construction spaces they had achieved had been through negotiations with the then structure owners. This shows the presence of negotiating agents from both sides of the tenants and structure owners divide in involved in the consolidation of all the needs represented by the diverse groups present to transact a deal that was acceptable to their groups. This was true for all three villages. The differences in outcomes notwithstanding as some levels of upgrading were still realized in these communities. However, the quality of the negotiating team was relevant to the continuation of the project which was happening in phases. In Kambi Moto, for example, they undertook 5 phases of construction in 7 years. In the same period, Gitathuru took 3 years to reach a consensus on the construction of a toilet block and as well took another 4 years to commence construction of phase 1 for the same problem. This is clearly reflected in the findings here where only 26 households managed to build new structures under the Muungano scheme.

Additionally, community meetings are indicated as central to the upgrading process for the sake of information exchange. Each of the villages had 2 types of community meetings on fixed days where the community socialise, received current information as well as engaged in the task allocation procedures relating to the settlement upgrading at village level as well as the Huruma level. The attendance of Kambi Moto community to these meetings was significantly higher than the rest showing the returns of the community agents strategies of mobilizing community participation and involvement. This high attendance was useful for the connection and linking activities that kept the community informed, involved and in tandem and when it came to the settlement upgrading the community had acquired sufficient information to harmonize the settlement upgrading objectives with their personal objectives. In Gitathuru for example, only one member of their community attended Kamaregima meetings for 3 years from the signing of the MOU. This community failed to get embedded within the larger Huruma community and lost out on opportunities to mobilize for support against the 30m setback the city environmental body was demanding of them. Further, the community absence in Kamaregima, could explain the inferior performance in Gitathuru outcomes due to the generally low knowledge on the upgrading protocols in Gitathuru on resources, tools and structures available for them to use in the upgrading as the external link to the environment was in Kamaregima and through it all upgrading decisions were directed.

All three villages as well used the savings groups as their most common source of interactions and as the base of upgrading. The criterion that was set for qualification for construction loans was based on the membership to a savings group and the values of money that had saved in it. There were, however, difficulties in some of the villages, for example, Mahira whereby the community members were unable to save enough to achieve an upgrading. This augurs poorly on the connecting and linking activities undertaken in this community as it would be through

such activities that the community characteristics would be recognized, interpreted, and aligned with the communal goal of the settlement upgrading. characteristics and the undertaking that occurs in the connecting and linking practices of engagement.

There were differences observed between the three cases. There were difficulties in realizing trust more so in Gitathuru. While there were leaders present, they are not shown as being boundary spanning agents rather than entrepreneurs. Information was hoarded much more in Gitathuru than any of the three communities, there as well were tight community controls on community emissaries to any gathering with their insistence on telling them exactly what they had to say in those meetings. This provides an explanation for the outcomes observed in Gitathuru to the extents that group negotiators had no room to engage other groups when it was needed for example in the discussions between the structure owners and the tenant groups.

In Gitathuru the source of legitimacy is mostly horizontal. This finding has a bearing on the upgrading outcomes as the community representatives would most likely be an advocate for forces outside of the community instead of a community representative. Boundary spanning strategies that these leaders would apply would be different from what a community representative would normally use and this explains the low-performance scores seen in this village.

Further, there was a strong presence of poor connecting and linking strategies as well as cooperation building strategies in Gitathuru community especially. Their inability to negotiate with the NCC Environmental body for exclusion from the 30m river setback when Huruma had already been established as a special planning zone shows a lack of support from many fronts to remove a road block that was unexpected in the 2003 MoU signing. The stop work order is still in place up to date showing the community has still to connect with external resources that could mediate through this relationship or organize itself sufficiently to coerce the County Government to allow them to resume construction.

Minimal effort on the side of the community agents is acknowledged. More so in Gitathuru but as well in Mahira. There was an overdependence on external parties to deliberate through community conflicts as well as mobilize support for the Muungano activities in Mahira. This could explain the poor outcomes observed. Most of the connecting and linking as well as the resolution of community disputes are left to these external groups to resolve. This is not enabling factors for collaborative efforts when power dynamics get too distinct within interactions. It impacts negatively on building cohesion on the ability to reach consensus and forge a common way forward and explains the poor outcomes observed especially in Gitathuru.

Other factors noticed include the socioeconomic characteristics of Mahira as well set it apart in this community-led upgrading. Many of the structures in this community were business premises and the owners lived externally to the community and therefore lacked the commitment to engage with the upgrading with the strength needed. The quality of leadership that was available in this community Further, of all five Huruma villages, Mahira was indicated as the most vulnerable and economically desperate. This community was alienated by the financial obligations required of each household to undertake the upgrading and this impacted their participation in the project and thus just the average performance in the outcomes observed

Further, there are observed differences in the quality of representation that offered based on the acceptability of the agent. In Gitathuru, there was distinct for leaders who had affiliations with external authorities.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

In this thesis, an analysis was undertaken to see the influence multiple boundary spanning agents have on settlement upgrading outcomes. Documents were reviewed, 90 survey respondents were consulted as well as the interviewing of 14 respondents. This study on the Muungano Federation Settlement Upgrading project in Huruma is intended to make contributions to the influence of community based individual actors in bottom-up urban regeneration processes like settlement upgrading. As this upgrading project has since stopped, it is expected that lessons can be drawn from these findings to aid future similar urban regeneration projects by identifying the challenges and successes the agents encountered in the pursuit of a communal objective. This research however discerns the presence of other limitations that impacted the observed findings as detailed here.

5.2 Conclusions

Because of the existence of the multiplicity of actors and the presence of diverse sub-groups within involved in the settlement upgrading, Muungano Federation boundary spanning agents were critical in establishing interactions between the diverse sub-groups within their community as well as with other external factors in their environment. To this extent then, importance is given to the presence of *multiple connective agents* from the different community committees to carry out transcendent connective activities both internally in their community and externally. This research has shown that in a village like Kambi Moto where all the community agents got involved in connective activities sufficiently, through information exchange, undertaking linking as well as cooperation enhancing activities realized positive returns in their settlement upgrading outcomes. Connections that were deepened at both community levels as well as at household levels were fruitful as they heightened interactions between the involved parties, enabled the growth of trust and confidence thus stronger collaborations were realized. This finding is inferred to in literature (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2012, Koppenjan and Klijn, 2004) that find that the more actors that engage in networking and the deeper connections actors create, the better the outcomes that they yield. Weak connections between the diversities of community sub-groups was associated with difficulties in aligning the diverse needs of the sub-groups, resistance to the project by key actors, exclusion of certain groups and a general erosion of participation levels. Thus, it is shown that the presence of multiple competent connective agents bears positive influence on settlement upgrading outcomes.

The second conclusion refers to the legitimation processes and their impact on the upgrading outcomes. For a vulnerable community like Huruma this would be the ability to command resources or wield certain political supports. The source of legitimation for the boundary spanning agents thus has impact on the performance of an agent. Agents whose positions were founded on horizontal sources are more focussed on strong representation of their constituency needs as such the boundary spanning activities that they would elect to undertake would be those that would procure the most communal gains for the upgrading of their constituency. Vertical legitimation of the other hand in a community set-up like Huruma would establish leaders that would-be ambassadors and proxies of external parties. See (Benit-Gbaffou C. and Katsaura O., 2014). As such the choice of boundary spanning activities community agents undertook is dependent on the sources of legitimacy. For example, in Gitathuru where most of the community leaders had vertical legitimacy sources, their activities are shown as skewed towards the fulfilment of objectives of the external bodies rather than the community, in this the community is shown as realizing very little representation and alignment of their needs to the environment is undermined. As well, there were demonstrated shortcomings in the extents

to which community agents realize the essential resources from external sources where their legitimation was only from grassroots levels and the external institutions showed reluctance in their acceptance as was in Mahira. This research thus found that it is necessary for communities to have *multiple sources of legitimacy sources as well as doubly legitimated agents to adequately realize their common objectives*. In the villages whose representatives had deep affiliations with external parties there were difficulties in informational exchanges and in adequate reflection of the internal needs of the community. This formed the basis of deep mistrust and suspicion by the community who felt alienated from their leader. In communities where the legitimation was derived only horizontally, there were difficulties in establishing connections with external resources, tools, and structures that the communities needed to achieve the desired upgrading outcomes. In this way, these findings support (Williams, 2010) who posited that the legitimacy is based on the possession of distinct combinations of knowledge and prowess in certain matters. And the ability to command these expertise is what distinguishes the performance levels of one leader to another. Where there are limits for example in a slum dwelling community, it is necessary then to appoint community agents where some derived legitimacy horizontally and others vertically.

A third conclusion bases itself on the role sharing responsibilities of boundary spanning agents in realization of outcomes. The community characteristics of Huruma in terms of vulnerability and poverty levels handicapped many of their avenues to undertake upgrading. To this effect, the community leveraged their members strengths thereby undertaking all the roles and strategies needed. The boundary spanning agents are wearing many hats and undertaking various positions depending on their contingent reality. This finding shows that Boundary spanning roles and positions are not only about the competencies, intentions, and characteristics of the agent. This corroborates (van Meerkerk, Zwanenburg, et al., 2017) that boundary spanning roles effectiveness is dependent as well on the wider contexts that their activities are embedded on.

This research found that informational exchange was the strategy that most impacted the individual outcomes and in extension the housing and neighbourhood outcomes. The community characteristics were as such that there was minimal knowledge of the actors and dynamics involved in an upgrading, as well as their inability to individually command resources needed to successfully undertake an upgrading. Therefore, there was a heavy dependent on the community agents to pursue and acquire relevant information on behalf of their constituency as well as recognize and communicate assets and constraints possessed by the diverse partners involved. This was essential for the initiation of actions within and around the community as well a useful in the undertaking of decision-making at household and institutional levels thus providing direction, alignment of needs and generating commitment to the project. This notion is illustrated widely in literature for instance in (Tushman and Scanlan, 1981b, Williams, 2002, Tushman and Scanlan, 1981a). In Gitathuru for example where acquisition and dissemination of information was strictly controlled, community ownership of the project was very low and was indicated by the difficulties in generating support from both the community and externally, collaborative actions were impaired, participation was very weak and the general community alienated from a project intended to benefit them. Compared to Kambi Moto community where information was pursued and disseminated energetically, more households were seen to be empowered to adequately participate in the project by through their diverse interactions where information was passed for example in the high attendance for community meetings, participation in the house modelling process, as well as in creation of a community business that provided financing that was buffer for the shortcomings in savings collection. Activities that were reinforcing of trust, creators of inclusive safety zones, enablers

of cohesions, increasing of shared knowledge, were founded in effective information exchange and they created strong collaborations that impacted the outcomes positively.

Conclusively, therefore, this research found that it is to the interactions between multiple diverse boundary spanning agents that successful settlement upgrading outcomes can be attributed to. The findings have demonstrated that, different agents have different attitudes, competences, and skills, and hence the leveraging of the summation of their strengths is what bears the positive influences on the upgrading outcomes. The undertaking of complementary roles and to some lesser extents replicative roles to reinforce areas of weakness is shown as the key. It is shown as creating opportunities for each agent to direct their strengths on their areas of expertise while participating in support frameworks where necessary for the realization of common objectives. Further, the necessity of the presence of the different agents that draw legitimacy from both vertical and horizontal sources is necessary for the acquisition and utilization of resources, tools and structures necessary for a settlement upgrading to occur from within the community and more so from external sources. Thus, for the reasons stated above, this research found a positive link between the presence of multiple boundary spanning agents and successful slum upgrading outcomes.

5.3 Limitations

There was a strong presence of informational gatekeepers throughout the data collection process especially. The actions of this group of people seemed to be of a nature of intimidation where the respondents more so the survey respondents were not at liberty to express themselves appropriately. The researcher remedied this by ensuring the anonymity of the respondents and their opinions by going door to door issuing all the questionnaires personally as well as collecting them and by ensuring the questionnaires had no requirement for any form of personal identification to secondary parties. Further for the interview respondents, the sessions were privately conducted and the credibility of the information given was analysed alongside the feedback given by institutional respondents as well as project documentation.

Secondly, acknowledgement is given to context of the research where a community-led settlement upgrading was being undertaken but with the community lacked control of the process. Unbalanced power dynamics between the slum dwelling community and the two critical external coalition partners had significant implications of the success of Muungano in the pursuit of upgrading. Firstly, the City Council of Nairobi that held the title of the Huruma informal settlement land is located. The refusal of subsequent city governments since 2007 to honour the 2003 Huruma 'special planning zone' agreement and particularly promised to give them land rights, the issue that was the heart of the upgrading. This had aversive impact on the communities, the risk of displacement perpetually continued and investment in the settlement upgrading was imprudent. This was particularly apparent within the outcomes of Gitathuru community that received 'stop work' orders and eviction notices from the environmental department of the City Council from as early as 2005 to date. Additionally, there were also the actions of Pamoja Trust the Community Based Organization that had been founded specifically to aid Muungano Federation in their quest for agitation for inclusion of the urban poor particularly in matters of housing. This organization was the face of Muungano in professional aspects and their representations was expected to remain as such. However, Pamoja Trust leadership was involved in bipartisan community politics and ignominy, fell from the graces of part of the community, the City Council and the donor agencies that were supporting the Huruma settlement upgrading. This led to withdrawal of technical and financial support that ultimately led to the abandonment of the settlement upgrading. As such the goodwill of these bodies determined the extents to which the settlement upgrading could take place or not rather than Muungano which was the epitome of the community-led process.

Finally, the absence of a common plan in terms of scope, roles and budgets for this process was also very influential in the outcomes observed. The rules of engagement were not established, the period through which the project would run was also unknown and even the partners roles were not clearly published. The whole project was run in an ‘ad hoc’ manner as the Muungano, Pamoja Trust, SDI and Homeless International respondents articulated. Essentially, there were no common outcomes for all the involved parties that were Specific, Measurable, Acceptable, Reasonable, and Trackable. The common intended outcomes for the project were unknown and to that extents this research used theoretical measurements as indicated by (Brakarz and Jaitman, 2013) in which the satisfaction levels of the beneficiary communities on housing, neighbourhood and individual outcomes indicates the extents of the success of the project.

Homage is paid to the above factors as well as the fact that this data is based on perceptions held by a specific social group within a specific community context and therefore findings cannot be generalized to all cases. Beyond these limits this research is confident to have drawn conclusions that were valid, credible, and verifiable.

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 To community leaders

The potential for fragmented communities to realize previously unimaginable collective objectives has been unearthed. Boundary spanning agents are central to this accomplishment. Therefore, this research seeks to urge awareness of the heights a community can reach when their community agents undertake complementary interactions. Boundary spanning agents are central to this in creating inclusive interactions between diverse community members, in pursuing the acquisition and dissemination of relevant information to the community as well as in ensuring commitment and cohesion among the formed alliances. As such communities must not stifle agents that pursue such effects rather they should hearten their activities for the communal benefit of all.

5.4.2 Recommendations for Future research

The present study conducted only exhibits the influences of the Muungano processes in the Huruma settlement upgrading and only hints at the roles of other partners. An interesting study would delve into this project from a boundary spanning perspective but evaluating the roles and strategies of the significant coalition partners as well. This would provide an all-round understanding of how the interactions of the external and internal actors impacted the outcomes realized.

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Annex 1:

THE ROLE OF BOUNDARY SPANNING IN URBAN NETWORK PROCESSES OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH. A STUDY OF THE FEDERATION OF MUUNGANO WA WANAVIJI SLUM UPGRADING PROJECTS.

Interview Guide

Respondents name:	
Position:	
Interview date:	

Introduction

My name is Waithira Kamweru and I am undertaking a master's course in the Institute of Housing and Urban Studies of Erasmus University Rotterdam. Currently, I am engaging in a thesis research study on positions, activities, and practices of boundary spanning of The Huruma Community Slum Upgrading 2003-2014.

Literature refers to boundary spanning as the interrelated activities that individuals and firms undertake that transcend internal and external organisational borders with the intention of generating connections, relationships, and inter-dependences upon which useful information is gathered and transferred both internally and externally to enable the realization of a common objective (Tushman and Scanlan, 1981, Williams, 2002).

Firms involved in shared projects tend to establish strategic alliances, partnerships, networks, and other collaborations across organisational borders (Williams, 2002). Boundary spanners, therefore, are the individuals who take up these roles of establishing tenable inter-firm relationships between and among individuals and corporations that reinforce collaborations that are intended to resolve common complex problems. This research focuses on the mechanisms surrounding the connections between the factions (Community, Muungano, institutions) that were involved in the aforesaid slum upgrading project and how that contributed to the realization of the project.

I have selected you as one of my interviewees as you have been recommended as a respondent by my key informants as possessing specific knowledge and deep involvement in this project. Further, you are an accepted figure within the parties involved in the project and served the role of a boundary spanner.

In Kenya, boundary spanners are sometimes referred to as networkers.

This interview will be conducted for 30 minutes until 45 minutes and the interview findings will only be used for academic purposes and not any other purpose.

Should any questions arise during the interview, do not hesitate to ask. All your opinions on this subject are important to this study.

I thank you unreservedly for your time and for accepting to participate in my study.

QUESTION LIST: COMMUNITY BOUNDARY SPANNERS/ KAMAREGIMA

1. How long have you lived here? Do you live here with your family? How long have you been a member in Muungano? Can you remember how you first heard about this project? What was your initial contact with this upgrading project was? At this time, were there many separate groups and opinions from your community involved in the project? How did you become so deeply involved?
2. After you became deeply involved, what was your key role in the process? What would you consider were your main areas of expertise in a joint process like this one? What challenges did you encounter in this process both as an individual as well as a representative of your community?
3. Throughout this process, was there a time you became aware of a partner that you considered relevant to the process but was not already involved in the process? Did you take any actions to connect with this partner? What was the frequency of your interactions with them afterwards and throughout the upgrading process? How would you rate your connection with them?
4. Did you undertake any actions to build rapport with any institution involved in the upgrading? What was the frequency of your interactions with them? How did you interact? How would you rate your connection with them?
5. Did you at any time take any form of actions gel the community and the institutions involved in the process? Can you tell me what kind of actions these could have been?
6. How did you establish connections with the diverse groups within your community that were directly impacted by the slum grading (E.g landlords, shop owners etc)? How did you bridge their variant interests? What was the frequency of your interactions with them? What kind of interactions were these?
7. Can you tell me about your interaction and relationship with Kamaregima members?
8. Was there a moment when you felt that the process was becoming stressful for you or the community? What did you do then?
9. This upgrading process had many actors involved. Do you feel that each partner body was aware of their role, limits, and space to perform their duties? Were you involved in the creation of these boundaries? What did you do ensure the maintenance of these boundaries?
10. Were you aware of the scope, limits, competencies, and values of each diverse actor in the network? Were the different actors aware of the community's scope, values, limits, and competencies? Cn you tell me more of your role in enabling this?
11. Would you consider yourself as the key communication agent between the institutions/Kamaregima and your community? Can you tell me more about the communication process from the moment you received certain information? What was the basis of selection of the information to disseminate and who to give? Can you tell me about the more frequent reactions of people upon your relaying of information to them?
12. Describe to me an instance when you conveyed information from the institutions/Kamaregima to the community or vice versa. What kind of information did you deliver? How did you receive the information? Who did you give this

information? How did you deliver the information? How was the message received? Why do you think was so?

13. Did you ever witness a conflict between involved partners in this project? Can you illustrate to me some of what your reactions were?
14. Did you undertake any actions to create good feelings and support from either the institutions or the community? Could you tell me what actions these were?
15. Outside of the formally convened meetings, did you associate with other project partners? Which partners especially were these? How often did you mingle with them? Can you tell me why you mingled those partners especially? How would you describe your relationship as being?
16. Did you ever lobby for support from other institutional bodies that are external to this community? Which bodies most especially? Can you tell me why you chose those institutions particularly? Did they give the support you sought? What happened your relationship with the community and the institution thereafter?
17. To what extents could you say the community saw you as their representative? How did you achieve this position?
18. Do you consider yourself an entrepreneurial person? Can you give me examples of your entrepreneurial actions within this slum upgrading process?
19. How was your relationship with other networkers located variously in the project network? How often did you interact with them? How did you interact? Can you tell me more about the workings that structured your relationships and activities/actions? Can you see any type of connection between your diverse interactions and the project outcomes that you realized? Can you elaborate your response more?
20. Were there particular community aspects that impacted your actions as a community networker?
21. To what extent would you say the community was satisfied with the project outcomes? Why so? Would you say that networking activities undertaken by variously located networkers played any influential role in the realisation of this type of outcome? Can you tell me in what sense?

QUESTION LIST: MUUNGANO FEDERATION BOUNDARY SPANNERS

1. How long have you been working for Muungano? Are you a member of the targeted upgrading communities? How did you first hear about this project? Do you know why Muungano was appointed as the representative movement for this project?
2. How did you become so deeply involved in this project? What was your primary role in the project? What would you consider your principal areas of expertise in this project? Did you encounter any challenges in executing your role? Could you tell me about that?
3. Would you see yourself as a connective intermediary in this project? What kinds of actions would that entail? Can you give a practical example from your experience in this project?
4. Were you involved in the identification on any key partners relevant to this project? What were some of the characteristics that identified them as key partners? Upon the identification of such partners, can you demonstrate to me the kind of actions that would then be undertaken? Would it be you or the organization that would undertake

any such actions? What was the frequency of your interactions with the different partners throughout the upgrading process? How would you rate your individual connection with the majority of the partners?

5. Did you undertake any actions to create linkages between the community and the institutions and vice versa? What kind of actions were these?
6. How did you establish any connections with the diverse interest groups and leaders within the project? How did you go about creating these connections? How did you manage their variant interests? Did you at any time encounter significant hardship in reconciling these various interests? What did you do then?
7. Was there a moment when you felt that the process was especially stressful to any specific actor? How did you come to this realization? Did you take any further actions upon your realization of this problem? Can you tell me more about it?
8. This upgrading process had many actors involved. Do you know if each individual partner was satisfied with Muungano's actions of embedding them among the wider network? Can you tell me the factors that advised your response?
9. Can you tell me what by your understanding, you think, the mirroring of diverse partners actions to each other means? What purpose do you think this action would serve in a joint process? Have you ever undertaken any action that depicts mirroring? Can you give me an example?
10. Outside of formally convened meetings, did you interact at all with other involved partners or their representatives? What was the frequency of your interactions with them? What kind of interactions were these?
11. Can you explain how information flowed from both divides? Which sources of information were most frequent (spoken/read)? How did you act upon receipt of this information? What was the basis of your decision in selection of information and dissipation?
12. Describe to me an instance when you conveyed vital information to the institutions or to the community. What kind of information did you relay? Who did you give this information? Did you sometimes modify the information? Can you give me a practical example? How did your recipients often react upon receipt of your information? Why do you think it was so?
13. Did you ever witness or get involved in a significant conflict with any of the involved partners? Can you tell me what it was about? What actions did you undertake thereafter? Would you consider yourself as serving as a mediator and/or overseer of the network relationship? Can you give me examples of what this would entail? How would you rate your competence in this role?
14. Did you in your daily work closely correlate with the representatives of the partners engaged in the Huruma upgrading (E.g. SDI, HI, GOK, Kamaregima etc)? Can you briefly outline to me the process of task allocation or of determining common timeliness and budgets and the actors involved? What kinds of actions were undertaken to ensure adherence to these agreements? What happened were any partner to be deviant?
15. Did you undertake any actions to create good feelings and support from either the institutions or the community? Could you tell me what actions these were?

16. Did you ever lobby for support from other institutional bodies that are external to this community? Which bodies most especially? Can you tell me why you chose those institutions particularly? Did they give the support you sought? What happened your relationship with the community and the institution thereafter?
17. To what extents could you say the community saw you as their representative? How did you achieve this position?
18. Do you consider yourself an entrepreneurial person? Can you give me examples of your entrepreneurial actions within this slum upgrading process?
19. How was your relationship with other networkers located variously in the project network? How often did you interact with them? How did you interact? Can you tell me more about the workings that structured your relationships and activities/actions? Can you see any type of connection between your diverse interactions and the project outcomes that you realized? Can you elaborate your response more?
20. Were there particular community aspects that impacted your actions as a community networker?
21. To what extent would you say the community was satisfied with the project outcomes? Why so? Do you think a different outcome would have been achieved were networking positions and activities absent? Can you expound more on this?
22. Do you think Muungano as an organisation played any role in influencing the relationship between the community and the project funder and vice versa? In what way? To what extent do you think that impacted on the project performance? Can you expound more?

QUESTION LIST SDI/GOK/ EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS

1. How long were you involved in the project? How did you first hear about this project? How did you become involved in the Huruma Slum Upgrading Project? How would you rate your knowledge in slum upgrading dynamics (process, actors, costs etc)? Which partner were you mostly affiliated with?
2. Can you tell me about your role in this project? What was the level of your involvement? What would you consider your principal areas of expertise in this project? What are the significant challenges you observed or encountered in this project?
3. What do you assume a networking role in a joint project as this one entails? Would you consider yourself a networking agent in this network? What would you consider was your main strength in this joint upgrading project?
4. Considering the diversity of interests and partners, how was a balance between these interests and your organizational interests achieved? Can you outline what types actions would be undertaken? And internally within your organization, did you build any connections with associated departments/affiliates? How did you unite their different interests? What kind of interactions did you have? How often did you interact with them?
5. Was there a time you felt that the joint process was not moving in the direction your organization expected? What actions, if any did you take to remedy this? If other partners were involved in this remedial, can you tell me more on the mechanisms involved?

6. Were connections between your organization and the targeted community created? How were these links with created? How often did you interact with them? Which people were involved? What kind of interactions were they?
7. Did your organisation also connect with other organisations e.g the National Government, Civil Society, advocacy groups etc related to Huruma Slum Upgrading site? What was the purpose of interaction? Tell me about the kind of contact was this? What was the frequency of this interaction? Who often arranged this contact?
8. Did you in your daily work closely correlate with the representatives of the partners engaged in the Huruma upgrading (E.g. SDI, HI, GOK, Kamaregima etc)? Can you briefly outline to me the process of task allocation or of determining common timeliness and budgets and the actors involved? What kinds of actions were undertaken to ensure adherence to these agreements? What happened were any partner to be deviant?
9. Can you tell me of when you had to convey information between your institution and other involved partners and vice versa? What types of information would you often convey? Who did you relay it to and why? How was it received? Why do you think this was so? Can you expound on how relevant institutional policy was transmitted to the community? Which parties were involved in this?
10. To what extent did you receive political support from different departments in your organisation? Why was this so?
11. Are there specific community characteristics you can think of that impact on your performance of boundary spanning positions or activities?
12. Do you think your networking position on the institutional side influenced the slum upgrading process outcome? Can you tell me more about this?
13. Did the presence of your organisation influence the level of communication between NCC or SDI and Muungano? In what ways? How can you rate the quality of representation you witnessed from Muungano? And from Community leaders? Can you tell me more about your observations?
14. Do you consider yourself an entrepreneurial person? Can you give me examples of your entrepreneurial actions within this slum upgrading process?
15. How was your relationship with other networkers located variously in the project network? How often did you interact with them? How did you interact? Can you tell me more about the workings that structured your relationships and activities/actions? Can you see any type of connection between your diverse interactions and the project outcomes that you realized? Can you elaborate your response more?
16. Were there particular community aspects that impacted your actions as an institutional networker?
17. To what extent would you say the community was satisfied with the project outcomes? Why so? Do you think a different outcome would have been achieved were networking positions and activities absent? Can you expound more on this?

QUESTIONNAIRE TO BENEFICIARY COMMUNITY

Questionnaire	Ctl #	
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Background Information

Area of enumeration	Kambi Moto	Mahira	Gitathuru
Years of residence			
Specific Landmark			
Date of interview:			

A. Housing Outcomes (Please circle the most appropriate response).

In this section, your opinion is sought so as to measure satisfaction with your dwelling structure only during and after the slum upgrading undertaken through Muungano (2003-2014)

1. Would you consider the value of the dwelling to have improved after the upgrading?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree/disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

2. To what extent did the final dwelling structure resemble the housing model the community articulated?

Not at all	To a small extent	To some extent	To a moderate	To a great extent
1	2	3	4	5

3. Were your opinions on the dwelling structure upgrading considered in the final upgraded dwelling?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

4. Did the upgraded facility reduce your exposure to natural disasters or other hazards?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

5. To what extent are you satisfied with your upgraded housing structure?

Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Very satisfied
1	2	3	4	5

B. Neighbourhood outcomes. (Please circle your most appropriate response.)

This section seeks to understand your satisfaction with the neighbourhood involvement and outcomes.

1. Would you say the community is generally satisfied with the improved neighbourhood?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

2. Would you say that your village representative was successful in speaking for your community?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

3. Would you say that ONLY the rightfully registered residents took the upgraded units?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

4. To what extent would you say that the community influenced the upgrading process and outcomes?

Not to any extent	To a small extent	To some extent	To a moderately high extent	To an extremely high extent
1	2	3	4	5

5. How would you rate Muungano Federation as a representative of urban poor communities

Pathetic	Bad	Neither good nor bad	Good	Marvellous
1	2	3	4	5

6. The community contributions were transparently managed

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

7. All the partner organization and groups of people involved in this upgrading were necessary to the process.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

c. Individual Outcomes. (Please circle your most appropriate response).

This section seeks to evaluate your individual household views on the slum upgrading processes and the outcomes

1. How satisfied were you in the community-led process in settlement upgrading?

Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Very satisfied
1	2	3	4	5

2. Do you feel that the expectations of your individual household with the upgrading were realised?

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
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1	2	3	4	5
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3.To what extents did your household receive sufficient communication on the upgrading (meetings, processes, costs, outcomes etc)

Not to any extent	To a small extent	To some extent	To a moderately high extent	To an extremely high extent
1	2	3	4	5

4.To what extent were opportunities provided to your household to make contributions about the project?

Not to any extent	To a small extent	To some extent	To a moderately high extent	To an extremely high extent
1	2	3	4	5

5.To what extent did the mandatory savings contribution affect your daily living costs?

To a very high degree	To a high degree	Moderately	A small degree	Not at all
1	2	3	4	5

6.The community contributions were transparently managed.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

7. To what extent was your household satisfied with the leadership and representation in the slum upgrading process?

Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neutral	Satisfied	Very satisfied
1	2	3	4	5

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