

**THE ROLE OF RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATIONS IN URBAN SERVICE
DELIVERY: THE CASE OF NAIROBI CITY, KENYA**

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree award in any other University.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents; Mr. Francis S. Echessa and Mrs. Elizabeth Auma Omollo. They exemplify commitment, hope, humility, patience and family values.

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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Civil Associations: Refers to movements that bring people come together to pursue the interests they hold in common. It includes all organizations and associations between family, communities and state.

Social Capital: Social capital can be described as structures that might support collective action, enforce norms, generate expectations of reciprocity or foster feelings of mutual trust.

Socio-economic Characteristics: the ability to afford and access public basic utilities and infrastructure.

Horizontal Association: Implies associations between people consisting of social networks and associated norms. The density of civil associations, level of interpersonal trust and norms of reciprocity that have an effect on community productivity and well-being denotes these associations.

Residents' Associations: Refers to a group of neighbours who get together, share their ideas, thoughts, feelings and work together to make their environment a better place to reside in. This encompasses both tenants and homeowners.

Local Authority: Institutions responsible for provision and management of public services and infrastructure within a given jurisdiction.

Urban Management: Strategies and mechanisms put in place to facilitate actual provision of public services and infrastructure.

Public Services: They include garbage collections, security, lighting neighbourhood, access paths, child care centers, employment bureaus and housing regulations.

Primary Associations: Relationship between kinfolk based on ties of blood and duty, between friends based on attraction and mutual interest. This is done mainly for welfare motives and acts as social safety nets during time of adversity.

Secondary Associations: These are associations whose memberships transcend ethnic, family or kinfolk attributes. Their goals are beyond welfare motives, more purposive, and involve individuals who group together to achieve particular goals.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BSHRA	Bondeni Self Help Residents Association
BWRA	Buru Buru Welfare Residents Association
DPRA	Donholm Phase 5 Residents Association
KARA	Kenya Alliance of Residents Associations
KRCRA	Kaumoni Road Company Residents Association
KRA	Komarock Residents Association
LSRA	Loresho South Residents Association
LWV	League of Women Voters
MPRA	Makongeni Progressive Residents Association
MVERA	Mountain View Estate Residents Association
MRA	Muthaiga Residents Association
NCBDA	Nairobi Central Business Association
NCWSC	Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company
NCC	Nairobi City Council
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NSO	Neighbourhood Services Office
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Center for Human Settlement
USHRA	Umoja Self 2 Help Residents Association
TRA	Tena Residents Association
WRA	Westlands Residents Association

ABSTRACT

The study examined the role of residents' associations in urban service delivery in the City of Nairobi, Kenya. Urban service delivery has been on decline while local authorities have been overwhelmed by challenges in providing public basic services. One of the reasons cited for declining urban basic service delivery has been rapid expansion of Nairobi and population increase. In response to failure by the local authority and deteriorating basic services, city residents have formed associations. Urban residents' association refers to a group of neighbours coming together so as to share ideas and work together to make their neighbourhood a better place to live. Four residents associations drawn from low, middle and high income zones were sampled and comparative analysis was done. The objectives of this study were; to identify reasons for the formation of residents' associations in urban service delivery across different income groups, to establish the relationships between residents' associations and other stakeholders responsible for urban service delivery and find out challenges encountered by residents' associations in urban service delivery. Data was collected using semi-structured questionnaires administered to 120 households, in-depth interviews with key informants and officials of associations. Descriptive statistics that included frequencies, percentages and means were used to analyze data. Chi-Square (χ^2) was used to test relationship between associations and stakeholders in urban services delivery as well as participation of residents in the activities of association at significance level of 0.05. Findings indicated that external forces were behind formation of associations in low and high income areas. Internal factors were behind the formation of associations in middle income areas. Associations were formed to address insecurity, garbage disposal, fight land grabbing, lobby for better services from city planners and represent neighbourhood in planning. Associations also address water shortage, streets and access paths, environmental degradation, mutual support during time of adversity, and promote friendship. The associations differed in original purpose of formation. The original purpose of associations in low end neighbourhood was welfare; however, associations were being used as bargaining chip for undelivered services. The core objective of middle income associations was to lobby for the undelivered service; managing neighbourhood has become secondary venture. The associations in high income areas were formed to provide services like security and environmental degradation. They have formed committees and hired professional staffs to meet their purpose. Associations in all the three income groups have initiated partnership with city agencies although at different levels. Associations in middle and high income areas have more elaborate ties with city agencies compared to low end associations. In implementing neighbourhood agenda, associations experience challenges that include low residents' participation and finances. The study recommends need to sensitize residents and associations on opportunities available for their participation in community development, and initiation of pro-active engagement between association and city planners as one way of addressing challenges of public services delivery.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1: Background to the Study Problem

The basic parameters of urban management in developing countries have undergone a major transformation (Montgomery *et al.*, 2004). In response, there has been rapid upsurge of citizen interest factions that are differently referred to as grassroots groups, community based organizations, self-help groups or base level organizations (Kandiyoti, 2004). They represent primary organizations formed by local people aiming at seizing unexploited opportunities and addressing the common challenges the communities face.

Before the onset of modern secondary associations were the cooperative movements in urban areas and the notion of self-reliant village in rural areas. These community based movements were seen as an antidote to the corrosive effects of modernization and individualism (Mansuri and Rao 2004). They acted as social safety nets especially during time of adversity and served to bring people together based on family, gender, clan and mutual interests. They were used to mobilize resources for community projects, school fees, medical expenses, and weddings among others. Karien and Bolt (2004) note that the existences of such associations means that people respect differences between them and are allowed to exist on their own.

The period 1990's witnessed economic meltdown in many countries (Digby, 1996). This melt down compromised the ability of local governments to provide public services to urban residents. The situation was further aggravated by rapid population increase in

urban centers as a result of natural increase as well as rural urban migration. Increased population saw mushrooming of slums and informal settlement. Areas previously designated as rural settlements became part of expanding urban settlements. Local authorities and official urban planners were overwhelmed, financially and technically. Nairobi and towns like Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret and Nakuru experienced collapsing city infrastructure, roads, garbage collection, security and water supply to residents.

As a result of urban sprawl, countless houses in the City of Nairobi stand on sewer lines, roads reserves or on high voltage electricity lines. Green areas and public open spaces are rapidly dwindling. The traffic congestion, heavy clouds of dust, insecurity, heaps of uncollected garbage and resultant excessive pressure on basic utility services such as sewer lines, water, roads and electricity is a clear sign of low capacity of local authority to handle public services while public participation in affairs of the city has been lacking.

The diminishing funding from central government and low capacity by local government to provide basic services ushered in private sector in city management. The private services providers came up with business model of services provision. This meant that only those who could afford to pay get services. The result was neglect of low income areas. Apart from high cost of services, private sector could not cover the entire city due to financial implications and profit making. The government was accused of embracing business model of services delivery without putting in place legal mechanisms to protect the rights of its people. Urban residents had to devise ways of meeting public basic services, fend for neighbourhood and champion their basic rights.

A recent development in urban centers of third world countries including Kenya and Nairobi in particular has been the emergence of residents' associations (Chitere and Ombati, 2004). Urban residents' association is a group of neighbours who get together, share their ideas, thoughts, feelings and work together or co-operate to make their neighborhood a better place to live in (Mitrofanova, 2004). However, the capacity of these organizations to organize neighbourhood activities, identify local needs and manage community based initiatives has been put to question (Kaufmann et.al, 2005).

In this regard, there is increasing agitation for partnership between local authorities, private firms, representatives of different state bodies and local action groups in the management of urban centers. The argument in favour of such partnerships is that it enhances sustainability while improving efficiency in service delivery, makes development more inclusive, empowers marginalized people, builds social capital and strengthens management. The challenge however, is that interest groups are diverse and ensuring unity of purpose among them all requires an enabling mechanism that can best compliment the efforts of individuals, households and organizations (Smith, 2002) so that they all contribute towards the improvement of cities.

1.2: Statement of the Problem

The core crisis of urban services delivery has been blamed on weakened capacity of local government, prohibitive prices from private services providers and indifference on part of community groups. In response to the crisis, neighbourhood level associations, either in low, middle and high income areas has emerged. With their enhanced numbers and

visibility, they have potential of shaping the landscape of urban service provision. Despite their visibility, neighbourhood associations' engagement in urban services delivery is rare and so much remains to be understood about how local governments and communities achieve the necessary conditions of partnership. Therefore, there is need: to identify reasons for the formation of residents' associations; determine the functions of residents' associations in urban service delivery among different socio-economic groups in Nairobi; to find out the relationship between residents' associations and other stakeholders in urban service delivery; and to examine the challenges encountered by residents' associations in urban service delivery.

1.3: Research Questions

The following research questions were addressed in this study:

1. Why do residents' form associations?
2. What are the functions of residents' associations among different socio- economic groups in Nairobi?
3. What is the relationship between residents' associations and other stakeholders responsible for urban service delivery?
4. What challenges are encountered by residents' associations in urban service delivery across socio-economic groups?

1.4: General Objective

The main objective of this study was to examine the role of residents' associations in the urban services delivery in the City of Nairobi, Kenya.

1.4:1: Specific Objectives

The following specific objectives enabled this study achieve the main objective

1. To identify reasons for the formation of residents' associations.
2. To determine functions of residents' associations in urban service delivery across different socio economic groups in Nairobi.
3. To establish the partnership between the residents' associations and stakeholders responsible for urban service delivery across socio-economic groups.
4. To find out challenges encountered by residents' associations in urban services delivery across socio-economic groups.

1.5: Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested in this study

H₀₁ There is no cordial relationship between residents' associations and official basic services providers

H₀₂ There is no difference in residents' participation associations across income groups.

1.6: Importance of the Study

Studies on associations in urban centers have illustrated importance of individual and households in organizing self help activities (Matovu, 2001 and Rakodi, 2001). Further studies have shown that socio-economic characteristics positively correlate with social cohesion (Stoll, 2001; Karrien and Bolt, 2004). In developing countries less is known

about associations' ability to initiate projects within their locality (*Ibid*). Very little empirical material exists on these neighbourhood level associations, either in low or high income areas. This is despite associations' enhanced numbers, visibility and emerging ability in shaping the landscape of urban service provision in the city (Coelho, 2006). Therefore, this study endeavored to provide knowledge on various forms, modes and strategies through which the urban population mobilizes to influence the changing structures of urban services. The study further shade light on how class, political, economic and geographic variables shape urban communities.

The information resulting from this study can be of value to city planners and agencies involved in urban services delivery where they can tap ideas and innovation of local people on identification of problem, project design, and implementation and how to indulge community involvement. This is important because urban management is not only about how to contain urban growth, but also about how to accommodate interests of various groups and in effect this study shed light on good and bad management practices amongst residents' associations. The good practices can be adopted by the officials of other local groups, to strengthen their capacity while addressing their challenges.

1.7: Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study focused on secondary associations that were legally registered or affiliated to Kenya Alliance of Resident Associations (KARA). These were the associations whose membership was not based on family, kinship or blood relationship but where people come together with intent and purpose of improving their neighbourhood. The study

focused on secondary associations because they have been formed in response to diminishing capacity of local authorities to provide basic services and utilities in urban centers (UN-Habitat, 2004). Both public goods and services were examined by this study. They ranged from; block night patrols, security barriers and guards, street repairs and lights) and physical projects that improve the appeal of a neighbourhood (garbage removal, trees and lawn care, sidewalks) to political activity on behalf of residents (lobbying and litigation).

Several challenges were encountered during fieldwork that included; KARA which was the study sampling frame objected to furnish the researcher with contact information about associations affiliated to it. They cited confidentiality agreement with associations as the reason for their refusal. However, on 21/04/2009, there was KARA Nairobi Chapter open forum in Kayole social hall. This enabled the researcher meet the officials of associations and established rapport. There were numerous local groups doing almost similar work with residents' associations. This problem was acute in Nairobi Eastland's. Therefore, respondents especially non members to residents' associations could not from outset tell which associations the study was focusing on. To overcome this lacuna, the researcher administered questionnaires face to face.

In Loresho South and Mountain View estates, the researcher failed to get the officials of associations especially the chairpersons and secretaries. They were reported to have traveled outside the country. The information about the associations was established from estate managers and project administrators. In all sampled neighbourhoods, getting

respondents during daytime was difficult, since most were away working. This compelled researcher to collect data only on Saturdays early in the morning and evening hours. In Muthaiga, the secretary said it was only possible to meet members during monthly meetings. The secretary directed the researcher to leave behind questionnaires to be given to members during monthly meetings. This meant that only registered members will have a chance of responding to questions. Unfortunately, the secretary traveled outside the country and when she came back she reported to have misplaced the questionnaires. The researcher had to produce fresh copies of questionnaires awaiting another monthly meeting.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1: Introduction

This chapter reviewed literature on formation of residents' associations and emerging issues in urban management. This was done so as to identify research gaps and develop theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. The literature review also enabled researcher to develop research instruments and identify relevant variables for the study. The review placed this research in the emerging discourses on public urban service delivery and role local groups are playing in complimenting the efforts of official basic service providers in urban centers. The review was based on the following themes.

- Reasons for formation of associations.
- Functions of associations.
- Challenges encountered by residents' associations in urban management.
- Relationships between residents' associations and other stakeholders.

Examining cities in developing countries brings out one common theme. This is the fragmentation of the population from social and infrastructure point of view. Most cities in developing countries are complex, both spatially and socially. Studies on power and participation have shown that the language and practices of neighbourhood associations differ significantly (Fisher, 1995). These differences are pegged on cultural background, language, education and other ways of social stratification, hence the need for a comparative study to determine if there is any significant difference in functions of

residents' associations across socio-economic groups and relationships with local authorities vested with the responsibility of urban service delivery.

Empirical literature on study area included performance of neighbourhood associations and their future prospects (Chitere and Ombati, 2004). However, the study did not examine associations based on socio economic disparities, which formed the preoccupation of this study. Furthermore, the concept of neighbourhood associations in the above study, included umbrella bodies like KARA and Nairobi We Can Do It, civil movements such as Mazingira, NCBDA, and Green Belt movement. This study only focused on tenants, homeowners, and property owners who come together to improve their neighbourhood. Both empirical and theoretical literature was reviewed based on the themes under the study.

2.2: Reasons for Formation of Associations

Community based associations have emerged to compliment the efforts of local authorities in public services delivery. The need for partnership in urban public service delivery is propelled by the need to make development more sustainable and inclusive. In addition, partnership avail resources to the low income people and strengthen the civic capacities of local communities.

Stoll (2000) studied relationship between race, neighbourhood poverty and participation in voluntary associations. He found a strong link between growth of civil rights movement, high cases of poverty and increasing number of associations in Los Angeles. The study established high participation of black Americans in voluntary associations as

compared to Asians and white people. The study used race as basic unit of analysis. In this study socio-economic attributes formed the basic unit of analysis.

League of Women Voters (LWV) (2005) examined historical evolution of neighbourhood associations in Portland, America. The study revealed reaction against city plans to urbanize older neighbourhoods through transportation projects and commercial use of neighbourhoods to be factors contributing to growth of neighbourhood associations. The study did not examine evolution of associations based on socio-economic differences, and how this influences public services delivery in neighbourhoods.

Birdseye *et al.*, (2004) examined services provision through resident's involvement in United Kingdom. They found the need to empower the nation's urban poor, pursue politically relevant issues, work for the betterment of local conditions and need to have a voice in the planning process as factors leading to the growth of associations. The study, however, did not show differences that exist between associations based on socio-economic factors and how this affects urban services delivery within neighbourhoods. This study established factors that have contributed to emergence of residents' associations in the city of Nairobi.

2.3: Functions of Residents' Associations

Chitere and Ombati (2004) established that the associations were actively involved in providing services such as garbage collection, security, and water supply and acted as lobby groups for better services. Fola (2005) found out that associations were involved in

child care services, created jobs for some members, initiated youths programs, created channels through which they could tackle anti -social behaviour, champion social enterprise and address financial exclusion.

A survey carried out in America (Jon, 2004) found that many neighborhood associations were involved in addressing issues of concern such as fighting crime, drugs trafficking, and security. Other issues addressed by associations included better social services, schools improvement, finding and creating jobs and confronting local government on projects residents thought would not be to their interests (*ibid*). This had great impact on residents. The impact included prestige in the opinion of others, interpersonal identity, and public material in form of visible neighbourhood improvements. Based on findings on the functions of residents' associations elsewhere, this study examined various functions of residents' associations in the city of Nairobi. The need to examine further functions of residents' associations in the city of Nairobi was guided by the fact that the needs as well as aspirations of people differ spatially and temporally and is likely to be shaped by socio-economic uniqueness of the group.

2.4: Challenges encountered by Associations in Services Delivery

Participation in neighbourhood activities is not uniform. It's influenced by socioeconomic status as measured by education, occupation and income. Karien and Bolt (2004) found participation to be high where people tend to have a common set of values, goals, a general idea about social order and social control. Jon (2004) documented factors affecting individual participation in groups' activities. He singled out the demands of the

group, and the way these demands are seen by officials, the functions performed or planned by the state and the degree to which stakeholders are consulted. Participation in local activities has a lot importance. According to Jonas (2005), the importance of participation includes; increased availability of information to residents and locality, and identification of development options. It also enable residents to give priority to their needs, identify resources for such needs and develop residents' self-confidence and collective capacity.

While development agencies have tried to integrate concept of participation in their strategies, the greatest challenge has been low participation of low-income groups (UN-Habitat, 2001). Another impediment has been how to address differences existing between members of the society. Again, participation tends to favour strong groups in the community, who can interpret their private interest as public concern. In this vein, the study endeavoured to find out internal and external impediments that characterize working of associations. This was important in documenting best practices of some groups which can be emulated by associations in similar circumstance with intent and purpose of strengthening their functioning.

2.5: Relationship with Other Stakeholder

Neighbourhood associations create environment in which democracy and business life is made possible. For the associations to operate smoothly, the government must create an enabling environment in which competitive issues can be discussed freely. This calls for cordial working partnership between associations and authorities vested with

responsibilities in the management of urban centers. However, achieving partnership has remained elusive due to weakened capacities of local authorities in developing countries (Montgomery *et al.*, 2004).

Jon (2004) established poor relationship between members of associations and other stakeholders in management of Camden city, America. This had resulted into low esteem among residents in low-income neighbourhoods leading to their low productivity in social and economic sphere. The study further found out that well functioning associations had nurtured strong working alliances with local government, media, societies, business community and faith- based organizations. This had enormously contributed to achievements of residents' associations.

Chris (2006) found that 80% of public services within neighbourhoods to be undertaken by residents' associations in Britain. To bolster this spirit, the government responded by creating an ordinance, Local Area Agreement (LAA), aimed at streamlining local services delivery, pool resources, establish safer and stronger communities. The ordinance emphasized importance of engaging associations in running neighbourhood programmes. In America SB100 ordinance formalized relationship between various government agencies and neighbourhood associations (LWV, 2005). This required city planners to inform associations on issues pertaining to their neighbourhoods and associations given public hearing on the same. Musso *et al.*, (2001) found out the main goal of 1999 government charter in America was to formalize working relationship

between various authorities and neighbourhood councils. This enabled associations to access funds from authorities mandated with the running of municipal activities.

Karrien and Bolt (2004) studied social cohesion in Netherlands to determine whether government policies were enhancing social integration. They established the existence of urban policy in Netherlands. This was aimed at promoting relationship between residents and local authorities. This was out of realization that social partnership was essential in fighting crime, unemployment and fostering common set of values and norms among people. The study focused on state policies to manage socioeconomic diversities. It did not examine contribution of these associations in the management of public services, which was the basis of this study.

A cordial relationship between associations and local officials provides information needed for planning resulting in benefit to the neighbourhood (Hillsborough, 2003). Creating formal relationship with other voluntary and community –based organizations ensures that associations are involved in activities that are relevant to local situations and help build the capacity for the partner organizations (LWV, 2005).

Rapid urbanization has led to the informal settlement, while zones previously designated as rural settlement are now part of urban settlement. Such areas experience acute shortage of public services. The rapid urbanization has taken place against background of weakening capacity of local government. This has seen emergent of neighbourhood associations to compliment efforts of local government. Therefore, the study focused on a

core subject of urban management. The emerging crisis in urban services delivery has been how to dovetail mandate of official urban planners, private sector and emerging vibrant civic engagement. Much remains to be understood about how local governments and local community groups can create necessary conditions of partnership in public service delivery. Furthermore, there is paucity of empirical materials on neighbourhood level associations, either in slums or high income areas. This is regardless of their enhanced numbers and visibility.

2.6: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

The study employed social capital theory. The theory postulates that social cohesion is critical if societies are to prosper both socially, economically and achieve sustainable development (Collier, 1998). The debate on social capital theory was triggered by Putnam (Montgomery *et al.*, 2004). Other proponents of social capital theory are Kawachi, Kennedy, Glass, Sampson, and Morenoff (Mansuri and Rao 2004). Social capital theory has featured immensely in the field of health. Kawachi, Berkman, Lin and Ensel examined effects of social capital in relation to mental health. They found that networks offer general economic and emotional support on a sustained basis. They also make specific resources available in terms of severe health stress (*Ibid*).

According to the theory, it is fundamental that communities forge ties and coalesce around common goal. This provides much needed ingredient and pillars for the development of stable management. In nutshell, economic and social progress will

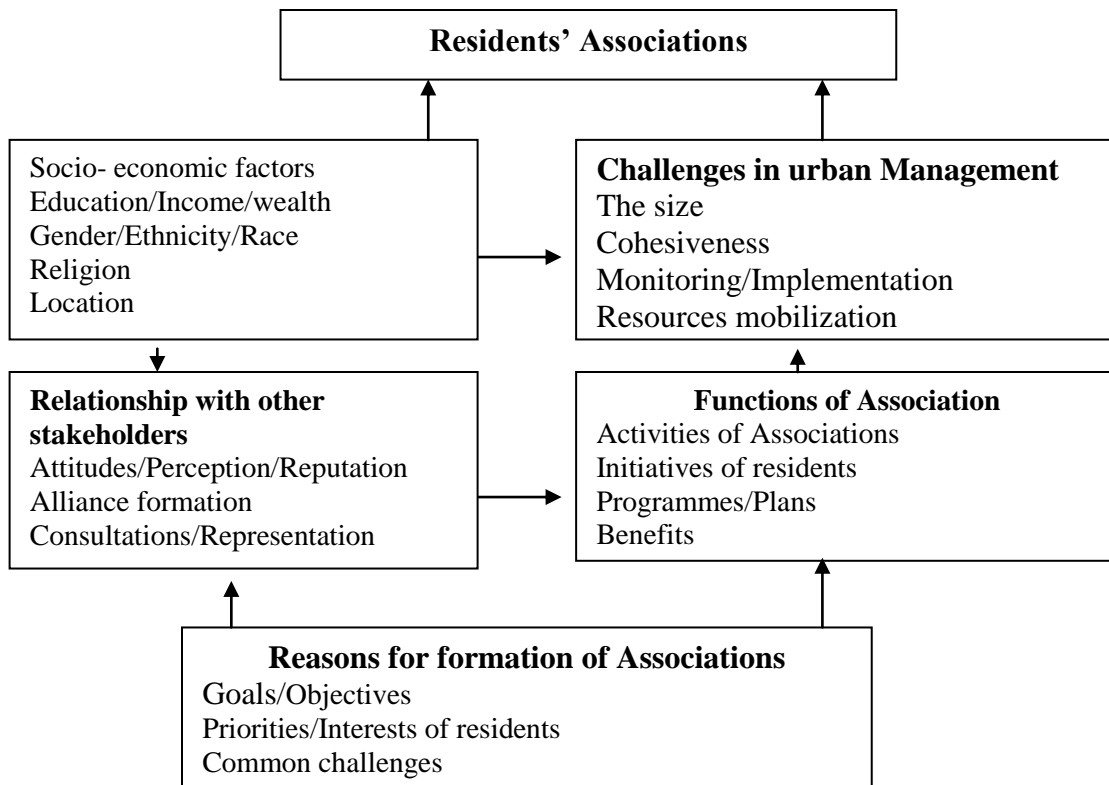
flourish when there are mutual partnership between the corporate sector and civil society creating forums in and through which they can identify and pursue common goals.

To make this possible Putnam conceptualized framework entitled making democracy work (Serageldin, 1995). According to this model, the existence of civic associations is not only the precursor of good management but also the key to sustained socio-economic development. Putnam and colleagues used this framework to study civic traditions in modern Italy. They found out that northern Italy had a long tradition of civil associations and had developed faster compared to other parts of Italy. This is because the area had nurtured structures that allowed citizens involvement and responsive management. However, Putnam's model was not cognizant of the official authorities and how they shape or even curtail functioning of local groups. The model placed more premiums on goals, benefits challenges and informal maneuvers of individuals and local groups. There was need to examine how relationships with legal or official authorities influence or inform the activities of residents' associations in this study.

The theory was chosen because it places much premium on civil societies and local associations at the centre when discussing sustainable development. It also highlights structures that might support collective action, enforce norms, generate expectations of reciprocity or foster feelings of mutual trust. Local associations are structures that support collective action. Neighborhood associations are a dimension of civic society that is neither political nor economic, but one that interacts with both to promote the welfare of the people (Kromkowski, 1997).

In Figure 2.1, socio-economic factors of education, income and religion create barriers between people, resulting in social classes. These factors invariably influence partnership with other stakeholders as well as alliance formation. Socio-economic factors also have bearing on challenges faced by an association formed to advance the agenda of the class. Equally, challenges encountered by people will prompt them into taking action. The action may be formation of association to advance their course. Alternatively, functions of formed group will be defined by challenges faced and income class. However, in pursuing their agenda, the associations formed may experience several challenges. These challenges may be due to individual attributes (income, education, religion, gender) or the capacity of association to mobilize resources.

Figure 2. 1: Conceptual framework showing emergence of Resident's Association



Source: Adopted and modified from Serageldin (1995)

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1: Introduction

This chapter systematically present techniques employed in the study, data collection as well as data analysis. The chapter gives comprehensive insight into study design, research instruments and study area. The section further divulged into study's target population, sample size and sampling techniques. Other aspects of the study captured in this section were pilot study, validity and reliability of study instruments, data collection tools, data type and data analysis.

3.2: Study Design

A study design is a structure, in which all elements of research are bound together. This study employed a comparative approach design to determine reasons or causes for current events. The study compared reasons leading to the formation of residents' associations across socio-economic groups and how they influence their activities in public services delivery. In addition, the study examined activities of associations and how these activities shape relationships with other stakeholders concerned with public services delivery in the city of Nairobi.

The level of comparison is determined by the prior knowledge the researcher has about the topic before the actual data collection. In this case, it's known that social cohesion is more likely to take place in homogenous neighbourhood, where individuals share socio-

demographic characteristics. It's also known that individual needs are shaped by socio-economic status. In this case, the study sought to compare reasons and functions of associations based on socio-economic characteristics and how they influence relationship with city agencies as well as challenges experienced. This approach is also used to explore relationships between variables and/or cause and effect relationships. In a comparative study, characteristics of two or more comparison groups are measured. Comparative studies enable us understand better our systems and appreciate the similarities and differences that exist between them. In this light, a comparative research design came in handy to examine the contribution of residents' associations in urban services delivery across different socio-economic groups in Nairobi.

3.3: Variables, Research Instruments and Analysis Tools

Research instruments are developed with intention of addressing particular objective, research question and consequently hypothesis. Doing so is significant since it creates consistency and reduces insurances of biasness that are likely to enhance study reliability. More significantly, research tools provide a systematic approach that may be of value to other researchers in comprehending the current study. Table 3.1 provides a synopsis of specific objectives, variables that were captured in the study, methods used to collect and analyze data to achieve the main objective of research.

Table 3. 1: A summary of Objectives and Research Instruments

Objective	Variables	Data Collection Tools and Methods	Data Analysis
To establish reasons for the formation of residents' associations	<u>Goals/Aims</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activities of associations • Future plans • Accomplishments • Socio-economic benefits 	In-depth interview with officials	Descriptive analysis: pie chart, percentages, tables
To determine roles of residents' associations in urban services delivery across different socio-economic groups in Nairobi	<u>Roles</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Block patrols • Sanitation(street cleaning, garbage removal) • Beautification(Trees and Lawn care) • Welfare Issues • Lobbying, Litigation • Infrastructure (Street lights, sidewalks, access paths). 	In-depth interview with officials	Descriptive analysis: pie charts, graphs, tables
To establish the relationships between the residents' associations and other stakeholders responsible for urban services delivery.	<u>Relationships</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Umbrella groups. • Partnership • Representation • Communal participation 	In-depth interview Key-informants and household questionnaires	Descriptive analysis: frequencies, graphs, percentages and Chi-Square test
To find out challenges encountered by residents' associations in urban services delivery.	<u>Challenges</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finances • Residents' participation • Tools/equipment • Skills • Leadership • Conflicts 	Questionnaires for the households and in-depth interview with officials of associations	Descriptive analysis: frequencies, tables, graphs, percentages and Chi-Square test

Source: Synthesized from reviewed literature

3.4: Study Area

The study was carried out in the City of Nairobi. The city is located on an altitude of 1670m above sea level and on longitude $36^{\circ} 50^1$ east, and latitude $1^{\circ}17^1$ south. Nairobi city was established in 1899. In 1950, it was elevated to city status by Royal charter. The area has population size of about 3.5 million inhabitants and it is projected that by 2020 it will be a mega-city of 15 million inhabitants (UN-Habitat, 2004/2005).

Nairobi emerged as a trading centre of Kikuyu and Maasai communities. This was before colonial period. The availability of clean and fresh water in the area played a crucial role in choice of the area as trading centre for the native communities. The status of Nairobi was elevated with the construction of Kenya Uganda Railway line that commenced in 1895. This was during colonial period. With time, the colonial government transferred its centre of administration from Mombasa to Nairobi. This was because Nairobi was at centre of East Africa protectorate that was under British rule. With the arrival of Railway line and declaration of Nairobi as centre of administration for East Africa by colonial government, Nairobi grew in leaps and jumps. This was both in population and physical expansion.

Residential areas in Nairobi depict great disparities in terms of socio-economic conditions. High-income areas in Nairobi include Karen and Langata. The two areas are separated from the rest of Nairobi by the Ngong forest (Figure, 3.1). Other affluent areas in the city are Nyari, Runda, Loresho and Muthaiga. Middle-income areas include Parklands, Plainsviews, Mugoya and Buru Buru. Some areas within low-income areas

like Mathare valley and Kibera show extreme socio economic deprivation. There is also more diversity in the residential neighbourhoods, ranging from low income to high-income residential areas. In addition, the growth and expansion of the City of Nairobi has been characterized by uncontrolled and unplanned development. This has resulted in environmental pollution, infrastructure problems and inadequate supply of water and sewerage services.

Due to shrinking size of land in urban centers, there has emerged urban flats, a situation whereby neighbourhoods designated for not more than two storey buildings has seen upsurge of buildings with more than two storey structures. This phenomenon has exacerbated further public utilities such as water, garbage handling, sewerage, access roads, electricity and infringed on privacy of some residents. The phenomenon of urban flats is more manifested in the city of Nairobi than any other urban centre in Kenya.

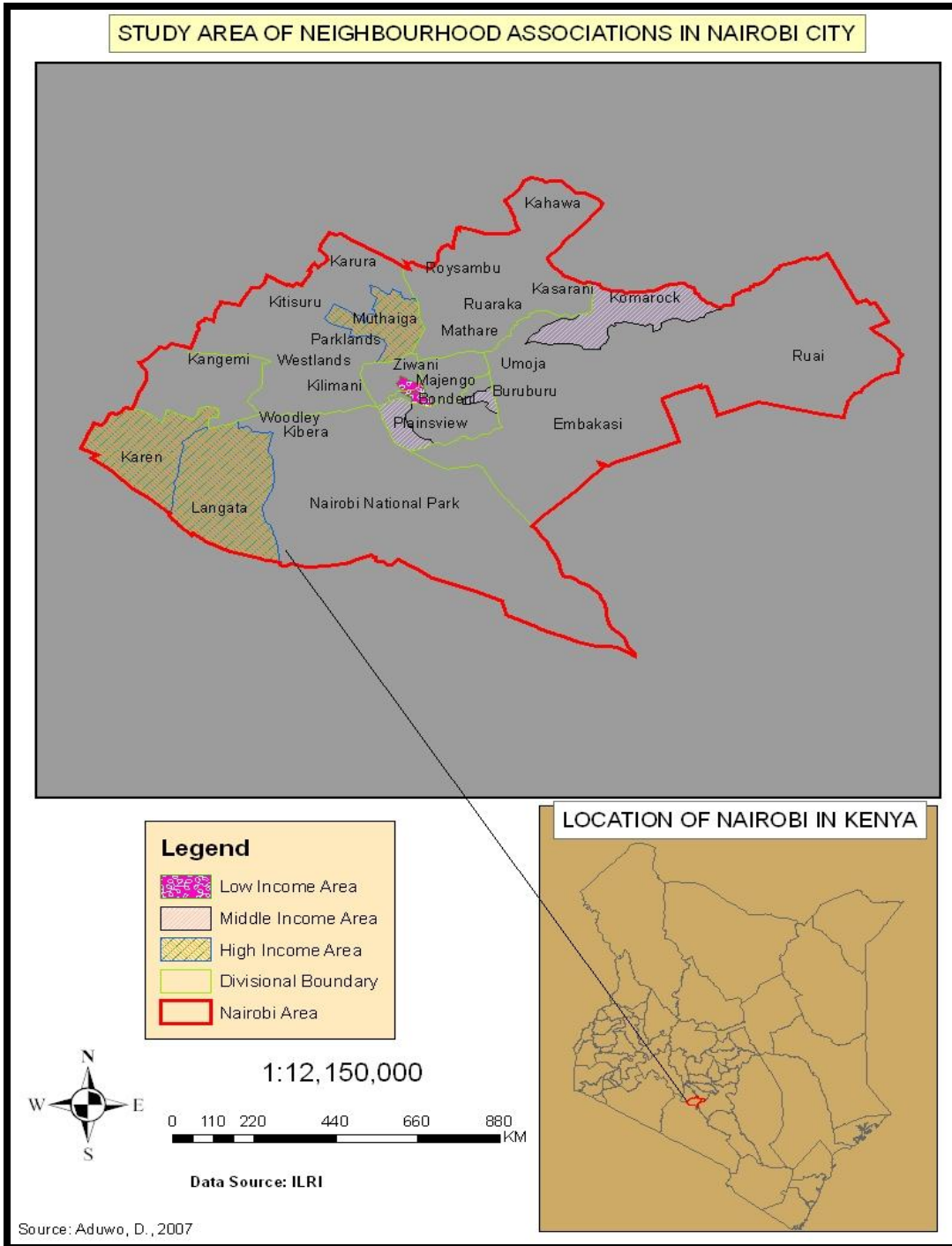
Public services delivery remains a big challenge to the residents of Nairobi. The problem is more acute in low income areas, where residents have to walk long distances to get water that may not be safe for drinking and other domestic purposes. In most low income and some middle income areas, residents have to buy water from water vendors. They end spending more money on purchase of water than their counterparts in high income areas, which get water formally. In some neighbourhoods there are individual cartels siphoning water from formal supply chain, aggravating water shortage in the city. In most of neighbourhoods in low and middle income areas, there are mounds of uncollected garbage that have become a health hazards to residents. Insecurity, crime and social

delinquency are rampant in most of neighbourhoods in low and high income areas. The informal nature of some neighbourhoods in the city of Nairobi means that accessibility is a big challenge. Access roads and paths, neighbourhood lights, sewers, drainage facilities and markets are inadequate. Social services like schools, health centers, and recreational facilities are in hands of private providers and are not adequately available. The situation is fair in high income areas because of formal planning by City Council. Meanwhile, some roads constructed in past are in sordid conditions. They need repair expansion or upgrading, water and sanitation facilities are getting overstretched. Organized crime, abductions and carjacking is on increase in some neighbourhoods. The need for space for commercial and residential purposes is causing environmental problems, especially encroachment on wetlands.

The Local Authorities Transfer Fund (LATF) is available from central Government to provide local authorities with the resources to improve and extend service delivery to citizens. In order to qualify, local authorities must develop a Local Authorities Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP) that details the authority's priorities for improving local services. The LASDAP provides a flexible mechanism for local development. It encourages citizen participation in local authority's affairs. Thus according to LASDAP, stakeholders should be drawn from the informal settlements, residents' associations', professional and business organizations, women and youth groups, self-help and Jua-Kali groups, religious groups and NGO's.

The residents have responded to this scenario by forming local associations. The associations have been used to lobby for better services from local authority, enforce land use, building standards and meet basic utilities like security and garbage collection. The study area is shown in Figure 3.1 Nairobi formed a suitable study area because of the concentration of many residents' associations. By the year 2004, Kenya Alliance of Residents Associations (KARA), which is an umbrella association, had 236 affiliated unit associations (KARA, 2003 and Chitere and Ombati 2004) where out of 236 associations, 106 unit associations are based in the city of Nairobi (*Ibid*).

Figure 3:1: Location of Resident's Association in the City of Nairobi



Source: Aduwo, (2007)

3.5: Target Population

The study focused on secondary associations affiliated to KARA. The associations are organized at neighbourhood or residential level. Residents or neighbours have come together in pursuit of a common goal, geared towards improving social and physical conditions of neighbourhood. The officials were subjected to in-depth interviews whereas households were selected to fill in questionnaires. On the other hand, other stakeholders involved in management of the City of Nairobi like the City Council of Nairobi, KARA, Nairobi We Can Do It and Nairobi Central Business District Association were taken into account and their officials subjected to in-depth interviews. Therefore, three categories of respondents that included households, officials of residents' associations and key informants were considered.

3.6: Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

The three socio-economic classes of neighbourhood that comprised of low, middle and high-income residential areas were stratified. The three income groups were defined based on geographical locations, population density and the distribution of social and infrastructural facilities, property value in neighbourhood and clustering of residential zones by the City Council of Nairobi.

A sampling frame is the actual set of units from which a sample is drawn. It contains properties that can identify every single element to be included in the sample (Martyn, 2008). On this basis, KARA which is an umbrella organization of residents' association in Kenya was used as sampling frame. Stratified sampling that involved dividing the

population into two or more categories was employed to classify associations based on socio-economic attributes. After stratification, individual associations were picked using simple random sampling technique from the three cluster groups. Stratification was based on socio-economic characteristics; income level and geographical location of associations. This was supported by the fact the Nairobi City Council (NCC) mapping has classified neighbourhoods in Nairobi as low, middle or high-income residential areas (NCC, 2005).

Consequently, respondents that comprised households and officials of associations were obtained from each stratified group. Household heads filled in questionnaires. The officials of umbrella groups and stakeholders in urban management constituted the key informants in this study and were subjected to in-depth interviews. Based on the fact that KARA, an umbrella organization in urban management has 236 residents' associations affiliated to it, of which 106 are based in Nairobi (KARA, 2004).

A ten percent of the residents' associations were picked to represent the study population. The ten percent was arrived at through the conventional law of social science which suggests that ten percent of the population is representative of the entire study population (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). Hence, a sum of 12 residents' associations that when proportionally shared amongst three classes yielded 4 residents' associations for individual class was obtained. Therefore, Bondeni, Tena, Umoja 2 and Makongeni and residents' associations were sampled to represent low income group. Buru Buru, Kaumoni, Donholm and Komarock residents' associations represented middle income

group. Muthaiga, Mountain View, Loresho South and Westlands residents' associations represented high income category.

A total of 10 households per associations were obtained and household heads chosen to respond to questionnaires. Meanwhile in the absence of household head, a person aged above 18 years was considered as a respondent. The households were systematically sampled that involved selection of elements at equal intervals starting with randomly selected element on the population list, in this case every third (1, 3, 6....) household was selected for the study. This yielded a total of 120 households unto which questionnaires were administered. They provided information on relationship between associations and other stakeholders as well as challenges experienced by residents' associations. In terms of the residents' associations' officials, 2 elected officials (chairperson and secretary) were picked from each of the sampled associations. This gave a total of 24 officials who were subjected to in-depth interviews. They provided information on reasons, functions and challenges faced by associations in the delivery of public services.

On the other hand, the officials of umbrella organizations (other stakeholders), (KARA, Nairobi We Can Do It, NBCDA (Nairobi Central Business District Association), Nairobi Water Sewerage Company (NWSC), Nairobi City Council and Local Authority) in urban management were obtained through snowball sampling, where officials of residents' associations provided lead information about the city agencies they collaborate with in urban services delivery and were subjected to in-depth interviews. They supplemented

the information on the relationship between associations and other stakeholders in the urban public services delivery.

3.7: Piloting of the Study

Pilot study was carried out in September 2007. It identified the existence of secondary associations that were involved in urban service delivery. During piloting, a questionnaire was pre-tested on 30 households while interview guide was gauged on 9 officials. It also enabled researcher to identify ambiguity and inconsistency in research instruments. Significantly, the pilot study confirmed the existence and location of residents' associations and their activities.

3.8: Validity and Reliability

The research instruments were validated through the application of content validity procedures that included expertise judgment and evaluation of research instruments and research. Guidance and constant consultations with supervisors was crucial in all stages of research design and thesis writing. On other hand, instruments reliability is the level of internal consistency or stability of a measuring device. An instrument is reliable when it can produce the expected results. In this study, the instruments' reliability was attained through pilot study that enabled the researcher tailor the questions to the expected outcome.

3.9: Methods of Data Collection and Data Type

The study relied on both primary and secondary sources of data, to obtain information on the role of residents' associations in urban public services delivery in the City of Nairobi, Kenya.

3.9.1: Primary Data

The primary method of data collection that was employed in this study was questioning. Questioning called for design of questionnaires and interview guides. Questionnaires (Appendix 1) consisted of open and closed ended questions that were administered to the systematically sampled households. The questionnaires yielded data on relationship with other stakeholders and challenges of residents' associations in public services delivery.

Interview guides constituted lead questions that were administered to officials of residents' associations, umbrella associations and other stakeholders in urban public services delivery. The instrument was vital in collecting data on reasons for forming associations and their functions (Appendix 2). Questionnaires and interviews were administered face to face with respondents.

3.9.2: Secondary Data

Secondary data was collected by means of literature review. This was achieved through objective and systematic inferences from documents. These documents included books, articles, journals, magazines, newspapers and internet. Literature on residents'

associations, communal participation, formations and functions of associations, relationship with other organizations and challenges experienced was obtained.

3.10: Data Analysis

The data collected were analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. This was significant in examining the role of residents' associations in urban services delivery. The data accruing from questionnaires filled by households was subjected to calculation of simple descriptive statistics such as frequencies, totals and percentages. Any significant difference observed after descriptive analysis was subjected to further tests using chi-square test. The SPSS (version 12) programme was used to carry out statistical analysis. More information resulting from interviews with officials and key informants (officials of agencies concerned with services delivery in the City of Nairobi) was transcribed into written texts by merging the notes taken during the interviews into coherent descriptions and analyzed qualitatively.

3.10.1: Descriptive Analysis

Data on reasons for the formation and functions of residents' associations in urban services delivery across different socio-economic groups in Nairobi was analyzed using descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics involve interpretation of data in words, graphs/charts or tables that further summarize variables in an order or sequence that answers available questions.

3.10.2: Inferential Statistics

Chi-square test is a statistical test used to determine if observed data deviate from those expected under a particular hypothesis (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). In this study, chi-square was used to test the null hypotheses (Ho₁ and Ho₂). The chi-square formula is:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(o-e)^2}{e}$$

That is, chi-square (χ^2) is the sum of the squared difference between observed (o) and the expected (e) data (or the deviation, d), divided by the expected data in all possible categories (Grant and Warren, 2001). The results were then tested for significance at 0.05 (95% confidence level). The chi-square test was used due to the nominal nature of data collected (*ibid*). It enabled a decision to be made on whether or not a significant relationship existed between associations and other stakeholders as well as challenges experienced by the associations in basic service delivery. The advantage of chi-square test in data analysis is that there is no need for parameter values and it's relatively less mathematical in terms of scales of measurement such as nominal and ordinal.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1: Introduction

In this chapter, findings, results and discussions are presented and interpretation done guided by study objectives. Data on when and why residents formed associations, main purpose of associations, internal structure and organization and membership to associations were captured.

4.2: Reasons for Formation of Residents' Associations

To ascertain why residents formed association, main purpose, goals, activities and future plans of associations were assessed. In addition, socio-economic benefits, and size of associations were examined.

4.2.1: Main purpose of Residents' Associations

Formation of residents' associations seem to have various origins, ranging from addressing insecurity, agitate for undelivered services from city planners, pool resources to address socio-economic challenges as well as promote friendship among neighbours. However, insecurity has received prime consideration due to escalating cases of carjacking, abductions, armed robbery and increasing call from country's security agencies for communities to partner in stemming the menace. Addressing insecurity (87%) and environmental degradation (75%) were identified in high income neighbourhoods as having led to formation of residents' associations. Environmental

degradation involved protecting wetlands, dumping of garbage, quarrying of stones, and trimming/cutting of overgrown bushes within precincts of neighbourhood. Agitating for undelivered services from city agencies and planners (75%) was inherent in middle income neighbourhoods and raising funds to address socio-economic challenges (75%) was popular in low income areas.

Examining formation of associations clearly indicates that the needs of neighbourhoods vary across income groups. Residents in low income areas are confronted by many challenges associated with low income. They may want to diversify their means of livelihood by initiating micro-business enterprises. However, most of people in this income group may not have sufficient capital to open up business enterprises. Formation of associations comes in handy to assist people save money and pool together resources to initiate business enterprises.

The main purpose of residents' association differs in the city of Nairobi. The high income associations have security and environmental degradation as their fore agenda. For middle income associations, the idea is mainly lobby for better services from city planners. The low income associations are still mired and preoccupied with generating income and social welfare issues. The agenda of an association is purely determined by the perceived or real problem experienced by people. The response put in place is pegged on the ability to pool resources, skills and access needed information. The high income groups have high disposable income. In this group, security and physical appearance of

neighbourhood is a major concern. The middle income groups have numerical strength, skills and necessary information to agitate for better services from city planners.

David and Wright (2004) indicated that the main purpose of residents' association in Britain was to create a network of neighbourhood associations. This called for the people of all background, regardless of their socio-economic inclination to tackle urban menace like insecurity, deteriorating physical and social conditions, and apathy on side of citizenship. As cities grow larger, more diverse, more enlightened, there is need for the better methods of communicating public issues and fostering a local sense of community. Urban residents' associations act as a magnet attracting citizens.

4.2.2: Aims and Goals of Residents' Associations

Responding on goals of association, addressing insecurity and engaging urban planners in neighbourhood management was identified by 87% of the officials in high income areas. Improving neighbourhood cleanliness in addition to sharing ideas and thought on how to tackle socio-environmental challenges were mentioned by 50% and 75% of officials respectively. The goals of associations in middle income areas ranked as follows; address insecurity (87%), garbage collection (75%), regulate land use and housing standards (62%). The officials of low income associations mentioned need to raise capital for income generating activities (75%), support for the elderly and needy children (50%) and promote friendship scored 62%. Addressing insecurity and environmental degradation got least attention of 37% and 25% respectively.

Residents in high income areas attach more premiums to security and quality of surrounding environment as compared to residents of low income zones. Environmental conservation measures are easier to enforce in high income zones than low income neighbourhoods. This could be because of low population densities and formal planning in most of neighbourhoods in high income areas. Furthermore, high cases of ownership of homes in high income areas motivate people to be concerned by the quality of their neighbourhood. This is because; the quality of surrounding environmental has direct bearing on property value as well as on social image of inhabitants. Environmental conservation measures are hard to put in place in some low income neighbourhoods. Some of these neighbourhoods have developed outside formal planning by city council. The population in these areas has been on rapid increase due to natural growth and migration. This has put pressure on available space and resources.

Nairobi residents have witnessed increased cases of organized crime, abductions of persons and carjacking. This has mainly targeted people in high and middle income areas. The country's security enforcement agencies may not be highly distributed and available to respond to crime. This deficiency has prompted city residents to devise measures so as to improve security. Associations have been formed to bring residents together to share ideas on combating insecurity. Associations have endeavoured to improve neighbourhood security by constructing security barriers at main entrance to estate, hiring security guards and organizing night police patrols. In high and middle income neighbourhoods, guards have been hired by residents. KRA, MVERA and LSRA have hired 56, 25 and 45 guards respectively. They monitor the movement of people in and out of the estates, collaborate

with area's police officer during night patrols, guard members houses and property To bolster security in the area, WRA has constructed community policing booth and chief's office along Riverside drive. This has improved security by availing police officers in the area that easily response to distress calls from residents.

Land allocation and regulation of housing standards has become difficult for city planners. This has caused encroachment on of open spaces, sewer lines, electrical lines and road reserves. Some neighbourhoods have seen noisy business enterprises emerge, storey buildings and land grabbing. The slow response of urban planners to such challenges has made local people swing into action. Formation of residents' associations has become handy in circumstance of neglect by city planners.

In describing their goals and aims, the officials of associations used different words and connotations. However, it's clear that their aims are almost similar. The officials used phrases like; prioritize and address challenges related to security, livability, environment, land use and grabbing. Others included advice and advocate for changes, as well as represent the neighbourhood. In addition, the officials singled out fostering communication among neighbours and local government.

Urban residents' associations help overcome civic apathy, foster mutual understanding and create a local framework for basic services delivery. Gainpaolo (2009) noted that organization based at neighbourhood level matters greatly to residents than local authority. This is because they depict galactic efficiency in handling issues at local level.

He established that associations were actively involved in removal of garbage, landscaping of public spaces, maintenance of open spaces and sidewalks, recreational facilities, land and housing standards regulation in America. In this realm, we can say that residents' associations could be the most appropriate avenue of meeting common public services or goods. This is however true in areas where the local authority has limited capacity to deliver its responsibilities. The associations address this lacuna by discovering the needs of local people, and delivering on some of their agenda. Meanwhile, the capacity to fully implement association's agenda is dependent on the commitment of people involved, the local dynamics and the situation they are embedded in. The major aims of residents' associations across income groups are given in Table 4.1.

Table 4. 1: Goals of Residents Associations

Income group	Aims/goals	Frequency	Percentage
High Income	Address insecurity	7	87
	Engage urban planners on issues of livability	7	87
	Address socio-environmental challenges	6	75
	Effective garbage handling	4	50
Middle Income	Address insecurity	7	87
	Effective garbage handling	6	75
	Regulate land use and housing	5	62
Low Income	Raise capital to initiate businesses	6	75
	Support to children and elderly	4	50
	Insecurity	3	37
	Protect the environment	2	25

Source: Fieldwork, 2009

4.2.3: When Associations Were Formed

Most of associations in middle income areas came into existence before 2000 while in high income neighbourhood, most were formed after 2000. Buru Buru Welfare Residents' Association (BWRA) and Komarock Residents' Association (KRA) were formed in 1994. The two were the oldest of the associations under the study. Makongeni Progressive Residents' Associations (MPRA) and Westlands Residents' Associations (WRA) were formed in 2005. They represent the youngest of sampled associations. The information on the year of formation of associations is shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4. 2: Formation of Residents' Associations

Name of Association	Year of formation
Buru Buru	1994
Komarock	1994
Donholm	1997
Muthaiga	1998
Tena	1999
Umoja	2000
Mountain View	2002
Loresho South	2002
Bondeni 2 Self Help	2003
Kaumoni Road Company	2005
Makongeni	2006
Westlands	2006

Source: Fieldwork, 2009

Isabelle (2004) has examined reasons why middle income groups have longer history of communal participation and has attributed this to high awareness level and education

among individuals in this group. Associations are not common among high income groups because of individual ability to meet basic needs and their direct influence on city planners. The low income groups are usually beset by inadequate finances, information, skills and accessibility to a broad range of decision making processes. Naturally, the low income people easily come together to assist each solve socio-economic problems. Meanwhile, in a situation where regular remittance of funds is a precondition for membership, it's likely to scuttle or dim participation. This scenario may be further aggravated if collected funds are not directly used to address the basic challenges of getting welfare needs. In this case, if associations are to be relevant in urban service delivery, their blue prints must focus not only on welfare needs but also on public goods like garbage and environmental malaise. However, these goods may not be easily amenable to low income families causing their low participation in associations' activities. This makes it difficult to coalesce in group activism.

4.2.4: Role of External Forces in Formation of Associations

External incentives or forces were playing crucial role in formation of residents' associations. This is however more apparent in low income and high income associations. The idea to form Tena Residents Association (TRA) and Umoja 2 Residents' Residents' Associations was mooted following the visit in the area by the provincial commissioner. Residents were encouraged to form association to help the provincial commission combat spate of crime and escalating insecurity in the area. Bondeni Self Help residents' association originated following the activities of a local catholic church. The activities were pastoral visits to educate residents on communal activities, formation of peace

communities in neighborhood, training on group leadership, and need to partner with residents so as to assist orphans and elderly people.

Makongeni residents formed an association because of advice from the area chief. The area chief observed that it was becoming very difficult to identify criminals in the area. Residents were to find a viable way by which they would partner with local police officer in identifying criminals. The settlement in Muthaiga and Westlands of nationals from Europe and America appear to have contributed immensely to the formation of Westlands Residents' Association (WRA) and Muthaiga Residents' Association (MRA). The foreign nationals helped the residents to come up with association so as to provide a link between residents and city planners. They opted to work with local residents within the neighbourhood where they work and reside as a way of sharing their experience and knowledge about organizing neighbourhood activities. Buru Buru, Donholm and Komarok residents formed association in response to declining basic services in the area. An association was seen as instrument for agitating for better basic services. In addition, the officials said that the residents were receiving inflated water and electricity bills from the city council. The formation of association was seen as effective way of fixing the anomaly.

The propulsive forces behind the formation of residents' associations differed across income groups. External forces were playing a big role in formation of associations, especially in high and middle income neighbourhoods. In middle income groups, the intrinsic forces are main cause of residents' collective engagement. External incentives

and impetus are important for low income groups to participate in communal activities (Collier, 1998). High income groups always record low participation in communal activities (Karien and Bolt, 2004). The reason advanced by Fischer (1994) for low participation of high income groups, is their ability to meet basic services and tremendous influence the class has over urban policy makers and basic services providers.

In America, Broadly (1990) established that the rapid growth of residents' association was linked to the efforts of settlement workers. The workers would meet in school building to discuss how to provide free adult education and recreational activities. In Britain, Musso *et al.*, (2001) linked residents' associations to the activities of priests, church workers, and charitable societies. It was crucial to unveil the origin of idea to form residents' associations. This is important in appreciating the nature of associations, and residents' efforts to address common challenges.

Urban residents' associations have a brief history in Kenya. The history dates back to 1994 with the formation of Buru Buru and Komarock residents' associations (Table 4.2). Their recent upsurge coincided with the reducing capacity of urban authority to provide basic services to residents (Chitere and Ombati, 2004). Urban residents' associations stimulate people's involvement in the design delivery of common basic services. Therefore, associations represent the efforts of urban residents to meet the challenges of declining basic services provision.

4.2.5: Membership Criteria to Residents' Associations

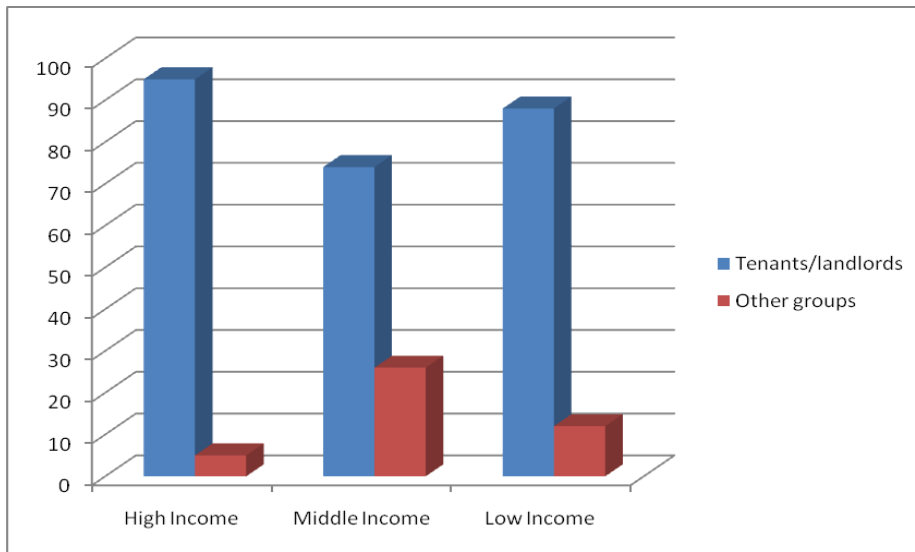
Across three income groups, over 75% of members to associations were either tenants or landlords. The percentage of increased across income groups, with high income recording above 95%. Several churches, schools and CBOs were members to associations. It's important to note institutions like schools, and hospitals joining associations are privately owned. Tena youths and women groups, Protestant Church of East Africa (PCEA), Catholic and Anglican churches operating in the area, are registered as members with Tena Residents' Association (TRA). In Muthaiga, Gertrude Children hospital is a member to MRA. In addition, Community Based Organizations (CBO) are admitted into associations. Westlands Residents' Associations (WRA) had 11 CBO's registered with it.

The presence of non tenants or homeowners belonging to neighbourhood groups shows willingness of residents to work with entire community. The high number of non tenants or homeowners in the associations could be interpreted to mean the association is reaching out to the entire community in addressing neighbourhood problems.

The middle income associations posted high number of non tenants or house owners belonging to the associations as illustrated in Figure 4.1 The non tenants and home owners ranged from residents of other neighbourhoods, schools, CBOs, churches, hospitals and business operators, youths and women groups. Similar findings were expressed by Coelho (2006) in India, where the study found out that middle income groups had large membership than high and low income groups. Edsel and Willi (2005) pointed out that, the middle income associations forge a wide collaboration based on

polices issues and development patterns. To achieve this, broad based cooperation and partnership with various agencies and organizations is needed. In this regard, it's imperative to say that the size of association is determined by issues addressed by association, modes of mobilization and local relationships.

Figure 4.1: Percentage of Non Tenants/Landlords to Associations



Source: Fieldwork, 2009

4.2.6: Recruitment of Members to Associations

Residents become members to association upon payment of registration fee and monthly subscription. Registration fees differed across three income groups as well as whether you are a resident or not. In high income areas registration fee ranged between 1000 to 2000 Kenya shillings. In middle income residence, it ranged from 100 to 200 and 100 Kenya shilling for low income associations. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), Community Based Organization (CBO's) become members after paying 5000 Kenya shillings in high income areas. Apart from registration fee, members pay to get services like garbage collection, plumbing services, trimming of hedges and security monitoring.

The differences in registration fee across income groups indicate that residents appreciate or acknowledge their financial strength. They settle on the amount that members can easily afford. This is important in encouraging residents to join associations. Registration fee beyond the capacity of some members can turn some residents away.

4.2.7: Associations' Membership Number

Associations in middle income areas registered an average of 5, 155 members. The average membership size in high income was 141 members while in low income it was 112 members. However, there was enormous disparity in membership size among associations in middle income neighbourhoods. While Komarock residents' association had 15, 000 members, Dornholm Phase 5 Residents' Association had 210 members. The observation made in Komarock was that, there are mechanisms that compel residents to join association.

The major one was presence of security barrier at the entrance of the estate and handling of garbage. The security barrier affects individual with personal vehicles. A resident who is not registered with the association is not assisted by security guards to lift security barrier for his or her vehicle to pass. The security guards are employed by the association. This has principally forced most individuals with vehicles to join the association to get help while approaching security barrier. Garbage collection and handling is as used as a bait to recruit members in Komarock. The association has contracted individuals to be collecting garbage in the estate. The non members to association have to organize their own garbage collection modes, which is expensive compared to group collection.

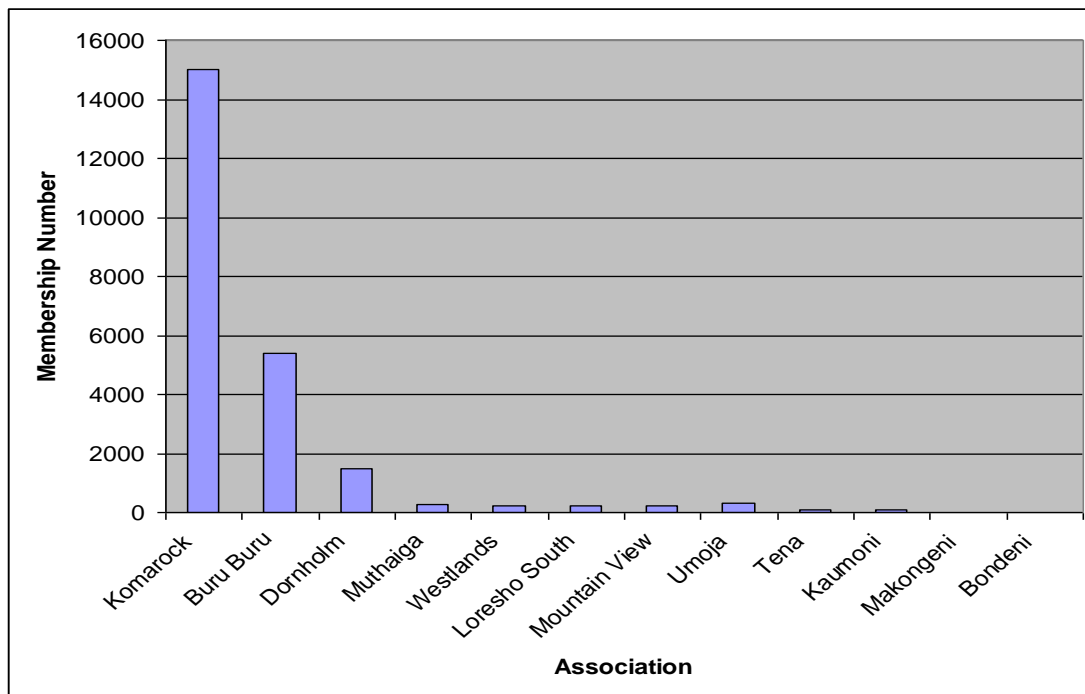
In Dornholm phase 5, there is no security barrier at the entrance of estate and neither is the estate surrounded by a perimeter fence as it's in Komarock. There is no inconvenience of lifting security barrier in Dornholm phase 5. Another observation made in Dornholm phase 5 is that residents are organized at block level. Several households come together and form a block. In the entire Dornholm, there were six residents' associations, notably Dornholm Progressive Residents' Association and Dornholm Phase 2 Residents' Association. In Komarock, there was only one association organized at estate or neighbourhood level. The fragmentation in Dornholm estate could be among reasons behind huge disparity in membership size in middle income associations. The large disparity in membership size was not observed in high and low income neighbourhoods.

The reason why associations in middle income areas have high number of members could be the high population density in the area. However, in the city of Nairobi, low income areas have the highest population density (NCC, 2005). Therefore, if population density was a factor for membership size, then associations in low income areas could be commanding a large membership. It's however important to note that membership number is influenced by issues addressed, modes of mobilization, membership composition, relations with the local authority and modes of mobilization (Coelho, 2006).

This means that membership size is usually controlled by the ability of an association to forge a broad agenda for the neighbourhood. The low income associations are largely bereft in forging broad agenda. They have low capacity to raise resources and forge ties

with other stakeholders. Gainpaolo (2009) meanwhile rooted for associations with low membership when organizing communal or group activities. The reason for this position was that heterogeneity of interests is less likely when membership is small. Small membership enhances the quality of internal controls and administration of informal rewards and penalties. A high level of solidarity generally is easier to maintain within a small group than within a large one. A summary of membership size across income groups is depicted in Figure 4.2

Figure 4.2: Number of Members to Residents' Associations



Source: Fieldwork, 2009

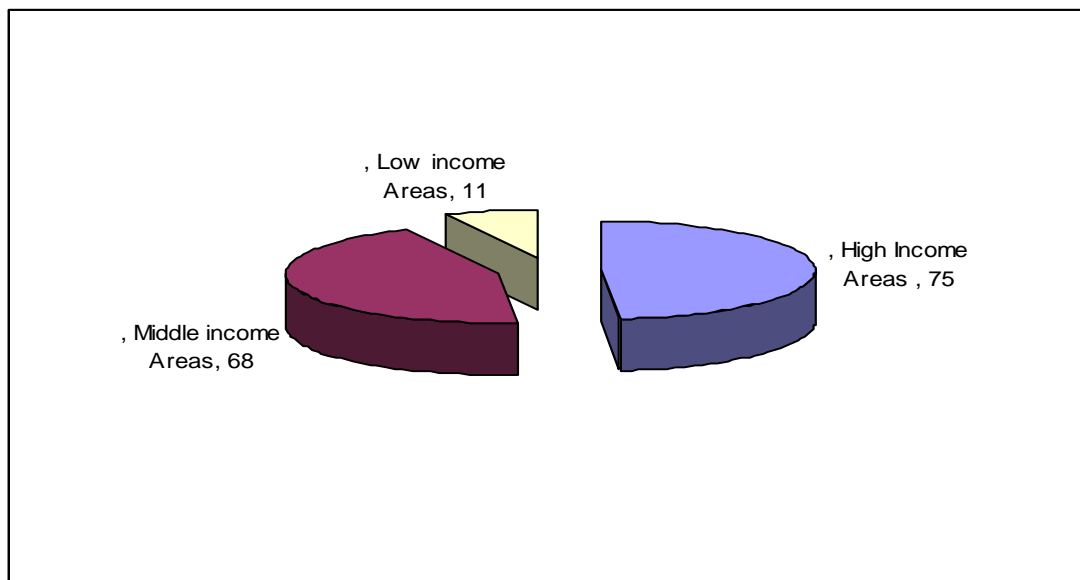
4.2.8: Household Status of Members to Associations

Over 75% of associations' members were house owners in high income areas whereas, some 25% were tenants. Tenants in this case included business operators and those owning institutions in neighbourhood. The percentage of house owners in middle income zones was 68% and in low income areas it was 11%. For instant in Loresho South and Mountain View, some 75% of members to associations were house owners in the area. Kaumoni estate had 69% of members owing the homes in the estate and in Komarock, the figure stood at 67%. In low income neighbourhoods of Tena and Umoja 2, those owning homes were 19% and 23% respectively. In Bondeni and Makongeni, all the members were tenants although in Makongeni, there is legal tussle that could see the tenants being declared the bonafide owners of the houses. The residents have petitioned in court their former employee Kenya Railway Authority over the ownership of houses. The residents want to be declared owners of the houses as a compensation package for early retirement by now defunct Kenya Railway Authority.

The high percentage of house owners in high income areas shows crucial role played by income when it comes to property ownership or acquisition. Low income families may be content with paying rent. They may not be in position to purchase a plot and subsequently construct a home. Land in urban centers is rapidly diminishing. The result has been high cost of acquiring land. The high cost of purchasing land and construction tend to limit low income people into perpetual tenancy.

When it comes to participations in neighbourhood activities, house owners are more likely to take part than tenants as shown in Figure 4.3. Gainpaolo (2009) established that 82% of members to residents' associations in Istanbul were homeowners. In nutshell, home or property holders are more likely to join a neighbourhood association than tenants. The property holder stakes in neighbourhood are greater and their time horizon longer. A tenant's time horizon is limited to the anticipated duration of the leasehold.

Figure 4.3: House Ownership across Income Groups (%)



Source: Fieldwork, 2009

4.2.9: Why Some Residents Do Not Join Associations

Various reasons were given by the officials as why some residents are not members to associations. Reasons such as the ability to hire services providers (87%), and tight work schedule were cited by 6 officials (75%) in high income neighbourhoods. In middle

income areas membership to other associations engaged in similar activities was adduced by 75% of the officials. The officials also highlighted financial commitment (62%) and strained relationship (37%) with other members to association as why some opt out of association. Low ability to raise monthly remittance was major reason why residents of low income zones do not join associations according to 75% of the officials. Nevertheless, some are not members because of limited information about the activities of association (62%) and the inability of urban planners to put into consideration the views of residents when it comes to neighbourhood livability (37%). Table 4.3 gives a summary why some residents are not members to associations. These reasons demonstrate social and economic clout of residents across income groups.

Table 4. 3: Reasons for Non-membership to Associations

Income groups	Reasons for not joining association	Frequency	Percentage
High Income	Ability to meet basic needs	7	87
	Tight work schedule	6	75
	Conflicts within association	3	37
Middle Income	Financial commitment	5	62
	Tight work schedule	4	50
	Conflicts within association	3	37
Low Income	Financial commitment	6	75
	Limited information	5	62
	Lack of recognition	3	37

Source: Fieldwork, 2009

Some individual in high income neighbourhood are able to hire personal security services and garbage handlers. Some work for organizations that are in position to

provide personal security monitoring. They may have numerous social protections from the organization they are working for. Such individuals may not see sense of joining neighbourhood association to discuss provision of basic services.

Failure to engage associations in low income groups by urban planners in urban management can discourage these groups. The efforts of residents' associations must be recognized, however modicum they appear. The recognition should emanate from other organization, especially those responsible in urban services supply. Failure to do so can greatly disillusion these groups and create feeling of less importance in members. When members of associations discover that their input is not put into any consideration, they are likely to disengage from activities of association.

Robin (1999) discussed low participation of low income groups in communal activities. He said that low income groups will only act when there is a prospect of obtaining funding or practical support. In this sense, there is need of building bridges between residents' associations and city planners. This will enhance the capacity of low income groups through advice, resources mobilization, information, training and leadership development.

4.2.10: Leadership and Internal Organization of Associations

All sampled associations had a chairperson, secretary, organizing secretary, treasurer and their respective assistants. The officials are elected directly thorough voting by the members of associations expect in Komarock. The officials in Komarock are elected

through delegate system, where each block in neighbourhood is represented by a delegate during election. Elections are held annually to pick new officials during Annual General Meeting (AGM). Other officials of associations in high and middle income areas included project manager, estate supervisor and office administrator. The officials are chosen through competitive interviews, based on needed skills and experience. The day-to-day running of the activities of the associations is vested in hands of these officials recruited based on their skills. This arrangement is significant because it free elected officials from practical activities of the associations since they may be committed with their jobs or businesses. It also means that associations are deeply concerned with the quality of the services they deliver and having a functioning secretariat is inevitable in attainment of their goals.

All the sampled associations in high income areas had an office located within neighbourhood. In middle and high income zones, only Komarock and Umoja had an office. The remaining associations carry out their activities from chairperson's house and for a meeting requiring a large attendance, a venue is rented. Evidence by Musso et. al., (2001) revealed that associations that had offices located within neighbourhood had large membership, residents' participation was high and were more responsive to neighbourhood needs than those without offices. Having an office within a neighbourhood act as a reminder to the officials and residents that they have a role to play in improving their estate. In addition, members are more likely to attend meetings held within an estate. They may also find it more convenient to forward their grievances to an office and not to officials in their houses.

Communication on neighbourhood issues is done through notices on bill boards planted at the entrance to the estate. However, this was witnessed only in high income areas and Komarock. Other modes of communication included text messages through cell phones, emails, phone calls and hand delivered letters. Associations in high income areas reported to be developing website through which they can communicate with public and residents on various issues. The preferred mode of communication meanwhile in high income areas was notices on bill boards. This is because of high tendency of residents to claim having not received any communication through other forms of communication.

4.2.11: Implementation of Associations Projects

Committees are formed to implement projects of associations. All associations in middle and high income areas had security and physical infrastructure committees. There were also environmental committees as accounted for by 62% and welfare committees by 37%. Associations in high and middle income categories form committees to address particular issue or agenda. The committees are headed by chairperson, chosen among members. However, the person chosen must poses strong interest, knowledge and experience in handling the agenda to be addressed. The infrastructure committee was in charge of construction and maintenance of estate paths, sidewalks, street lights, drainage and installation of electricity. The responsibility of estate cleans ups, garbage collection, planting of trees and maintenance of flower lawns were under environmental docket. Security committee takes care of police night patrols, hiring of security guards and construction of security barriers. The welfare committee takes care of funeral, wedding

and medical expenses of members. In Loresho south, the welfare committee reaches out to entire community by making donations and assistance to orphans, street children and elderly persons throughout the city of Nairobi.

Projects in low income zones are implemented by officials of residents' associations. The exceptional was Umoja, where there is a committee in charge of a market. The committee oversees the issuing of market stalls and ensures smooth functioning of the market. The wider community interest could have perhaps prompted the formation of market committee in Umoja and not purely need to formalize running of the market by the association. This is because the market committee is the only one created by the associations. The committees are supposed to raise funds for the implementation of projects. They approve the budget, source for constructors and lay working and completion frameworks.

Residents' associations offer an alternative service delivery model. The associations have different management approaches. They depict creativity in implementing course of action geared towards meeting members' needs. Although the far reaching regulatory powers of these committees may seem intrusive, they stimulate people's involvement in the design and delivery of public services. Therefore, efforts must be made to inject more dynamism in these associations especially in low end associations. This could be achieved through fostering strong synergy with state authority.

4.2.12: Socio-economic Benefits of Association

Some 75%, 62% and 50% of officials in high income areas mentioned improved neighbourhood security, clean living conditions, creation of employment and friendship respectively as some of benefits of having an association in neighbourhood. Following benefits were identified in middle income areas; improved estate paths (75%), street lights (62%) and clean neighbourhood 37%. Others were jobs creation at 37% and construction of social hall (25%). The officials of low income areas mentioned improved conditions of street traders (62%), availability of capital to start businesses and care for vulnerable children and elderly 75% and 62% respectively.

Umoja 2 Self Help Residents' Welfare Association had solicited funds from Local government through (LATF) and Continental Building Society to construct a market in neighbourhood. A number of schools, a social hall had been constructed in Umoja due to the partnership between association and donors such as Red Cross Society and Building Society of Kenya. Residents in Tena, Buru Buru and Komarock under auspices of association had managed to get back grabbed land after a successful court case against land grabbers. The efforts of residents' association had led to the tarmacking of roads, a social hall and fixing of street lights in the estate. The construction work was undertaken by Kenya Urban Road Authority in conjunction with Kenya Roads Board Authority. The authorities were responding to residents' sustained complains about low standards of roads and access paths in neighbourhoods.

The association brings numerous returns to the people living in the neighbourhood. The benefits may differ across income cadres. The discrepancy in benefits may be due to agenda pursued by the associations or availability of resources to implement certain agenda. An association in high income area may focus on security or environmental challenges. The benefits will be improved security. This is achieved through hiring of estate guards and police unit patrols. In low income quarters, raising funds is usually a daunting task. Therefore, associations in this category dwell on improving the living conditions of members through raising funds for income generation as well as acting as social safety nets during time of deprivation.

Although the urban low income groups are largely mired in welfare issues, they constitute enormous edifice for social-economic transformation. Merklen (2003) lamented about the absence of committed and significant action to help people in low income groups. The absence of any effort to bail out low income people from their quandary had adverse implication on the group. The group had been compelled to devise ways of life and strategies that focused on largely adopting to their situation instead of transforming it. This can be reversed through proactive partnership between associations and stakeholders concerned with public service delivery. Such arrangement creates ample opportunity where different interests, especially those that are marginalized to be taken into consideration.

The main purpose of associations differed across three income groups. Security (87% and environmental protection (75%) featured largely in high income areas. In middle income

we had lobbying for undelivered services from city planners (75%) and pooling capital to initiate micro enterprises to earn income (75) in low income zones. Both external and internal factors were playing a role in the formation of associations. External forces were mainly reported in high and low income areas. For middle income areas, it was mainly internal forces. Some residents within neighbourhood were not registered or members to association. Among the reasons given were ability to meet basic needs, conflicts among members, lack of recognition by official city planners, tight work schedule and financial commitment. It's clear that goals/aims of associations were almost similar although different words and connotations were used to describe them. Among the aims, we had address insecurity, engage city planners on neighbourhood livability, address socio-environmental challenges, neighbourhood cleanliness, cater for welfare needs of members/community and pool funds together to initiate income generating activities. Associations bring numerous benefits to neighbourhood. The benefits included improved neighbourhood, security, clean living conditions, jobs creation in high income areas. Others were upgrading of paths, street lights (middle income areas) and better working conditions for street traders, friendship and assistance when faced by socio-economic challenges in low income areas.

4.3: Functions of Residents' Associations in Urban Service Delivery

In this section, finding on issues addressed by associations, implementation of projects and major accomplishments of associations are presented. Discussion on features of successful associations and involvement of associations in community activities is done.

4.3.1: Involvement in Community Activities

Residents' associations were involved in improving social amenities like schools, hospitals and playgrounds. Some 87% and 75% in middle income mentioned health centers and schools respectively. According to 62% of officials in low income areas, they have assisted the community by improving market conditions for street traders while 50% talked about schools. Playgrounds, community policing programme and assistance to needy children was identified in high income areas.

Associations in middle and low income categories were more vocal in community wide activities than high income associations. Komarock and Buru Buru associations had already found donors willing to finance the construction of swimming pool, basket ball court and cinema hall in estates. However, the cost of constructing these facilities has to be shared between residents' associations and donors. Members to associations were making monthly contribution towards these efforts. Associations had already identified space or land where recreational facilities will be constructed. Once the associations meet their financial target as agreed with donors and projects are approved by the city council of Nairobi, construction work will commence. The facilities are meant to engage youths gainfully and by so doing curtailing crime and other anti-social demeanor associated by idleness.

The lobbying and activities of Tena and Umoja residents' associations have led to the construction of a market and schools in the neighbourhood. Tena secondary school was constructed in partnership between the area residents' association and Constituency

Development Fund Committee. In addition, the association has managed to prevail upon Anglican and Catholic churches to facilitate the construction of a nursery school and youth vocational centre in the area. Market construction was among community wide projects started by Buru, Umoja and Tena associations. The market construction was initiated in collaboration between residents' associations, city council and philanthropic organizations working in City of Nairobi. The market stalls are rented to residents. The market stalls are aimed at improving working conditions of street traders. Other community wide ventures by associations were child care centre and feeding programme (Bondeni) and charitable outreach programme (Loresho south).

The associations in high income areas were wanting in community wide activities as summarized in Table 4.4. This could be due to the fact that the residents of these areas have the potential to get schools, hospitals and recreational facilities elsewhere. Another reason could be low population density in the area that does not put pressure on existing facilities. However, for low income population, distance can be great obstacle to accessing social services. Again due to high population in low and middle neighbourhoods, there is high pressure on existing social facilities. The cause of this situation has been that provision of social service has not been in tandem with rapid population growth in these areas. For example, in Tena and Komarock, there is only one secondary school built by the City Council of Nairobi.

Health facilities were even more wanting. The officials of Buru Buru and Donholm associations reported lack of any health facility in the area. The provision of social

services is the responsibility of city council. Unfortunately, the capacity of local authority to deliver on social needs has been compounded by shrinking resources and, rapid yet uncontrolled urbanization process.

Table 4. 4: Involvement in Community Activities by Associations

Income group	Community Activities	Frequency	Percentage
High Income	Community policing	3	37
	Playgrounds	2	25
	Assistance to vulnerable families	3	37
Middle Income	Schools	7	75
	Playgrounds/Cinema halls	6	75
	Health centers	7	87
	Community library	4	50
Low Income	Schools	4	50
	Playgrounds	4	50
	Markets	5	62
	Health centers	3	37

Source: Fieldwork, 2009

4.3.2: Current Activities of Residents' Associations

Garbage collection and security surveillance ranked high at 87% and 75% respectively as current activities of associations in high income neighbourhoods. Others were repair of neighbourhood paths and neighbourhood lighting at 62% and 50% respectively. Environmental conservation recorded 62% and charitable communal involvement 25%. In middle income neighbourhood, security monitoring reached 75%, garbage collection 62%, lobbying for better services from urban planners 50%, maintenance of neighbourhood paths 35% and communal charitable activities 25%. In low income areas, income generating activities was highest at 75% followed by welfare need (62%) and care for elderly and children reached 50% of the officials.

WRA has initiated the construction of playground, community health clinic and recreational hall in Spring Valley and Riverside drive. In Mountain View and Muthaiga,

the repair of sidewalks and estate paths were being undertaken. The repair had been made possible by money contributed by residents and building materials donated by Bamburi Cement factory. The committee concerned with infrastructure had contracted a company to undertake the construction and repair of sidewalks and estate paths. In addition, there was tree planting going on in the estates courtesy of residents' associations. In Komarock, the association was compiling the directory to provide comprehensive information on all residents of the area. This is meant to motivate residents and members to be more proactive in the activities of association. MVERA and WRA were mobilizing local people and resources to protect water catchments areas adjacent to their neighbourhood, where residents were being called in to contribute funds. These funds are meant to construct perimeter fence around the wetland while assisting in purchase of trees to be planted in the area.

In Tena and Umoja, residents through their association were applying for the installation of electricity in their houses and business premises, and this was made possible by funds contributed by members to associations. Bondeni 2 Self Help Association had day care centre and feeding programme for orphan children. The officials said that they help police to identify criminal gangs and discuss matters pertaining security with provincial administration. The officials of Tena, Umoja 2, Muthaiga and Buru Buru residents' associations mentioned pending court cases against irregular allocation of land and actual land grabbing in the area. Residents usually contribute funds to hire services of legal experts and offset costs of pursuing the case in courts against perceived land grabbers. In some cases, the officials talked about mobilizing residents to obstruct construction and

any development on the land perceived to have been grabbed. Bondeni 2 Self Help association has handicraft project to eke income for members. This represents cottage industry where several products and items are made from locally available resources and skills. The items that are mainly meant for the purpose of adoration and beautification are sold to provide income to the operators in the industry.

The study findings indicate that associations have initiated numerous projects to improve residents living conditions. High income and middle associations are addressing basic needs of security, environment and social amenities. The associations in low income area are fulfilling welfare needs of members and acting as social safety net. The associations in low income perimeter meanwhile may respond to external agents' efforts to address insecurity and environmental challenges in the area. They provide significant information to provincial administration on insecurity and crime in the area.

The changing patterns of urban service provision are giving rise to new platforms and mobilization among the urban residents (Coelho, 2006). An association may be training ground in self-governance, actual opportunity for the development or nurturing of genuine qualities upon which self direction is hinged. Urban residents regardless of income level, care about the appearance and orderliness of their neighbourhood. Unfortunately, Gainpaolo (2009) found out that the low income groups were treated as unlikely force for social and economic transformation. According to Marriot (1997), in term of discourses on social capital, urban residents notwithstanding income threshold could be significant contributors to the generation of social capital. The success is

dependent on the extent to which various organs of governance are ready to reverse corrosive perception based on income level.

4.3.3: Future Plans of Residents Associations

In high income neighbourhood 35% of officials talked about petitioning local government to make their neighbourhood a borough (self administered area within a municipal or local council). Another 62% singled out merging with neighbouring associations to form stronger and bigger neighbourhood associations. Future plans for associations in middle income areas were; drilling of bore-holes to supply water at 62%, reposing grabbed land as mentioned by 35% of the officials. Construction of playgrounds (35%), health clinics (50%) and libraries (25%) were mentioned in middle income areas. In low income neighbourhood, construction of schools and health clinics were mentioned at 87% and 75% respectively. There were also playgrounds 25%; cinema hall and library were mentioned by 37% of the officials.

WRA plans to petition the local authority to make the area a borough, strengthen association through membership. If this can be achieved, then it will be semi-autonomous from City Council of Nairobi and with power to collect rates that can enable it provide services to residents. In addition, plans were underway to form a large umbrella organization for associations in Westland. In Kaumoni and Buru Buru plans were underway to drill bore-holes as the challenge of water supply in Nairobi was becoming more pronounced due to high population increase and erratic rainfall pattern. Umoja and Tena residents' associations have a series of stalled court cases against land grabbers. The

residents are contributing money to enable them pursue the pending court cases. Tena Residents' Association (TRA) plans to compile a directory for all plot owners and landlords in the estate as a precursor to arousing their interest in the agenda of associations.

The future plans of an association demonstrate focus and commitment aimed at improving neighbourhood. Improving neighbourhoods requires sustained efforts. This commitment can be manifested in long term plans of an association. Having future plans for a neighbourhood helps to bond residents together as they may want to participate in this venture in various ways. Future plans of an association also bring out acute problems facing residents. In Nairobi, water supply has become erratic and unpredictable. This could be why future plan of some associations is to sink bore-holes in neighbourhood. Plans to form a large neighbourhood association means that residents understand importance of social capital in solving socio-economic malaise. Having a united community voice provides resources and experience in tackling problems that confront people.

The future plans of associations also reflect their interaction, social and economic strength. The high income associations have influence and capital to pursue bigger goals. This is denoted by future plans of WRA to create a borough in the neighbourhood. The settlement of nationals from Europe and America could be shaping the future perspective of WRA to have a borough. This is because in some cities in Europe, neighbourhood

associations have been given fully mandate to manage the local communities' affairs. They have been declared boroughs (Montgomery *et.al.*, 2004).

Regarding increasing challenges of providing basic services to city residents, it's perhaps crucial to envision community associations as fulfilling a lasting role on public services dialogue. To make this possible, association should not only focus on neighbourhood issues. This is because the inward looking associations lose contact with the rest of the community. Concentrating on inward matters implies that the association has low potential of participating in delivery and planning of public needs.

4.3.4: Greatest Accomplishments of Sampled Associations

Availability of capital to start income generating activities was reported by 87% of officials in low income areas and 75% mentioned market stalls for street traders. The major accomplishment of associations in middle income areas was neighbourhood lighting as indicated by 7 officials (87%). In high income neighbourhoods, improved estate cleanliness (87%) and improved security stood at 62%. Other accomplishments of associations were; improved relationship with city planners, upgrading of neighbourhood roads, resisting land grabbing and friendship among residents.

All the sampled associations reported to have successfully resisted land grabbing in the estate. This was through court action or protest by the residents. However, the approach used to get back grabbed land differed across income groups with high income associations using legal court approach while low and middle end associations employing

protests and demonstrations. Buru Buru Welfare Resident' Association and Komarock association had mobilized residents to evict private developers who had grabbed space meant for the construction of a dispensary and a school in the area. MRA had successfully annulled allocation of land closer to Gertrude Children Hospital through court order. The disparities in modalities used to address the perennial eyesore of land grabbing depict importance of finances in accessing legal services. It also brings to fore lack of faith in institutions charged with onus of solving conflicts and offering redress. High income associations have resources and finances to pursue and sustain court cases. The reason given by low and middle end associations for adopting protests in battle against land grabbing was tendency of legal processes and court cases to be manipulated by those with money and influence.

The demand for land or space in Nairobi represents serious development need. This has caused conflicts between private developers and the local communities. The private developers need land for commercial purposes while the community may need space for street traders, construction of schools, playgrounds and recreational needs. Urban planners and developers have responded to land shortage by encouraging construction of storey building. Unfortunately, the construction of storey building has compounded water supply, drainage and sewerage facilities.

Umoja residents' association mentioned community market, and acquisition of ambulance from Israel foreign mission in Nairobi. The community market was constructed on open space that had been grabbed by private developers. However,

residents acting under aegis of association, demonstrated against grabbing of the open space. After successfully resisting takeover of open space by individual developers, residents in the area resolved to put the fallow space into productive use as a way of wading off potential grabbers. The officials of association approached city council and Continental Building Society who resolved to construct the community market in the area. The market has improved working conditions of street traders as well as provided essential goods to the residents. An ambulance acquired from Israel mission in the country is used for emergency operation. Such operations include transporting the sick to the hospital. Income generated from ambulance services is used to implement association's activities. Tena association singled out secondary school, nursery, and clinic, community market, construction of Manyanja road and upgrading of estate paths. This has reduced distance travelled by residents to get learning and medical facilities. The carpeting of Manyanja road has improved neighbourhood mobility and increased demand for houses in the area. The response on accomplishment of association may not be objective as responses on this question were depended on the priorities of those responding as well as their tenure and knowledge of associations' past activities. Nevertheless, the list gives a sense of the work of residents' associations both in the tremendous amount and the breadth of the type of work.

The study on functions of residents' associations shows that associations develop programmes that benefit their members differently. Among them is crime prevention, graffiti removal, landscaping of public spaces, land and housing regulations and recreational facilities. Schools, health facilities, income generation and offsetting

expenses related to school fees, weddings and funerals. However, it's imperative to note that much of responses in this section were subjective reflecting the size of association in term of membership and extent of community wide involvement. The implication is that, it's very difficult to categorize the functions of these associations. Associations share broad categories of functions. These functions are shaped by people involved and emerging local issues. In high and middle income groups, committees are appointed to develop and implement neighbourhood projects. In low income zones, the implementation of associations' agenda is the onus of elected officials.

Examining the accomplishment of associations in low income areas, one can deduce that associations have been utilized as a bargaining chip for undelivered service. The original preoccupation was to improve welfare needs of members and act as social safety nets. The core objective of middle income associations was to lobby for the undelivered service from the City Council. Managing neighbourhood meanwhile has become their secondary venture. Associations in high income areas were formed to manage neighbourhood and engage city planners on matters of livability. Associations in this segment have gone a milestone further to develop formal committees. These formal committees are significant in ensuring that their projects are relevant.

Residents' associations were involved in improving neighbourhood social amenities. These amenities included schools, markets, medical dispensaries and playgrounds. However, this was more conspicuous in middle income areas than low and middle income neighbourhoods. Associations were involved in neighbourhood management

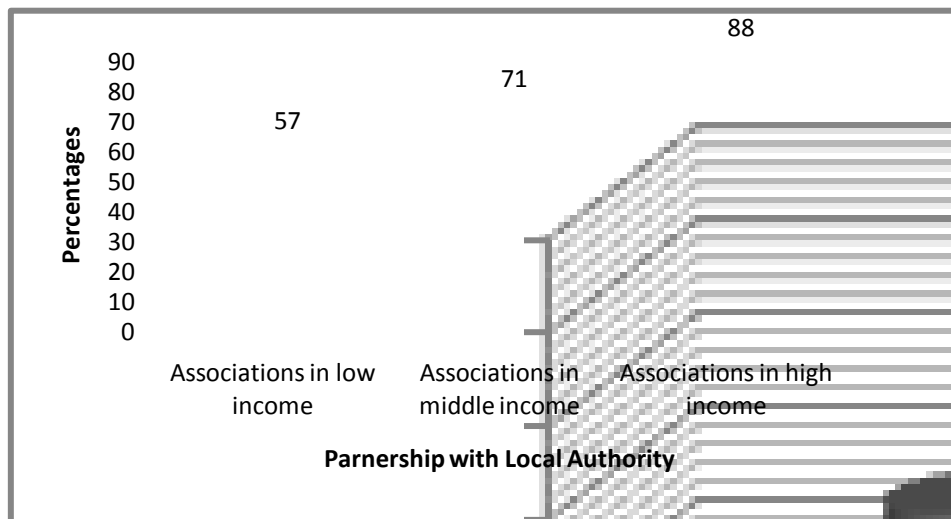
through security surveillance, garbage collection/disposal, maintenance of estate paths/roads, street lighting, environmental conservation and lobbying for undelivered services from city planners. This was more apparent in middle and high incomes neighbourhoods than low income zones. In low income areas, welfare needs and income generation featured prominently. The future blue prints of associations envisaged the following; create larger umbrella group, repossess grabbed land, construct community libraries, cinema halls, health centre and drill bore-holes to supply water. In high income areas, creation of self-administered unit within the city of Nairobi was mentioned.

4.4: Relationship between Associations and Stakeholders in Service Provision

This section examined partnership with local authority and various levels of participation in management of neighbourhood. The section further looked at any assistance from city agencies concerned with public service provision. There was also need to examine factors influencing relationship with city agencies responsible for public service provision.

4.4.1: Partnership with Local Authority

Respondents across three income levels reported partnership between their associations and local authority. Some 88% of sampled respondents in high income region said that there is partnership with local authority. For middle income, the figure was 71% while for low income, it was 57%. Data on partnership is captured in Figure 4.4. It possibly shows that associations in high income region have better partnership with local authority than either low or middle income associations.

Figure 4. 4: Partnerships between Associations and Local Authority

Source: Fieldwork, 2009

Urban service delivery demands strong partnership between community groups and the local authority. Residents' associations are important service providers. In peri-urban and informal settlement, they may be the only service providers. This however, does not mean that they usurp the duties of local authorities. The officials of local authorities indicated they partner with residents' associations in addressing neighbourhood problems. The associations seek advice and input of local authority before embarking on any physical development in neighbourhood. This is done to ensure all building and land use conditions are fulfilled as this is important in protecting individuals as well as property and the community. The associations are meant to compliment the efforts of local authority. Partnership ensures that, the activities and projects initiated by associations are relevant and meet the stipulated quality standards. The call for partnership with local authority is premised on the fact that state agencies are regulators of social life and are in charge of institutionalization of the public arena (Robin, 1999).

4.4.2: Rating of Relationship between Association and Other Stakeholders

Thawing relationship increased across the three income groups reaching a high of 38% in affluent neighbourhoods. It was lowest (10%) in low income areas while it stood at 36%. Issues addressed by associations are a major factor influencing partnership forged with city agencies. Association in high and middle income areas address issues of livability as compared to low income areas that mainly focus on welfare issues. Because of arrays of issues addressed by associations in high end and middle end areas, they are likely to establish rapport with more stakeholders. Establishing rapport is significant for success of association. Conversely, strained relationship with other agencies involved in urban management can be erosive on the ability of local groups.

Officials of other organizations (NCWSC, KARA, NCC and NCDBA) concerned with urban management acknowledged working in partnership with associations. The official of NCWS was more upbeat about working with residents' associations. The official observed that working with local groups enables stakeholders to periodically review performance of those responsible for making decisions. Conversely, partnership ensures that the livelihood of residents is secured through the choices and decisions made at various. The observation made by the officials of KARA was not as thawing as one made by the official of NCWS. The KARA official lamented that some associations turn out only when they are confronted by insurmountable challenges. Such associations demand action from the umbrella group without understanding its functioning and when KARA delays to intervene, it's accused of elitism.

Discourses by Devas (2001) showed that frosty relationship between residents' associations and city agencies had negative bearings on associations. The negative effects were enormous in low income zones, where it had resulted in feeling of unworthiness. Because of local influence and agitating prowess of local groups, they are easily seen as intrusive. These views are deeply ingrained in the psyche of conventional city management. This perception usually culminates in abrasive relationship between associations and agencies bestowed with the mandate of running urban centers.

Descriptive analysis in Table 4.5 shows differences in rating of relationship with stakeholders across the three income groups. Some 38% and 36% of respondents in high and middle income areas reported having good relationships with stakeholders in urban service delivery while in low income areas it was 10%. Seemingly, the relationship between associations across income groups can be said to be average, where scores for low, middle and high income associations were 50%, 39% and 41% respectively. This prompted further test to find out if the results were statistically significant.

Table 4. 5: Cross Tabulation on Relationship between Associations and other Stakeholders

		Socio-economic group			Total	
			low income	middle income	high income	
Nature of relationship between associations and other stakeholders in urban services delivery	Good	Count	4	14	13	31
			10.0%	36.8%	38.2%	27.7%
	Average	Count	20	15	14	49
			50.0%	39.5%	41.2%	43.8%
	Poor	Count	16	9	7	32
			40.0%	23.7%	20.6%	28.6%
Total		Count	40	38	34	112

Source: Fieldwork, 2009

In inferential data analysis, Cross tabulation of variables simplifies testing of independence and association where by percentages of rows and columns are generated. This is the first step in inferential analysis although it does not allow for actual quantification and testing of independence. A statistic mainly used to test hypothesis that the row and column variables are independent is the Pearson chi-square. It's done by summing over entire cells, and then squared residual divided by the expected frequencies.

Table 4.6 provides Chi-square test result from a cross tabulation of socioeconomic groups and relationship with other stakeholders concerned with urban services delivery ($\chi^2=10.510$, $df=4$, $p=0.033$) means that there is significant partnership between associations and the official city planners. This led to the rejection of null hypothesis; there is no cordial relationship between associations and city planners. Although there was reported significant relationship, it's imperative to observe that this relationship mainly gravitate around making recommendations on issues of urban livability. This is very important but not sufficient if cordial, stronger relationship must exist. In this regard, there is need to strengthen the relationship. This can be achieved by creating more avenues of working relationship that transcend making recommendations on urban livability. In lieu of foregoing results, the first null hypothesis was rejected

Table 4. 6: Chi-Square Results of Socioeconomic groups and Relationship with Stakeholders

Socioeconomic groups	Chi-square(χ^2)	Degree of freedom(df)	Significance value
Relationship with city agencies	10.510	4	.033

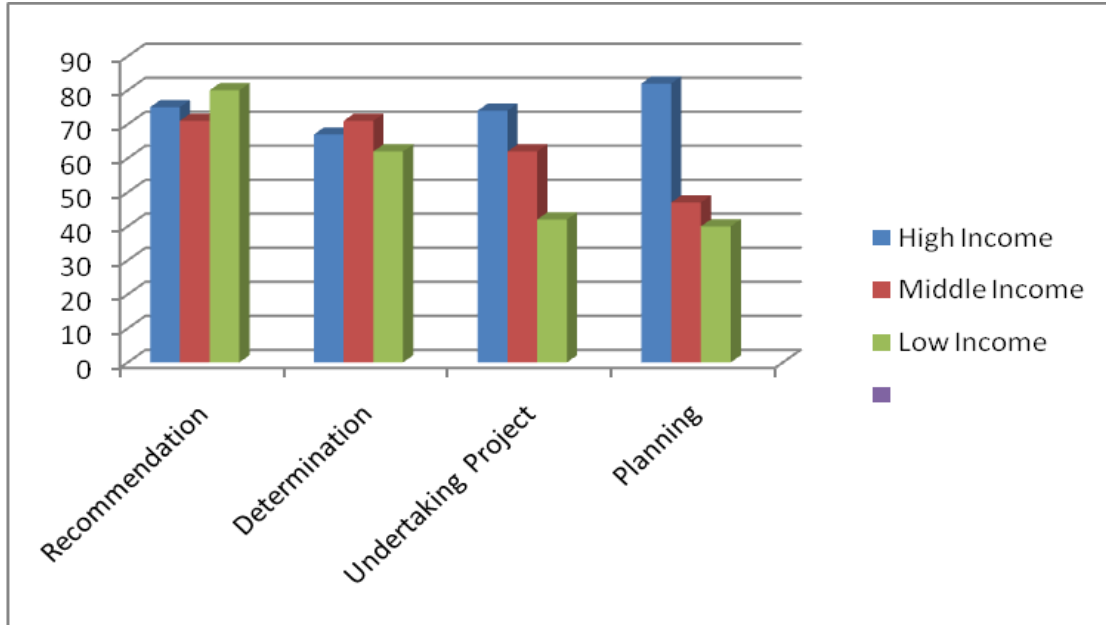
Source: Fieldwork, 2009

Establishing relationship with city agencies brings numerous benefits to associations. The benefits may be in term of financial help, skills and experience exchange as well as increasing credibility of the projects undertaken by associations. For example, relationship with city council and associated departments ensure that projects undertaken by local groups conforms to health and physical development standards. Failure to consult and get professional guidance can be counterproductive when it comes to meeting requirements of the authority vested with the mandate of physical and infrastructural planning of the city. This realization has made associations to enter in partnership with other organizations especially City Council of Nairobi.

According to key informants, the city council has an office in most of estates in Nairobi. This is meant to provide a strong link between the city authority and local groups in the area. Residents are able to get advice and assistance from the City Council by visiting the offices located in the nearest office. This interaction updates residents on various issues being addressed by the council. Residents also forward their grievances to these offices. All physical and social developments taking place in neighbourhoods have to be sanctioned by the city council. This has made relationship between residents' association and city council inevitable. However, litanies of complaints were leveled at the city council by the residents. Some of these complaints included inflated bills for services delivered, complicity with some individuals to breach land use and housing standards, slow response to residents' plights and abetting land grabbing.

4.4.2: Levels of Partnership between Associations and Stakeholders

Four levels of partnership between associations and local authority were captured. The four levels included; recommendation to local authority on matters of livability, assist authority in determining priority needs of neighbourhood, undertaken or managed projects as agreed by authority and engagement in comprehensive planning on matters of livability within the neighbourhood. In low income segment, 80% of the sampled population said that their associations had made recommendation on issues of urban livability. Some 62% agreed that they had been involved in determining the priority needs of the neighbourhood. The findings on four strands on partnership with local authority for middle income were; recommendation and assistance in determining neighbourhood needs (71%). At least 62% reported association having undertaken or managed projects on behalf local authority. Finally, 62% observed that association had been involved in comprehensive planning of neighbourhood. Data on four levels of partnership between high income associations and city agencies is presented in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4. 5: Participation of Associations in Neighbourhood Livability

Source: Fieldwork, 2009

Associations in low income areas featured largely when it comes to making recommendations on neighbourhood livability. When it comes to comprehensive planning and undertaking projects in neighbourhood, their performance becomes dismal. This could be due limited skills, knowledge and finances on part of residents of these neighbourhood.

Interview with stakeholders indicated that they consult local groups on challenges experienced in respective neighbourhoods. They mainly seek the input and views of local residents on common problems and public goods. For instant, provincial administration and police force said associations are a great boon in combating insecurity. They observed that residents' associations were vital in zoning security threat areas and identifying criminal gangs and their activities.

The official of NCWSC reported that associations keep vigil on water circulation networks and alert the company about illegal water connections, burst sewers, and leaking water taps. Residents' associations seem to feature in urban management, especially at sharing their views and recommendations to the city planners. They may be of less value when it comes to comprehensive planning and actual implementation of required projects. This limitation could be due to a constellation of factors. For example, associations can only lend credence to security problem by sharing with authorities views. This is because fighting insecurity involves intricate logistics and legal mandates like arraigning criminals in court of law. Nevertheless, having a clue or prior information on criminal activities is a crucial milestone. The information can assist government organs in charge of security respond to the problem swiftly and expeditiously.

Various levels of partnership make development to be intensive and efficient. It immensely benefits society and expand opportunities for participation. Robin (1999) has commented on the need of state and local organizations to establish partnership as an approach to addressing declining public services in urban centers. He has observed that if service provision was to rely purely on local organizations, it's very likely to encounter a defensive and mistrustful attitude on the part of entire population. If the service provision is not dovetailed into institutions, neighbourhood associations may tend to make their participation conditional on the more or less tangible profits. Local authority has been overwhelmed by responsibilities. This is due to rapid urbanization. This calls for need to actively engage negotiation between various stakeholders. Local associations can be used

to bridge the gap between local communities and state agencies. Strengthening these groups however is a long term task. This task may give rise to high hope, enormous achievements and sometimes, disillusionment.

4.4.3: Knowledge on Issues/Projects Initiated by Associations

In low income zones, 35% of sampled population was aware that the associations were engaged in garbage collection and disposal. Water scarcity was reported by 30% while roads and access paths by 20%. For middle income quarter, population awareness on associations' project was as follows; street lights (31%), land grabbing (21%), environment conservation (18%), security (47%) and welfare needs (18%).

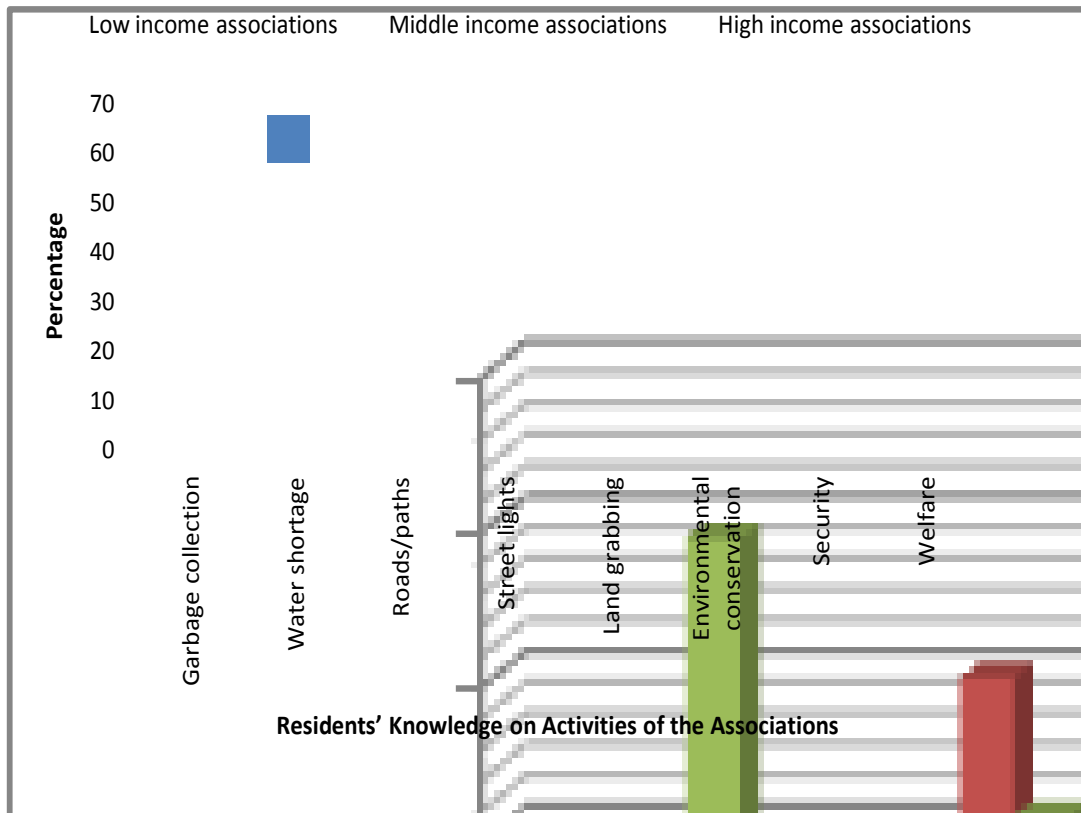
The data on issues or projects addressed may not necessarily vindicate activities of association. The data merely show residents' level of awareness about issues addressed by associations. Residents who are not members to associations may not have comprehensive knowledge on the activities of associations. The findings on issues addressed only provide clues on relationship between residents and the executives of residents' associations. If the awareness is high, it's then assumed that there is thawing relationship between local community and the association. Nevertheless, the data provides a pointer on different needs of three income groups. A high percentage (62%) in low income areas identified welfare needs. The welfare needs encompassed raising money to initiate income generating activities in addition to assistance in settling school fees, house rents, wedding, medical and funeral expenses. Welfare issues further focused on care of orphans and vulnerable children as well as elderly people.

Residents of high income zones require motorable roads and paths. This group reported highest percentage (52%) when it came to roads and access paths. Majority of residents in this zone have motor vehicles that need developed roads. Local authority develops roads. However, residents compliment these efforts through technical and financial donation. The associations compliment local authority through construction of sidewalks in neighbourhood.

A major challenge emerging in contemporary urban centers is environment protection. Respondents' awareness on environmental issues was highest in high income zones at 38% as compared to 25% and 18% for low and middle income areas respectively. Measures to conserve environment included protecting wetlands or water catchments areas, planting trees, establishing flower lawns, clearing of bushes and shrubbery. These measures are difficult to put in place in some of middle and most of low income areas. These areas are denoted by informal settlement making it herculean task to plan and institutionalize measures to protect environment. Muthaiga, Loresho South, Mountain View and Westlands residents associations have put in place measures to resist encroachment on wetlands within their precincts. In these up market residential areas, environmental committees have been formed. The committees solicit funds, purchase and plant trees and flowers. In Muthaiga, cutting down of any plant growth is done with a consent from environmental committee. In this regard, one can discern the crucial role played by residents' associations in conserving environment. In addition, the associations foster harmony, cooperation and ease some of the difficulty of urban life. Figure 4.6

provides comprehensive insight into respondents awareness levels on issues addressed by associations across income groups.

Figure 4. 6: Residents' Knowledge on Activities of the Associations



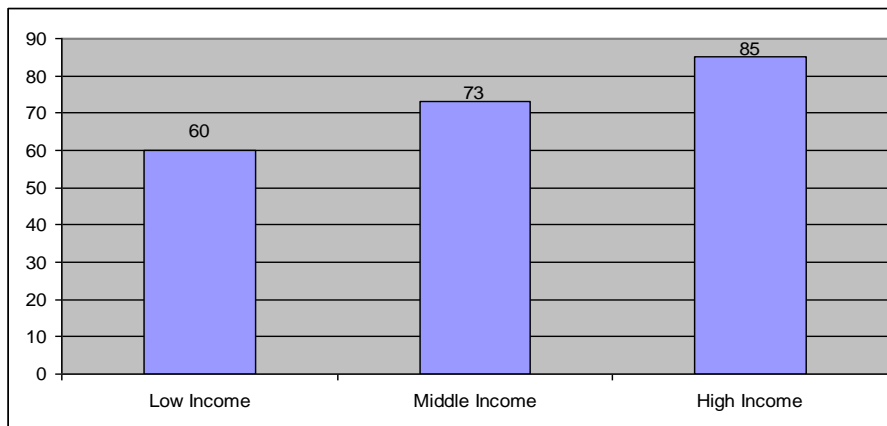
Source: Fieldwork, 2009

4.4.4: Assistance on Issues Addressed by Associations from Other Stakeholders

Percentage response on assistance increased across income groups. In low income category it was 60%, 73% for middle and massive 85% for associations in high income areas as shown in Figure 4.7. Equally, nature of assistance and assisting organizations differed. The assistance for low income groups largely came from religious organizations and Red Cross Society and Micro-financial agencies. The assistance focused on welfare needs of the population (health, income generation, food donation). Assistance to middle

income families emanated from Building Societies like Continental Building Society and Provincial Administration. The assistance mainly touched on homeownership and combating insecurity in the area. As regards insecurity, associations work in collaboration with Provincial Administration and get police to patrol and keep vigil at night. This is done to enhance security in the area. In this area of insecurity, police department and residents' associations exchange information and logistics on how to stem insecurity.

Figure 4. 7: Assistance to Associations from Other Stakeholders (%)



Source: Fieldwork, 2009

High income associations have dense network of partners. They include vibrant civil societies and private business sector. They offer assistance to residents' associations in various realms. They share skills and knowledge on how to improve living conditions within the estate. Financial donations and technical assistance are given to the associations. The construction of security barriers in Mountain View was made possible following donation of cement and building materials from Bamburi Cement Factory. Kenya Tiles Products and Securex provided funds to construct speed bumps and bus shelters in Muthaiga. Other stakeholders providing assistance to residents' associations

were Kenya Private Sector Association (KEPSA), Mazingira Movement, GreenBelt Movement, and Kenya Tourism Board.

4.4.5: Factors Influencing Relationship with other Stakeholders

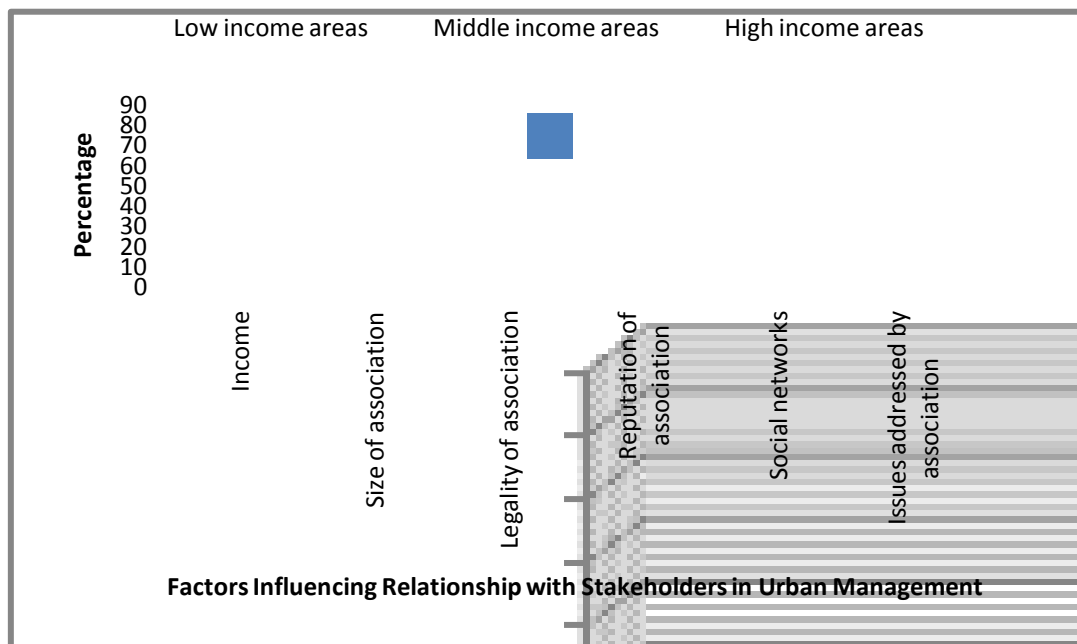
Residents believe that a number of factors shape their relationship with stakeholders concerned with services delivery in the City of Nairobi. Some 35% of sampled population reasoned that income level is a factor influencing relationship. Some 25% observed size of association and another 55% rated legality to be a factor. Still up to 50% identified reputation of association, 27% social networks of members and 60% said issues addressed by association. These findings were echoed in low income zones.

Findings on factors influencing relationship for middle income indicated 50% believed the size of association is a factor, while 65% identified legality of association. Reputation of association was singled out by 50%, social networks of members 42% and 76% mentioned issues addressed by the association. At least 63% of sampled population in high income perimeter believed relationships are influenced by the size of association. Legality, reputation of association and issues addressed by association scooped 82%, 70% and 70% respectively.

On factors influencing relationship with other parties responsible for urban service delivery, there was coherence across the three income groups. This coherence is manifested by high ranking of legality and issues addressed by residents' associations as provided in Figure 4.8. Chitere and Ombati (2004) established the significance of

legalizing an association. It enabled an association to get credit and financial aid and entering into formal contracts with city agencies. In addition, it enhanced recognition while formalizing the activities of associations. For associations to be seen as crucial actors in service delivery, they must indeed forge partnership based on addressing neighbourhood livability. The partnership should reflect pertinent issues in regard to living conditions within neighbourhood. The associations must go beyond the consumer mode of demanding better services. They should be able to critically address issues of policies and patterns of development. They should shun being seen as an aggregate of individuals forging ties because of their income and social networks.

Figure 4. 8: Factors Influencing Relationship with Stakeholders in Urban Management



Source: Fieldwork, 2009

Across three income groups, there was reported partnership with local authority. However, concerning rating of relationship with city agencies in services delivery, it

differed with highest percentage of 38% reported in high income areas. The level of partnership also differed with low income mainly featuring at making recommendations to city planners on issues of livability. Middle income and high income associations reported having been involved in planning of neighbourhood as well as having undertaken projects within the estate on the behalf of city agencies. Relationships with city planners/agencies were being influenced by a number of factors. Chief among these factors were legality of association (55%), reputation (50%) and issued addresses by associations (60%).

4.5 Challenges Encountered by Residents' Associations

The objective captured individual attributes that may alienate one from communal involvement and hiccups that may make associations find it difficult to implement their projects or agenda.

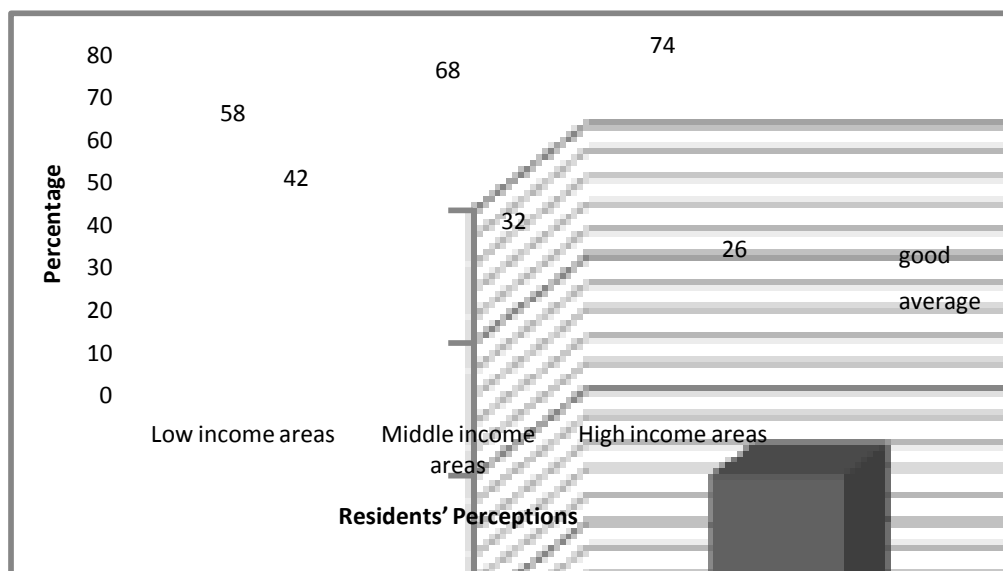
4.5.1 Residents' Perception of Associations

The percentage of respondents saying that the association is a true reflection of neighbourhood increased systematically. The increase was across the three income groups. The scores were 57% and 68% for low and middle income respectively. The highest percentage of 73% was reported by the residents in high income areas. The perception of residents is a crucial factor in determining participation and their co-operation. If the residents perceive the association to be representative of their plight or aspiration, they will easily give it support and co-operation. The reverse will result in mistrust and resistance. It's important that associations reflect the aspiration of local

community. This will inevitably induce participation on part of residents. This is because the major stimulus for communal participation is strong sense of perception that the association is true reflection of people's dream.

The major challenge besetting local self-help groups is tendency to be hijacked by elites (Mesch and Schwirian, 1996). This is done for parochial selfish motive. In Tena estate, the pioneer leadership was perceived to have had clandestine agenda of land grabbing. Residents initially believed that land grabbing in the estate was being perpetrated by the officials. In Buru Buru, there ensued accusation and counter accusation between the officials. This caused schism among the officials, with one group being censured of having infiltrated leadership so as to get land and be privy to maneuver mechanisms of association. This according to incumbent chairman dented the image of association culminating in resentment on part of residents. The rating on whether associations are representative of neighbourhood aspiration is captured in Figure 4.9.

Figure 4.9: Residents' Perception about Associations



Source: Fieldwork; 2009

4.5.2: Level of Residents' Participation in Activities of Associations

Highest level of participation (34%), was reported in middle income category while lowest level at 17% in low income. In high income area, it was 26 % as shown in Table 4.7. The nature and extent of issues addressed by local associations is a strong impetus for residents' participation (Stoll, 2000). If leadership of association can identify the aspiration of residents and remain objective to their agenda, residents' participation is likely to be high.

Table 4. 7: Cross Tabulation Results of Level of Residents' Participation in Activities

			Socio-economic group			Total
			low income	middle income	high income	
Level of residents participation in activities of association	Good	Count	7	13	9	29
			17.5%	34.2%	26.5%	25.9%
	Average	Count	14	19	18	51
			35.0%	50.0%	52.9%	45.5%
	Poor	Count	19	6	7	32
			47.5%	15.8%	20.6%	28.6%
Total		Count	40	38	34	112

Source: Fieldwork, 2009

Dismal participation in low income areas is caused by tendency to focus on welfare issues. Again low disposable income in this area makes the low income families focus on eking out a living. This is done at expense of communal activities that may help in either agitating or practically addressing living conditions within the neighbourhood. Low participation of residents in affluent zones is due to the ability of majority in this area to meet their needs.

Chi-square test results for residents' participation in the activities of associations are given in Table 4.8. The Chi-square results from socioeconomic groups and levels of residents' participation indicated that low residents' participation is a challenge facing associations ($\chi^2 = 11.606$, $df=4$, $p=0.021$). This prompted rejection of null hypothesis that residents' participation is not a challenge to associations in the delivery of services in the neighbourhood. Participation is a major challenge when it comes to group activities.

Table 4. 8: Chi-square Results of levels of Residents' Associations and Socioeconomic groups

Socioeconomic groups	Chi-square(χ^2)	df	Significance value(p)
Residents' participation	11.606	4	0.021

Source: Fieldwork, 2009

Getting residents take part in the agenda of association is a crucial milestone in addressing neighbourhood problems. Residents participate in the activities of associations in various ways. They may volunteer their time to serve the association, can give financial donations, technical skills or give information and logistics support to the associations. This can only occur when residents feel that an association is a true reflection of their aspiration. Participation is high where residents are involved from outset (Merklen, 2003). This involves setting the agenda together while at the same time sustaining comprehensive consultations.

4.5.3: Potential Sources of Conflicts within Associations

The major source of conflicts within associations was leadership. Across the three income categories, it was rated above 50% margin. It was more acute in low income (60%), middle income (57%) and high income it was identified by 58% of sampled population. Unique to residents of low income zones was challenge of ethnicity that recorded 67%.

Leadership is important if an association is to achieve its objective. Leadership charts the way forward, unite members and inspire subjects. Leadership based on values and objectivity is needed to achieve the aspiration of the people. Unfortunately, leadership of local associations has mainly been a preserve of volunteers and association enthusiasts (Broadly, 1990). Voluntary efforts although significant, are incapable of handling daunting task of organizing activities of local groups. Therefore, leadership should be in hands of skilled, gifted and possibly trained persons. In addition to training and skilled persons, leadership should be vested in the hands of people who bear the great bulk of both the benefits and costs of the decisions taken. This can increase the probability of leadership pursuing cost-justified projects.

Socio-economic status as measured by education, occupation and income levels are known to correlate positively with participation (Stoll, 2000). They are bound to be sources of conflicts between members as illustrated in Table 4.9. People tend to become friends with others having similar socio-economic attributes. Individual contacts occur in rather homogenous neighbourhood. Here, relationships are shaped by age, social class, lifestyle, religion, ethnicity and gender. Karien and Bolt (2004) found that education had

corrosive influence on participation in communal activities. They found out that the higher the level of education, the less the friends an individual had within the neighbourhood. Addressing these conflicts prudently is a precursor to the success of an association.

Table 4. 9: Potential Sources of Conflicts within Associations

Source of Conflict (%)	Low Income	Middle Income	High Income
Leadership	60	57	58
Ethnicity	67	44	35
Control of Resources	40	42	47
Religion	27	28	14
Political Affiliation	65	52	44
Income Level	50	55	41
Education Level	42	50	35

Source: Fieldwork, 2009

Associations which reflect people's value; instill strong sense of communal feeling, graft social networks and nurture trustworthy leadership are likely to be successful (Docherty *et. al*; 2001). In lieu of debate on successful association, one can discern pivotal influence of individual attributes, social network and cohesion. Individual attributes include participation, leadership skills and communication. These attributes are essential in many ways. Participation enhances chances of association being successful by availing skills, experience, resources and financial contribution of participants. However, Participation in group activities is influenced by a number of factors. These factors are language spoken, level of education, income, religion and individual self-esteem (*ibid*). Participation tends to be higher in homogenous neighbourhood, where people share many socio-demographic characteristics. Communication on other hand

informs members on activities of association, clear doubts and diffuses tension. Communication leads to exchange of skills and knowledge and creates strong bond between members.

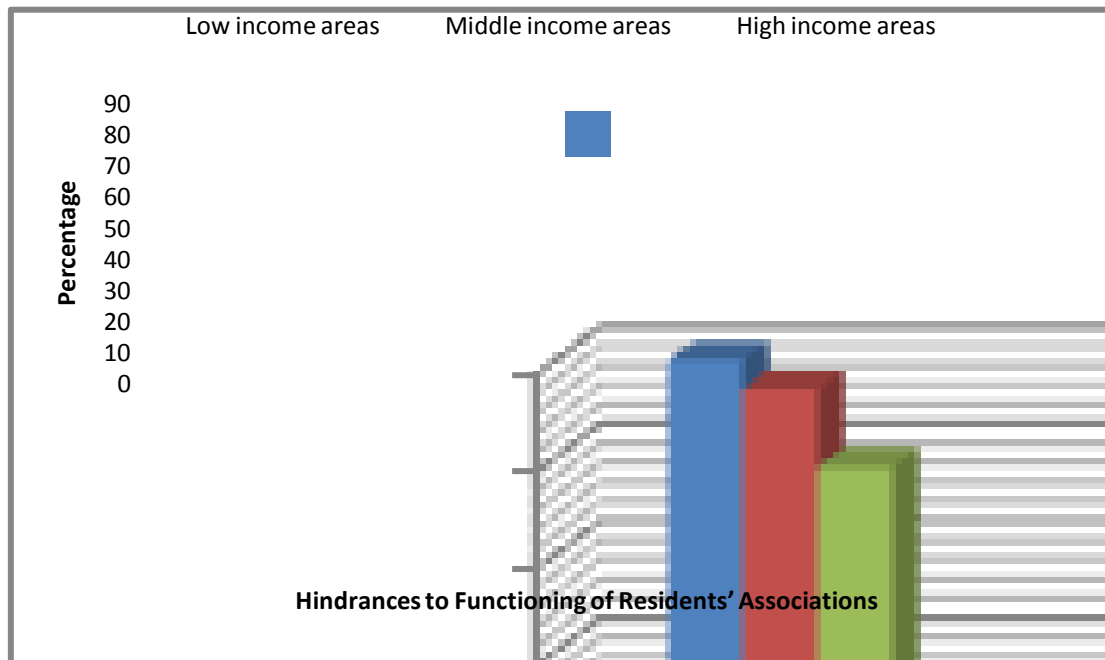
While acknowledging these attributes, there is need to go a notch higher and put in place formal aspects like rules, meetings dynamics, voting mechanisms and clear modalities of members participation. Again, it is not banal true that participation is tantamount to success. In some scenario, it can be costly. Mansuri and Rao (2004) caution that participation may lead to psychological or physical duress. This can negatively affect socially and economically disadvantaged since it may sometime require participants taking positions that are diabolical to the interest of those with power and influence. In a nutshell, the perceived benefits of participation are by no means apparent.

4.5.4: Hindrances to Functioning of Residents' Associations

Residents across the three income groups identified limited finances and low residents' involvement as major hindrances to functioning of associations. For low income category, insufficient finance was mentioned by 90% and in the same group, low residents' participation as hindering factor reached 77%. The scores for middle income were 86% and 78% for inadequate finance and low residents' participation respectively. In high income areas 79% and 76% of study sample rated limited finances and low residents' participations respectively. Apart from financial and participation hiccups, the study endeavored to find out if tools/equipment, skills, information access and conflicts within associations were affecting the smooth running of associations.

Obstacles to effective functioning of associations can either be individual based or institutional induced. Institutional based revolves around ability to mobilize resources, influence local people, diagnose the needs of the community and institutionalizing measures to absolve conflicts. At national level, institutional measures as pertains policy making can either scuttle the efforts or further galvanize the efforts of local people. Broadly (1990) examined residents' association in United Kingdom and found out that the stopping of financial aid by local government had led to decline in activities of associations. This underscored the importance of finance if the associations are to succeed.

Urban governance structure and management is rapidly changing. As municipal councils get overwhelmed with high demand for public services, practical measures should be put in pipeline to support activities of local groups. To mitigate some of challenges faced by associations captured in Figure 4.10, local authority may be required to supplant the activities of associations by providing financial aid. Meanwhile, the associations should explore ingenious ways of raising finances and technical assistance. This will reduce associations depending on donations from members and other philanthropic agencies. Associations can raise money in various ways that include neighbourhoods clean ups, and advertisement for those with newsletters, selling various items, bricks baking, trees and flower projects. In nutshell, the ability to raise funds will invariably determine the nature of projects initiated by associations.

Figure 4.10: Hindrances to Functioning of Residents' Associations

Source: Fieldwork, 2009

The foregoing debate indicated that residents' associations are beset by several challenges. Residents' participation in associations' activities reached lowest (17%) in low income areas. It was highest in middle income areas (34%). Chi-square test vindicated low residents' participation across three income groups. The test yielded value of $P=0.021$ leading to the adoption of null hypothesis there is no difference in residents' participation in the activities of associations across income groups. Individual characteristics of education level, income and political orientation, ethnicity were identified as challenges to coexistence of members. In middle income associations, income (55%) was ranked highest while in high income areas leadership (58%) was highest and low income areas, it was ethnic background (67%). At associational level,

finances ranked above 80% across income groups, followed by residents' low participation at about 70%.

The study on the role of residents' associations in urban services delivery showed that aims and purposes of forming an association slightly differed across income groups. They ranged from tackling insecurity, deteriorating physical conditions (high income areas) to lobbying for undelivered services and regulate land use (middle income). There was raising capital to initiate business as well as act as social safety mainly in low income zones. Associations were actively involved in improving neighbourhood security, garbage handling/disposal, protecting wetlands, lobbying for social services (schools, hospitals, and playgrounds), improving conditions of street traders, fighting land grabbing and meeting welfare needs of members. However priority given to these issues differed across income groups. To increase their credibility in urban services delivery associations had entered into partnership with city planners. Chi-square test indicated significant relationship between associations and city planners. However, several factors were shaping the relationships. Among these factors, we had issues addressed and legality of association. In fulfilling their mandate, associations were beset by both institutional capacities to meet their goals as well as problems associated with individual socio-economic orientation. Chi-square test showed that low residents' participation to be a stumbling block to the functioning of associations across three income groups.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1: Introduction

This study, has examined the role of residents' associations across socio-economic groups in urban services delivery, in Nairobi City, Kenya. The data for this study were collected using interview schedules and questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered to 112 households while 24 officials of residents' associations, 8 key informants drawn from the City Council of Nairobi, ministry of Nairobi Metropolitan, KARA, NCWSC, NCBDA, KEPSA, provincial administration, area police officers were interviewed. Data processing and subsequent analysis called for checking for completeness of questionnaires, ensuring there is consistency in information resulting from respondents and research tools, data coding, entry, computation and consequently presentation of descriptive statistics. Inferential analysis was done using Chi-square test on study hypotheses. Therefore, this chapter gives a summary of study findings, draws conclusions, makes recommendations and suggests areas that need further research.

5.2: Summary of findings

The major findings of this study are presented as follows:

5.2.1: Formation of Residents' Association across Income groups

The current study established propulsive forces behind associations across low, middle and high income groups in the City of Nairobi. The middle income group pioneered and

assumed centre stage in growth of residents' associations in Nairobi. Residents in middle income zones wanted to lobby for better services from city planners and developers. The formation of an association was pivotal in agitating for better services and unfulfilled promises from city developers. Therefore, intrinsic force was behind the wheel in the formation of associations in middle income zones. This means that the middle class was able to seize the advantage of large population in neighbourhood to agitate for better service.

The opposite can be told of associations in high and low income areas where extrinsic forces were behind the formation of residents' associations. In low income areas, the need by provincial administration and charitable organizations to create formidable social capital was a major factor. Local groups were seen as effective avenues through which social and economic maladies could be addressed. The presence of foreign nationals in high income neighbourhood gave momentum to quest of neighbourhood representation.

5.2.2: Reasons Leading to Formation of Residents' Associations

Reasons leading to the formation of associations were many. There was congruency on why residents formed associations. Associations were formed to tackle community safety and act as instruments of improving relationships between neighbours as well as city planners. Others were, mutual support in event of a problem, and create better and clean environment. In high and middle income areas, the need to protect housing rights of residents featured prominently. Lobbying and litigation was another motive behind formation of residents' associations. This involved using an association as an umbrella

group through which residents would engage other stakeholders in urban management. In low income neighbourhoods, raising money to initiate income generating while caring for vulnerable children and elderly people were mentioned.

The reasons behind the formation of association can be used to gauge the urgent needs of members. Meeting basic and welfare needs is paramount to low end residents. They come together to address problems such as limited school fees, medical bills, house rents and furnishing houses. They pool capital to start business. In time of bereavement, members meet to offer solace while offsetting burial expenses. This is actually a noble venture. However, the pre-occupation with welfare issues is likely to blight focus on real issues of urban livability. Residents may not get ample time and space to address security, water scarcity, garbage disposal or lobby for better service from local government. It's pre-occupation with survival issues that will see some associations practically not manage or administer neighbourhood environment. This is despite managing neighbourhood being their avowed official purpose.

5.2.3: Functions of Residents' Associations

There was a huge schism between purposes of associations and implementation of their agenda. It suffices to say that since their inception, residents' associations have principally functioned as the driver and mechanisms for managing various neighbourhood needs. We can categorize these needs into six domains. The first domain was life safety dealing with security, estate police patrols, and estate security lights. The second category was mobility involving access paths, street repairs, and sidewalks.

Another category was sanitation focusing on sewer lines, drainage, litter removal and neighbourhoods clean ups. The fourth category was environment. This was concerned with neighbourhood beautification (trees and lawn care and protection of wetlands within or adjacent neighbourhood). It's also prudent to mention political activity on behalf of neighbourhood. This is accomplished through lobbying and litigation. Finally there was welfare domain and this was more lurid in low end neighbourhoods.

Associations in low income areas have been utilized as social safety nets. Members have raised capital to start business or received assistance when faced with adversity. The associations have gone a notch higher by working with provincial administration. The partnership with provincial administration has seen associations share information on insecurity and participate in environment conservation. Associations in high and middle income areas have initiated a number of projects in neighbourhood. The projects include infrastructure (sidewalks, and street repairs), drainage, water and street lighting. The associations are engaged in estate clean ups, planting of trees and night police patrols to beef up security. However, the level and extent to which associations address issues of urban livability differed.

There was tendency of middle income associations to use their numerical strength to lobby for better service. This was from City Council and service providers like Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company (NCWSC). Associations in high income areas have hired staffs to implement their projects and agenda. In middle income areas, associations squarely depend on voluntary efforts of members to implement party agenda with

exception of Komarock Residents' Association. In nutshell, associations across the income groups showed difference in function albeit modicum.

The core objective of middle income association was to lobby for the undelivered services from city planners. Managing neighbourhood has become their secondary venture. The initial purpose of associations in low income zones was welfare issues. Currently, associations are being used as social capital to tackle social and environmental problems in the city of Nairobi. Associations in high end neighbourhoods were formed to address shrinking services within neighbourhood. They have gone a milestone higher by hiring trained staffs so as to effectively implement their projects.

5.2.4: Relationship with other Stakeholders in Urban Services Delivery

Voluntary efforts unaided are quite incapable of meeting the needs of society. This has prompted associations to establish working relationships with city agencies. These are stakeholders formally in charge of public service delivery. The findings show that associations relate with city agencies at different platitude. All the sampled associations reported to have made recommendations to city agencies. The recommendations touched on insecurity, access paths, garbage handling and environmental degradation. Chi-square test confirmed significant difference in ways by which associations relate with official city planners. Thus first null hypothesis was rejected in favour of alternative. Descriptive analysis indicated that associations in high income areas have better relationship with city agencies. The associations in low end neighbourhoods address welfare issues. Addressing

welfare issues may not warrant high levels of relationship with other proponents in urban management.

5.2.5: Challenges experienced by Associations in Public Services Delivery

Challenges experienced by an association can either be individual based or the ability of the association. Individual based factors that impede functioning of association are; income, education, gender, age or residence duration (Stoll, 2000). The ability of the association covers leadership and mobilization of local residents around pertinent issues, resources mobilization and remaining bonded together. This study found out that low residents' participation to be a major impediment to the functioning of associations. This was across the three income groups.

Chi-square test confirmed that low residents' participation is a major impediment to functioning of associations in public service delivery, therefore leading to adoption of null hypothesis on residents' participation, there is no difference in residents' participation in activities of associations across three income groups. Low participation of residents in the activities is caused by several factors. Among these factors is inability of leadership of associations to involve residents in setting the agenda for the community. When this happens, residents may be tempted to think that the association is not pursuing neighbourhood agenda, but sinister diabolical agenda. Conflicts among members of association can also keep way some individual.

Conflicts especially in heterogeneous association are accentuated by socio-demographic characteristics of language, income, levels of education, religion, political affiliation among others. The urgency by which leadership of association address the challenge of low residents' participation will determine progress and performance of association. Participation in groups' activities can be enhanced by increasing awareness among residents on importance of collective responsibility and social capital in addressing socio-economic upheavals. Being accommodative to divergent views and opinion can equally encourage participation. Finally the officials can entice residents' participation by maintaining regular communication and responding swiftly to the plights of residents.

5.3: Conclusions

The findings of this study indicated that both external and internal forces were contributing to the formation of residents' associations. Associations are formed to address insecurity, lobby for better services from city agencies, conserve environment and raise capital to initiate income generating activities. Others were promoting friendship, regulate land use and respond to welfare needs of members as well reach out to communities through charity work. Based on aims and goals of associations, residents' associations have been used to lobby for better services from city planners, raise capital to initiate capital, and collect garbage from neighbourhood.

Associations were involved in land use regulation, conserving environment, carpeting neighbourhood paths, security monitoring, neighbourhood lighting and fending for vulnerable children and families. To achieve their goals, residents' associations have

entered into partnership with city agencies concerned with services provision. This relationship ensures that the activities of associations are relevant and conform to physical development standards of City Council of Nairobi. In implementing their agenda, associations are faced by a number of challenges. The challenges were insufficient finances, inadequate tools/equipment, low skills and low participation of residents in the activities of associations.

The period 1980's witnessed increased numbers of actors in public service delivery in developing countries including Kenya. The period also heralded decline in basic service from local government. In 1980's, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund tied conditions to the disbursement of financial aid. These conditions were summed up in what became to be known as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). The government was prevailed upon by the two financial institutions to privatize service delivery. Unfortunately, the government of Kenya embraced SAPs without having requisite legal infrastructure that would protect the rights of its citizens to access basic public goods. The period 1980's also coincided with emergence of vibrant civil society and local interest groups in urban management. The City of Nairobi saw the upsurge of residents' associations across various income groups.

Responding to challenges of urban service delivery calls for multi-facet approach. Currently urban residents have to endure prolonged water rationing and dry taps. On other hand, some rural residents have to trek for long before accessing water. As for

security, people have resorted to sourcing for it by themselves because of the inability of the state to protect them. The proliferation of private security companies is a significant indicator that the state is unable to secure the lives and property of its citizens. The government of Kenya has come up development blue print christened Vision 2030. Vision 2030 envisages a situation where by most of households in urban centers will have tap water by the year 2030. In rural areas, it's anticipated that residents will not have to trek more than 30 minutes to get clean water.

Millennium Development Goals place enormous premium on citizens' participation. Participation of local citizens is the spinal cord of sustainable development. Genuine participation should be based on local values. The society must be wary of phony participation that excludes women, youths and other marginalized groups from participating in decision making. Where that happens, it threatens the livelihoods and liberties of people.

5.4: Recommendations

Residents' associations present conducive local framework through which local challenges can be given sustainable solution. This is because members to associations are usually endowed with intensive information and acquainted with local constraints. When they meet, the quorum is usually small. This allows each person time to contribute and echoe his or her views. Furthermore, members are used to each and local situation. Under such circumstance, fear that comes with facing strange crowd or feeling intimidated by

the views of experts is lessened. In the light of foregoing discussion and field findings, the following recommendations are made.

1. Recommendations to Policy Makers and Residents' Associations

- a) While the government has enacted mechanisms to facilitate participation of local citizens in service delivery, implementation still remains elusive. Awareness on part of citizens on such measures like LASDAP is low. There is need to sensitize citizens and associations on opportunities available for their participation in community development.
- b) When it comes to relationship and partnership, the three income groups featured prominently in making recommendations on issues affecting neighbourhood. This can be perceived as the most basic level of partnership. Fissures started surfacing as one wades through other levels of partnership. The associations in low income levels are left at subterranean level. Associations and city planners should endeavor to initiate pro-active engagement that radiates beyond making recommendations.
- c) Low Residents' participation is apparently a major obstacle to functioning of associations. It's difficult to entice residents to join and participate. Tailored panacea to low participation may not be in offing. Meanwhile simple measures like setting goals together, abrupt feedbacks to their plights and regular consultations may help. When residents' interest is eventually enlivened, they can improve functioning of the associations by making financial donations, offering their skills and sharing crucial information.

- d) Residents associations endeavor to consolidate individuals together. This task may not be feasible in areas where the population is large and sparsely distributed. One simple measure that could enhance information seepage is clustering of households. Clustering may involve a number of adjacent plots coming together to form a unit. This approach can enhance security preparedness and assist in spreading news or disseminating information.

2. Recommendations to Researchers

- a) There is need to provide data on socio-economic characteristics for numerous small area units that could be aggregated to analyze trends within various parts of city.
- b) There is need to find out how policies adopted to address challenges of urban infrastructural and social challenges impact on demographic variables like urban migration and settlement pattern.

5.5: Areas of Further Research

- a) Theory and practice that have influenced development of residents' associations
- b) What constitutes successful residents' associations?
- c) How residents' associations match ideals of Civil Society in urban management.
- d) How social networks are shaped by histories of state intervention and paradigms of urban planning and governance.
- e) Find out the possibility of connecting local government to emerging structures of civil society.
- f) How residential mobility impact on Social Capital.

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APPENDICES

A1: Interview Guide with Officials

(a) Functions of Residents' Associations

1. How did the idea to form the association begin?.....
 When was the association formed?.....
2. a) What are the main aims/goals of the association?.....
 b) How do you achieve them?.....
 c) What have you done so far?.....
 d) Issues that association has addressed or plans to address.....
 e) What are processes involved in project identification and priorities procedure
 f) Any community wide activities like schools, health facilities, and road repair
- 3) What are your five greatest accomplishments over the history of your association?
- (4) How do you generate resources for your activities.....

(b) Internal Organization and Structure of Associations

- (1) What is the total number of members?.....
- (2) (a) Are all tenants/house owners members?.....
 (b) If not why?.....
 (c) Any criteria for membership to your association.....
- (3). (a) What are the main types of Officials?
 (b) What are their duties/responsibilities?
 (c) Are they elected by members?.....
- (4) (a) How are residents recruited to join association?.....
 (b) How do you communicate with members of associations?.....
- (5) (a) How does the association relate with other existing associations.....
 (b) Are there learning effects from these relationships?.....

(C) Challenges Facing Associations while Implementing their Agenda

- (1) (a) What is the level of residents' participation in activities of association?
 (b) Are there areas of conflicts in your association.....
 (c) If yes what is the nature/sources of these conflicts.....
 (d) How are these conflicts resolved.....

(2) What are major hindrances to achievement of your objectives? Rank them.

- Finances
- Tools/equipment
- Skills
- Lack of information
- Lack of interest on part of residents
- Conflicts within association
- State others

(3) What are opportunities in associations?

(4) How do you liaise with city hall government, politicians?

(5) What is the relationship between members and the entire community?

A2: Questionnaire for households

Name of Association-----

Residential Area-----

Tenant or Homeowner-----

Relationship between Associations and Other Stakeholders in Management of City of Nairobi

1. Do residents’ associations work in partnership with local authority/council?

Yes () No. ()

2. Which of the functions below has your association participated in, in the last years

a) Recommended an action to the city on any matter of livability within estate/neighbourhood. Yes () No. ()

b) Assist city agencies or other organizations in determining priority needs of the neighbourhood

c) Undertaken/managed projects as agreed upon or contracted with public agencies or organizations. Yes () No. ()

d) Engaged in comprehensive planning on matters affecting the livability of your estate in collaboration with other organizations. Yes () No. ()

3. What issues/projects have worked on in the last two years

4. What factors influence your relationship with other organizations/stakeholders?

a) Class or income ()

b) Legality of associations ()

c) Reputation of association ()

d) Social networks ()

e) Issued addressed ()

f) Specify others ()

5. How would you rate the relationship between your association and other stakeholders in the city of Nairobi? Good () Average () Poor ()

B. Challenges faced by residents' association

1. Do you feel that the association is a true reflection of aspiration of your neighbourhood/estate? Yes () No ()

2. What is the level of residents' participation in the activities of associations?

Good () Average () Poor ()

3. Which among the following are likely to cause conflicts within your association?

- a) Leadership ()
- b) Ethnicity ()
- c) Resource use ()
- d) Religion ()
- e) Political affiliation ()
- f) Income level ()
- g) Education level ()
- h) Specify Others ()

4. Which among the following are hindrances to achievement of your objectives Tick as many as possible

- a) Finances ()
- b) Tools/equipment ()
- c) Skills ()
- d) Lack of information ()
- e) Low participation of residents ()
- f) Conflicts within associations ()
- g) Specify others ()