Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
Faculty of Landscape Planning, Horticulture and
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Department of Landscape Architecture

STREETSCAPES: BEHIND THE SCENES
- perspectives of streets as place in a slum setting, and how local concepts of place are affected by political and global development interests.

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STREETSCAPES: BEHIND THE SCENES
- Perspectives of streets as place in a slum setting, and how local concepts of place are affected by political and global development interests

STREETSCAPES: BAKOM KULISSERNA
-Perspektiv på gatan som plats i ett slumområde, och hur lokala koncept för plats påverkas av politiska och globala utvecklingsintressen

Maria Höök, Pia Jonsson, Emma Skottke, Marlene Thelandersson

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ABSTRACT

Planning processes are often disconnected from the experienced place on the ground. Ideologies of space, developing agendas, time constraints and budgets serve to limit the understanding of the lived world of those dwelling in an area and stand at risk to reduce it to the abstract space of maps. This induces territorial control from above and an ignorance of the soft, social values of the individual.

Urbanization and globalization are reshaping our world and demands knowledge, understanding and change. It generates changes in the urban fabric with growing class differences and an increasing physical and social fragmentation. The majority of this change is taking place in the global South, putting an immense pressure on the informal settlements in the cities. Future urban planners have a big task in turning this into a sustainable and equal process. However, planners keep imposing planning ideals from above, shaped by western ideologies of space that are disregarding slums as becoming one of the major human habitats. The relation between the life world on the ground and the system world of the planner remain distant. How can planners and landscape architects understand and manage their role in these processes better?

This thesis set out to explore that relationship. The first phase of that task was undertaken through a field study in Nairobi, Kenya. Today, Nairobi host more than 200 informal settlements that are the home to more than half of the cities population. The authors of the thesis got the opportunity to make a report for UN-Habitat, who has recently introduced a new approach to slum upgrading that is emphasizing the role of streets as an entry point. Focus in the report was the Korogocho Street Upgrading Programme that involved the upgrading of the major streets in Korogocho Slum in Nairobi. The Street Upgrading Project was studied from multiple levels though the interaction with residents in Korogocho, policy makers, politicians and project planners. The streets were considered to be a field where multiple strategies and tactics of the actors were played out, shaping the experience of it and its future development. It demonstrated many dimensions and symbolic meanings, highlighting several conflicts between the system world and the life world.

Consequently, the thesis is a reflection upon the authors' own working process in Nairobi, and how they were affected by the system world of international organizations such as UN-Habitat, policy making processes, the life world of the resident of Korogocho and their own world as landscape architecture students. Theory, narratives and reflections comment on the content of the published UN-report that was finalized in Nairobi, issues and phenomena encountered in Korgocho, at the UN-Headquarters and through interviews with local government agents. Furthermore, the methods and tools used in the making of the report are commented, elaborated and evaluated. This serves as an elaboration on the complex relationship between ideologies of space, the multiple realities on the ground, and how this complicated issue can be approached as a practicing landscape architect or planner.

CONTENT

PREFACE

SLOW DOWN
PEDESTRIANS

UMBRELLA

In April 2011, four landscape architecture students and the authors of this dissertation; Maria Höök, Pia Jonsson, Emma Skottke and Marlene Thelandersson (in the future referred to as "we"), went to Nairobi to study urban structures and relations. We spent two months in this for us unknown place, we surrendered to it while the city unfolded for us, and we met people and experienced issues and conditions we had never seen in Sweden. We let the city tell us its story, and in our report "Nairobi Narratives" we told our story of Nairobi. It was a story coloured by rapid and radical changes that we had witnessed in the urban fabric, and we understood that this was creating a physically and socially fragmented city where urbanization is disconnected from economic growth. Informality was everywhere; bustling, colourful, smiling, crying, filled with despair, but also with hope.

In order to keep unfolding our story of Nairobi, we decided to return in February 2012. As students of landscape architecture we arrived with a great interest in place and space, and how all the processes we had observed would affect their becoming. Through contacts at UN-Habitat that we established during our first stay in Nairobi, we got involved in the Street Upgrading Project in the Korogocho slum. From back home, we thought that this thesis would encompass an assessment of the upgrading project, and particularly the role it had for the residents in Korogocho. During our first meeting at UN-Habitat, we were offered the opportunity to turn our work in field into a printed report. The large maps we had envisioned, the personal stories, the drifting and the unfolding process, were successively transformed to fit into the shape of a UN-report. We felt an urge to categorize and organize our analyses.

We were inspired by readings of place that takes a location-based approach to place (as described through Relph, Punter, Canter and Montgomery later in the text). To fit the conceptual framework that we formulated for the report, we imagined place as something that was closely connected to the bordered space of a community that was located in a particular area, in this case the Korogocho slum. With this start, we thought our thesis would be an impact assessment on the streets, with focus on the role of streets as place in the context of slums.

While we got to know the area and its residents better, our understanding of place changed. It was not so much about the specific location "Korogocho" as we first thought, but more about a relational understanding of place, shaped by people's different contexts, paths and routes of communication. We started to question our conceptual framework that involved a bordered understanding of place, and that had guided our fieldwork in Korogocho, and began to understand that we were not only concerned with a street through a bounded slum settlement, but also the different stories and histories that connected people to the specific location. When we returned to Sweden, we felt a desire to nuance our conception of place and the processes that affects its becoming. More theory helped us to develop our understanding of Nairobi, while Nairobi guided us through the theory. We started to comprehend how local concepts of place are affected by political and global development interests, but also how relations to homes away from home constantly make places become.

Therefore, after finishing the report for UN-Habitat, we thought that the most substantial contribution to planning practice that we could do through this thesis was to, once again, tell our own story from Nairobi. The thesis you now hold in your hand is the result of intensive discussions, revelations and deepened understandings of place, planning, and people. It is new relationships, stories told and unfolding realities. We have developed texts from our UN-Habitat report, and produced new texts to remark on our work. You should read it as a comment to our process of making a report in the context of Korogocho and UN-Habitat, a critique to the report that we made, and to the use of printed reports as a planning tool.

What will follow after this page is the story of four young landscape architects that returned to a city that they learned to love, about their experiences between theory and practice, and their thoughts upon this for their future as practicing landscape architects.

It is never that simple.

INTRODUCTION

AIM
The aim with the thesis was to understand how we as landscape architects are affected and affect top-down and bottom-up perspectives in a slum upgrading context to be able to discuss and problematize the working methods and approaches that we use.

GOAL
Our goals were to:
- Understand trends and methods for slum upgrading and how decision makers and top down organizations address the issue.
- By empirical research and investigating methods evaluate the Korogocho street upgrading programme in field.
- Explore the role of the street as place and how the residents' notion of Korogocho's streetscapes has been affected by top down concepts of the street, shaped by political and global development interests.
- Investigate the use of publications as a planning tool (through the making of one).

METHOD
The authors have kept an open-ended method throughout the writing of this thesis. Hence, the form of the thesis has constantly been re-moulded throughout the process as relevant issues have been revealed. The process of creating this thesis can be divided into two phases. In the first phase, we spent time in Nairobi in order to create a published report for UN-Habitat. In this phase we worked closely with a top-down driven organization as well as spending time in the field with the residents affected by the top-down decisions. Focus was on the Korogocho slum-upgrading programme, KSUP, in Nairobi, Kenya. The approach to the slum-upgrading project was studied from two levels where we acted as observers both on site and as part in discussions among decision makers (top) and residents (bottom). The understanding of top-down processes took form through our collaboration with UN-Habitat, interviews with politicians and policy makers, by whom we tried to understand tendencies and trends in slum upgrading placed in a larger context.

The second phase took place when we came back home to Sweden and the report was published. The "making of a publication" was considered the result of the time we spent in Nairobi. The content of the published report, issues and phenomena we met in Nairobi, both in Korogocho, at the UN-Headquarters and through interviews with local government agents, was analysed through theory and experiences. The methods and tools we used in the making of the report was commented, elaborated and evaluated. Theory concerning the UN-Habitat street-led approach towards slum upgrading was read in order to elaborate on the complex relationship between theory and practice. In this phase we were also reflecting upon our own process and how we were affected both by the system world of the planner at UN-Habitat, policy making processes, the life world of the residents in Korogocho and our own world as landscape architecture students. This phase has resulted in both theoretical and analysing texts with comments from the authors.

WORKING AS A GROUP OF FOUR
Working in a group of four has allowed the work to go beyond the borders of a thesis and take on a comprehensive and lifelike project with lifelike processes. During the fieldwork we were responsible for different investigations and meetings while we helped each other carry them out. We discussed the results together and one of us compiled and packaged the outcomes. We have individually written texts, then passed them on within the group and later discussed the content. This process has been continuous. The thesis' shape, content and work has been characterized by consensus which has enabled us to remain open-minded towards new angles of issues and allowed revelations due to change of directions. Each week we wrote a weekly report, summarizing the week and stating how we intended to move forward. These reports have functioned as a diary, keeping us and our tutors updated on the work. The diaries often revealed concerns and lead to constructive discussions when we had different conceptions of issues. Every investigation and workshop we conducted was pre-planned and argued for in Game plans. The game plans allowed us to explore and consider each undertaking and gave the group instructions and arguments on how to conduct them.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS
The thesis consists of three chapters.

The *preface* is an introduction to the structure of the thesis, its methods and contextualization. It also provides a background of urban growth and its impact on slum formation with a particular focus on Kenya, Nairobi and Korogocho.

Commenting "Korogocho Streetscapes" consists of selected spreads from the published report "Korogocho Streetscapes". The spreads are selected by relevance for our discussion and findings trough out the process. The content of the spreads are put together with an empirical exploration and is commented on, discussed and analyzed. The points of discussion found on the spreads guide the discussions in the last chapter of the thesis.

The *discussion* summarizes and discusses the comments from the previous chapter. The discussion is divided into three categories to ease the reading; process, place and perspectives.

NO1 STREET?

WHAT IS THIS
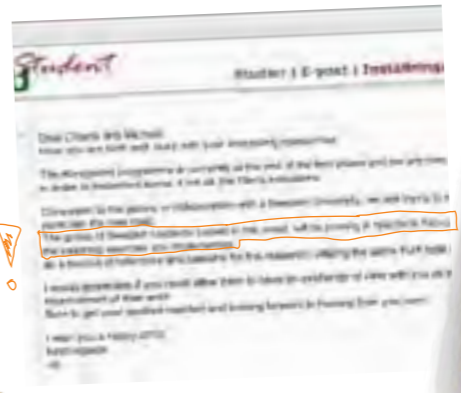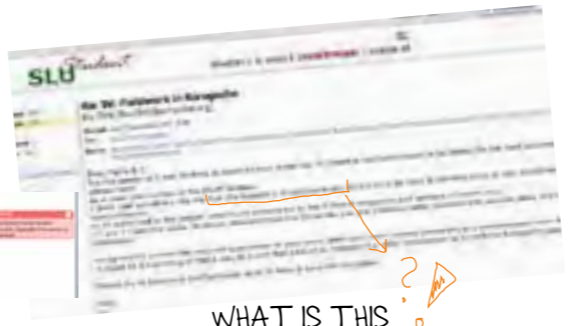
gata=street "bygata"
children are playing on the street
historically the street has served
more as place, now traffic has taken
over. look at history of streets.
planned and unplanned streets

STREET AS PLACE!!!

how to combine the master thesis
with the work for UN?

socio-economc-impact assessment?

evaluate the conceq uenses of the street upgrading

Minor Field Study Scholarship!

how to prepare the fieldwork!?

Asking UN for collaboration

formulating our collaboration with UN

literature readings

Formulating workplan

UN–is leting us in!

open-ended method?
we don't want the wrong glasses!

getting to
know nairobi
a second time

we went to nairobi

NAIROBI NARRATIVES

focus on the street!

too technocratic?

to NAIROBI (again) !

mental mappings?

moving in!

BACK TO SWEDEN

meetings with mentors in sweden

writing at the
university

MEETING 120107-120108 SATURDAY
14.00 COFFETALK
14.30 SCHOOL-ARSHI P
 – dvision of work, who does what?
 – what happend with what we wrote?
15.00 IN NAIROBI
 –deadlines and time frames
 –accomodation
16.30 BOOKING OF FLIGHTTICKETS, REGISTER AT
THE COURSE
17.15 TABLE OF CONTENT
 – what should be included?
 –focus areras main parts
 –division of work, who wants to do what?
 –division of litterature

19.00 DINNER
 – expectations
 –group dynamics
 – other topics

WE WANT TO DO AN INTERVENTION!

let's take this to anohter level!
let's make a master thesis!!!

but what is the focus?

document narratives?

make a giant map?!

unfolding an urban portrait:

NAIROBI
NARRATIVES
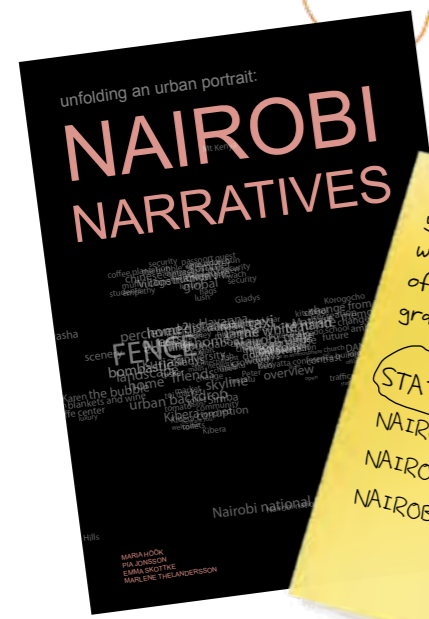
"It is impossible that a town will not play a part in
your life; it does not even make much difference
whether you have more good or bad things to say
of it, it draws your mind to it, by a mental law of
gravitation" (Blixen, K. p.19, 1937)

STATEMENTS:
NAIROBI WANTS TO BECOME A MALL CITY
NAIROBI IS A HOME AWAY FROM HOME
NAIROBI HAS NO PUBLIC SPACES

IN:FORM PEOPLE POWER IN THE SLUM

Re: apartment in nairobi
Maria Höök [maria.ks.hook@gmail.com]

Dear Roi,
I am happy to inform you that we have recieved the Minor Field Study Scolarship from SIDA! We have scheduled
our field study to early February 2012 and plan on staying in Nairobi for 2 months to do research. We will
return to Sweden to finish our master thesis in late April.

HURRAY!!!

PHRASES, PHASES & FACES of a road ???

CHAMPANGE

TOOL

TOOL	AIM	EXPECTED RESULT
Mobility mapping	Collect and analyze data in the communities mobility in the project area, indicating mobility of various segments of the population.	Chart showing where the community go for various services within and without the village. Also shows which roads / tracks they are using
Cash flow availability	Establish how cash-flow availability have changed.	Cash flow availability trend chart and explanation of why the trend.
Educational facility	Establish how education facility has improved or deteriorated.	Educational facility trend chart and explanation of why the trend.
Safety Audit	Get in-depth information on ... distributors	Questionnaire findings and recommendations on ways to improve security/safety.

14/2-2012
11°

Mathew French – Handbook?
UN-publication?
6m + road reserve concept of street –
social
process – result
20% structure owners Korogocho
FOCUS ON THE STREET! not road
facts and figures, measurable facts!!
questionnaries
– number of jobs created
– number of shops created
– noice, dust, etc...
methodology, replicable – evaluation strategy
neigbourhood level, general evaluations are made
of the whole programme on city level
strategy paper street entrypoint
small case study – evaluation documentation
strategy paper

THIS IS NOT A PUBLICATION

KOROGOCHO STREETSCAPES:
documenting the role and potentials of streets in citywide slum upgrading

UN@HABITAT
FOR A BETTER URBAN FUTURE

ROUND-UP meeting   13/6-2012

Layout draft 1.0 Send to UN mentors for review

3. Texts to write
Informality: Maria, tie the knot!
Introduction: Malle and Maria. Last. Short and Norms: Malle,
tie the knot!
Branding: Malle, tie the knot!
Slums as human habitat: Maria. 200-300 words.
Gentrification: Malle. 200-300 words
Threats to vibrant streets: Emma
KSU P and KstreetU P: Pia

4. Discussion
Main themes? How can theory be linked to planning-practice:
Emma
Problematize, Future research
The role of the Landscape architect: when we speak about a
new planning practice we have the abstract and experimen-
tal view (anthropological?) UN have a technocratic view
(sociologic?),
Discussion meeting: Monday 18/6. Delegate work and set
themes!

OBS! We know a lot that is not trans-
mitted by the field study. Interviews
and conversations about relocations etc.
This have to be in! Where?!

ALLIANCE FRANCAISE

ACTIVITY   FORM
                    –Material
                    Observa...
CONCEPTION

–Time plan
–Answer Matthew   Dialogue   Questionnaire
– Stakeholders

What changes   Ownership
                       pride
                       care
                       attachment
                       appropriation

FIRST MEETING WITH UN

IT will be a publication!

Oh!

place seminar

meetings

KOROGOCHO!!!

HANGING OUT

rollerskating

MEETINGS

workshop

NOW YOU ARE THE PLANNERS!

INVESTIGATIONS

back home to sweden

PUBLICATION ALMOST DONE
how to turn this to a master THESIS?

theory workshop

friends

street sign intervention

MANGO!!!

start-up meeting
what have we done?!

day before midsummer
enlightment! holiday!

let's analyse the process?

let's put it togehter

SPACE   PLACE

#The space we call "public space" arises this argument.
Many of our accustomed ways of imagine space have
been inorder to tame it. Concern about the decline of
public space in the neoliberal city; the comercial privati-
zation, shopping malls etc...

READ MASSEY →

tactics (de certau) + creativity (hamdi)
seasionality & liminality → street as place
                   rollerskate church on sundays, market some days
territory— formal/informal understand the differnece

"SCENES BEHIND
STREETSCA PES?"

"STREETSCA PES
:DIRECTORS CUT"?

"A PUBLICATION IN
THE MAKING"?

WEEK ONE FIRTST VISIT

Our first visit in Korogocho was a meeting with the resident's
committee, positive and negative experience. We received a lot of
information about ... the way streets where constructed and how ...

VISIT TO KOROGOCHO: ARTISTS UNITED

We were introduced to Phillip, photography student and to
the cultural house with various activities for kids from the
slum. They have every thing from photography, film, dance,
music and theatre. The organisation is run by youths and
they try to support and help different young people in slum
areas in Nairobi. Here we got a different picture of the
street upgrading project than by the residents committee
and heard a lot of critique about the structure of UN and
how the youths in the area felt left out in decision making.

VISIT KOROGOCHO : LIGHT AND HOPE

Our new friends Daniel and Simon from artists went with us from
Karolanj to Korogocho.
We wanted to walk along the main streets and some other streets
in Grogan but also this time security was an issue. We had a nice
visit at Simans childhood home and could go through the narrow
paths inside the area. It was a completely different experience
than walking on the wide paved streets. Now we got a picture of
how the residents in Korogocho live. After meeting with Siman's
family we continued through the narrow paths to a home for
family we also got to see the place where the roller-
disabled children, we also got to see the place where the roller-
skaters use to hang out and decided to go there next Sunday.

SLUMS: AN INTRODUCTION

URBANIZATION AND SLUMS

For the first time in history there are now more urban dwellers than rural residents. Urban places, towns and cities are of vital importance for the distribution of population within countries (Davis, M. 2007). Cities are the engines of growth in the developing world and due to the current level of urbanization the numbers of urban dwellers are destined to increase (Hamdi, N. & Majale, M. 2004). Urbanization at the global level is a relatively recent phenomenon. At the end of the nineteenth century the extent of world urbanization was limited; less than 3 % of the world's population were living in towns and cities. With a changing global urban pattern shaped by urbanization and urban growth, it is estimated that by 2025 almost 60 % of the population will live in towns and cities (Pacione, M. 2009).

Urbanization describes the process of growth in the proportion of people living in urban areas while urban growth refers to the proportionate growth of urban areas themselves (Hamdi, N. & Majale, M. 2004). The fastest urbanizing countries at present are those in Africa. African cities have gone through major changes since most countries gained formal independence in the early 1960s. They have grown in size due to rural-urban migration, and the lack of urban services and infrastructure is the result of the mismatch between economic and urban growth (Davis, M. 2007). In most cases economic growth has not matched population growth. Global urbanization has so far resulted in close to one billion people living in slums and settlements without adequate shelter (Hamdi, N. & Majale, M. 2004).

KENYA CONTEXT

As a result of demographic, economic and political realities, many Kenyan cities are facing critical challenges. The most important challenge might be the rapid on-going urbanization. A huge amount of people move to Kenya's cities in search of employment and other opportunities than urban areas offer (UN-Habitat 2003). Kenya's urban population is at present 40 % of the total population of 40.5 million. Kenya's slums have grown at an unprecedented rate, and today more than 70 % of the urbanites live in slums (Davis, M. 2007).

The prevalence of slums in Kenya is caused by a combination of rural-urban migration, increasing urban poverty and inequality, high cost of living, non-transparent land allocation systems, land grabbing, and, most importantly, insufficient supply of new affordable low-income housing (Syrjänen, R. 2008). The reasons for rural-urban migration in Kenya are mainly economic factors such as high levels of unemployment (Wasike, P. 2002), though urbanization has been taking place in Kenya without the necessary corresponding economic development, industrialization, or increased agricultural growth (Gathuthi, C. et al. 2010).

After Kenya's independence from Britain in 1963 there was a considerable migration of inhabitants from the rural areas to the urban and Nairobi, being the capital city, received the largest group of migrants (Wasike, P. 2002). With few other housing alternatives, the government implicitly permitted the migrants who could not find accommodation to put up shacks in the urban centres and squatter settlements emerged (Weru, J. 2004).

Slums currently account for a substantial proportion of the settlements in Kenya (Wasike, P. 2002). The Urban Regulatory Framework fails to meet the needs of the slum dwellers that live in the rapidly growing urban centres of Kenya. Consequently, the urban poor have been unable to comply with existing planning standards, regulations and administrative systems (UK Department for International Development & Intermediate Technology Development Group 2003). The inadequate policy framework has been a hindrance to the urban poor in their efforts to improve their physical properties and has instead resulted in rapid expansion and densification of slums (Wasike, P. 2002). The issue of insecure land tenure has been, and still is, primary key constraint in improving conditions in slum settlements, and has resulted in structure owners building semi-permanent structures for rent, without providing adequate facilities for their tenants and operating completely outside the formal property system (Syrjänen, R. 2008). The Government considered the formations of slums undesirable and from the late 1960s, on and off to the late 1990s, official government policy was to demolish slums even though a large part of the urban population had no other means of obtaining housing (Weru, J. 2004). These demolitions proved unsuccessful, as the demolition of settlement resulted in the dwellers moving elsewhere to start new ones (Wasike, P. 2002). Today, Kenya continues to face the vast challenges of urbanization and certainly, the main issue is how to facilitate an enabling environment to increase the provision of adequate shelter, employment, and basic urban services to the slum dwellers (UN-Habitat 2003). The Government of Kenya is now acknowledging the existence of slums and address their conditions through upgrading. It is now vital to find sustainable strategies to not ignore, but to face the urban growth (Syrjänen, R. 2008).

NAIROBI CONTEXT

Since its origin Nairobi has been a strictly divided city with a long history of marginalization and inequity; slums have existed in Nairobi since colonial times (Hansen, K.T. & Vaa, M. 2004). Nairobi as a city was founded in June 1899 by the British colonial explorers as a trading centre as a result of the construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway. The divisions between different ethnic groups, Europeans, Asians, and Africans, started with the zoning of residential areas, which were the result of the 1948 Colonial Master Plan. The plan defined zoned residential areas according to racial segregation (UN-Habitat 2003). The European residential area was situated west of the city centre. Asians were zoned to Parklands, northwest of the city centre, and Africans were exclusively restricted to areas east of the city centre, in what came to be known as "Eastland" (Hansen, K.T. & Vaa, M. 2004). Most of the slums that exist in Nairobi today were established after independence in 1963 mainly being located in the Eastern part of the city. With the high rural – urban migration and with no restricted movement into the city after independence, which was not accompanied with sufficient supply of low-income housing, there has been a significant growth of slums (Wasike, P. 2002).

The rate of urbanization and slum growth has been high: 70 % of the population in Nairobi lives in slums that occupy only 5 % of the total land area. The growth of the slums is alarming and the number of slum dwellers is expected to double within the next 10 years (Syrjänen, R. 2008). Nairobi is a two-faced city, presenting a modern front to the world, with a growing number of its people living in the backyard. One side characterized by formality, one characterized by informality (Warah, R. 2011).

As Kenya's capital, Nairobi is considered by many to be a successful international city and a gateway to East Africa (Weru, J. 2004), but as we now know it, the reality for most of the city's residents is very different. The housing conditions remain poor and are some of the worst in the world. The vast majority of Nairobi's slum dwellers are tenants and the inhabitants lack security of tenure (Weru, J. 2004). The majority of the slums in Nairobi are let on a room-to-room basis and most of the households occupy single rooms. The rents are high despite poor quality - that is, Nairobi's slums provide low-quality high cost shelter for low-income residents (World Bank 2006). Several studies indicate that 56 to 80 % of the slum households rent from private-sector landlords, who, in the past, often had the political connections that helped them gain and protect their investments (UN-Habitat 2003). Contrasting this is the alternate vision of the Southern city, which is represented through gating (Lemanski, C. & Oldfield, S. 2009). Gated communities flourish in Nairobi where the middle class and elites put up walls and hire private security to enhance fears related to insecurity stemming from crime and "difference", often perceived as deriving from "slums". Gating results in fragmentation and exclusion of the city and its citizens. It is evident that poverty and wealth coexist in Nairobi; the urban experience is characterized as fragmented and polarized. Gating is generally understood as a local response to neoliberal policies. Gated communities operate socially and spatially, thus remaking the city (Lemanski, C. & Oldfield, S. 2009).

KOROGOCHO CONTEXT

Korogocho is the fourth most populous slum in Nairobi, estimated to house some 42 000 inhabitants (Census Vol 1. 2009). Korogocho extends over 50 hectares and is mostly located on government-owned land, with smaller pockets of private land. It is located roughly 11 km from the central business district in the Eastern part of the city. High densities, congestion and high unemployment characterize the area. A scarcity of accessible and potable water remains one of the most urgent problems in Korogocho, in addition to inadequate or absent infrastructure, education, electricity and community space for people. Korogocho consists of eight villages: Grogan A, Grogan B, Korogocho A, Korogocho B, Highridge, Gitathuru, Kisumu Ndogo and Nyayo (Gathuthi, C. et al. 2011).

The majority of the slum dwellers of Korogocho are victims of previous evictions in other slums. The settlement began with quarry workers who settled in the area and built temporary structures in the early 1970s. It expanded during the second phase of settlement with the resettlement of squatters from slums demolished in other parts of Nairobi in the late 1970s. In the quest to maintain law and order and as a part of an attempt to create urban beautification, the government undertook slum demolitions near the city centre but allowed those affected to settle in the then city fringes, mainly in Korogocho (Hansen, K.T. & Vaa, M. 2004). Grogan B is one of the villages that are a result of this relocation. It is one of the oldest villages in Korogocho dating back to 1976. The majority of the residents in Grogan B came from the Grogan area in the modern day Kirinyaga Road to make way for new planned developments (Weru, J. 2004). Today, Korogocho is part of the inner city and borders Nairobi's largest dumping site, Dandora (Gathuthi, C. et al. 2011).

Through a presidential directive in December 2001 stating that the residents of Korogocho should be permanently settled on the land that they already occupied raised the issue of land tenure (Hansen, K.T. & Vaa, M. 2004). The association of Korogocho structure owners, the Korogocho Owners Welfare Association (KOWA), had lobbied the government to get this directive. This created tension between the structure owners and the majority of residents, that were tenants, who brought the issue of who really 'owns' the slum to the fore. Some of the structure owners claim to have sole right to the land, while tenants claim that the presidential directive also included them (Weru, J. 2004). Korogocho faced its first upgrading in 1987, which consisted of streetlights and making the streets accessible by widened them. Since then, the streets have been appropriated by people and over time have become narrower. Korogocho has recently undergone major development through the Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme (KSUP) where among other aims the attempt is to maintain and go back to the width of the street as they were after the upgrading in 1987 (Munyi, M. 2012-03-13). Three main physical interventions have been implemented in Korogocho within the framework of KSUP as entry points to the upgrading of the area prior to the overall participatory planning inclusive of the integrated development strategy: a footbridge, a community office, and a network of streets through the area. The planning process of KSUP has examined the possibilities of using participatory planning steps as a resilient slum upgrading method (Gathuthi, C. et al. 2011).

2

COMMENTING 'KOROGOCHO STREETSCAPES'

PROCESS

PLACE

PERSPECTIVES

Selected spread from our UN-report "Korogocho Streetscapes".

A personal comment on the spread on the left page and an introduction to the theory below.
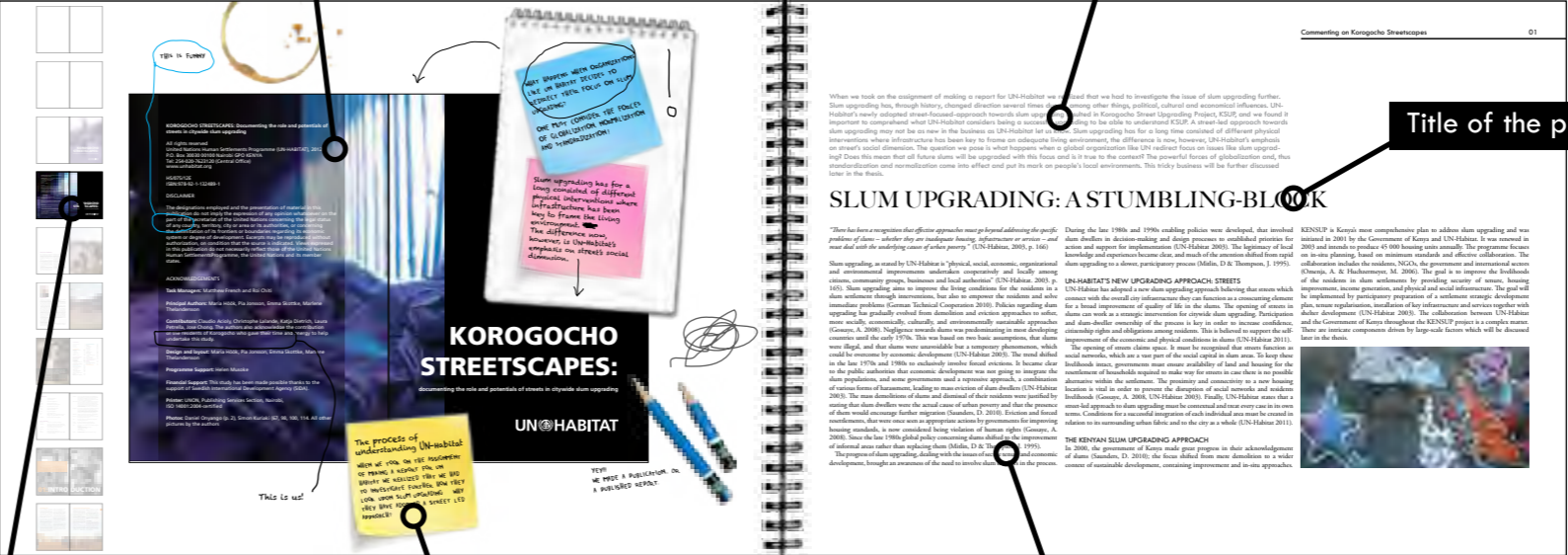
Title of the page.

Miniatures of the spreads in the report, with the active page highlighted.

Post-it signs and other comments reflect our process in field. They are divided in the themes process, place and perspectives and allow for a continous discussion to unfold.

On most pages the body text constitute extended theory. Individual narratives and reflections mark new sections and provide a personal take.

To read the whole report Korogocho Streetscapes, see appendix 1 or download it at http://www.unhabitat.org/pmss/listItemDetails.aspx?publicationID=3374

READING GUIDELINES

The following chapter takes a critical look upon the printed report "Korogocho Streetscapes", finalized in collaboration with UN-Habitat as part of the fieldwork for this thesis. We got the opportunity to make the report as a consequence of UN-Habitat's new approach to slum upgrading, where a focus on streets as entry-point is emphasized. The report takes its point of departure in the Korogocho Slum in Nairobi and the Korogocho Street Upgrading project that was initiated in 2008.

Initially, we were asked to do a socio-economic impact assessment of the project. Since we felt that this was beyond our skills as landscape architects, we decided to take our own approach to the assessment, where the resident's view of the changes would be the primary source of information. We decided to let a view of streets as place (guided by literature by Montgomery, Canter, Relph and Punter) shape our investigations. The target group of the report is mainly policy makers, but all people more generally interested in slum upgrading are considered as potential readers.

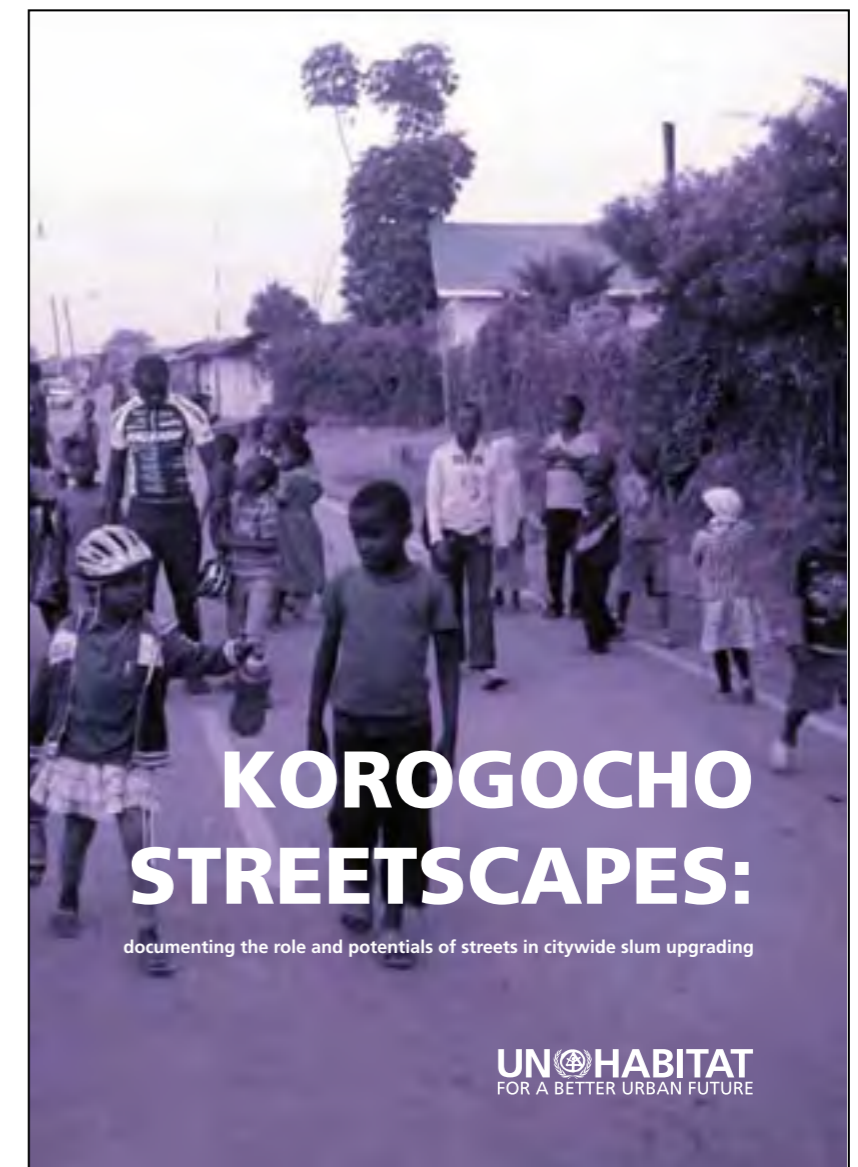The finalized report "Korogocho Streetscapes" starts with a general description of slum upgrading, followed by a more elaborated text on the role of streets as place. The field study is presented in three sub-chapters focusing on the three concepts we used to shape our investigations: form, activity and conception. The findings from the field study finally guided a number of recommendations that aims at informing policy makers in their work with street upgrading.

While the process of making the report proceeded, we encountered several issues. These involved our role and behaviour as landscape architects, the packaging of findings in a report and the use of a conceptual framework that took shape as a result of the package. We started to think about how planning and place is affected by global norms and ideologies. In the following chapter, a selected number of spreads are extracted from the publication and commented on through reflections, extended theory and pieces of our process when making it. The spreads are selected to represent interesting issues that we encountered throughout the process.

The comments that you will read on the spreads of the publication are divided into three themes: the process (yellow), the place (pink) and the perspectives (blue). They highlight different concerns and thoughts that arose during our fieldwork in Nairobi and while making the report, turning the following chapter to a continuous discussion. Finally, they will serve as guides for our final discussion. Furthermore, the spreads are complemented with theory that elaborates on the topics represented in the spreads. Some of these texts are have been developed from the publication, others are written in retrospective, to widen our understanding of concerns that arose during the process.

The comments aims at discussing the following:

- *Process:* All comments in yellow discuss our personal process throughout our fieldwork in Nairobi. Our perception of Korogocho and the street upgrading was continuously unfolded when we spent more time in the area, attended meetings at UN-Habitat, interviewed government stakeholders and spoke to residents of Korogocho.
- *Place:* All comments in pink discuss difficulties in the conceptualization and representation of place, differences in the experience of place and images of place.
- *Perspectives:* All comments in blue are concerned with perspectives on planning practice, the global images of place, constraints with the publication and limitations in the connection between theory and practice.
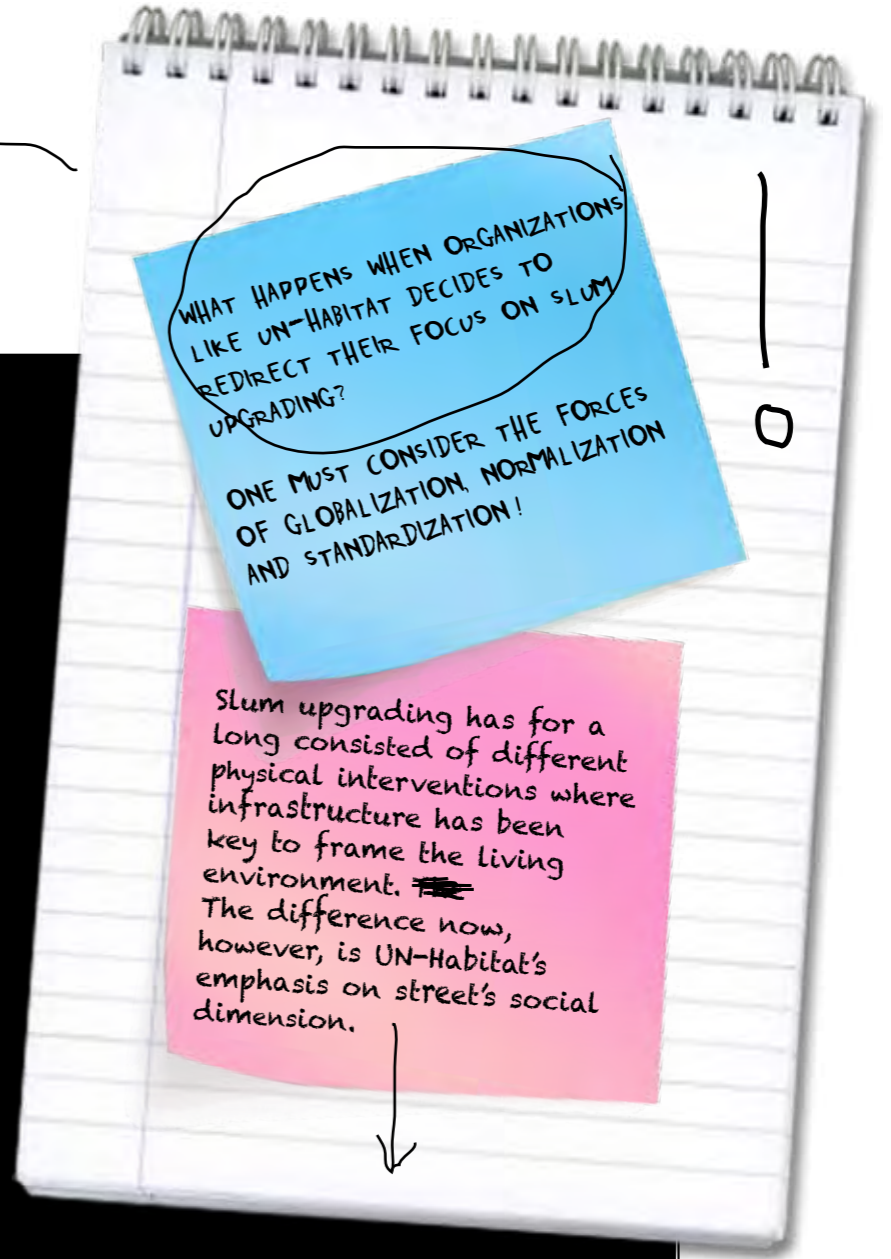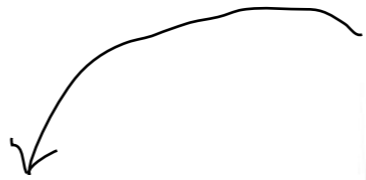
KOROGOCHO STREETSCAPES:

documenting the role and potentials of streets in citywide slum upgrading

UN⊕HABITAT
FOR A BETTER URBAN FUTURE

KOROGOCHO STREETSCAPES: Documenting the role and potentials of streets in citywide slum upgrading

KOROGOCHO STREETSCAPES:

documenting the role and potentials of streets in citywide slum upgrading

UN@HABITAT

THIS IS FUNNY

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN ORGANIZATIONS LIKE UN-HABITAT DECIDES TO REDIRECT THEIR FOCUS ON SLUM UPGRADING?

ONE MUST CONSIDER THE FORCES OF GLOBALIZATION, NORMALIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION !

Slum upgrading has for a long consisted of different physical interventions where infrastructure has been key to frame the living environment. The difference now, however, is UN-Habitat's emphasis on street's social dimension.

The process of understanding UN-Habitat

WHEN WE TOOK ON THE ASSIGNMENT OF MAKING A REPORT FOR UN-HABITAT WE REALIZED THAT WE HAD TO INVESTIGATE FURTHER HOW THEY LOOK UPON SLUM UPGRADING AND WHY THEY HAVE ADOPTED A STREET LED APPROACH?

This is us!
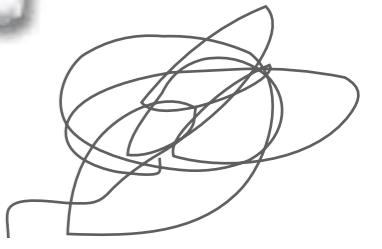
YEY!!! WE MADE A PUBLICATION... OR A PUBLISHED REPORT.

01:INTRO DUCTION

UN-Habitat has recently adopted a street-focused-approach towards slum upgrading. The Korogocho Street Upgrading Project, KSUP, fit well into this frame and therefore we were asked to document our findings in a report. When we took on the task to make a report for UN-Habitat we realized that we had to investigate the issue of slum upgrading further. Slum upgrading has changed direction several times through history due to, among other things, political, cultural and economical influences. However, a street-led approach towards slum upgrading may not be an as new approach as UN-Habitat let us know. Slum upgrading has for a long time consisted of different physical interventions where infrastructure has been key to frame an adequate living environment. The difference now, is UN-Habitat's emphasis on the social dimensions of streets. The question we pose is what happens when an international organization like UN redirect focus in slum upgrading? Does this mean that all future slums will be upgraded with this focus and will they hence be true to their context? The powerful forces of globalization, and the following standardization and normalization, come into effect and put its mark on people's local environments. This tricky business will be further discussed later in the thesis.

SLUM UPGRADING: A STUMBLING-BLOCK

"There has been a recognition that effective approaches must go beyond addressing the specific problems of slums – whether they are inadequate housing, infrastructure or services – and must deal with the underlying causes of urban poverty." (UN-Habitat, 2003, p. 166)

Slum upgrading, as stated by UN-Habitat is "physical, social, economic, organizational and environmental improvements undertaken cooperatively and locally among citizens, community groups, businesses and local authorities" (UN-Habitat. 2003. p. 165). Slum upgrading aims to improve the living conditions for the residents in a slum settlement through interventions, but also to empower the residents and solve immediate problems (German Technical Cooperation 2010). Policies regarding slum upgrading has gradually evolved from demolition and eviction approaches to softer, more socially, economically, culturally, and environmentally sustainable approaches, (Gossaye, A. 2008). Negligence towards slums was predominating in most developing countries until the early 1970s. This was based on two basic assumptions, that slums were illegal, and that slums were unavoidable but a temporary phenomenon, which could be overcome by economic development (UN-Habitat 2003). The trend shifted in the late 1970s and 1980s to exclusively involve forced evictions. It became clear to the public authorities that economic development was not going to integrate the slum populations, and some governments used a repressive approach, a combination of various forms of harassment, leading to mass eviction of slum dwellers (UN-Habitat 2003). The mass demolitions of slums and dismissal of their residents were justified by stating that slum dwellers were the actual cause of urban poverty and that the presence of them would encourage further migration (Saunders, D. 2010). Eviction and forced resettlements, that were once seen as appropriate actions by governments for improving housing standards, is now considered being violation of human rights (Gossaye, A. 2008). Since the late 1980s global policy concerning slums shifted to the improvement of informal areas rather than replacing them (Mitlin, D & Thompson, J. 1995).

The progress of slum upgrading, dealing with the issues of secure tenure and economic development, brought an awareness of the need to involve slum dwellers in the process.

During the late 1980s and 1990s enabling policies were developed, that involved slum dwellers in decision-making and design processes to established priorities for action and support for implementation (UN-Habitat 2003). The legitimacy of local knowledge and experiences became clear, and much of the attention shifted from rapid slum upgrading to a slower, participatory process (Mitlin, D & Thompson, J. 1995).

UN-HABITAT'S NEW UPGRADING APPROACH: STREETS

UN-Habitat has adopted a new slum upgrading approach believing that streets, which connect with the overall city infrastructure, can function as a crosscutting element for a broad improvement of life-quality in slums. The idea is that upgrading of streets in slums can work as a strategic intervention for a citywide slum upgrading. Participation and slum-dweller ownership in the process is key in order to increase confidence, citizenship rights and obligations among residents. This is believed to support the self-improvement of the economic and physical conditions in slums (UN-Habitat 2011b).

The upgrasing of streets claims space. It must be recognized that streets function as social networks, which are a vast part of the social capital in slum areas. To keep these livelihoods intact, governments must ensure availability of land and housing for the resettlement of households required to make way for streets in case there is no possible alternative within the settlement. The proximity and connectivity to a new housing location is vital in order to prevent the disruption of social networks and residents livelihoods (Gossaye, A. 2008, UN-Habitat 2003). Finally, UN-Habitat states that a street-led approach to slum upgrading must be contextual and treat every case in its own terms. Conditions for a successful integration of each individual area must be created in relation to its surrounding urban fabric and to the city as a whole (UN-Habitat 2011b).

THE KENYAN SLUM UPGRADING APPROACH

In 2000, the government of Kenya made great progress in their acknowledgement of slums (Saunders, D. 2010); the focus shifted from mere demolition to a wider context of sustainable development, containing improvement and in-situ approaches.

KENSUP is Kenya's most comprehensive plan to address slum upgrading and was initiated in 2001 by the Government of Kenya and UN-Habitat. It was renewed in 2003 and intends to produce 45 000 housing units annually. The programme focuses on in-situ planning, based on minimum standards and effective collaboration. The collaboration includes the residents, NGOs, the government and international sectors (Omenja, A. & Huchzermeyer, M. 2006). The goal is to improve the livelihoods of the residents in slum settlements by providing security of tenure, housing improvement, income generation, and physical and social infrastructure. The goal will be implemented by participatory preparation of a settlement strategic development plan, tenure regularisation, installation of key infrastructure and services together with shelter development (UN-Habitat 2003). The collaboration between UN-Habitat and the Government of Kenya throughout the KENSUP project is a complex matter. There are intricate components driven by large-scale factors which will be discussed later in the thesis.

FOREWORD

In Swahili, the name Korogocho means crowded, shoulder to shoulder. We all have seen images of a slum and the reduced public space citizens living there can share. Each new street means an increase of micro-economic activity, safety and security, and mobility. The new streets brought new and fresh connections with the surrounding urban fabric.

As a former mayor, I have already a strong conviction on the need to reassert urban design and planning as two key development drivers of contemporary city building. By laying streets and setting out public space in slums, you delineate public and private space and begin an urban transformation and regeneration that encourages prosperous cities.

When I speak of streets I do not mean simply roads for cars. I am talking about streets as multi-functional spaces which contribute to creating a safe, lively, and an economically productive public realm.

As the research carried in this publication shows, streets are an opportune entry point for successful slum upgrading for three reasons:

First, the planning of streets and public space (as components of overall settlement master planning) provides an accessible and positive forum for community participation. To improve the conditions of slums it is crucial to consult with community so that residents can participate in the planning, design, implementation, and maintenance of interventions. This is fundamental for creating sustainable and responsive interventions.

Second, urban planning and the laying of streets can help generate wealth. Micro-enterprise activity springs up on street corners, new services and products reach slum households and new jobs are created.

Third, planning street upgrades or creating new streets in all slums in a city helps us 'go to scale' and connect the slums with the wider urban fabric of the city.

What is needed – and what UN-Habitat is advocating for - is a pro-active approach to creating lively and economically productive public spaces and streets in slums. This publication showcases our emerging principles regarding the importance of streets and community participation in slum upgrading. I sincerely thank all those who worked on this for their efforts, critical insight and working with me on a new approach to improving the living conditions of all urban residents and addressing the challenge of slums.

Dr. Joan Clos
Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations
Executive Director, UN-Habitat
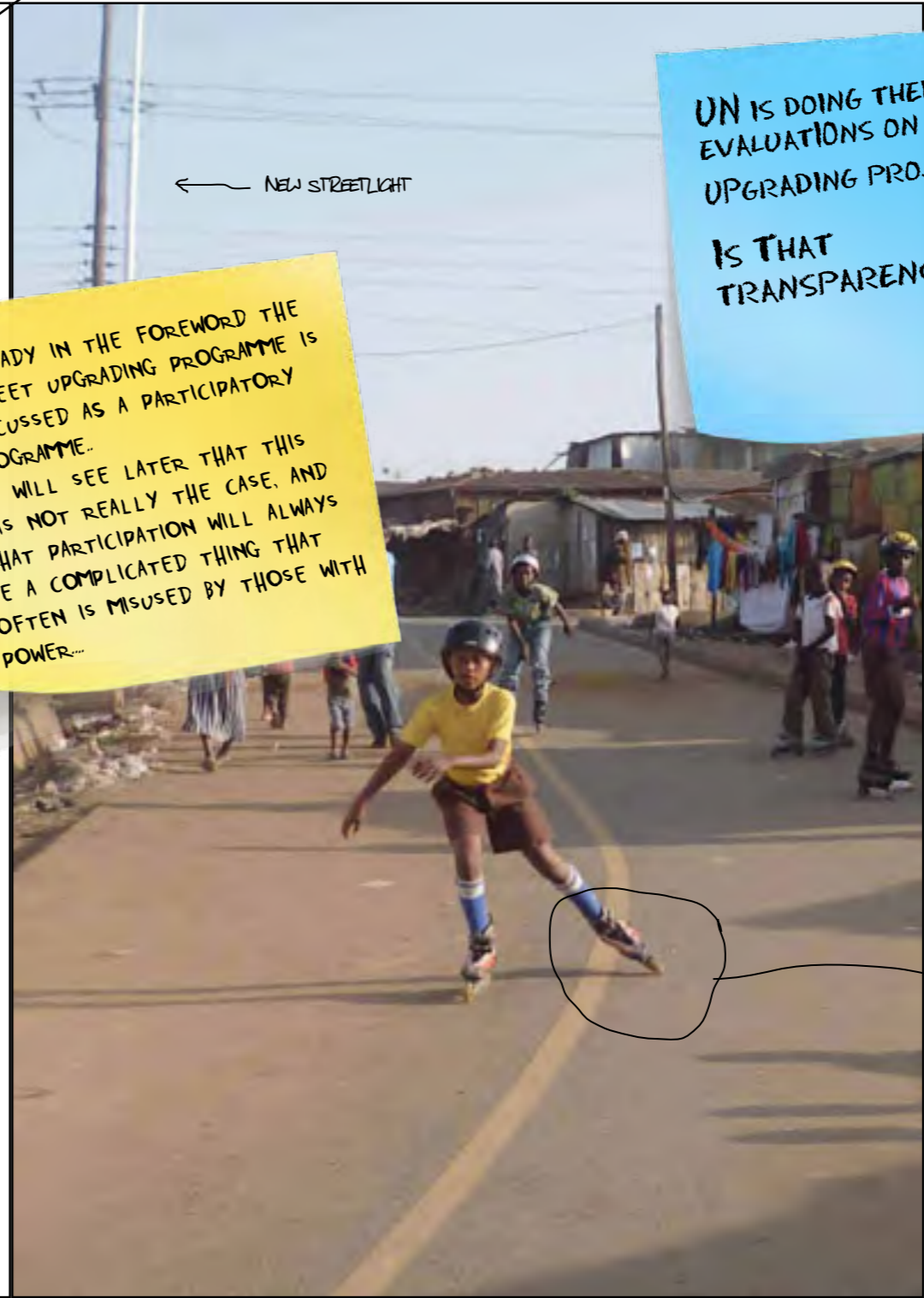
The foreword let us know that our report 'Korogocho Streetscapes' shows that streets as an entry point for slum upgrading will generate a forum for community participation. When consulting the community in Korogocho, they were convinced that public participation is key in a successful upgrading project. During our frequent visits to Korogocho we have met countless people and we cannot help to wonder if this has really been the case, whether the community really has been as involved as KSUP let us believe? UN-Habitat's reports advocates transparency in their interventions and other processes. We now know that it is UN-Habitat themselves that are making the evaluations. Is this transparency? Another interesting point is that the, seemingly, very nice man Dr. Joan Clos is for us totally anonymous. Administrative processes shape a lot of the work undertaken by UN-Habitat, and sometimes it seems like the different departments within UN-Habitat have quite little insight in one another.

WHAT IS IN-SITU UPGRADING?

IN-SITU UPGRADING

During the Modernist Movement the idea of demolishing old, crowded parts of a city and build new, modern housing was highly advocated. Planners like Le Corbusier were great supporters of these ideas, which had big influence on western societies where old urban parts were replaced by new housing programmes. These ideas were also spread to developing countries where many slum clearance programmes were established. In the early sixties these ideas were strongly criticized. Firstly because the demolitions did not benefit the slum dwellers, and secondly because the ideas lacked real knowledge about the physical preferences of beneficiaries (Mukhija, V. 2001). Among others, architect John F. C. Turner challenged the ideas of demolition and relocation. His writings had big influence on the tendencies in slum upgrading during the second half of the 20th century (Davis, M. 2007). Turner meant that housing settlements improve over time and that there is no need to demolish them. He argued that slum dwellers prefer to improve their existing housing, in-situ, and promoted the idea of self-help, and the policy of tenure legislation (Mukhija, V. 2001). The idea of "letting the poor help themselves" has later been criticised as sometimes leading to the government backing out from old commitment to relive poverty. By demonstrating the ability and the capacity of the poor to help themselves, the state and the local government is somewhat relived from responsibility which could lead to withdrawal of intervention and support. The fact that most self-help often is constructed with the paid assistance of skilled labour has also been an issue for debate as one of the main objectives for this approach should be to empower the residents and use local knowledge (Davis, M. 2007).

Attempts of upgrading the already existing slum through self-help strategies, particularly in Kenya and India, proved not to work without assistance from governments. Self-help strategies need to be followed by a regularized tenure, the provision of plots in subdivided land, and basic, affordable utility and infrastructure (Pugh, C. 2001). The World Bank was the first to adopt self-help strategies in their Slum Upgrading Programme (SUP) (Mukhija, V. 2001) and started to give out loans for self-help upgrading of low-income housing (Pugh, C. 2001). Although the initiative aimed at helping residents in poor settlements to improve their living standards, it failed to provide these resources for many low-income residents. Mike Davies is, in his book Planet of the Slums, very critical towards these strategies. He argues that only a few people could fulfil the economical demands to be granted a loan, which resulted in many people selling or leaving their plot. Another issue was that the World Bank strategies did not consider the context of the slum settlements and areas started to develop in the periphery of the city, excluded from the city and without any public transportation network and necessary services (Davis, M. 2007). The good intentions tended to segregate the poorest people from society and support those who already had a decent living.

Legislation and in-situ upgrading of slums are still believed to be the most appropriate improvement strategies, and the most economically and socially effective. In-situ upgrading cares for the social bonds and organisational network that make life viable for those living at the margin. In-situ upgrading also facilitates the transformation of slums into integrated communities, which promotes economic and political stability (Gossaye, A. 2008). While in-situ upgrading protects the social structures it demands larger arrangements when dealing with the physical structures. In the end of the 1980s slum areas that had been undergoing in-situ upgrading was experiencing issues. These were mostly environmental issues caused by leaking sewerage systems, inadequate maintenance, lack of water posts and garbage collection causing vast sanitation problems. Additionally, slum areas are often situated in precarious land that makes them expensive or difficult to upgrade. The maintenance is yet another problem as it in many slums is non-existent. It is often easier to find external financial support to construct new interventions than for the government to maintain them (Werlin, H. 1999).

Today, slum upgrading often consist of two components: legislation and improvement of basic services. Both are meant to increase the dwellers' security against demolition of their shelter Gossaye, A. 2008. Ownership gives slum dwellers legitimacy and rights, and to acknowledge that slums need to be improved is validating the residents (Saunders, D. 2010). By treating the residents as an active force in the housing process, a greater pride in the neighbourhood can be generated and this safeguards the community structures (Gossaye, A. 2008). Imparato & Ruster defines public participation as "*a process in which people, and especially disadvantaged people, influence resource allocation and policy and programme formulation and implementation, and are involved at different levels and degrees of intensity in the identification, timing, planning, design, implementation, evaluation, and post-implementation stages of development projects.*"(Imparato, I. & Ruster, F. 2003, p. 20)

Hamdi, who through his practice has experience of participatory methods, writes that participatory tools can take time and generates expectations, which are hard to live up to. They need to be formed in relation to the representative public; in slum areas they are often hindered by their lack of education. Participatory methods can as well be politically threatening as it may give power to extremists or only a certain group of people, leaving out the poorest (Hamdi, N. 2010). Participatory approaches are highly important in slum upgrading processes; it enables empowerment of local authorities and decentralization of the power to a local level. These need not only to involve local governance but also local organizations, institutions and NGOs. The participation is thereby in three different levels covering the national, the regional and the local level (German Technical Cooperation 2010). Although public participation face several constraints and complications, the use of participatory methods in slum upgrading projects can acknowledge power relations, security issues, social values and liberation of the residents (Hamdi, N. 2010).
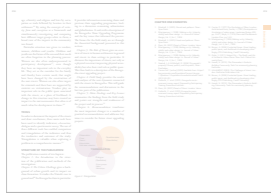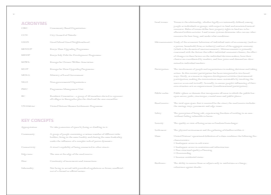
BACKGROUND

"Streets are undoubtedly the most important elements in a city's public realm, the network of spaces and corners where the public are free to go, to meet and gather, and simply to watch one and other. In fact, the public realm in the city performs many functions, not only by providing meeting places but also in (...) representing meaning and identity." (Montgomery, J. (1998). *Making a city: Urbanity, vitality and urban design.* In: Journal of Urban Design, Vol. 3, No.1, 1998. p. 110)

Streets have historically served as through passage and as an important public space. During the motor era roads built for the fast movement of traffic replaced dynamic streets. This vast road-driven transformation, however, has proven inadequate for creating new development that holds identity and vitality.[1]

Successful urban places are based predominately on streets and the connected street life. The presence and size of the street defines economic activity and diversity; it is important that at least a proportion of this should occur in the streets, squares and spaces in the public realm. For it is the public realm and associated semi-public spaces which provide

the [...] cant.[?]

Str[...] funct[...] residents to travel, allows them to interact and perform business. Socially, streets make cities liveable; they foster social and economic growth.[3]

Today we are seeing a rapid and uncontrolled growth in urban slums that are increasingly putting pressure on land and public spaces, which are converted into private use.[4] Often the need for public space in slums is not considered but it is particularly important for these settings. Open space is a much-needed break from crowded housing conditions, for fresh air and for recreation.[5]

Streets have proven to be one of the oldest elements of the public realm and are a vital component of livelihoods, and, in many areas, perhaps the only space allowing the local population to interact.[6] Streets in slums are very much needed, to serve as democratic, open meeting places, public spaces and to aid economic and social development in a highly dense area.
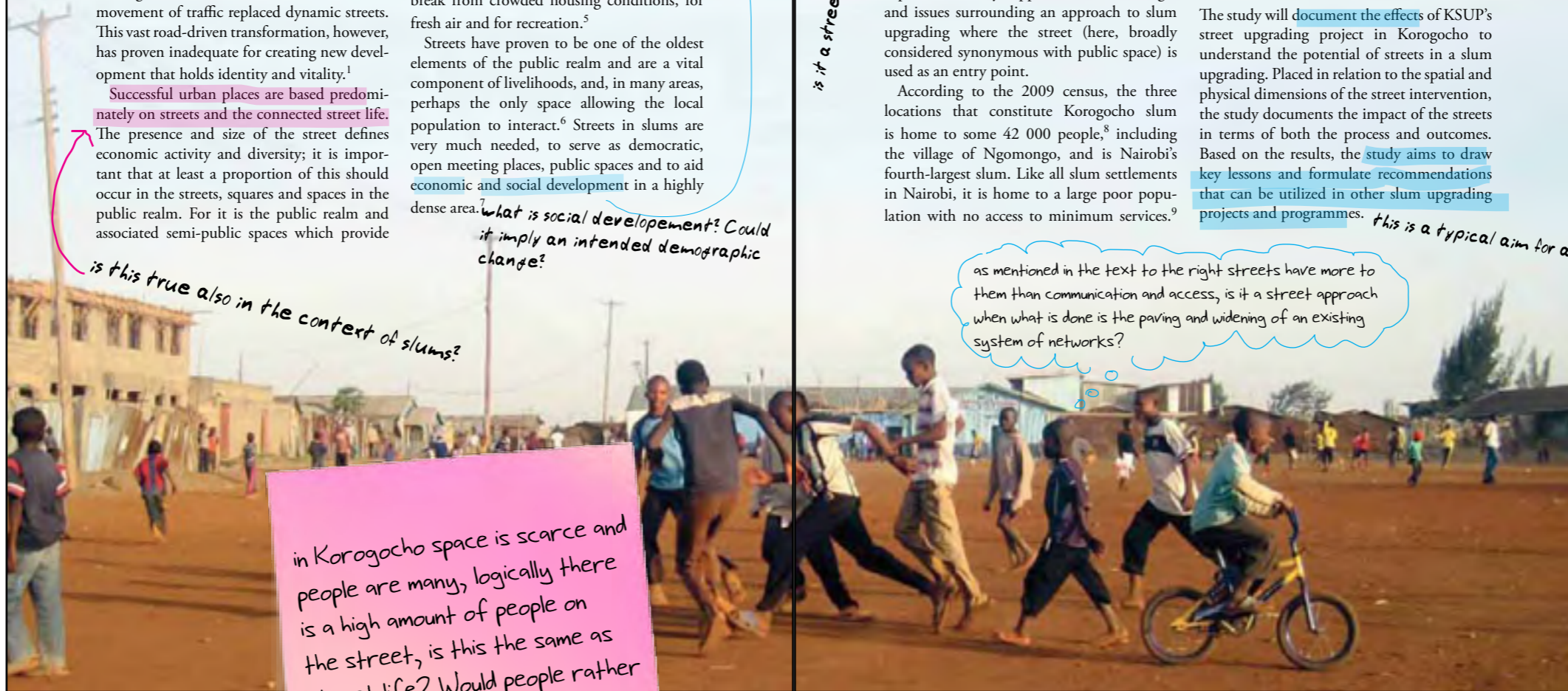
STREETSCAPES IN KOROGOCHO

This study explores the role of streets in slum upgrading. It focuses on the Korogocho slum in Nairobi, Kenya, which is used as a case study to document the outcomes of installing a network of streets. The study pays particular emphasis to documenting the effects of the streets 'on the ground', that is, for the residents and daily life of Korogocho slum.

It must be emphasized that this study is not an *evaluation* of the streets, which would require more sophisticated tools and more resources. Instead, this study is underpinned by a quest to understand the effects of the streets through documentation. It qualitatively explores the key opportunities, challenges and issues surrounding an approach to slum upgrading where the street (here, broadly considered synonymous with public space) is used as an entry point.

According to the 2009 census, the three locations that constitute Korogocho slum is home to some 42 000 people,[8] including the village of Ngomongo, and is Nairobi's fourth-largest slum. Like all slum settlements in Nairobi, it is home to a large poor population with no access to minimum services.[9]

Open spaces in Korogocho are very few, thus limiting recreation and forms of social and economic opportunities for the residents.[10]

Korogocho has, however, recently undergone major physical development. Three interventions have been implemented: a footbridge, a community office and a network of streets through the area. The planning process of the Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme (KSUP) has examined the possibilities of using integrated participatory planning steps as a resilient slum upgrading method.[11]

STUDY PURPOSE

The study will document the effects of KSUP's street upgrading project in Korogocho to understand the potential of streets in a slum upgrading. Placed in relation to the spatial and physical dimensions of the street intervention, the study documents the impact of the streets in terms of both the process and outcomes. Based on the results, the study aims to draw key lessons and formulate recommendations that can be utilized in other slum upgrading projects and programmes.

(Handwritten annotations:)

IN ORDER TO GET INVESTORS AND THE GOVERNMENT ON THE "STREET TRAIN", HARD VALUES THAT ARE EASIER TO MEASURE ARE MORE EFFECTIVE TO USE AS AN ARGUMENT

if no successful outcomes of the upgrading can be documented and measured it is not likely that UN will be able to continue with the programme in the future

is this true also in the context of slums?

what is social developement? Could it imply an intended demographic change?

is it a street or a road approach

this is a typical aim for a UN-report

as mentioned in the text to the right streets have more to them than communication and access, is it a street approach when what is done is the paving and widening of an existing system of networks?

in Korogocho space is scarce and people are many, logically there is a high amount of people on the street, is this the same as street life? Would people rather be somewhere else?

01: INTRODUCTION

02: THE URBAN CHALLENGE

When we took on the task to explore and evaluate the role of streets in slum upgrading, we felt an urge to pinpoint that streets are more than public utilities and linear physical spaces. In order to communicate the importance of streets in slum upgrading UN-Habitat often focus on the economic and social benefits that can be gained by a physical upgrading of the streets. During our visits in Korogocho we have seen that the streets function as an elongation of the private home, as important places to carry out necessary every day tasks and as places of social encounter and exchange. The street is movement, to watch and to pass as well as a place to see and to be seen (Jacobs, B. A. 1993). By revisiting the streets of Korogocho we got to know the rhythm of the streets and whom we might meet there on certain places, literally connected by the streets during particular times of the day. While getting to know the streets of Korogocho we realized that it was the everyday user of the street that could give us the most relevant image of the impacts of the upgrading.

CITIES WITH STREETS AND ROADS

"Principals of spatial organization and orientation in space are based upon the human body in relation to other humans and objects. When the urban space conforms to the human body we can feel in command and comfortable in the space. A streetscape is a humanscape, if nothing else by the relation of the street to the body." (Tuan, Y-F. 1974, p.4)

Ever since humans created the first settlements routes have existed. They were either on water or on-land, serving as transport structures between houses and towns, accommodated by human and animal transportation. As the power became centralized in the urban areas during the pre-industrial times a large transportation network was needed to receive territorial control over the land (Guttormsen, S.T. 2006). These transportation routes serve as roads in rural areas and have been transformed into streets in urban landscapes.

The street is a political place, a meeting ground for exchange of ideas and hopes, a stage for demonstration and mass expression (Jacobs, B. A. 1993). Sometimes the streets can act as empty places or "places of nothingness" where people are able to express themselves and use the place for what is needed at the time, a free zone where social and political forces have the possibility to unfold (Olwig, K. 2006). Hence, the life in the streets and what might occur and unfold there are most difficult to control. In an historical context, the street has served as a means of control and expressions of power (Guttormsen, S.T. 2006). Consequently, we started to reflect upon how the top driven "street approach" to slum upgrading initiated by UN-Habitat really related to the streets of everyday life and if the intention of these strategies could be questioned.

Roads are used to reach a destination with the emphasis on movement; they exist in a two-dimensional space running on the surface of the landscape. The street on the other hand, carries all the concepts of the road but exists in the three-dimensional space in a town or a city (Moughtin, C. 1992) and is often older than the human settlement it serves. The purpose of the street change over time but the patterns and design can reveal interesting stories of the city and its development (Vernez Moudon, A. 1987). The transportation routes in Korogocho are documented as streets as they

carry several urban characteristics and soft-values. They have changed over time and helps to reveal the development of the area. Communication and access still remain as main purposes for the streets but streets also have a symbolic, ceremonial, social and political role. Streets are a setting that brings people together and streets moderate the form, structure and comfort of urban communities (Jacobs, B. A. 1993).

In the middle of the 20th century men like Le Corbusier, Gropius, and Jacobus Od emphasized the importance of structure, standardization and function in urban planning (Guttormsen, S.T. 2006). New ways of transportation changed the way of the movement and vehicular roads, built for the fast movement of traffic, replaced the streets (Marshall, S. 2005). The creation of such vast road-driven transformation to suburban non-places tend to be neatly laid out and organized around a hierarchical pattern of roads. These transformations has proven dysfunctional for creating new developments, resulting in areas that lack identity and vitality (Montgomery, J. 1998) but yet we see planners using these strategies, especially in cities like Nairobi that has a strong wish to become modernized.

Street patterns in block districts were not only a result of the need of transportation and mobility; it was also the product of social and political issues (Guttormsen, S.T. 2006). The cities grew to car-dependent environments that included those with car and excluded the others. For car-owners the new society was a source of freedom that contributed to greater mobility, flexibility and security (Carmona, M. 2010), but as stated by Urry (1999), the "*mass mobility did not generate mass accessibility*" (Urry, J. 1999, p. 7). Low-income citizens without cars suffered from the new modes of travel while the car owners could travel smoothly from one place to another. These new road networks ended up excluding some areas from the rest of the city (Carmona, M. 2010).

The urban planning in Nairobi is very much influenced by these modernistic ideas. The city is adapting car-dependent strategies and is building highways that cut through the urban fabric, removing the pedestrian landscape, leaving out undeveloped and low-income areas like Korogocho.
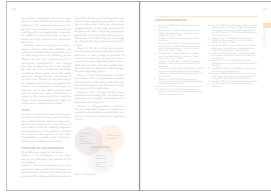
[handwritten blue note, top left:] our mentor at UN-Habitat told us that the voice of an UN-publication couldn't be too precise or dominant. UN is often in collaboration with other organs and governments and are dependant on their support. If stakeholders and policy makers follow the advices in a report and they say, "we did as you told us", UN has to have a way to protect their back. At the same time it is custom that a publication leads to some guidelines and recommendations. This often seems to lead to generalizations and vagueness in the language.

[vertical text, right of first column:] UN–Language

how this has affected the livelihood of the residents

- Identify key issues and indicators associated with the street upgrading that can generate recommendations to guide the design and implementation of future street upgrading projects

STUDY APPROACH

In the documentation, the upgraded streets have been examined in terms of place, with the belief that streets hold important value to the community as places. The starting point of the study has been the community's experienced change implied by the streets. In this case the 'community' consists of the residents that dwell in the public space, *the street*, hence giving it meaning and attributes of place. Therefore, theory of place, and consequently the residents´ perceptions, will set the frames for the study and are outlined below.

[handwritten:] STEVE'S HOME

The notion of place combines quality in three essential concepts: physical space (form), the experienced space (conception) and the activity within the space. Overlaid, the concepts define the components of a sense of place and the relationship between them.
Indicators were found revealing tendencies within each concept, and thus knowledge about the role of the streets in an overall upgrading process have been gained. This has served as a guideline in the construction of the *conceptual framework* used in the assessment of the streets and to understand the influence on the community.[12]

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework can be structured into the three concepts, that when put together create a sense of place[13]:

Activity: The activities associated with a *place* build upon **vitality** and **diversity**. *Vitality* of a place refers to the number of people in and around the street during different times of the day and night: the presence of an active street life and generally the extent to which a place feels alive or lively. Vitality can only be achieved where there is a complex *diversity* of primary land uses and activity: diversity suggests mixtures of uses and activities.

Conception: Conception is a combination of identity and how a *place* is perceived. To individuals, the conception of a place is therefore their set of feelings and impressions about that place. The conception reflects cultural and individual values and beliefs.
Form: Activity and conception interrelate with form to generate sense of *place*. A city's form can be designed to stimulate activity, a positive conception and therefore a strong sense of place: the form describes the physical shape it takes to support the activities it desires.
From these concepts it can be understood how activity and conception interrelate with form to create a sense of place. **Conception** is established from the built **form** and the found **activities**. Overlaid and put together, the three categories are fundamental components of a place and will provide the basis for a holistic understanding of the dynamics associated with the streets.

To understand the three concepts in the context of Korogocho and how the streets have affected the residents, they have been assigned different *indicators* to enable the revealing of tendencies. The study has been conducted with a heuristic method, refining and adjusting the indicators as the study continues.

[handwritten:] WE have started to question if these components are the best way to understand the streets...

[handwritten, top right:] can place be measured?

017

[figure labels:]
ACTIVITIES
Flow of people
Flow of capital
Traffic
Waste management
Illegal activities
Organizations
Services
Business

FORM
Material
Spatial typologies
Spatial relationships
Equipment
Connectivity
Entrances/exits
Topography

PLACE (STREET)

CONCEPTION
Memory
Information
Appropriation
Safety & security
Social relations
Sense of belonging
Vision

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

[vertical text right margin:] Introduction

[handwritten, right:] this is a generalised and replicable model! some aspects of place, like time are left out

TARGET GROUPS

All groups in the community relate to place, in this case the streets, as co-creators in some way.[14] How different groups use, invo appropriate place can tell a lot abo social structures and power relations community.[15]

In order to understand the impacts streets fully, it has been important to id key actors and stakeholders in the comm From the start, different groups can be id fied from more evident criteria such as ge

[handwritten pink note, right:] AS THEORY ABOUT PLACE OFTEN IMPLIES (SEE THE TEXT TO THE RIGHT) PLACE IS A HIGHLY COMPLEX CONCEPT.

SOMETIMES THEORY MIGHT HAVE TO BE SIMPLIFIED IN ORDER TO BE USED IN PRACTICE OR COMMUNICATED TO OTHERS.

Our primary aim became to understand how the residents experienced the upgrading, hence how they experienced the streets. Our previous experiences in Nairobi and knowledge in landscape architecture theory had opened up our interests for the concept of place as a tool to understand the relation between humans and their surrounding. Our hypothesis was that the streets of Korogocho could be understood in terms of place and that the residents who dwell in the streets give them meaning and attributes of place (Tuan, Y-F. 1977). In order to be able to communicate and represent place we needed to create a simplified model. To convince UN-Habitat that place was relevant for the impact assessment of the street upgrading and to help us link theory with practice we created a "conceptual framework" based on theory about the components of place. This framework enabled measurable indicators about place possible to find in the field. When we came back home to Sweden after our time in Nairobi we felt a desire to widen our conceptual framework that had lead us to a definition of place more similar to the definition of location.

STREETS AS PLACE

Places can be temporal and created overnight, as when a festival or event transforms the street into a place. At the same time the creation of places need time and places incorporate long memories (Tuan, Y-F. 1977). Places can be of all scales, the corner of ones small shack or the entire world. Places are all small worlds and our place in the world and society influence how we se place (Sack, D. R. 1997). The concept of place as small worlds and the term genius loci, "the spirit of a place", might be insufficient for the system of modern cities where places are often described as fragmented, pluralistic, disrupted and mobile (Kärrholm, M. 2004).

Research on how individuals identify and locate places suggests that places often emerge along paths (linear streets) or nodes (Peponis, J et al 1990). Lynch define paths as "*the network of habitual or potential lines of movement through the urban complex*," (Lynch, K. 1960, p. 96) and mean that the paths in a city, such as streets, walkways, transit lines, canals or railroads are a predominant element when creating ones image of a city. What Lynch suggests is that there is something in the physical form of a place that encourages people to distinguish that place from its surrounding of unidentified space. It may be continuity of an area where the architectural homogeneity of buildings in a neighbourhood lead people to perceive it as Korogocho or Downtown, or through uniqueness when a landmark stands out unlike any other thing in town (Lynch, K. A. 1960). Other theorists argue that the notion of place is not inherent in any arrangement or physical form of the streets or houses, but rather constantly produced by people. Meanings that individuals and groups assign to places are more or less embedded in historically contingent and shared cultural understandings, sustained by diverse imageries through which we see and remember places (Boyer. M. C. 1994).

Places are made as people ascribe qualities to the material and social stuff gathered there: ours or theirs, safe or dangerous, public or private, unfamiliar or known, rich or poor, beautiful or ugly, new or old, accessible or not (Gieryn, F.T. 2000). People arrange their behaviour according to spatial representations, images and interpretations of the social world. These culturally reproduced images of places are thus subjective but real in their consequences as they effect how people act as they make or destroy places

(Boyer. M. C. 1994). In this sense place have a strong resemblance to landscape. Places as well as landscape can be seen as both a form of representation and something that is represented. The way we represent landscape has influenced what is represented to that extent that the represented has become more and more alike the representation. This, according to Olwig, is a problem because the interrelationship between the representation and the represented is blurry and the understanding of processes and changes in the landscape is lost (Olwig, K. R. 2004). Our own process and the issues we met when needing to create a communicable representation of place and how the representation lead to a somewhat misguiding image of place is a clear example of how difficult it is to translate theory to practice.

Meaning or significance of a place seems to depend on the social role one has in that particular place (Staeheli, L.A. & Mitchell, D. 2008). Hence how we understand and perceive place differs if we are born in Kenya or Sweden; if we grow up in a slum or a suburb; if we attend one class or another (Sack, D. R. 1997). As one of the aims with this thesis was to understand the streets as place based on the everyday life experiences of the dwellers in the place it is important to highlight that understanding of place is highly personal, influenced by forces of society or the social, forces of the mind or the intellectual (Sack, D. R. 1997). It is also important to highlight that what's investigated throughout this thesis was the residents sense of place. Sense of place is often discussed as a notion suggesting that people experience something beyond the physical or sensory properties of a locale and as places change over time, past, present and future sense of place are also present in the experience of a place (Jackson, J. B. 1994). How a place is managed and controlled over time is present in shaping the sense of place. Some theorists argue that the physical permanence of a locale enhance place identity by embodying and representing social and public memory, for example physical continuity in terms of street patterns and property boundaries (Brand, S. 1994).

Many theorists have tried to untangle and categorize the foundations of place in order to understand what signifies a successful urban place (Jacobs, J. 1961, Canter, D. 1977, Montgomery, J. 1998, Gehl, J. 2006, Carmona, M. 2010). Montgomery (1998) means

that successful urban places must combine quality in three essential elements: physical space, the sensory experience and activity and Canter (1977) describes a visual metaphor of place as physical attributes, activities and conceptions overlaid. Sack (1997) divides the structure of place into the three elements; nature, social relations and meaning, stressing that the character of place depends on how much each of these realms a place contains, and that the mix change overtime and makes place a dynamic force. Gieryn (2000) means that place has three defining features: location, material form and meaningfulness. These should remain bundle and cannot be ranked into greater or lesser significance. It can be questioned weather place really requires location and how defining the location actually is for a place. Residents in Korogocho are sometimes relocated from their homes due to various reasons. The home is then literally moved to another location and rebuilt there. It might be the same home, the same place, but moved to a different location. Similar is the case with moving places, like a train or a ship. Furthermore, many Kenyans have a second home in the countryside, where the family and the heart is located, and a big part of the identity is formed. This illustrates that frequently, the location plays a minor role in what is defining ones place in the world.

When categorizing or generalizing place there might be a risk that some aspects gets lost or are given too great significance. And whereas Relph (1976) means that the meaning of place in human experience goes far deeper than what is apparent in actions of individuals and groups and hence not easily analyzed in formal and conceptual terms, categorizations or conceptualisations of place can be useful when transforming theory into practice trying to understand how aspects that are playing together create a certain sense of place (Montgomery, J. 1998). Combining theories of place that are embracing the physicality of place with theory stressing the psychological, cultural and social dimensions of place, these aspects of place can be bridged. However, important to remember in the quest to understand place is that how we understand place is highly personal depending on ones place in the world and as soon as place is represented in any term as in conceptualizations, narratives or pictures some dimensions will be lacking (Relph, E. 1976).
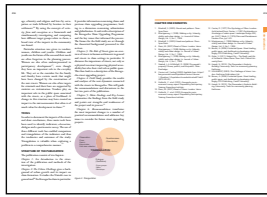
age, ethnicity and religion and later by occupation or trade followed by location in their settlement.[16] By using the concepts of *activity, form* and *conception* as a framework and simultaneously investigating and comparing how different target groups relate to them, a broad view of the impacts in the community was found.

Particular attention was given to vendors, women, children and youths. Children and youths are the future of the area and their needs are often forgotten in the planning process. Women are also often underrepresented in participatory development[17], even though they have an important role in the everyday life. They act as the caretaker for the family and thereby have certain needs that might have been changed by the construction of the new streets. Women are also often targets for criminals and their fears are supported by statistics on victimization. Vendors play an important role in the public space associated with the streets, as a place of livelihood. A change in this structure may have created an impact to the microeconomics that often is of much value for development in slums.[18]

TOOLS

In order to document the impacts of the streets and draw conclusions, three main tools have been used to identify indicators; *observation*, *dialogue* and a *questionnaire survey*. The use of three different tools has enabled comparison and triangulation of the indicators and thus the tendencies and outcomes of the study. Triangulation is valuable when exploring a problem in a comprehensive manner.[19]

STRUCTURE OF THE PUBLICATION

The publication consists of six chapters:
Chapter 1: An *Introduction* to the structure of the publication and methods of the investigation.
Chapter 2: The Urban Challenge gives a background of urban growth and its impact on slum formation. It studies the Nairobi case in general and[20] the Korogocho slum in particular.

It provides information concerning slums and previous slum upgrading programmes, leading to a discussion concerning urbanization and globalization. It ends with a description of the Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme and the key issues that informed the process. The frames for the field study are set through the theoretical background presented in this section.
Chapter 3: The Role of Streets gives an overview of streets in human settlements in general and streets in slum settings in particular. It discusses the importance of streets, not only as a physical construct improving physical accessibility but also their vital role as public space. This then leads to a description of the Korogocho street upgrading project.
Chapter 4: Field Study provides the results and analyses of the new dynamics connected with the streets in Korogocho. This will guide the recommendations and discussions in the last two parts of the publication.
Chapter 5: Main Findings and Key Lessons summarizes the findings from the field study and points out strengths and weaknesses of the project and its process.[21]
Chapter 6: *Recommendations* transforms the most important changes to a number of practical recommendations and addresses key issues to consider for future street upgrading projects.

"TRIANGULATION FRAMEWORK"
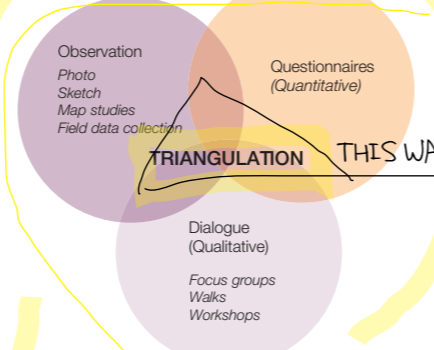
Figure 2. Triangulation

CHAPTER ONE ENDNOTES

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EXAMPLES OF TOOLS GIVEN BY ROI

THIS WAS VERY IMPORTANT!!!

COMMUNICATING WITH SYMBOLS

Is it possible to decide on beforehand what impacts we want to analyze? Will this give us glasses that we do not want?

Questionnaires will just reveal the tip of an iceberg. The result might be; 50 % says YES there is more crime in the area But we want to understand more... why, where, how, who etc. (note from first meeting at UN)

SEEMED A BIT STRANGE FOR US TO HAVE AN EXPECTED RESULT BEFORE THE INVESTIGATIONS. BUT WE MIGHT HAVE HAD THAT EVEN IN OUR 'OPEN-ENDED' METHOD, AS WE ARE NEVER BE COMPLETELY BLANK

TOOL	AIM	EXPECTED RESULT
Mobility mapping	Collect and analyze data on the communities mobility in the project area, indicating mobility of various segments of the population.	Chart showing where the community go for various services within and without the village. Also shows which roads / tracks they are using
Cash flow availability	Establish how cash-flow availability have changed.	Cash flow availability trend chart and explanation of why the trend.
Educational facility	Establish how education facility has improved or deteriorated.	Educational facility trend chart and explanation of why the trend.
Safety Audit	Give in-depth information on spatial/infrastructure contributors of insecurity and provide recommendations on physical/spatial interventions that would improve security.	Questionnaire findings and recommendations on ways to improve security/safety.

Before we went to Nairobi our idea on how we would understand the Korogocho Streetscape was an open-ended method; we imagined that we would go to Korogocho without predefined analyses and see what we might find. After meetings with our mentors at UN-Habitat we understood that for them, it was important that we knew exactly what we wanted to investigate before we went into the field. This might have been a clash between the anthropological perspective we had taken on through or theoretical readings and previous experiences in Nairobi and the more sociological perspective of UN, aspiring for measurable results and facts. It also grew out from difficulties to communicate our open-minded approach that did not have any expected answers or outcomes. Our communication with the mentors at UN-Habitat, the custom shape of what a UN-report should be and how programme assessments normally are prosecuted required that we moulded our methods.

THE TOOLS WE USED: A REFLECTION

We needed to structure and divide our method into specific tools. Based on theory and own reflections we used another symbol/representation, similar to our conceptual place-framework, to create a triangulation framework. This framework contains tools to identify the place indicators from the conceptual framework with the purpose to combine measurable figures and facts with more qualitative findings. In the same way as the conceptual place framework this is a simplified representation of our work in field that does not cover all the work we did to "understand place". Furthermore, the work in field was not divided in the separate tools but all our senses were active simultaneously, making this kind of categorization complicated.

The most valuable information we got about how people relate to the places where they spend time we got by just hanging out with them in these places and thereby also create our own relation to the places. By doing this we became the subjects in our own study as we also became the everyday users of the streets of Korogocho. This has naturally affected our perception of the streets and how and what we represent and perceive as the impacts of the upgrading.

For UN-Habitat it was important that quantitative data was included in the assessments, to be able to package findings in to measureable figures and facts. Our most natural way as landscape architects was to use maps and general observation, taking pictures and sketching to understand the place. These observations are intertwined with all other investigations as observing is something we do constantly but not always consciously. These observations are partly subjective since they are based on the observer's experiences. Most of the observations were conducted during daytime accompanied by other people, which affected the understanding. We were no so acquainted to work with quantitative data and the advice we got from our mentors at UN-Habitat

was to conduct a questionnaire survey. Even though we felt some resistance towards the questionnaires in the beginning, and it was very difficult to formulate relevant questions, the questioners have proven to be a useful tool in combination with other methods. The questionnaires were also useful in order to get in contact with people and talk about things that the questionnaires could not cover. A limitation we identified was that the questionnaires only reached residents targeted by the village representatives. The number of residents that participated in the survey is also only a small percentage according to the total population of Korogocho. The majority of the participants in the questionnaires answered that they spend most of their time in Korogocho. This means that we didn't reach the big group that lives in Korogocho but work, or spend most of the day away from the dwelling. As the interviewees, the participants in the questionnaire survey may also have been affected by their familiarity with what could be interpreted as an aid oriented study. The same issue arose in our work with the so-called qualitative data; even though we tried to find and talk with hidden or invisible groups the results from the walks and interviews/group discussions represent only a certain amount of residents in Korogocho. The language barrier is yet another limitation. Many of the interviewees are used to meet aid-oriented projects, which also might influence what they choose to say to us. When we tried to organize more structured interviews we also realized that it was a problem to get to the point. People were mostly interested to speak to us about their own interests and when it was not exactly clear what we wanted to discuss during the interview we often drifted away from the subject. Often people did not look at the streets in the way we expected and maybe didn't have the relation to them that we thought. This revealed to us that in our quest to identify personal stories, we had imagined stories we thought we would hear on beforehand.

THE POLITICAL DIMENSION

COMPETING INTERESTS

The future of slums in Kenya is uncertain, they are the most complicated and contested in the world thus any attempt to improve the conditions in the slums is complex. The different interests competing to either eliminate or keep slums in their current state are many.

The official government wants cities without slums to improve their image and to achieve a modern profile.[38] This is apparent in the Nairobi Metro 2030, Kenya's second long-term growth and development strategy, which shows visionary images of a modern future without slums. This goal visions a country without slums, reached by the Housing and Elimination of Slums Programme that includes a comprehensive urban regeneration and renewal plan.[39] However, it is important to mention the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme, KENSUP, which is a government commitment and a key programme addressing issues concerning slums and promotes a national approach towards slum upgrading.[40]

A palpable conflict of interest is the relation between [structure owners] and [tenants ... Nairobi's] [... 15] [... own-] [... m-] [... of] [... de] [... a] [... e] [... t] [...]

upgrading programme. Generally, structure owners want full legal tenure of the land on which their structures are built; tenants want recognition of their right to live there and the possibility of becoming land owners. Structure owners are often influential and have a strong interest in maintaining the status quo, particularly because their tenants are a source of both income and potential votes.[44] These large conflicts between the formal and the informal create advanced formal informal structures that make the situation even more complex.[45]

Present challenges in urban land management can be partly attributable to the fact that official institutions often have little relation to actual regimes that govern land and provide tenure security.[46]

GENTRIFICATION

The issue of gentrification - former slum settlements increasing in value and being gentrified as lower-income households are forced to relocate because of market pressures – is a major concern in upgrading projects. In particular, the process of legalization has been identified as leading to increases in land value, which in turn creates an opportunity for a profit by upgrading project beneficiaries. This rise in land prices can also translate into increasing rents that can drive out low-income tenants.

The net effect is that upgrading projects aimed at the urban poor fail to reach their original target group and benefit upper-income individuals.[47]

informal housing is closely linked to the corrupt government

AAH, the city makes sense from up here!

NAIROBI skyline on a bag of CRISPS!! Branding the urban metropolis!

URBAN BITES

KENYATTA INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CENTER

This is what is left from the original text that was four times as long. We learned that it was not the right forum for that kind of text, and that the tone couldn't be too critical...

Many politicians are the informal owners of structures - CORRUPTION!
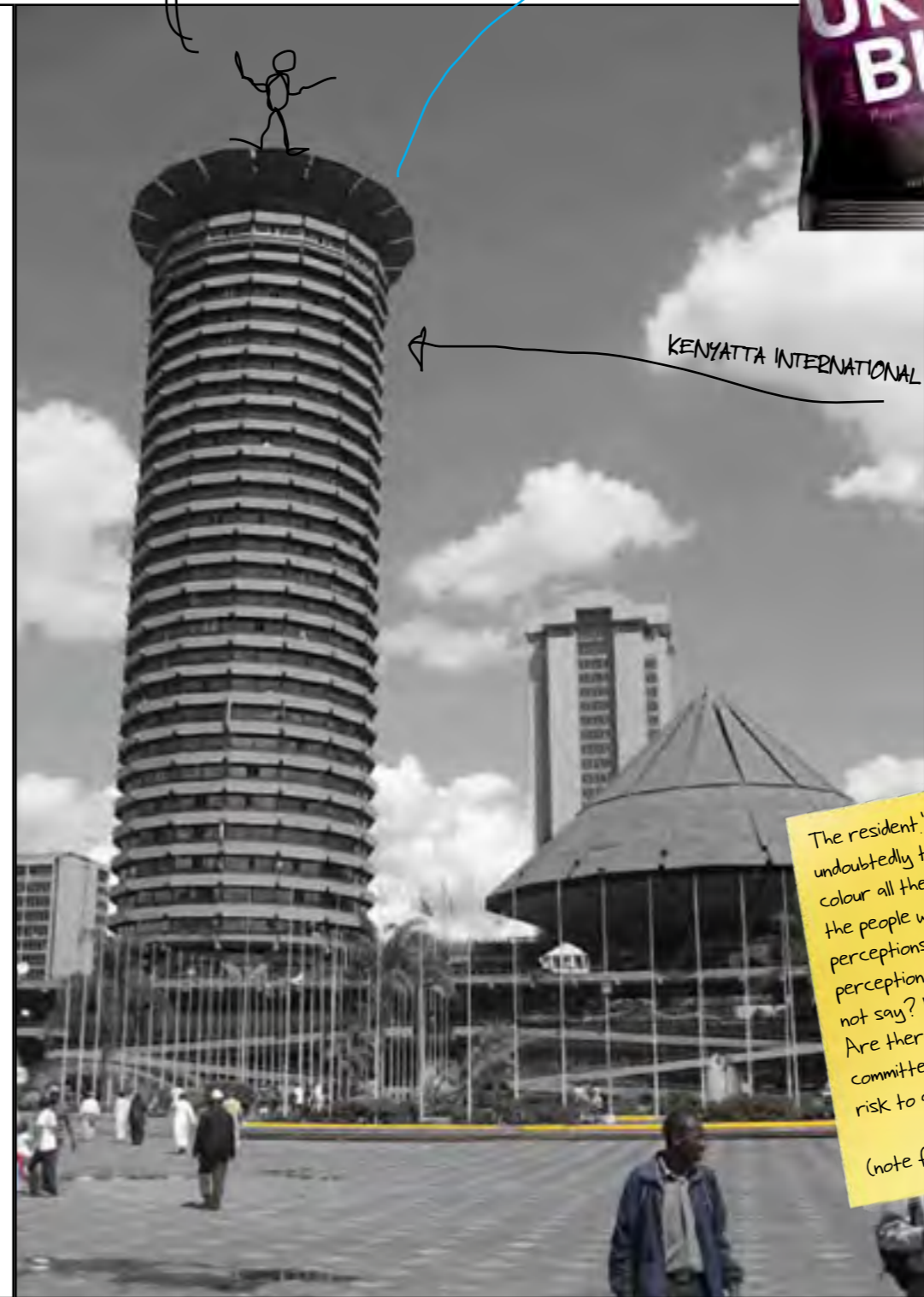
The resident's committe in Koch have undoubtedly their own interests that will colour all the information we get, and the people we meet will have their own perceptions of them, which will colour their perception of us. What can we say and not say? What are the hidden interests? Are there important bonds between the committee and Habitat that we stand at risk to affect?

(note from meeting with the committee)

During our fieldwork in Nairobi, we found that political visions often stand in rather bright contrast to local aspirations for the future. We wanted to discuss this dilemma in "Korogocho Streetscapes", and wrote a rather elaborated text on the topic. In the editing process only one fourth of the text was left to explain this complicated issue, and some comments were added to highlight the positive actions undertaken by the government. It became evident that UN-Habitat must take on a very diplomatic role in these situations, raising questions about their actual influence.

Cities over the world put focus on branding to improve their international position. This makes it evident that the top-down understanding of place and space by planners and architects might be in conflict with the people affected by the planning, as they live out their lives in a completely different context. We have experienced this as one of the major constraints in planning practice in Nairobi. Therefore, we find it important to develop further the paradox between official institutions' top-down goals on planning and how it might affect real and lived everyday spaces.

NAIROBI IS A BRANDED CITY

SHAPING A UNIFIED IMAGE OF KENYA

When we first arrived to Nairobi we met a very segregated city with some parts organized like a typical global metropolis with skyscrapers and boulevards, while other parts were constituted by inadequate living conditions. By many, Nairobi is considered a successful international city holding important organs, NGOs and a developed economy (Weru, J. 2004). However, urban inequality is apparent in Nairobi, over half of the population lives on 18% of the city area and the disproportion between the wealthy and the urban poor is visible in the city´s neighbourhoods (Davis, M. 2007). Nairobi is not shared between its residents and it is characterized by extremes of order and disorder, legality and illegality. As the inequality grows in Kenya the level of trust for the government is weakened (Warah, R. 2011). So, while the influential in Nairobi strive to create a "world-class city" (Nairobi Ministry of Metropolitan, 2008) its 60% slum dwellers remain unrecognized and the disproportion breeds (Warah, R. 2011).

Kenya's past has been shaped by segregation and by realizing a, seemingly unifying, nationalistic implementation such as Nairobi Metropolitan 2030. The exclusion of the people will continue at the expense of claiming space in the globalization process. The enduring grip that territorial representations have on nations and cities is hard to alter (Amin, A. 2004). After the independence in 1963 Kenya, as a postcolonial country, wanted to state their liberation by disclaiming the inflicted colonial legacy. Still Kenya, and especially Nairobi, contains pieces of the colonial period even though the city has attempted urban manifestations of nationalism in the built environment after the independence (Owuor, S. & Mbatia, T. 2012). The power of naming and renaming has widely been used through history as a way to conquer, and the British did just that in the colonization of Kenya. Many communities still struggle with names applied on them by others, and the deconstructing of the borders placed on identity (LaDuke, W. 2005). The replacing of English colonial names and renaming of streets, buildings and parks with names of nationalists and freedom fighters could be seen as an expression of reclaiming a national identity (Owuor, S. & Mbatia, T. 2012).

Contemporary Kenya, however, is manifesting nationalism through the notion of 'natural wilderness', exotic animals and The Lion King, although, it is important to note that very few Kenyan residents have actually seen this landscape. The image of the 'natural' landscape is often a central theme in representing a national identity. Nature, and more importantly, how nature is represented create the powerful notion of coherence and thus a unified national identity (Olwig, K. 2008a). As a tourist in Kenya, the most frequently asked question is which national parks have been visited and what animals were seen. The conscious construction of nationalism is the linking of national identity and nature and the idea of the state as an abstraction, especially for its inhabitants (Olwig, K. 2008a). The Kenyan Government wishes to further explore the imaginary of the nation as a part of the global sphere by introducing the Nairobi Metropolitan 2030 and, as mentioned above, seeking identity with the global North (Nairobi Ministry of Metropolitan, 2008). Changes of landscapes can then be seen as something dynamic, political and contested in Kenya's quest of pursuing a new national identity (Bender, B. 1993). The image thus becomes a tool to shape perceptions of a place (Carmona, M. 2010).

BRANDING A STATE

In shaping a unified image of Kenya, and through globalization processes, cities have become standardized, some would even claim placeless (Soja, E. 2003). As a response to avoid blandness, city authorities and stakeholders are deliberately constructing images and physical changes as a means to place differentiate. Place-marketing and city-branding is thus creating competitive development in getting economic advantages and stimulating a change of the global perception of a certain city (Carmona, M. 2010). We have observed a thriving middle class in Nairobi with sprawling gated estates outside of the city's centre with prospects brought along by the new highways. Development seems standardized and directed by western ideal, as we have experienced in encounters with the city and its people, and observed in the construction of malls, highways and buildings.

The city presented in Nairobi Metropolitan 2030 is an example of how an image can be used for an prospective purpose – economic development, flourishing tourism; the revival of a prosperous nation. However, the place-marketing of Kenya could be seen as manipulation to gain global reverence and commercial prosperity. The economic space has invaded the lived space and the commercial exploitation has very much disregarded local culture (Relph, E. 1976). The globalization and the attempt to compete with western development programmes are central in Kenya's growth; the local context is alarmingly absent in the planning (Warah, R. 2011). The commodification of place is according to Relph 'other-directed' and an outside invention (Relph, E. 1976). This means that the commodification and devaluation of Kenya trough the 2030 vision is creating a placelessness that highly correlates with globalization and the generation of standardized landscapes and 'inauthenticity'. This is visible in the city of Nairobi; we have seen iconic buildings (such as the Kenyatta Conference Centre on the left page), a focus on a flourishing middleclass and gated communities, neoliberal architecture and the bombastic infrastructural regenerations. The created exclusion will enhance the mismatch between image and reality, the elite and the "others" (Carmona, M. 2010).

The question is whether these forces of globalization, normalization, nationalism and, above all, the strive to become contemporary and recognized, will create yet another generic city that lacks identity, context and coherence (Koolhaas, R. 1995). The spread of this formula raises doubts about the competitive edge that can be attained. If the result is that all cities look similar, a consequence is loss of identity. In Kenya's case the disconnection could be seen as a betrayal of the residents, living in a totally different urban landscape than the perpetrators. The global and the local, and also the system world and the life world continue to be incompatible and one might ask whether this is just the result of current planning practices (Olwig, K. 2004)?

THE KOROGOCHO SLUM UPGRADING PROGRAMME - KSUP

The Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme (KSUP) started in 2007. It is an initiative that aims to upgrade Korogocho slum in order to improve the living and working conditions for the residents. It is a joint initiative with funding support through a debt for development swap by the Government of Italy and the Government of Kenya.[77] The project was estimated for a time period of two years with a total budget of KES 210 million (USD 2.49 million).[78]

The KIDDP (Kenya-Italy Debt for Development Programme) aims to empower district communities by achieving sustainable economic growth, increase employment and decrease poverty through a bottom-up community-demand driven approach.[79]

- Prepare a situation analysis of the area including base mapping, structure numbering and enumeration of residents

- Build capacity of various actors/institutions including community

- Prepare an advisory physical plan for Korogocho

- Prepare sustainable integrated development plan for Upgrading Korogocho
- Provide security of tenure to the residents of Korogocho

- Implement concrete improvements to ensure tangible and immediate impacts on the community

A listening survey, carried out in June 2008, was set out to...

Total cost KSUP Programme	KES 210 million
Street upgrading project (incl. drainage system, pavements, streetlights, etc.)	KES 141 million
Footbridge	KES
Health Facility	KES
Residents Committe House	KES

The Korogocho Slum Upgrading... approach involved coordinated... community in order to provide... with security of tenure through... ate land tenure system. The aim... prepare and implement actions to... physical, economic and social li... tions for the residents of Korogoc... major outputs of the programme, as defined by KSUP[80], were:

measured output!

... the eight ... an initial ... nding of ... needs of ... interven- ... on the ... ... ion of ... etailed ... pping, ... on of ... ed data ... ation ... rking ... ning ... highlight problems and opportunities and assist the community to outline a shared vision for the neighbourhood.[82]

A LARGER CONTEXT

However, the objectives of the programme must be seen in the larger political context of Nairobi. The concentration of poor households in Nairobi is seen as a burden in the competition with other cities and stands in conflict with the neo-liberal visions for the city's future, where a strong economy is seen as the most important driving factor for development. Some suggest that, concealed in the terminology of participation and in situ upgrading, changing Nairobi's social geography has become a part of the strategy for developing the competitiveness of the city. The main means to reach this goal is to change the housing stock in the slums in terms of size, standard and tenure through urban upgrading and renewal projects, resulting in a socio-economic upgrading.[83]

UN-HABITAT'S ROLE IN KOROGOCHO SLUM UPGRADING PROGRAMME (KSUP)

UN-Habitat's role in the KSUP is limited to a technical advisory role exerted within the multi-partners programme steering committee led by the Ministry of Local Government, and to the joint implementation of specific programme components requiring innovative tools and knowledge.[84]

Together with the implementation of the Korogocho situation analysis and the support to the planning process through its participation in the interagency technical working group established to guide the plans preparation, UN-Habitat qualitatively contributed to the overall upgrading process of the slum, with the initiative dubbed 'Good School Good Neighbourhood' (GSGN).

With the aim at building capacity as well as improving community awareness and fostering inclusivity to the KSUP planning process, a multi-dimensional approach to safety and participatory planning/design tools was piloted in order to assist the local people to position the school at the centre of the community, influencing the ongoing development.

The identification of the school as a potential multi-purpose facility and enhanced community public-space was part of a strategy that intended to create a strengthened network of public spaces to act as platforms for social changes. The public space network was thought to include the two public schools, the reinforced streets and the river reserve created by the plans as well as the market, an upgrading project proposal for which has already been submitted to the programme steering committee for approval.

[handwritten note top] MAPPING HAS BECOME STANDARD IN ANY SLUM UPGRADING PROCESS! THIS CAN SERVE MODERN ASPIRATIONS OF FORMALIZATION AND IS SOMETIMES USED TO CONTROL SLUM DWELLERS.

[handwritten note] changing the housing stock is inducing gentrification!

[handwritten note on blue post-it] THE FACT THAT KSUP IS A DEPTH SWAP PROJECT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY BRINGS ON THE DIMENSION OF DISTANT DEVELOPMENT GOALS AND THEIR FORMATIVE ROLE FOR THE PROJECT THAT IS CARRIED OUT. THE MONEY IS KEY. FAST AND MEASURABLE RESULTS! THIS TAKES THE PROJECT AWAY FROM THE LOCAL CONTEXT.

[handwritten note on torn paper] 13|2

Day 2. Meeting with ████. We were told some interesting things about the project, and a strong critique towards the government and development processes. It was clear that the government was the absolute strongest stakeholder in the project ██ meant that they wanted Habitat to play a very small role to be able to put their logo on the documents. He also resolved some disappointment that the project had not turned out to be UN Habitats original vision. The Government seems to have a very technocratic approach and puts very little focus on community and place. It seems really tough to be Habitat, how to act in these situations? We were discussing the governments vision with the area, is it gentrification? ████ argued that they didn't express much thought at all, and that they in reality didn't care about the slum at all, but that the global pressure is growing and that all their actions can be considered as hypocritical and eye serving

Most people in Nairobi, even the slum dwellers, embrace the malls and the sprawling urban estates that are surrounding the increasingly modern skyscraper metropolis. How do you act as a planner when those who will be affected by the planning want something else than you believe in? What is that, if not top-down planning? We don't think that the problems lies within that, but in the way planning is executed, and expected to be executed. The people we encountered in Korogocho expressed an attitude to planning that called for government intervention. If these people instead could be part of creating their own solutions, moving beyond traditional principles of participatory practices, a planning more honest to local contexts could possibly arise.

NAIROBI: A DEVELOPMENT DILEMMA?

KENYA'S 2030 VISION vs. SLUM UPGRADING GOALS
The dominant attitude among the people we have encountered, and we also have been able to observe in the urban fabric of Nairobi, is a great urge to become modern. The architecture schools lack connection to the conditions that are found on the ground, giving their students the assignment to design malls and showing architectural examples from the United States during seminars. We have noticed that the space of planners is playing an important role in affecting the ideologies of space as imagined by the residents of Korogocho. In visioning the future, many citizens dream of formalized homes that hold the characters of a modern planning space. The children in Korogocho dream of fenced, formal houses, suburbia is mushrooming, construction of highways build great hopes for the future and the 2030 vision for the city shows a clear direction towards a northern planning trends. Similarly, policy guidelines in Kenya are highly influenced by northern city management policies (Brown, A. 2006). Olwig (2004) means that when we are looking at the world, one can ask oneself if we are studying reality, or a particular construction of the world shaped by planning ideologies. To the background of Latour's work he concludes that we are being linked to a transformed and constructed world, through the images that are produced to represent it. This phenomenon would be described as "circulating reference" (Olwig, K. 2004).

This is apparent in the Nairobi Metropolitan 2030, Kenya's second long-term growth and development strategy, which show visionary images of a modern future, without slums. The Nairobi Metropolitan 2030 visions that Nairobi will grow into a "world class African region" which means the creation of wealth and the offering of a high quality of life for residents, people of Kenya, investors and, above all, its vision is to offer an "unmatched" experience for the Nairobi visitors (Nairobi Ministry of Metropolitan, 2008). This goal visualize a metropolis deprived of slums, reached by the Housing and Elimination of Slums Programme that includes a comprehensive urban regeneration and renewal plan (Nairobi Ministry of Metropolitan, 2008).

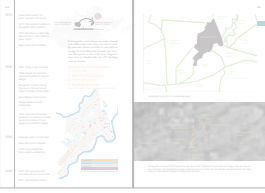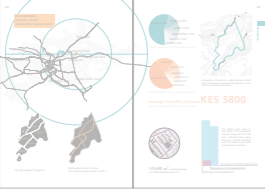However, the government sends out contradicting signals through the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme, KENSUP. KENSUP is a government programme that promises to address issues concerning slums and promotes a national approach towards slum upgrading (Syrjänen, R. 2008). Prior cases of the government's involvement in slum-upgrading projects have resulted in distrust and suspicion that complicate relations between slum communities and authorities. This will affect the KENSUP slum-upgrading project planned for Kenya and may prevent the project from effectively integrate the concerned community with top institutions such as Government ministries and UN-Habitat (COHRE, 2006). The branding and promotion of Nairobi through Nairobi Metropolitan 2030, with the goal to "…*create the best managed metropolis in Africa*…" seems more than distant from its inhabitants and may generate even larger divisions between authorities and the urban poor (Owuor, S. & Mbatia, T. 2012). The inconsistency between the 2030 vision, KENSUP and the local community is apparent and derives from different instances with different agendas. The Government and the Community are furthest apart from each other, the prior depending on an image of a modern state deprived of slums struggling for global recognition and the latter completely detached from the Government's goals (Saunders, D. 2010).

NORTHERN PLANNING PARADIGMS SET THE PLANNING AGENDA
One could say that globalization is the act of transforming local and regional events into global. Thus, it can be described as a process in which the world's people might eventually unify into a single society (Relph, E. 1997). This monotype culture arises with globalization, which has initiated normalization and a generalization of cities (Koolhaas, R. 1995). Planning practices of today take origin in the Northern hemisphere, often ignoring issues based in developing cities such as slum formation, creating an on-going polarization between the two hemispheres (Brown, A. 2006).

Strong driving forces of landscape change are urbanization and globalization (Antrop, M. 2005) by which the current changes in Nairobi shows it to be very much the product. As the world urbanizes cities are becoming globalized, and urbanization is increasingly reaching everywhere, and everywhere is increasingly reaching cities, adding to a major reconfiguration of the social and spatial structures of urbanism and creating heterogeneous cities (Soja, E. & Kanai, M. 2010). Globalization has allowed the materialization of a universal and international style to develop, enabling all places to be similar by repetition (Carmona, M. 2010); a tendency Koolhaas calls the generic city. The concept is a product of planning in the processes of globalization, and a product of an explicitly demanding political culture (Koolhaas, R. 1995). Globalization is a force that generates spatial segregation and unequal access to basic services, infrastructures and housing (Soja, E. & Kanai, M. 2010). Although Nairobi, and Kenya, already has a long history of segregation dating back to colonial times, globalization has enhanced the segregation and polarization. Today Nairobi is one out of many cities associated with global development, and thus marginalization. These cities are looked upon as "…the unending urban crisis…" and mainstream literature depicts them as spaces of corruption, disease, poverty and even horror. What is important to note is that this image is portrayed by viewing African cities through the lens of the contemporary North's formal institutions (Kihato, C. 2010). As cities are traditionally engines of modernization and economic growth, they are also the theatres in which globalization stages its scenarios (Owuor, S. & Mbatia, T. 2012). Nairobi plays its part as a state looking at western institutional ideals when aiming at formalizing and regulating the city. This enhances the on-going polarization between the formal organization and the majority of the population living outside state regulation. The African authorities and institutions stand before a major challenge in breaking the intonation of being categorized as a continent not yet fully evolved. This would require the liberation of the tradition of using western cities as reference points and Eurocentric urbanities (Kihato, C. 2010).

STREETS AS AN ~~INT...~~ ...UM UPGRA...

UN-Habitat ... ... regularization and secu-
discourse of ... ... s promote connectivity
led approach ... ... establishment of street
streets as fun... ... l maps, an improved
in general, and ... infrastructure as well as
particular. Str... ... ough the implementa-
place of ident... ... increased interaction.[51]
When streets ... ... s claims space. It must
infrastructure ... ... l network
cutting elemen... ...
quality in life in ...

UN-Habitat a... ...
the opening of s... ...tive...
intervention for ... ...con...
Participation and slum-dweller ownership of ... o...
the process is key in order to increase confi- ...tw...
dence, citizenship rights ... Fin...
...gra...
...e in...
...int...
...tec...
...ic a...

> **Our view of participatory processes changed quite quickly after some visits in Korogocho. We came convinced that participation was the key to all great projects. After some time we understood that participation is a really complicated thing. Homogeneous groups often attend meetings and it is hard to reach out to everyone. Budgets seldom allow the time for a comprehensive participatory process and sometimes it is just an alibi to undertake upgrading processes with already set out goals.**

> *Projects often have very tight timeframes and limited budgets! Planners have to produce to earn a living. This affects the planning process.*
>
> *IS THAT ETHICALLY DEFENDABLE??*

> *QUICK FIX PROGRAMME!*
> *Landscape Architects always talk about letting processes take time to be able to keep an honesty towards the context, but many of the good things with the project mentioned in the community was the fact that government money was materialized with the implementation of the streets...*

THE KOROGOCHO STREET UPGRADING PROJECT

The Street Upgrading Project was executed as
an activity within the framework of the larger
Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme.
The programme wanted to implement some
initial physical changes while advancing on
the community mobilization and trust build-
ing, as the preparation of the situation analysis
was being finalized. Attempts to upgrade the
area had been done before but failed and this
was reason for a quick physical implementa-
tion. The streets were implemented as quick
win projects before the planning was done
because planning had to await enumeration
and a socio-economic survey.[53]

The selection of streets as an infrastruc-
ture intervention was based on the priorities
identified by the residents' committee during
the numerous consultations and particularly
at the training workshop in August 2008.
During this workshop, the main priorities
were stated as drainage systems, streetlights
and access roads. Consequently, the upgrading
of the streets in the community was identified
as a project that would help to establish the
residents' confidence in the overall upgrad-
ing programme. The motivation was to do
a project that, covering the whole area and
reaching all villages, would make the entire
community feel beneficial.[54]

The infrastructure improvement of the
streets aimed at integrating Korogocho with
other parts of Nairobi, improving accessibil-
ity and connectivity to both a larger context
and also to neighbouring estates, as well as
developing security through increasing busi-
ness opportunities and street lighting. The
project was envisioned to improve the image
of the area and bring a sense of pride among
...

The street upgrading project includes four
streets: Kamunde Road, Market Road,
Community Lane and Mama Ngendo Road.
They cover a total distance of 3.64 kilometres[56]
and were prioritized on the basis that they
did not require much relocation and ensured
circulation in all eight villages.[57]

Several people from different institutions
were involved in the project and created a
technical team[58]:

- Resident Engineer (County Council Nairobi)
- Project Surveyor (Ministry of local Government)
- Project Quantity Surveyor, (Ministry of Local Government)
- Project Engineer (Ministry of Local Government)
- 2 Chainsmen (casuals)
- Draughtsman(County Council Nairobi)
- Driver (casual)
- Community Liaison (3 members of the Residents Committee – Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer)

The project was monitored directly by
the technical team, and monitored in addi-
tion by the KSUP Programme Manager and
Programme Coordinator from the Programme
Management Unit (PMU), located within the
Ministry of Local Government, as well as by
the donor (the Italian Cooperation) through
the Programme officer.[59]

The Project Surveyor, the Project Quan-
tity Surveyor and the community, through
the Residents' Committee, did a pre-study of
the streets to ascertain the road reserve, the
number of structures to be demolished as a
result of the expansion of the road, the terrain
and geology and the amount of benefit the
project would bring to the community. The
layout of the streets was developed according
to the mapped village boundaries.[60]

> *quick fix project!*

> *Day 5. Breakdown   16/2*
> ~~Apparently~~ *Apparently all new roads in Kenya have to be nine meters, otherwise they will not get building permit. Apparently all of Korogocho will be formalized. Apparently ~~~~ UN has been put in a position where they are in charge of the masterplan for this. They were anguished. Shit.*

After conversations with people of Korogocho, interviews with government agents, meetings with staff at UN-Habitat and by strolling down the streets of Korogocho, we understood that slum upgrading is a very conflicting task. Working with it puts a myriad of different power relations in play, many with different interests. On all levels, money is the strongest driving force. Those who need the improvements most are the ones that are very seldom reached in Slum Upgrading processes. The 'kings of Korogocho' are looking to a prosperous future while the poorest residents probably will move on to another slum in the future, in a constant journey of despair. The Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme is described in visionary terms, associated with concrete goals. The design of the streets corresponds to policies created by the government, giving them a certain width of nine meters and large space for vehicles. These policies are made for the city of Nairobi as a whole, with areas very different from Korogocho, and do not consider the specific circumstances in slum areas. This way of normalizing the area, by creating a design based on policies and norms rather than the actual geography and activities, give the Government of Kenya power. In this way they are able to territorialize it and gain power over the activities and the people dwelling in them. We have experienced fundamental differences between life world of citizens and the system world of the government of Kenya. This is resulting in a built in contradiction between user and administration (Ståhle, A. 1989). In Nairobi this large gap could be even bigger, explained by the vast social, economic and political differences (Bender, B. 1993).

NAIROBI IS FORGETTING THE LOCAL

GLOBALIZATION EQUALS NORMS
Roy argues that the international planning of today is constituted through models and best practices and thus seen as planning utopias that are key to the universal reutilize of "good" planning (Roy, A. 2005). This means that the discourse of globalization addresses the possibility for placelessness to occur as a result of geographies determined by international economic forces and fashions (Relph, E. 1997). The socio-spatial government is suggested by Zukin to be shaped by 'traveling ideas', which are broadcasted by worldwide organizations and journals or by simple strategies of competitive copying, the net effect becomes the supressing of distinctive local character (Zukin, S. 2009). A placeless internationalism drives the local identity of places to erode and a standardized development to occur (Relph, E. 1997). Today planning is highly shaped by global organizations and institutions pushing for a planning practice that emerges as "global norms". The Kyoto protocol, the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Agenda 21 can be seen as institutions formed by UN's role as a "norm entrepreneur" (Roy, A. 2008). UN as a moral actor seeks to promote human security and global governance, but the connection between the urban poor, or civil society mediators, and the international development system and how these institutions can actually meet and be active participants in these projects lack precedent (Giovannini, F. 2008).

Universalism, the view suggests that humanity represents a single entity, precariously supports the illusion of a linear developmental process perfectly replicable in any given context (Roy, A. 2008), which may symbolize the archetypes; the global North and the global South. The normalization seems to encourage a top-down approach assigning a major role to the institutions, state and donors at the expense of civil society and grass root organizations (Giovannini, F. 2008). As UN-Habitat has one of its head offices in Nairobi, in reality bordering Mathare slum area, we have found that several case studies

and thus "best practice models" on slums and informal settlements are created here. UN-Habitat as a global organ exercises the promotion and spreading of best practice models for urban development in general and slums in particular. UN-Habitat states that the global network is "dedicated to the identification and exchange of successful solutions for sustainable development". However, there has been recognition that producing and disseminating best practice is inadequate, and often reinforced through governmental arenas and worldwide networks and international bodies therefore it is vital to apply more actively best practice, reinterpreted to specific places (Bulkeley, H. 2006). The UN and NGOs are thus forming universal solutions, which are then becoming normative and consequently applied worldwide, in this case, on slums (Roy, A. 2005).

Consequently, the processes of normalization play a fundamental role in how cities of today are shaped. We have during our two field studies in Nairobi seen a divided city, one part striving to keep up with changes due to the processes of normalization while one part of the city stands totally outside these forces. Rather than searching for the universal quick-fixes of such a complex matter, they ought to be confronting the failures and limitations of models that provides a more realistic sense of politics and conflicts, and also force planning to face up to the consequences of its actions (Roy, A. 2005).

THE GLOBAL AND THE LOCAL IN A CHANGING LANDSCAPE
The future of slums in Kenya is uncertain; they have grown at an unprecedented rate. Today more than 70 % of urbanites live in slums (Syrjänen, R. 2008) and the housing conditions in Nairobi remain poor and are some of the worst in the world. Hence, Kenyan slums are the most complicated and contested in the world, thus any attempt to improve the conditions in the slums is a complex business (Weru, J. 2004). Landscape changes are often seen as a threat, a negative evolution, because the world's

current changes are characterized by the loss of diversity and coherence of existing landscapes. Changing the characteristics of a landscape could lead to loss of identity or its change to a new one (Antrop, M. 2005). Slums are seen as a threat to the city and the city's image and the formation of them are constantly debated as a menace to a city's development (Saunders, D. 2010). However, one must remember that landscapes are the result of repeated reorganizations of the land in order to adapt its use and spatial structure better to changing societal demands (Antrop, M. 2005). If this is true, slums are a product of adaptation. The threats, slums, and the threatened, authorities and establishments, are interests competing to either eliminate or keep slums in their current state (Nairobi Ministry of Metropolitan, 2008). Powerful private actors, such as property developers, have a central role in in the making of cities and the deepening urban marginality, characterized by the vulnerability of slum and squatter populations as cities embark on practices and policies of gentrification and redevelopment. This result in the materialization of megaprojects that enjoy quality services while the rest of the city languishes (Roy, A. 2008).

Globalization has the associated notion that local environment and local relationships are losing influence (Lieberg, M. 1995). While the local continues to be perceived as something intimate, the space of the familiar, the near and as a space constitutively separate from the global, the global is seen as the abstract, the space of afar and the hegemonic. The resulting images of the two worlds create the issue of what reorganizes and on whose demand (Amin, A. 2004)? These dimensions are central in the formation of the local, but they continue to be written by the hegemonic imaginary of the global world (Amin, A. 2004). The issue may be formulated as a clash between the Nairobi government's visions, the virtual institutions and the lived space. The question we should ask: whose demand is the actual driving force of change?

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The Project Surveyor and Resident Engineer from the Ministry of Local Government and the City Council of Nairobi did the technical design, including the width of the street, drains, curves, and footpaths. They were also responsible for assuring that the agreed standard for the design was followed and were assisted by the chainsmen who were available daily throughout the construction period. The Engineer gave the contractor instructions on what works should be done. He was in charge of all the overall management of the project and did the official communication to the contractor through written correspondence. He called for regular meetings and site inspection to ascertain the progress of the project attended by the technical team, the Programme Manager, the contractor and the Programme Officer from the donor.[61]

The Project Surveyor _____ did the _____ ___. These _____ _____ in the _____ tenders, _____ he total _____ was KES _____ ogocho _____ ced by _____ Italian _____ enya.[62]

_____ ruct- _____ ublic _____ trac- _____ lding _____. The

- *Layout Design:* The Engineer from the City Council of Nairobi.
- *Technical Design:* The Programme Surveyor and the Engineer from the Ministry of Local Government and the City Council of Nairobi.
- *Financer:* Government of Italy and the Government of Kenya.

event acted to make the construction official, which sensitized those whose housing structures would be affected by the construction of the streets to the reliability of the project.[64]

The street upgrading project has been undergoing different phases. The Residents' Committee supervised the removal of the encroaching structures facilitating the process of relocation.[65] The project hired local labour to the largest extent possible in the construction process, which provided occasional employment for several youths.[66] As the project was a quick win project the public was represented by one representative from each village.[67]
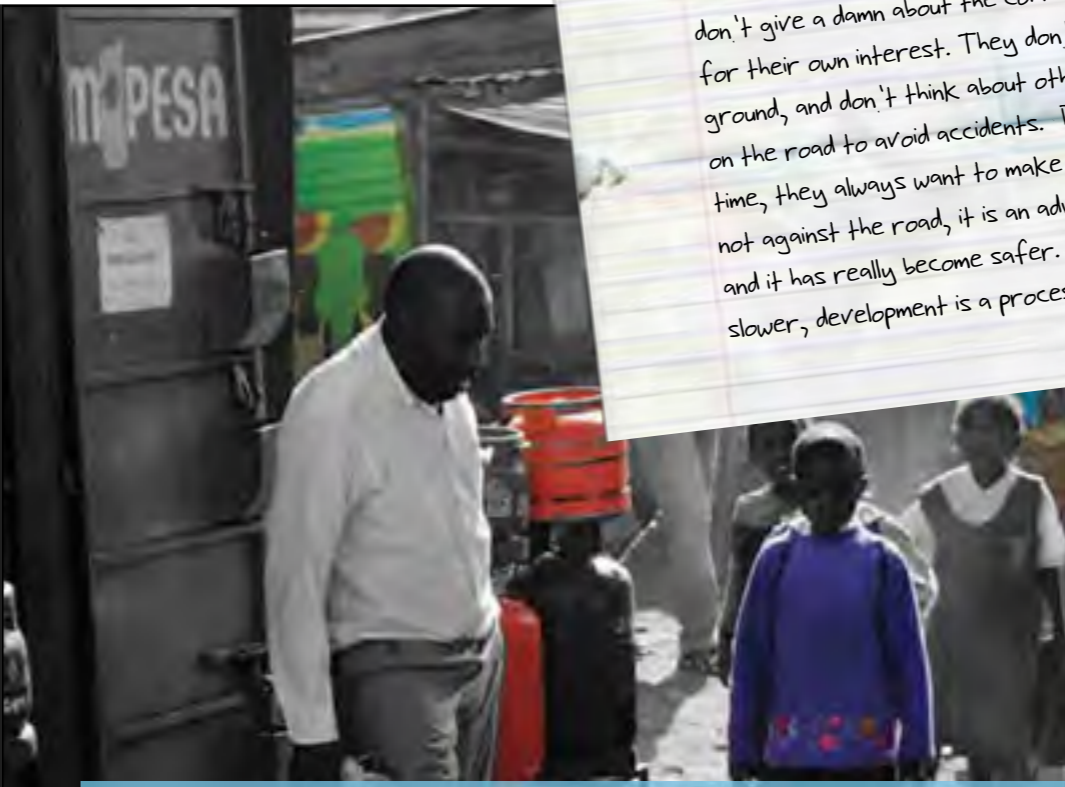
Kamunde Road, leading from northeast to southwest and connecting Kariobangi area to the two primary schools, was started in the beginning of 2010 followed by Market Road, which passes the Market in the southwest of Korogocho. The construction of Community Lane, leading through Grogan area towards the primary schools, and Mama Ngendo Road, connecting Korogocho to Dandora dumping site by a new footbridge, was started in June/July of 2010.

STREET	LENGHT (km)	ROAD RESERVE (m)	PRIORITY
Kamunde Road	1,64	18	A
Market Road	0,9	18	B
Community Road	0,75	12	C
Mama Ngendo Road	0,39	12	D

*Planned length, road reserve and priority of the streets.[63]

NO DOCUMENTATION
It was difficult to get information on the process of the street upgrading program. There was no documentation of the decision making process, and we had to send emails to those involved in the program. This shows lack of transparency, what if you were a resident interested in the project, who would you ask?

THE STREET PROJECT PROCESS

2008 August – Workshop.	The Residents' Committee was asked to identify the main priority projects that could be done as they await other soft based activities like enumeration of residents, socio-economic survey, planning and security of tenure. The main problems identified by the representatives were poor access roads, drainages, streetlights and water and sewerage system. It was agreed that since by rehabilitating the main streets all the villages would benefit, it was the best project to settle down on. Drainage and streetlights could be resolved as part of the road construction.
2009	A layout design was created by the Resident Engineer from the City Council of Nairobi. The Programme Surveyor and the Engineer from the Ministry of Local Government and the City Council of Nairobi created the technical design.
2009 August	The contract was handed over to the constructor.
2010	The construction of Kamunde Road started.
2010	The construction of Market Road started.
2010 June/July	The construction of Community Lane and ___ Road started.

Resident: " Participation is the only way to redesign community. It is a government initiative and the government don't give a damn about the community, they are only here for their own interest. They don't see what is on the ground, and don't think about other structures such as signs on the road to avoid accidents. Processes have to take time, they always want to make it fast and see results. I'm not against the road, it is an advantage for all residents and it has really become safer. But the process should be slower, development is a process and therefore dynamic!!

LIMITED GROUP!
No initiatives to involve the larger community! The residents committee are the already influential kings of Koch

The streets are still very new. The construction de-territorialized established rules in the street that takes time to re-territorialize! This affect what activities as played out in the streetscape!

FIELD STUDY FINDINGS

We have listened to stories about people being evicted from their homes, frustration over not being heard, frustration over people not participating, ignored interests. External dependency limits local action. We have seen lists of myriads of NGO's being active in Korogocho; still the changes are not compatible with the amount of money that is being poured into the area. Slum upgrading is never an exclusively positive task, it might not always reach those who are most in need and different interests direct action in numerous ways. As the street intervention in Korogocho was a quick win project, it could not be participatory to a higher degree of public involvement; one representative from each village represented the public (Kago, J. 2012-05-22). The people dwelling in the street before the upgrading, people that had a certain attachment to it, might not have had the chance to give advise or voice to the layout. Many people in Korogocho are worried about the effects that will follow the slum upgrading. Will they still have a place in the community after the upgrading, and will their family?

SLUM UPGRADING ISSUES

THE LANDLORD-TENANT CONFLICT

The structure owners and the tenants have different perceptions within any upgrading programme about legalization of land tenure (COHRE, 2006). As most of the residents are tenants the providing of security of tenure may give the structure owners advantages and keep the tenants powerless. The more formal the area becomes, through enumeration and naming of the structures, the less power the poorest residents tend to get. With more people moving in from rural areas the higher pressure is put on the ground and private landowners and exploiters can demand higher rents. This results in the poorest people paying extremely high rents (Davis, M. 2007). According to Dafe (2009), landlords in Nairobi slums have two strategies to retain power over the tenants; the absentee-landlordism where the landlords live outside the area to complicate the personal contact with the tenants, and an ethnic polarization where they avoid placing people from the same ethnical group closely together in order to avoid community building. The structure owners and landlords often own services such as water facilities making the tenants reluctant to raise their voices against the high rents or the inconvenient circumstances (Dafe, F. 2009). The government of Kenya has tried to initiate solutions. Since the 1990s the 'Community Land Trust' have been used, saying that the community retain ownership over the land where individuals can get long-term leases. This encourages people to invest in their homes and facilitates the control of property transfers. In Nairobi the 'Temporary Occupation Licences' were recently introduced, with purpose to promote investment in small businesses. The licences allow semi-permanent structures to operate on pavements and other strategic places where the owners also often dwell. This makes the land legalized and kept under control by the government (Durand-Lasserve, A. 2006).

GENTRIFICATION

The issue of gentrification - former slum settlements increasing in value and being gentrified as lower-income households are forced to relocate because of market pressures (Zukin, S. 1989) – is a major concern in upgrading projects. In particular, the process of legalization has been identified as leading to increases in land value, which in turn creates an opportunity for a profit by upgrading project beneficiaries. This rise in land prices can

also translate into increasing rents that can drive out low-income tenants (Davis, M. 2007, Bassett, E. M. 2005). However, when legalizing ownership and rights to the land, the tenants may find themselves in a profitable situation. Precedent cases indicate that tenant slum-dwellers realize that there are ways to extract revenue from the arisen situation. Letting out the given plot or by selling the rights to it, often to more well-off families, allows investment in education or a business which means the moving back to another slum shack and the gentrification is a fact. Slum-redevelopment constantly risks gentrification and the creation of middle-class enclaves on the edge of the slum (Saunders, D. 2010). However, the net effect is that upgrading projects aiming at the urban poor fail to reach their original target group and benefit upper-income individuals (Davis, M. 2007, Bassett, E. M. 2005).

In Kenya, politicians along with traditional chiefs, have since the formation of slums been prominent large-scale speculators in slum housing, which in Nairobi have resulted in the materialization of slums owned by politicians, all hierarchies represented, and the upper middle-class (Davis, M. 2007). Most of the private letting development has no formal legal basis but due to the complicated property relations, market evictions become increasingly central (Wasike, P. 2002). In Nairobi, shacks are the most profitable housing as the land is seen as a capital bank and land speculations thrive (Davis, M. 2007). Gentrification is a complex phenomenon, which brings a destruction of authenticity in a block, a neighbourhood, and eventually in a city, a destruction that harms the marginalized people and cultures that constitute urban diversity (Zukin, S. 2009). However, some of this displacement might involve squatters exploiting on rising property values. This entrepreneurship is, according to Roy, inevitable and she declares that it should be welcomed (Roy, A. 2005). However, one might ask how policymakers can continue with the task of formalization while keeping an eye on affordability and preventing gentrification and displacement?

FORMAL INTERESTS IN KEEPING THE INFORMAL

Further, absent structure owners tend to be wealthy and influential, often in collaborating with politicians. This group have a very strong interest in maintaining the status quo, particularly because tenants are a source of both income and votes (Hansen, K.T. & Vaa,

M. 2004, COHRE, 2006). If the tenants gain larger independency, they are feared to be less easy to control. These large conflicts between the formal and the informal create advanced informal formal structures that make the situation even more complex (COHRE, 2006).

In Slum Upgrading projects there are always contradictions among the development objectives. The will to ensure equity and safety in the work sectors meets the will of economical growth; political and governmental causes often contradicts the will of social inclusivity and human rights (Hamdi, N. 2010). By keeping the slum settlements informal, the governments can use the informality as an argument to avoid putting money on infrastructure and maintenance in these areas (Dafe, F. 2009).

The projects often see conflicts of interests, conflicts in priority, and power relations (Hamdi, N. 2010). In developing processes there is often contradictions between the moral and environmentally sustainable solutions, and the economic imperative to attract investors in the city. They are both in conflict with each other, and especially acute in already poor cities. Further, this creates a dependency on the state, which often is influenced by corruption and certain interests. If aid does not come from the state it is often given from different donors from outside, turning the aided people into dependency of their donors (Hamdi, N. 2010). Corruption and unequal power relations will continue to delay upgrading processes (Hamdi, N. 2010).

NGOs and other organizations are big donors for upgrading interventions in the slum, but their objectives often work against their purposes. Many intervention projects have a certain time frame and budget, which often results in poor quality. They put their name above the door and then leave it, without sufficient maintenance projects tend to fall apart after some time (Hamdi, N. 2010). Davis writes about the NGO-revolution (Davis, M. 2007). Along with their rising power and influence the amount of NGOs and charity organizations has exploded since the 1990s. They were bigger NGOs, working via an international agency as provider of expertise to local organizations and receivers on the grassroots level. As the World Bank implemented new strategies of dealing with poverty and partnership their way of working shifted from a coordination- and financial system into collaboration with the governments, turning their way of operating further away from the ground. This rather benefits the bigger organizations than the actual residents.
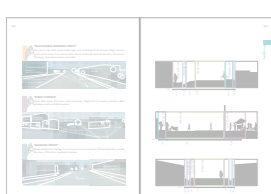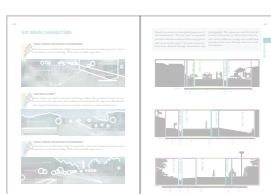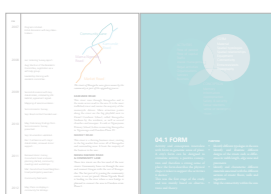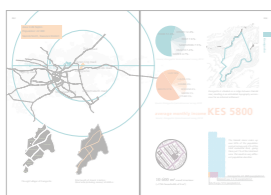
Korogocho is community. It is smiling faces, people coming together in fighting hardships. Korogocho is poverty, crime and fear. Korogocho is becoming pregnant too early, alcoholism and mistrust. Korogocho is not giving up. It is dreaming, love and children playing. It is driving your motorcycle really fast and feeling the wind in your hair. Korogocho is creativity. Korogocho is fun! It is rollerskating down the streets, dancing and music. Korogocho is three paved streets. The following chapter is about the impact these streets have on everything that is Korogocho.

04: FIELD STUDY FINDINGS

I ♡ KOCH

25/2-2012

The alarm rang and we woke up to the first day in Korogocho. We were supposed to be picked up at nine to go to Korogocho. The trip there went well and we were surprised that the area was closer than we first had thought. Mr Okello was waiting for us at the community house. He is the secretary for the residents committee and a very happy and sympathetic man. He had grown up and lived in Korogocho and introduced us to the chief and some other members of the community. Everything went on well until the tour around the area were supposed to begin. We were told that the area was not safe and that the need for guards was necessary. As this was our first time we didn't know what to answer when they told us the cost for two guards that they thought should accompany us. The price was very high and we felt fooled and uncomfortable in this unexpected situation, we wanted to blend in! However, we accepted the demands and went on...

Finally a week after our arrival to Nairobi we made our first visit to Korogocho. Guided by members of the Residents Committee we had a stroll along the streets, observing the surrounding and getting to know new people. These people were going to be important figures during our work in field and helpful in introducing us to the project on site and the residents of Korogocho. As we started to spend a lot of time in Korogocho we came to meet many residents and listen to their life stories. Steve, a young man from Korogocho, shared his view on the street upgrading programme.

STEVE REMEMBERS

Steve recalls when his grandmother had to move away from her rented house located right along the street. One day a red cross was painted on her door. The message that the red cross carried was that she had to be out of her house within four days. Steve's grandmother started to collect her things and to look for a new place to stay. Four days later big caterpillars came and demolished the house to the ground. It took her about a week to find a new place. Today she lives just opposite from where she lived before.

"It is tough when you get a message like that. Some places in Korogocho are very dangerous. There are many empty structures in Grogan but you cannot go there, anything valuable you own will be stolen. Then you'd rather go to another place. The criminals own that place, it's their land."

However, Steve doesn't think the streets only brought sorrow.

"It is good to have a vision. When there is an election coming up the politicians always come and promise things, then nothing happens. These streets happened. That brings hope to the community."

We meet Steve in a poolroom in Korogocho B. A woman had to show us through the narrow corridor to the small room where there is now only space for one pool table. No signs outside. A set of pool is 20 KSH. We play with two young boys; Charles and Charles. They win. The poolroom used to be along market road and was a vibrant public meeting place. Just two days ago it had to move to its current location because of the security situation. The owner tells us that young criminals used to come and play and ruin everything by mugging other people. The police came and created a scene. Steve is 23 years old. He rents a room just next to the poolroom, which he shares with his cousin Fred. Steve proudly shows his driver's license. He is a driver. Right now he is looking for a job.

"God has a plan for me. I don't know where I'll be in five years. I don't wish to be here. And this place? In five years it might even be another Kileleshwa."

FIELD STUDY FINDINGS
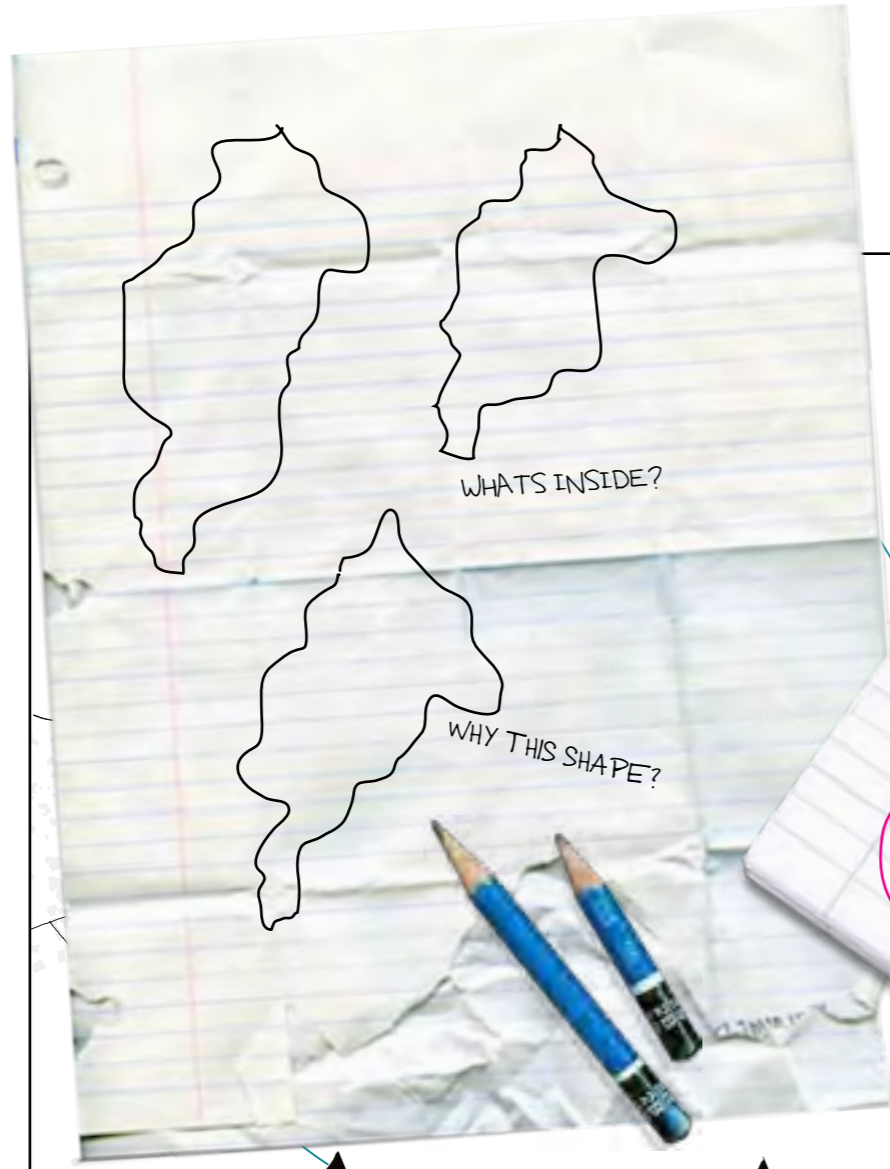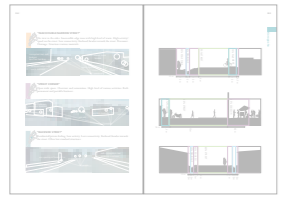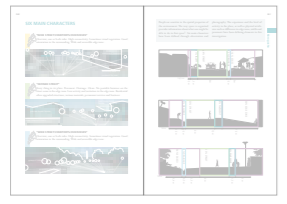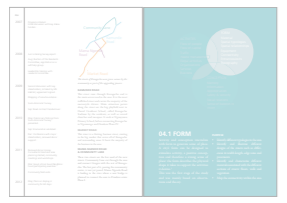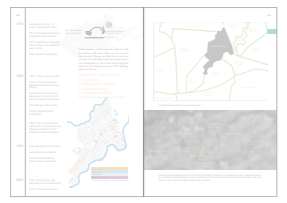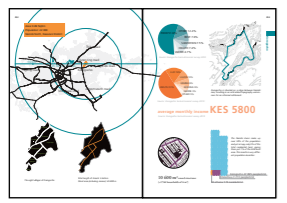
WHAT DOES THIS BORDER INCLUDE AND EXCLUDE? WHAT DOES IT IMPLY? A TERRITORIAL SHAPE?

WHATS INSIDE?

WHY THIS SHAPE?

- KOROGOCHO IS AN INFORMAL SETTLEMENT WHERE MOST OF THE RESIDENTS ARE VERY POOR.

KES 5800 IS THE SAME AS 470 SEK

- KOROGOCHO IS VERY DENSE, ESPECIALLY IN COMPARISON TO MUTHAIGA WHERE MANY PEOPLE FROM UN LIVES. COULD THIS BE A RESULT OF INFORMALITY?

A PLACE ON THE MAP

Korogocho

THE BORDER OF INFORMALITY....
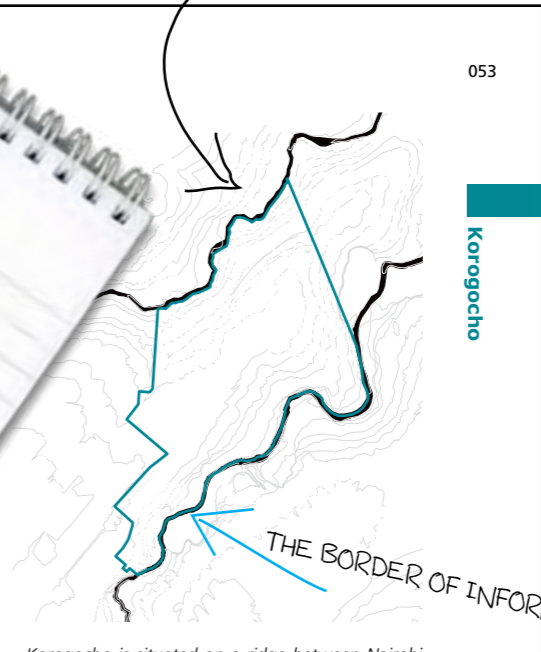
Korogocho is situated on a ridge between Nairobi river, resulting in an articulated topography uncommon for an informal settlement.

NA 9%
RE 3%
HER 5%

o-Economic survey 2010

monthly income KES 5800

gocho Socio-Economic survey 2010

The Nairobi slums make up over 50% of the population and yet occupy only 5% of the total residential land, giving them just 1% of the total land area. This results in very different population densities.

Korogocho 47 895 people/km2
Kileleshwa 3 210 people/km2
Muthaiga 576 people/km2

our home!

UN-Habitat

The eight villages of Korogocho
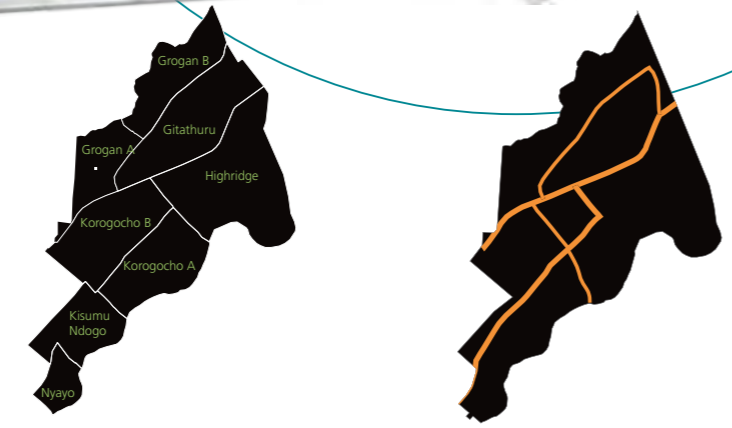
Grogan B
Grogan A
Gitathuru
Highridge
Korogocho B
Korogocho A
Kisumu Ndogo
Nyayo

Total length of streets: 3.64 km
Street area (including reserve): 45 800 m

10 600 m² erased structures
(=1766 households of 6 m²)

we are getting used to the form

After frequently visiting Korogocho our image of the area rapidly changed. Our first picture was shaped through stories told by involved from UN-Habitat. Presented to us via maps and photos showing the progress of the upgrading and by documents and discussions read on the project web site. For us, the area turned from imaginative to experienced and we could establish our own interpretations and understandings of the multi-dimensional spaces and places on site. The transformation from concept to reality made us curious about how the area was perceived by people not living in Korogocho, by the government and by the planners that had been involved in the upgrading project.

As we begun to analyse the area, from above and on ground, we started to understand it in different dimensions. The shape on the map became a symbol and we started to recognize it on the bigger map of Nairobi. Korogocho was the informal in the formal, a small island surrounded by an urban landscape. Today, informality is many times understood along the lines of poverty and despair and as an unsustainable form, but as we got involved on ground we understood that the effects of the informality was not negative to all extents. It could also be looked upon as an area of opportunity for local entrepreneurship and creativity. Defining informality seemed to be a difficult task. In the planning and development discourse, there are two main views of informality where the informal worker is seen either as an "exploited pawn of the capitalist system or a brave entrepreneur" (Gilbert, A. 2004, p. 33-36).

A FIRST GLIMPSE OF KOROGOCHO

URBAN INFORMALITY

The ideological left wants to help informal settlers become more formal by giving them greater security in the work and at home, believing that those who have the power to change the situation are within the government (Gilbert, A. 2004). In contrast, the ideological right means that the fault lies within the state and the government's failure to legalize their businesses and give the poor title deeds to their homes. They praise the informal sector, but with the intent to make it formal by removing most of the excessive state rules that have forced "brave entrepreneurs" into informality (Gilbert, A. 2004).

These ideas has obtained great political support in many Third World countries, as well as in the World Bank and ILO, while new possibilities for development based on market mechanisms have been introduced (AlSayyad, N. 2005). Efforts to disengage the state from the economy are a recurrent theme while understating the unequal work conditions and insecurity that characterize many informal sector activities (Hansen, K.T. & Vaa, M. 2004).

However, these seemingly contrasting approaches to informality represent remarkable similarities in that they both regard informality as a sector, fundamentally separate from formality (Roy, A. 2005) and that they are both aiming at formalizing the informal (Gilbert, A. 2004). The informal is understood as a territorial formation or as a labour category (McFarlane, C. 2012), while neither of them recognizes how informality might be a differentiated process representing various degrees of power and exclusion (Roy, A. 2005). Roy (2005) suggests that we take another approach and step away from the theoretical view of the informal as a sector, towards a view that looks at the informal as a mode of urbanization. This allows the discussion to drop the standard dichotomy between the formal and informal, and to regard informality as a "series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another" (Roy, A. 2005, p. 147-158). This goes in line with McFarlane's idea that we should understand informality, together with formality, as a changing practice and movement that is "taking place not above or in advance of urban life, but within its unfolding" (McFarlane, C. 2012, p. 101).

## THE RELATIONS BETWEEN FORMALITY AND INFORMALITY

The relations between formality and informality can be seen in a historical sense, where informality is described as preceding formality. This is the case in many medieval city cores that once produced informally now are brands for global tourism. In a contrasting understanding the formal city comes first, and informality is seen as infiltration within the formal framework (Dovey, K. 2012). Along with this understanding, Bayat (2004) describes the informal as "the quiet encroachment of the ordinary," the process where ordinary people challenge structures established by those in power through silent, largely particulate actions, allowing them to survive and improve their lives. In this case, informality is seen as operating outside the control of the state (Dovey, K. 2012). McFarlane (2012) argues that the distinction between formality and informality is a modest description in the complexity of the contemporary city, but nevertheless a powerful one that affects urban imagination and practice. The informal and formal sectors are not separate; rather cities are the result of a dynamic and active process linking formal activities with the informal (AlSayyad, N. 2005).

Sometimes informality is described as a lack of influence over the development by the formal public sector planning (Hansen, K.T. & Vaa, M. 2004). However, informality is very much the consequence of planning since the planning and legal apparatus of the state has the authority to decide when to authorize this suspension, to decide what is informal and what is not, and to decide which forms of informality will thrive and which will disappear (Roy, A. 2005). Frequently, politicians look between their fingers with regard to powerful citizens' initiatives to undertake informal activities, allowing a more flexible development of the urban fabric through a way of unmapping the city (Dovey, K. 2012), while the same politicians might insist on mapping the poor squatter settlements for completely other interests, such as political gain and control. Government agents are enforcing particular rules, while they ignore others (Gilbert, A. 2004).

In a corrupt society such as Nairobi, we saw informal strategies being used to impose control over informal processes. Informal fines, fees and bribes are collected, votes are bought and blind eyes are turned. Informal factories and houses are built and inhabited by informal residents and staff, informal land tenure systems arise, informal rents are paid and informal governance operates within the system of formal governance (Dovey, K. 2012). The corrupt political system allows informal property relations and ownership in practice, where powerful local interests have positioned themselves everywhere to profit from the selling of peripheral land to the urban poor (Davies, M. 2007).

The relationship between informality and planners is complicated; many perceive informal spaces as unplannable while others have attempted to improve and integrate such spaces in a larger urban context (Roy, A. 2005). Informality is not an island that rises in isolation. Neither is urban informality synonymous with slums or squatting, but a rich framework to understand and rethink development issues (Dovey, K. 2012).

Timeline
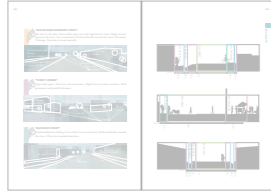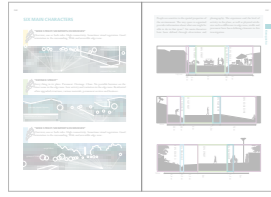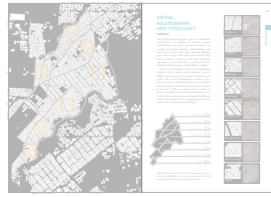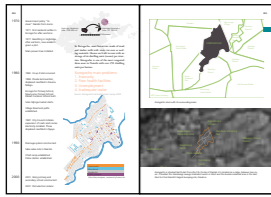
1970 Government policy "to clean" Nariobi from slums.

1971. First residents settles in Korogocho after evictions.

1977. Resettling in Highridge after evictions, new residents given a plot.

Main power lines installed.

1980 1982. Coup d'etat occurred.

1984. Private land eviction, displaced resettled in Kisumu Ndogo.

Korogocho Primary School, Ngunyumu Primary School, Daniel Comboni School built.

Soko Mjinga market starts.

Village Road and paths established.

1987. City Council initiates expansion of roads and routes. Electricity installed. Those dispalced resettled in Nyayo.

1990 Drainage system constructed.

Saba saba riots in Nairobi.

Chief camp established.
Police station established.

2000 2001. Glory primary and secondary school constructed.

2007. Post-election violenc.

Highridge Westlands
Area: 3740 000 m2

Highridge Korogocho

0   5

In Korogocho, most ho
and timber walls with v
ing materials. Houses are
average of six dwelling ur
ture. Korogocho is one o
slum areas in Nairobi wi
units per hectare.

Korogocho main p
1. Insecurity
2. Poor health faci
3. Unemployment
4. Inadequate water

Source: Korogocho Socio-Economic survey 2010

Commercial
Educational
Residential
Public purpose

(churches,mosques, community house et

Note (yellow): to understand the context we studied maps from google earth and analysis from UN.

Note (pink): KOROGOCHO IS A PLACE ON THE MAP...

DOES THAT MAKE IT FORMAL?

Korogocho slum with its surrounding areas.

Note (yellow highlight): perhaps this map can be used as a tool for argumentation for more buildings with public purpose?

Note (blue): THIS GIS MAP IS PRODUCED AS A TOOL IN THE UPGRADING PROCESS.
AS THE TEXT TO THE RIGHT ARGUES MAPS CAN BE USED IN CREATIVE WAYS TO SOLVE CONFLICTS, COMMUNICATE AND NEGOTIATE.

FOR THE RESIDENTS IN KOCH THAT HAVE A LOW CONTACT AND UNDERSTANDING FOR MAPS AND PROGRAMMES SUCH AS GIS THIS MAP IS FAIRLY IRRELEVANT.

MAYBE THERE ARE OTHER WAYS TO WORK WITH MAPS?

Ngomongo Village
Dandora Phase IV
Dandora Dumping Site
Dandora Phase III
Dandora Phase II
Civil Servants Estate
MOI Forces Academy

Baba Dogo Industrial Area
Ngomongo Village
Dandora Dumping Site
Mowlem Power Station
Kariobangi South

...he City Center of Nairobi. It is located on a ridge between two riv-
...eatment works in West and the Ruraka industrial area in the East.
...ite, Dandora.

FIELD STUDY FINDINGS

As a tool to analyse Korogocho further we explored it from above using maps and measurements. Information from UN-Habitat and a socio-economic survey, executed before the street upgrading on the request of UN-Habitat (Gathuthi, C. et al. 2010), demonstrated data and analyses of the area. We studied these analyses closer in order to understand the main problems and issues, contexts and circumstances. There seemed to be a growing interest in putting informal slum settlements on maps in an attempt to make them more formal and easier to handle during the upgrading. The maps we used came from different institutions and organizations promoting various, sometimes conflicting, objectives but were powerful in how they made information visible on a paper. The map-making practice seemed to have captured the problematic dialectic between territorial representation by the dominant ideologies of space and the everyday experience on the ground.

A WIDER PERSPECTIVE

From issues concerning existence in the urban fabric, lack of formal rights and services we became curious about the relationship between informal slum settlements and maps. Korogocho existed on the maps we had been provided, but the maps sometimes differed from each other or missed out in showing important characteristics of urban space. Maps tend to leave our public and private interfaces, pedestrian networks, everyday urban experiences and tactics and instead represent a reflection of larger scale processes, structures and strategies (Dovey, K. 2011).

MAPS
Maps often function as tools and alibis of powerful political and commercial interests. While said to protect the vulnerable as an establishment of security in the geopolitical and strategic space, it often leaves the "little tactics of habitat" invisible on the blank spaces of the map. Maps represent an absolute space; a physical space that exists independent on what occupies it. It delimits territories, enforcing inclusion and exclusion strategies. People, resources, homes and habitats are fixed in the Cartesian grid and reduced to a two-dimensional picture that only displays one reality at time, a reality that often favours and facilitate control of land and resources by the dominant class (Rocheleau, D. 2005). Planning is concerned with change, however the tools used to abstract patterns and coherences are simplifying, arresting and stabilizing situations of change. Dynamic complexities are rendered static by the symbols of representation in order to make the task of control or regulation possible (Hillier, J. 2005).

More than two thousand years ago, Plato followed by Euclides, declared that geometry should be the science of space. Since that time, geometric space has developed into a powerful model for understanding the world. A model that is so powerful that a geometric representation of the world is widely perceived as the one true arrangement, with people's everyday experiences being secondary, regarded and put in relation to it (Dovey, K. 1993). Relph (1976) helps us to develop our understanding of the place' destructive power of maps through his discussions about the recent (modern) planning space. He argues that space in the modern planning sense does not involve imaginative experience but order on maps and land-use efficiency. This leads to an understanding of space as empty and homogenous and objectively manipulative according to the constraints of functional efficiency, economics, and the impulses of planners and developers. This planning space has come to be that of individual buildings conceived and constructed in isolation, where the attention to the nature and the experience of the spaces between buildings has been left largely to chance. On the same notion, the geographer Harley (1988) argues that maps can be considered as an impersonal type of knowledge that tends to dissociate the territory they represent; they foster the notion of a socially empty space. This is dangerous since the abstract quality of the map removes decisions from the realm of immediate face-to-face contacts and reduces conscience about people in the landscape. Furthermore, many slum dwellers are lacking skills to understand maps. Consequently, it becomes a one-directed ideology, from the powerful to the weak in society. Unlike literature, art and music, the social history of maps appears to have few genuinely popular, alternative or subversive modes of expression. Hence, maps are still prominently a language of power, not of protest. Maps always depend on, and facilitate, the exercise and recognition of power (Rocheleau, D. 2005).
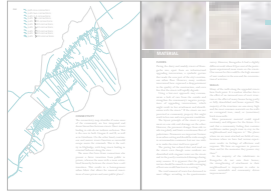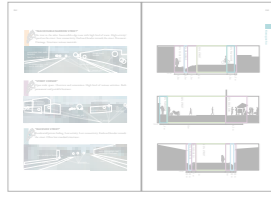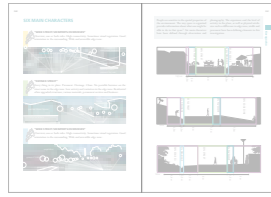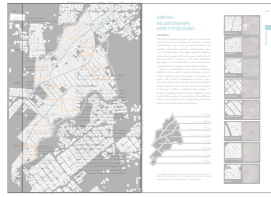
COUNTER-MAPS
Conversely, as Corner argues in The Agency of Mapping (1999), rather than as a tool to assert power, maps can be used in a constructive way, as a tool for development in its ability of searching, disclosing and engendering new sets of possibility. He claims that since maps are drawn from measured observations in the world, they are mental constructions and ideas that can enable and affect change. Corner (1999) calls for a mapping that steps away from being a means of appropriation, and begins to see it as an emancipating, enabling and liberating phenomena. Corner means that what remains unseen and unrealized on seemingly exhausted grounds, can actualize new territories and prospects.

The digital world is enabling participatory mapping and a more complex cartography that might step closer to the complex reality that they sought to represent. Similarly, techniques of GIS mapping embody the potential liberation of maps from the fixity of a single paper image and implies the freedom to restructure the data into countless maps and contingent products. However, most mappers still use the multiple images to derive a final product, a single best summary map. There is undiscovered potential to use GIS to involve mapping in a broader context of conflict resolution and negotiation across scales (Rocheleau, D. 2005). On a similar note, Amin (2004) advocates the "relational map". They have the opportunity to step away from territorial representations of cities and regions and move toward a representation of networks of places around the world, that constitute a new order of place.

A large participatory mapping exercise was undertaken in collaboration with Google maps to map the Korogocho slum. This opens up an interesting discussion about what the act of mapping, and the existence on a map, does to a community, as well as what transformations it enables. Similarly, it poses questions of what happens to a place that came into being in the absence of mapping and planning when it is elevated to the abstract space of maps. In the on-going transformation of the area, this map could be a powerful tool for planners to ignore the everyday situations that are played out on the ground.

In order to work ethically with maps they require questions; who are we putting on the map, who and what is left out, who maps, who's mapping practice is followed, what are the intended results, will they be tools for struggle or will they represent terrains of struggle, or tools of on-going negotiation (Rocheleau, D. 2005)? If maps start to function as tools to understand the complex relationships between the experienced worlds of individuals, the dynamics of dwelling and the system world they could be a truly useful tool for future urban planners.

THE CHAPTER FORM STARTS!

Community Lane

Kamunde Road

Mama Ngendo Road

Market Road

ACTIVITIES
Flow of people
Flow of capital
Traffic
Waste management
Illegal activities
Organizations
Services
Business

FORM
Material
Spatial typologies
Spatial relationships
Equipment
Connectivity
Entrances/exits
Topography

CONCEPTION
Memory
Information
Appropriation
Safety & security
Social relations
Sense of belonging
Vision

FORM

Timeline

2008 — Jun: Listening Survey report.

Aug: Election of the Residents Committee, registration as a self-help group.

Leadership training with residents committee.

2009 — Second discussion with key stakeholders, initiated by UN Habitat, agreement signed.

Mapping of area boundaries.

Socio-Economic Survey.

Sep: Road contract handed over.

2010 — May: Preliminary findings from Socio-Economic Survey presented.

Sep: Enumeration validated.

Dec: Conference with stakeholders, renewed support.

2011 — Recieved donor money. Consultants hired and planning started, community meetings and workshops.

Mar: Good school Good hood participatory exercis

Community field visits.

2012 — May: Plans on display in community for 60 days.

During our form-investigations it became clear that the processes in field differ from the processes at the desk. Before we went to Korogocho we were determined to make a survey of form by observing and map the physical attributes,

but as soon as we got to Korogocho we knew that the feelings towards the place, the conception, was constantly reflected in our investigations.

It is impossible to be objective, but maybe that is not a purpose of its own.

04.1 FORM

Activity and conception interrelate with form to generate sense of place. A city's form can be designed to stimulate activity, a positive conception and therefore a strong sense of place: the form describes the physical shape it takes to support the activities it desires.[1]
This was the first stage of the study and was mainly based on observations and theory.

PURPOSE
- Identify different typologies in the area
- Identify and illustrate different designs of the streets such as differences in width length, edge zone and pavements
- Identify and characterize different materials associated with the different sections of streets: floors, walls and vegetation
- Map the connectivity within the area

Does FORM really shape what ACTIVITIES takes place, and consequently the CONCEPTION of the area?

Sense of place is so much more than three concepts put together.

Suddenly we were there, in Korogocho, ready to start our first investigation; FORM. We had decided to begin with form to take advantage of the power of first impressions. We knew that the colours, our senses and perception would change, ware off and transform as we got to know the area. Our observations enabled identification of the conditions in Korogocho and were a central tool when trying to grasp the area. Observation reveals visible indicators about the structure of a place (the form) (Hamdi, N. 2010). We started to categorically document everything we saw and focused on the physical aspects of Korogocho. We soon realized it is impossible to separate materiality (form) from activity and conception (the tree pillars of our conceptual place framework). Our hypothesis was that form enables and shapes the activities taking place and consequently the conception of the area. While spending time in Korogocho our focused observations became spontaneous interactions, and interpretations that provided us with more than an initial understanding. Little by little we got to know the area and it became hard to separate what was actual form and what was form filtered through our conception of Korogocho.

SHIKO'S STORY

We meet a tired and ill Shiko, one of the faces of KochFM, on a hot day in Korogocho. We step into the office, a large container rebuilt into a studio and headquarter. KochFM is a radio station reporting from, in and for the slum of Korogocho. KochFM started in 2006 and Shiko has worked here for three years and is brought up in the area, she knows the people of Korogocho and is well aware of their everyday difficulties. As the office is located in the community centre she has had an eye on what has been going on during the reconstruction of the streets.

"Whole structures were taken down and the people who were evicted from their homes during the slum upgrading keep coming back to Korogocho and the community centre, they beg to come back and that there will be a spot for them".

Shiko concludes that there have been some advantages with the street upgrading, it is definitely easier to move around and to orientate within Korogocho. The added streetlights have improved the security but there are still problems with safety, a lot of accidents happen at night. In 2010 Korogocho was mapped and added to Google maps as a part of the slum upgrading and through this Korogocho became formalized. If there are any changes in the layout, the maps are updated. Additionally, there will be a comprehensive house upgrading and after this Korogocho will be the first slum in Kenya to be "fully upgraded".

"I really hope they will have some plan for how to do it. The structure owners have to be asked and I hope there will be no misunderstandings. People know it will happen, the Resident's Committee has informed them about it but I am quite sure the people do not understand the extent of the programme. "

Shiko shrugs and contemplates the contradictions, what price the residents have to pay to get reasonable living conditions. Some complain, some do not, it is impossible to make everyone happy.

"The streets are still too narrow but if they were made wider then more people would become homeless. As it is today people build on the edge zones!"

Shiko fears that her relatives will be affected by the upcoming displacements, because if they are, they will come and stay with her. If they on the other hand had the possibility to remain and get a plot, their lives would most probably improve.
When we ask Shiko about the future she looks a bit dreamy and laughs, her goal is to become a TV-reporter, she loves telling stories and thinks she would do it well. If that plan does not work out she will continue with the work of her NGO, a community based organization that helps young mothers. As for the future of Korogocho, Shiko gets serious again and thinks for a while.

"If the affected people were resettled and if the plans for Korogocho were nicely thought through, separate the pedestrians and the vehicles and if the security became better, then Korogocho would be a place to stay in."
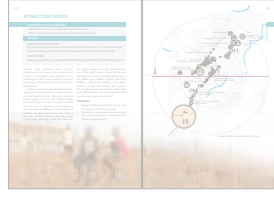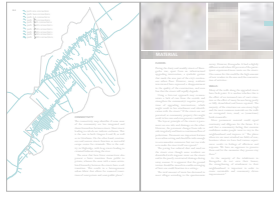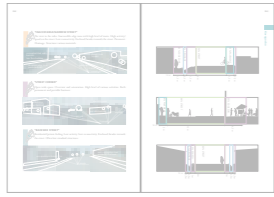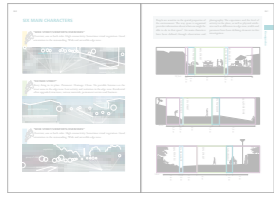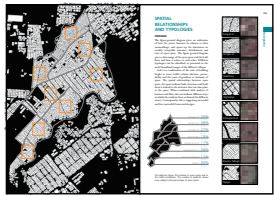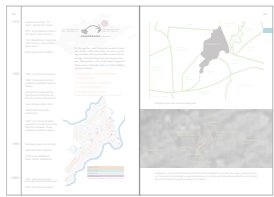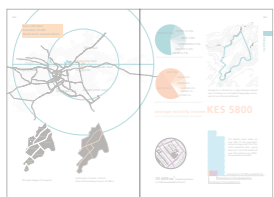
SPATIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND TYPOLOGIES

FINDINGS

The figure-ground diagram gives an indication of how the streets function in relation to their surroundings, and opens up the discussion on socially acceptable amounts, distributions and sizes of open space. The figure ground diagram gives a clear image of the open space and the built form and how it relates to each other. Different typologies can be identified, as presented in the small thumbnail images of the different villages.

Scale is a combination of the ratio of building height to street width, relative distance, permeability and the sense of grandeur or intimacy of space. The spatial relationships between open space, the space without built structures and built form is related to the activities that can take place in the space. When combined with analysis of business and flow, this can indicate different ways in which the residents have reclaimed the different streets. Consequently, this is suggesting successful and less successful forms and designs.

Village	%	(total)
Grogan B	20%	(35%)
Gitathuru	36%	(47%)
Grogan A	27%	(52%)
Highridge	15%	(55%)
Korogocho B	11%	(61%)
Korogocho A	26%	(46%)
Kisumu Ndogo	11%	(42%)
Nyayo	30%	(43%)
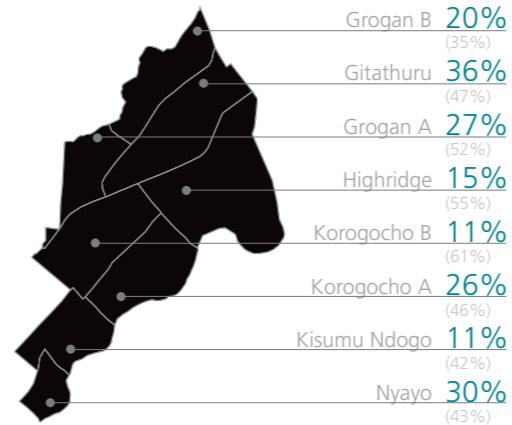
The diagram shows the increase in open space due to the street installation. The number in brackets shows every village's total percentage of open space.
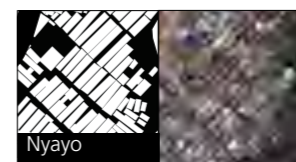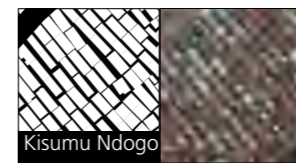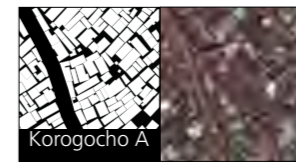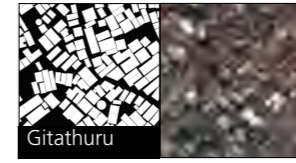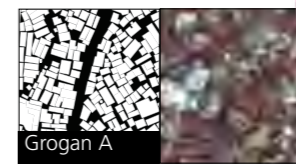
Grogan A

Grogan B

Gitathuru

Highridge

Korogocho B

Korogocho A

Kisumu Ndogo

Nyayo

It became evident that everything we have been taught about the importance of public spaces and open voids in the urban fabric did not apply to Korogocho. Our interpretations of maps and black and white diagrams did not make justice to the actual density, there were simply no open spaces except the streets. When we visited Nairobi during our field study last year we evaluated the city of Nairobi's public spaces and learnt that there are very few inclusive open spaces. Instead, we noticed that informal meeting places occurred in streets and street corners. These meeting places are highly present in Korogocho where the street is the only open space in the area.

When working with maps as a tool to begin an exploration of a project site, it is important to bare in mind that the reality has very little to do with the two-dimensional image represented in front of you. After a few clicks on the computer and the screen seems to reveal a very different truth than the actual in-situ experience, an experience that have everything to do with relational space and the perception of place.

"Place is space filled up with people, practices objects and representations. Space is what place becomes when the unique gatherings of things, meanings and values are sucked out."

(Gieryn, F.T. 2000, p. 465)

STREETS AS PUBLIC SPACE

PLACE VS. SPACE

Place implies space, and all the places we experience are places in physical space (Sack, D.R. 1997). Place differs from space in terms of familiarity and time (Tuan, Y-F. 1977). When places blur we lose track of their qualities. If you are barely in a place and do not attend to its content, it may start to seem unfamiliar, more like a part of space than place (Sack, D.R. 1997). When we move in the city we move from place to place, but if we move quickly places can melt together to space. Today fast communications and the wide information available have altered the effect of distance and the relative location of things thereby compressing space and time. Sack (1997) states that this does not mean that space is socially or culturally constructed, altered or compressed, rather the places and the interactions among them are. A social or cultural construction of space means creating places and interactions. The street can both be a place on its own and space providing access and linking the functions of a city (Gehl, J. 2007). Hence the street as a public space is the physical property that enables and ties the public spaces together (Sack, D.R. 1997).

THE ROLE OF PUBLIC SPACE

Seen in a historical perspective public space have served an important function as meeting place, marketplace and connecting space. Public space can also be a medium for negotiations of politics, expression of public memory and collective forgetting (Blomely, N. 2010). In western society there have been a gradual change from the industrial society's necessary public life to the optional public life of a leisure and consumer society (Gehl, J. 2007). This means a transition from a time when the quality of public space did not play as an important role. In the past people had to use the streets and squares in the city regardless of quality. In many less developed regions in the world, this shift has not occurred and public space is still very dominated by necessary activities (Gehl, J. 2007).

When looking at the streetscapes in western cities hundred years ago many of the streets were crowded with people, dominated of activities essential to everyday existence (Gehl, J. 2007). The success of a public space is often measured in the level of activities taking place (Montgomery, J. 1998). In a western context successful urban places are based largely on street life, and the various ways in which activity occurs in and through buildings and spaces (Gehl, J. 2006). However, the situation in a slum setting is different as it often lacks both private and public space. Activities that normally would take place in the private realm often have to be executed in the streets, as in the preindustrial western city, there is not enough room in the crowded dwellings (Gehl, J. 2007). This does not essentially mean that the people executing these necessary activities in the public space would not rather prefer to execute these activities in their homes if there was enough private space. As Sack (1997) states, places affect each other and if one place shrinks or does not enable important functions, another place must. Today, public spaces are designed to feature necessary activities; due to this, optional and spontaneous activities are washed away (Lieberg, M. 1995). As the streets act as one of the few open public spaces in Korogocho this is actually one of the few situations where the private and the public activities meet and form the public space. The street is as Gehl (2006) mentions, a space to move through, and a place to be in. The street provides terrain for social interaction through activities such as markets, the street vendor and pavement activities (Montgomery, J. 1998). A good street is one that allows people to be in contact with each other, but simultaneously the option for individuals to remain private and respect the privacy of others (Gehl, J. 2006). Hence people, who reside in a slum and act within the neighbourhood, often feel a powerful attachment to their local street. The street is a fine balance of essential privacy and varying degrees of public and private contact (Jacobs, J. 1961).

The street provides access to and connects the functions of a city (Gehl, J. 2007) and infrastructure can be a powerful generator of urban form (Carmona, M. 2010). Buchanan (1998) states that public space has lost its function as social space at the cost of being considered only in terms of vehicular circulation. Spaces that are declared as streets are little more than voids that provide access and form boundaries between other parcels of development in a city. These parcels have become distinct and separate destinations with functions isolated from the streets. Movement and social space are often thought as something that has to be separated for pedestrian security, even though there are situations where these systems have to overlap each other to function, like the systems of public transport (Carmona, M. 2010). According to Jacobs (1993) the most loved urban streets are those that manage to safely accommodate both high volumes of traffic and pedestrian flows without means for separation. When streets are discussed in terms of public space the goal is often to design streets that accommodate many different uses such as public transport, cars and pedestrians (Carmona, M. 2010).

The street, the pavement, and the yard are all spaces that can serve as meeting places. A place can be as small as a node where activities meet. Street corners are places used for activities such as lunch breaks, vending, or just to dwell in. The streets of Korogocho contain both directed and non-directed space and thereby become places for spontaneous meetings and social interactions (Tuan, Y-F. 1977). Spaces such as streets, street corners and empty lots provide a stage for economic, social and political activities –public spaces in this sense are social spaces (Staeheli, L.A. & Mitchell, D. 2008). It is debated whether the physical form and location of public spaces influence the perceptions and if they can create social interaction (Lynch, K. 1960). But only form is not adequate, the space, has to be appropriated and through social actions to be made public. It can be assumed that public space is the space for public actions (Staeheli, L.A. & Mitchell, D. 2008), the public realm provides the opportunity for people to perform private as well as civic roles (Montgomery, J. 1998). This means that public space is multi-functional, and by implication, this allows questions about public and private space and about the nature of publicity (Staeheli, L.A. & Mitchell, D. 2008). In most slums, open spaces are limited which indicates that community members meet or socialize along the streets due to a lack of other public spaces (UN-Habitat 2011a). A vast part of the social life takes place in the streets thus public spaces are vital spaces for spontaneous social meetings and contacts between neighbours and strangers (Lieberg, M. 1995). The street is the basis for our experience of cities (Relph, E. 1976), in Korogocho the streets have mixed uses and support the making of public spaces.

SIX MAIN CHARACTERS

"WIDE STREET/VIEWPORTS/OVERVIEWS"

Overview, one or both sides. High connectivity. So[m]
orientation to the surrounding. Wide and accessible [e]

5 parked piki pikis
transport wagon
car
mango for sale
22 people
po[rt]able business
dissolving edge
coconuts for sale

"DEFINED STREET"

Every thing in its place. Pavement. Drainage. Clean. No portable buissnes on the street some in the edge zone. Low activity and varitation in the edge zone. Residential often upgraded structures, various materials, permanent services and business.

painted closed facade
sharp edge no activity
defined edge
two storey building painted facade
various materials
10 people

"WIDE STREET/VIEWPORTS/OVERVIEWS"

Overview, one or both sides. High connectivity. Sometimes visual vegetation. Good orientation to the surrounding. Wide and accessible edge zone.

vegetation
landmark
19 people
6 sitting

People are sensitive to the spatial properties of the environment. The way space is organized provides information about what one might be able to do in that space[2]. Six main characters have been defined through observation and photography. The experience and the level of activity in the place, as well as physical attrib-utes such as difference in edge zone, width and pavement have been defining elements in thi[s] investigation.

11% PAVEM[ENT]
44% STREET
3,5% DRAINAGE
41,5% EDGE Z[ONE]
13,5 m
0,5 m
1,5 m
6 m
0,5 m
5 m

3% DRAINAGE
33% STREET
8% PAVEMENT
56% EDGE ZONE
18 m
2,5 m
0,5 m
6 m
1,5 m
7,5 m

56% EDGE ZO[NE]
3% DRAINAGE
33% STREET
8% PAVEMENT
18 m
5,4 m
0,5 m
2,5 m
6 m
1,5 m
3 m
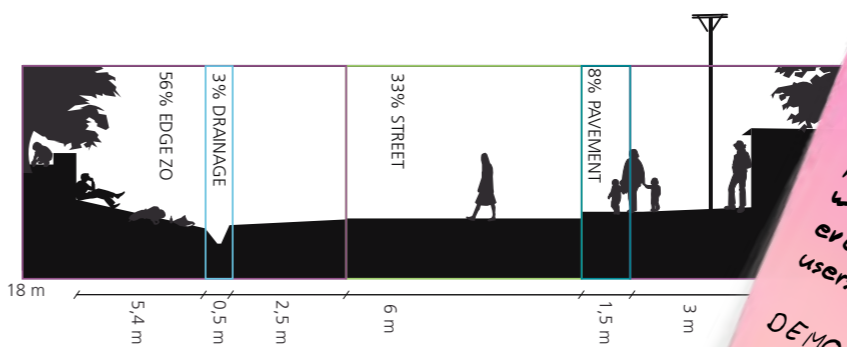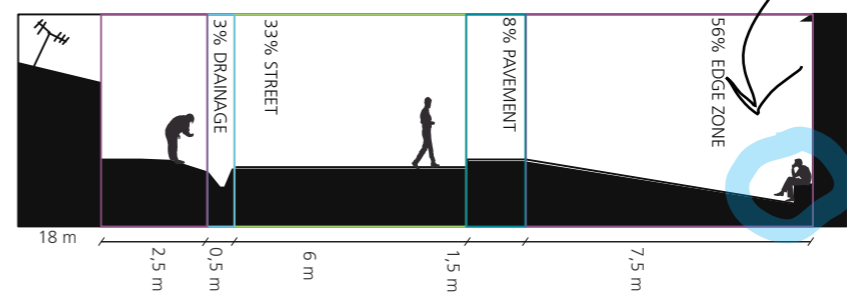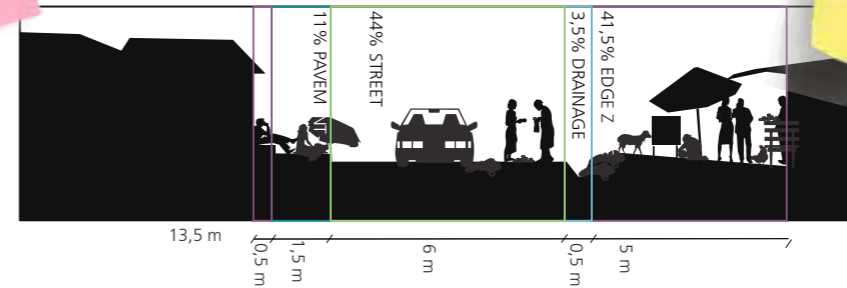
[Handwritten note top]
streets are viewed through the lens
this is more compler in a slum where place is scarce!

[Handwritten note - pink]
CHARACTERIZATION / GENERALIZATION?
By characterizing, we stand at risk to ignore important micro-spatialities. It is a balancing act too do this without eliminating to much information...

[Handwritten note - yellow]
THESE SIX CHARACTERS ARE THE RESULT OF SPENDING A LOT OF TIME IN THE FIELD AND MANY INVESTIGATIONS COMBINED.
IN THE WAY THEY ARE REPRESENTED, IT IS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND HOW WE ENDED UP WITH EXACTLY THESE CHARACTERS...

[Handwritten note - blue]
TERRITORIALIZATION OR APPROPRIATION?
de-territorialization and re-territorialization, a back and forth process?
does an area has to be territorialized by someone in order to make it de-territorialized for another part?
PAVING OF STREETS A DE-TERRITORIALIZATION FOR THE RESIDENTS AND A RE-TERRITORIALIZATION FOR THE GOVERNMENT?...

[Handwritten note - yellow bottom left]
with these characters we are mainly trying to understand the relation between form and activity.
they where also important for us in order to understand the area.
BECAUSE THE AREA WAS SO NEW AND DIFFERENT FOR US, WERE THERE A WHISH TO SIMPLIFY AND CATEGORIZE?

[Handwritten note - pink bottom right]
we noticed that very little percentage of the street space was designed for pedestrians even though they are the majority users of the streets.....
DEMOCRATIC?
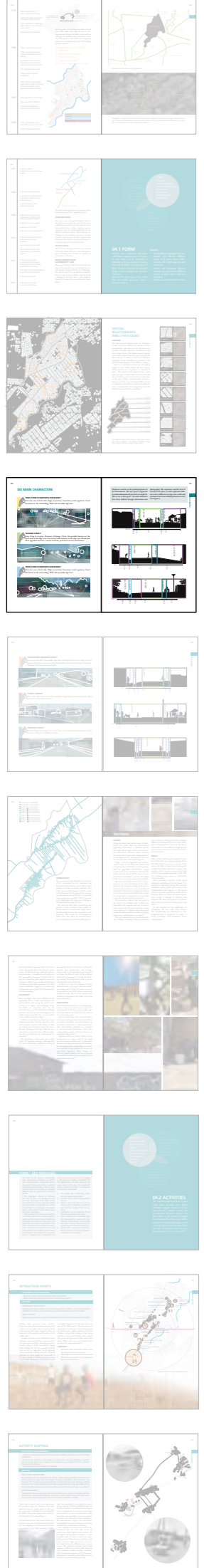
During our first visits in Korogocho we spent time with the residents, drifted in the area, trying to understand the place. After some time we felt an inclination to organize our observations, after all we were there with a quest to formulate figures and facts for UN-Habitat! We divided into teams of two, and with each group accompanied with one of our newfound friends from Korogocho we started to walk the streets, taking a 180° picture every 30 steps. Taking pictures of the streets involved taking pictures of people, something that was not always welcomed. While some people happily smiled, proudly showing their business when we asked for their picture, others demonstrated a deep scepticism towards us. Who were we? What was our mission in Korogocho? Many people asked if we worked at UN-Habitat, something that we were very hesitant to say. "We are just students, assessing their project!" Many Korogocho residents revealed a conflicted attitude towards development agencies and organizations. However, our findings from the photo-shoot guided our understanding of the street as a democratic platform. Improving the streets and making them more accessible might be described as a way to welcome democratic action. Contrarily, the upgrading of the street might also be described as a political strategy to de-territorialize certain rules that formerly were in play on the street.

STREETS: A DEMOCRATIC SPHERE?

The view from the street is never single or enclosed. It has to admit a variety of other perspectives and is by its nature shifting and contradictory. Jukes (1991) suggests that the word "street" has an evocative power that derives from this vagueness and that street always implies a common touch; a feeling of how everyday life is lived by most of the citizens, sometimes appealing to democratic urge. Massey (2005) argues that because chaos, openness and uncertainty are important characteristics of space and place, space and place are potentially creative melting pots for the democratic sphere. The instituting of democratic public places demands an acknowledging of place and space as a production of social relations and that these social relations are constantly analyzed and questioned. Instead of trying to erase traces of power and exclusion, democratic politics requires that they are brought up to the surface and made visible so that they can be questioned. The public space can be a democratic space where it is acceptable to debate about what is legitimate and what is not. What makes places genuinely public is the fact that they are always negotiated and shaped through the acting out of social relations. The trademark of democracy is that there is no certainty about the fundamentals of social life and the public space is the social sphere where the meaning and unity of the social can be discussed (Lefort, C. 1988).

Public space is connected with the public sphere, which can be defined as the realm of collective opinions and actions. The public realm has an important role as mediator between the society and the state when the public organizes itself to speak out the public opinion. Public pedestrian spaces such as the pavement are places where conversations of the common good and constructive manors on political life and citizenship can occur. Spaces such as the pavement or the street allow groups to organize, and their interests to become public as they enter into public view (Blomely, N. 2010). To be in and to be seen in the public space can in itself be seen as a statement, it is a way to represent oneself to a larger audience and it is important in terms of appropriating a space (Mitchell, D. 2003). Lefebvre (1974) means that the way one walks through the street is an aspect of a bodily appropriation of that space, hence walking can be a political action. The way of walking does not only express already existing opinions and feelings learnt from social and cultural norms and properties. When walking, new thoughts and feelings can arise, and cultural forms are continually generated.

Political struggles of inclusion in the public sphere are often about struggles over access to, and use of, public space. To claim public space even momentarily is to transform it into a temporary stage and to deny the street to any public is a controversial act (Blomely, N. 2010). Kärrholm (2004) gives an example; if a person sits down everyday on a bench in the city, the bench will after a while turns into that person's territory. This might not have been the intention from the beginning, but this action might restrain others from using the bench. Public spaces are often appropriated spaces that are transformed and then defended as open public spaces. In the process of taking a new space, democratic sociability can be created and a space for a new kind of public sphere is possible (Staeheli, L.A. & Mitchell, D. 2008). As mentioned before, due to a lack of open urban spaces in slums, streets are often the only public space available and in this sense they are essential to the functioning of democracy (UN-Habitat, 2011a). Streets facilitate the representation of organizations and individuals who impact the public. Those who have an interest in transforming the current society should therefore see the right to the public, the street, as a question of influence and democracy (Mitchell, D. 2003). de Certeau (1984) means that the act of walking in a city is what the speaking act is to language and Brown (2006) states that until the urban poor are given a voice strong enough to challenge the norms and perceptions of public space and its position in the cultural and economic agenda of cities, exclusion will remain the dominant policy response. The street enables places for this voice to grow and be heard. Streets can also be a place where democracy is physically expressed through blocking or circulation as in protests or blockades. This is a creative remaking of public space that requires the presence of a significant number of human bodies and a physical space largely enough for those bodies (Blomely, N. 2010). In Korogocho the streets have at times been used as a space to express dissatisfaction and rebellion.

A concern often brought up when speaking about public space in the city is the decline of public space due to commercial influences and privatization. This process involves that control over space is signed away to the hands of non-democratically-elected owners, which might lead to exclusion of groups that would have been allowed in the space if it were publicly owned (Massey, D. 2005). State invention or action is often seen as destructive of pavement or street life (Jacobs, J. 1961) or is characterized as pushed by hidden motives, such as the desire of clean public space of the deviant and different, or advancing the privatization of public space (Blomely, N. 2010).
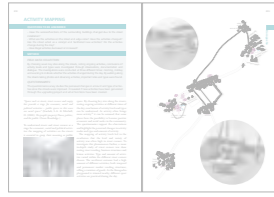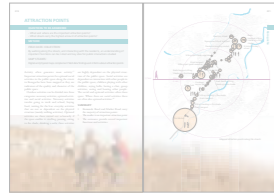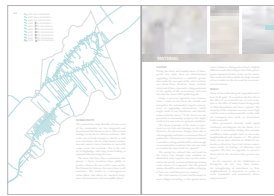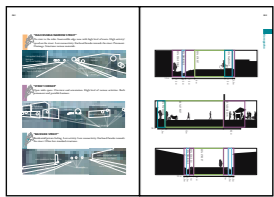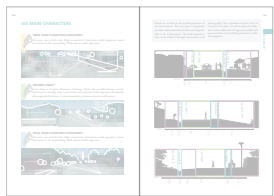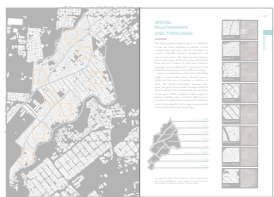
THIS IS JUST A SNAPSHOT, IS IT REPRESENTABLE FOR ALL TIMES OF DAY ?

REPRESENTING PLACE?

when we represent place with pictures, physical aspects are easier to communicate.
even though we in these pictures have stepped away from the map-perspective, trying to present the streets from the ground, several aspects get lost...

"INACCESSIBLE/NARROW STREET"

No view to the sides. Inaccessible edge zone with high level of waste. ... speed on the street. Low connectivity. Enclosed facades towards the s... Drainage. Structures various materials.

corrugated steel walls
business
two floor building

closed stone facades

car

no access edge zone
waste and dust

waste and dust
2 bikes
11 people

TERRITORIAL SHAPE?!

33% EDGE ZONE
4% DRAINAGE
50% STREET
13% PAVEMENT

12 m   1.5 m   0.5 m   1.5 m   6 m   1.5 m   0.5 m

"STREET CORNER"

Open wide space. Overview and orientation. High level of various activities. Both permanent and portable business.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN MOTOR TRAFFIC AND OTHER USERS?

two floor buildings
permanent business

portable business

overview

piki piki

electricity poles

portable business

car
piki piki

19 people

ARE THERE INFORMAL REGULATIONS THAT MAKES IT OK FOR VENDING OF TOMATOES HERE?

8% PAVEMENT
66% STREET
25% EDGE ZONE

18 m   1.5 m   12m   4.5 m

TOMATO

"BACKSIDE STREET"

Residential/private feeling. Low activity. Low connectivity. Enclosed facades towards the street. Often low standard structures.

one opening in facade 30 m

walls corrugated steel
residental structures

waste and dust

4 people

waste and dust

I PRODUCE PLACE!

30% EDGE ZO
10% DRAINAGE
60% STREET

10 m   0.5m   0.5m   6 m   1m   0.5m   0.5m

ALMOST NO PEOPLE HERE, WHY?
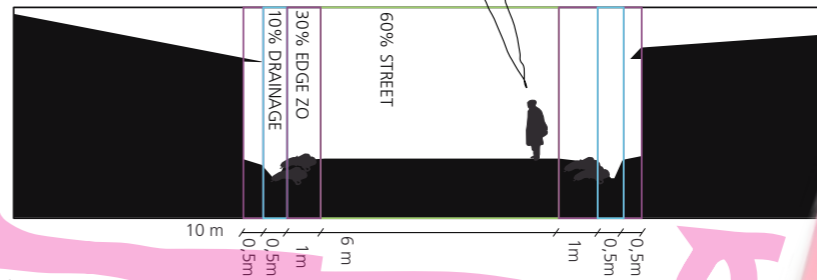
physical dimensions are very different even if the intention from the upgrading was streets with pretty much the same layout

we noticed that the "edge zones" of the paved streets were very influential on what kind of activity that was happening and how the dimensions of the streets was experienced

"Places are endlessly made, not just when the powerful pursue their ambition through brick and mortar, not just when design professional give form to function, but also when ordinary people extract from continuous and abstract space a bounded, identified, meaningful, named, and significant place."
(Gieryn, F.T. 2000, p. 472)

These words by Gieryn (2000) is a reinterpretation of de Certeau that in his The Practice of Everyday life (1984) illustrates the ongoing production of place, understood as a dynamic relationship between the form and the activities played out in the place. While our understanding of Korogocho unfolded, we could feel these relationships increasingly played out in front of us. What initially were just the performances instantly noticeable, discovered by our senses, developed to an understanding of distant powers that could be felt in the walls of the houses, whispered, expected, sometimes feared and sometimes welcomed. The more time we spent in the area, the more obvious it became that these powers affected the way people acted within the place, executing hidden rules to the place that stimulated or restricted action.

POWERS WITHIN PLACE

Places constrain and enable our actions, and our actions construct and maintain place (Sack, D.R. 1997). All spaces are socially regulated in some way, if not by explicit rules then by the potentially more competitive regulations, which exists in the absence of control. Sometimes these rules are more evident but often they are more implicit (Kärrholm, M. 2004). Jukes (1991) states that the street is the most evident face of public interaction and the street deals with one of the city's most fundamental aspects by means of encounters with others. The streets have their codes and conventions. When the behavioural patterns are evidently connected to a certain geographic area it is possible to speak about it as a territory (Kärrholm, M. 2004). According to Kärrholm (2004), the relation between built form and use is fundamental. Territorial divisions affect movement and behaviour in the city both explicitly and unnoticed.

According to Massey (2005) all places, from the greatest public squares to the smallest public parks, are products of and internally dislocated by, diverse and sometimes conflicting social relations. These spaces/places are constantly produced and changed by daily negotiations and struggles, quiet and persistent or more forceful. The street as public space should function as connecting rather then dividing. However, it is often expected to both accommodate space for vehicle movement and social space, which sometimes might be conflicting (Carmona, M. 2010). Major urban roads can cause obstruction to pedestrian movement and reduce connectivity and create problems of separation. When vehicle movement is privileged it often results in space dominated by cars. High-speed traffic might interrupt the use of urban space by others whose daily routines become obstacles to the cars that cut through slower moving pathways and dwellings (Carmona, M. 2010). When public space is left unregulated it leaves for the users to work out for themselves who is going to have the right to be in and use the space. There is a tendency to romanticise public space and claim that it enables free and equal speech. This romanticising does not take into account the concept of space and place as the product of social relations, which are often conflicting and unequal (Massey, D. 2005).

Simplified, the forces that drive the shaping and construction of place can be divided into upstream forces of power and wealth, professional practices of place-experts,

perceptions and attributions of the everyday people who experience places. The struggle between those who produce places for profit and those who consume it in their daily routines is played out against a global struggle among places for the means of growth (Gieryn, F.T. 2000). Massey (2005) argues that many of our accustomed ways of imagining space have been in order to tame it. In short, Massey (2005) defines space out of three different criteria; space is a product of interrelations, space is dependent on multiplicity and space is always constructed/produced. Hence space is instable and cannot be reduced, meaning that place and space are impossible to order, regulate or control, as many of spatial policies are trying to do.

SLUMS AS TERRITORIES OF POWER: ON STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

"Territorial strategies" are imposed on space by the powerful, in order to control space and the everyday users of space, practicing "territorial tactics" (de Certeau, M. 1984). The mapping and naming of Korogocho, the laying of a street grid, the removal of hawkers and the establishment of a local government can all be understood as territorializing strategies. If the territorial strategy seem to lack legitimate resources, or is newly established, conditions for various territorial tactics are created (Kärrholm, M. 2004). Hence, tactics are understood through a bottom-up view as the manner in which the individual constructs his daily life, coping with the power strategies of others. Importantly, this allows the individual to achieve identity in the structure of dominance (Frijhoff, W. 1999). In Korogocho, it can be understood as the invasion of the street, construction of houses and the creation of street vending stalls. For example, the pedestrians of Korogocho use the whole street as walking space as the pavement is so narrow that it does not seem reasonable that all these people should fit there. Tactics can represent the power of time over space and with time the tactics can be stronger than the strategy (Kärrholm, M. 2004). Kärrholm (2007) elaborates on this further and characterizes strategies and tactics as intentional attempts to mark or delimit a territory, oriented towards achieving control over a certain area, a territory. An important distinction that Kärrholm makes between strategies and tactics are that

strategies are, to a certain degree, always planned at a distance in time or space from the territory produced, whereas tactics involve claims made in a specific situation and as part of an on-going sequence in daily life. The territorial tactics often indicate a personal relationship between the territory and the person or group who marks it as theirs.

The design of a place often involves numerous interests. The physical form of the places in a city is the consequence of decisions made by place-professionals affected by negotiation, translation, and alignment of political and economic interests, technical skills and imperatives and aesthetic judgments. Struggling interests are merged with emergent constraints from clients' preferences and budget, local building codes and the terrain of the physical site (Gieryn, F.T. 2000). By ascribing place with a certain expected use and by giving the place a layout the usage is controlled. Spatial divisions conduce the stabilization and establishment of a certain behavioural pattern (Kärrholm, M. 2004). As for the streets in Korogocho they now have a more evident boundary, a territorial shape, the abrupt line where the asphalt ends or begins.

The process that establishes specific territories as parts of the regional system and the socio-spatial consciousness in the society and the region is by Kärrholm (2004) referred to as institutionalizing. The norms and rules that structures human behaviour into remaining or repeated behavioural patterns are referred to as institutions. To give an area a more solid and stable form can be seen as a part of institutionalizing. This leads to a change in activities, and more unspoken and outspoken rules are connected to that place. A territory can always be pointed out as it has both social and material aspects and these affect and strengthen the effect of the other. For a territory to establish the official story of the territory must be recognized in the social consciousness. An important factor for a territory to become established is often to give the territory a name, the name together with symbols and signs often signal to whom the territory belong. The upgraded streets were given names on the initiative of the community, this can be seen as a territorialisation made by the residents. The clearer or stronger the institutionalizing of a territory is, the stronger the territorial effects, the demarcation, the classification and control become (Kärrholm, M. 2004).

path one connection
path two connections
path 3-4 connections
path >5 connections
path >10 connections
path > 20 connections
path > 30 connections
path > 40 connections
path > 50 connections
path >100 connections

TRACE OF ACTIVITY OR INDICATING LACK OF CARE?

CONNECTIVITY

The connectivity map identifies if some areas of the community are less integrated and shows hierarchies between streets. Short streets leading to culs-de-sac indicate exclusion. This is the case in both Grogan A and B, as well as in Gitathuru. On the other hand, continuous and narrow streets function as successful escape routes for criminals. This is the reality in Highridge, with long streets leading to criminal hideouts along the river.

The areas that have fewer connections also present a faster transition from public to private, whereas the areas with a more articulated hierarchy between the streets have a soft transition. This results in a heterogeneous urban fabric that allows for nuanced transitions of semi-private and semi-public places[3].

the chicken...
or the egg?

street-bump built on own initiative by some of residents

MATERIAL

FLOORS

Paving the dusty and muddy streets of Korogocho was, apart from an infrastructural upgrading intervention, a symbolic gesture that made the area part of the city's continuous urban floor. However, many residents interviewed have expressed a disappointment in the quality of the construction, and even fear that the streets will rapidly degrade.

Using a low-cost approach may communicate a lack of care from the outside and strengthen the community's negative perceptions of upgrading interventions, which might result in less attachment and identification with the streets.[4] If the streets are not perceived as community property this might result in less care and even generate vandalism.

The layout principle of the streets is pavement on one side and drainage on the other. However, the pavement changes from side to side irregularly and limits a continuous flow of pedestrians. Pavements are important features in an urban setting and should be wide enough to accommodate commerce but not too wide as to make the street itself over spaced.[5]

The paving has reduced dust and mud on the streets even though some residents are dissatisfied with stagnant water on the streets and in the poorly constructed drainage during rainy seasons. It is apparent that the ground texture should be smooth to enable envisaging of how one could function in a setting.[6]

The total amount of waste has decreased in most villages according to the questionnaire survey. However, Korogocho A had a slightly different result where 80 per cent of the participants experienced more waste on the streets. One reason for this could be the high amount of new vendors in the area and the concentration of activities.

WALLS

Many of the walls along the upgraded streets have fresh paint. It is unclear whether this is the effect of an increased care of one's structure or the effect of many houses being partly or fully demolished and hence repaired. The majority of the structures are one-storey high and the most common materials on the walls are corrugated iron, mud, or (sometimes) brick stonewalls.

More permanent material could signal continuity and diligence for the future. It is said that a community feeling that contains confidence makes people want to stay in the neighbourhood and improve it.[7] The places where we are most attached are fields of care, locations where we have had various experiences results in feelings of affections and response. We have an eagerness to preserve them and let the memories they possess stay there.[8]

As the majority of the inhabitants in Korogocho do not own their homes, the strengthening of attachment to their neighbourhood is important in order to create sustainable and community driven improvements.[9]

When we investigated the indicators connected with form, we saw that it was difficult to draw a line between different components of place. The form indicators could as well tell us things about conception or activity and it was when different indicators from different place components were put in relation to each other that something interesting could be discussed. Is more expensive material and quality a symbol of care and related to peoples sense of pride over their neighbourhood? Does streetlights increase actual security or the feeling of safety? Can physical traces in the surrounding tell something about sense of belonging and attachment or what kind of activity that most often happened in that place? What we found when we spoke to people was that form does matter, but it is dependent on many other things. It is very difficult to tell; what comes first activity, conception or the form...

MANGO: A MAN WITH VISIONS

The room is small and sparsely furnished; in a corner stands a biogas iron stove, ready to be fired with gas produced by the CBO. Some plastic chairs for visitors are disorderly placed in front of the desk. The only thing that is not modest in this room is the owner himself. Phillip Mango's office is located in the community-based organisation "Korogocho Poverty Eradication" in Kisumu Ndogo, Korogocho. Mango started the CBO in 2007 as part of a "merry-go-round" together with twenty other people. When the merry had completed its round and everyone in the group had been benefitted they asked themselves what to do next. Mango and three other people from the original group decided to start the "Korogocho Poverty Eradication", to generate money as a team.

"We wanted to ensure that we never would go back to poverty again. We received a grant from the Irish government to construct this building, now we are twenty co-owners. It has a cyber café, toilets, showers, and we sell of water. The building is sustainable and money generating."

Mango came to Korogocho in 1986 together with his family. They moved to Koch from Makadara, a neighbouring district. His mother had heard from a friend that there was still space to settle down in. The family had been tenants before but with the move they became structure owners. Mango first settled in the village Highridge and later resettled in Kisumu Ndogo. Out of the whole family it is only Mango himself and one sister who are still living in Korogocho. When we are asking about the street upgrading process Mango says;

"For any change there is no gain without pain, sometimes blood has to be spilled. They wanted to beautify Koch and create a Koch to be admirable. I am happy about the process. The people have to bear with the government if they are here to grow and put an end to slums. Some think that the process was undertaken in an inhumane way, but not everyone can be happy. Before the constructing there were no passages at all. Imagine, what would we do if there were a fire and no access? So that is why I mean it cannot be said that the process was inhumane. Off course something had to be done to relocate people to give space for the streets, they had to rub some people's shoulders really hard but in order to beautify Korogocho people had to move."

Mango tells us that he was nominated to be a member of the Residents Committee but he declined due to many other obligations. Still he is always engaged with the committee. Mango says that there have been many different chiefs with different interests during the process; four different chiefs in four years.

"This makes the process ineffective and no one takes responsibility. The government needs to be clear and give someone full responsibility. The current chief has been on his post for six months and every chief has his own administration. I always try to be friends with the chief otherwise, and sometimes even though, they come and stop my work. Corruption is a big problem."

Mango thinks the upgrading has brought quite a number of changes and that people are more proud of Korogocho after the upgrading.

"Because they could not walk around before they could not be proud. Now at night you see Koch, before all people was sleeping around eight or nine. Now you can come here at twelve o'clock in the night. The criminals are gone, now they drive boda bodas."

Mango tells us that when people knew that there was a new upgrading plan for Korogocho, many became worried.

"You cannot settle if you do not know in a month if you will be here or not. It is very traumatising and affects your entire life. The government should be clear on how people are going to be affected. People must be able to know that their blooming shop is not going to be taken down one day. When you have lived your whole life in one place it is difficult to start a new life from nothing somewhere else. When people were evicted to widen the streets they moved to another places within Korogocho. Now there are mainly structure owners along the streets, they came after the demolitions. They repaired the shacks and moved in directly. The government needs to prepare alternative land and space for people if they are moving them, otherwise the government will never eradicate slums. Compensation with money is no good! We need to say how we want it to be, to feel that this was an own initiative and that we are in a position where we know how we will be affected. Then it is possible to find alternatives. People come up with so many good ideas. The planners that live in the suburb do not know anything about the community, a road in Kileleshwa and Korogocho is not the same. In the rainy season there are many puddles of stagnant water. This signals that the streets were poorly constructed. The drainage was done in a hurry and the cement did not have time to set. It is very weak and will never last."

When asking about the future Mango says that he is in Koch to stay, with a big white smile he says;

"People in Koch are change-minded. Korogocho will be a nice place, you would never want to leave, and it will be heaven on earth!"
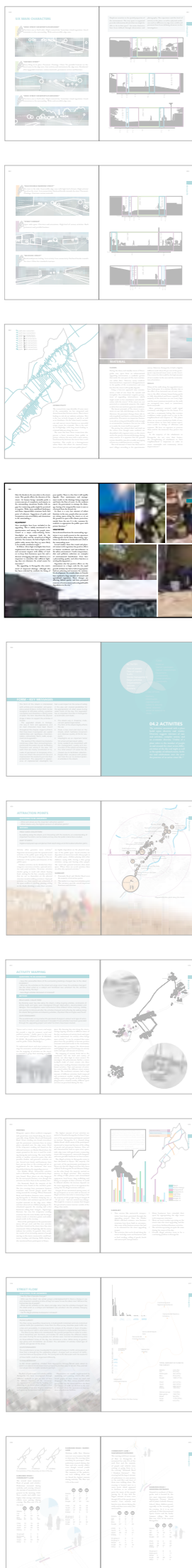
How the facades in the area relate to the streets varies. This greatly affects the character of the streets. As human beings naturally prefer a certain amount of complexity and surprise in the surrounding, monotone facades with no gaps for connecting paths might be perceived as negative. Wide, open undefined landscapes and dense impenetrable structures both lack point of reference. Suggestions of paths and transparency raise accessibility and orientation to the surrounding.[10]

EQUIPMENT

New streetlights have been included in the upgrading. This is widely mentioned in the questionnaires and among the people interviewed as a major crime-reducing factor. Streetlights are important both for the perceived safety and the actual level of illegal activities. For women, the lack of lights in the public realm means that they are more likely to be sexually assaulted at night.[11]

In Kibera, where high streetlights have been implemented, there have been positive social and economic impacts with ability of traders to keep their businesses open late and a decrease of mugging and rapes. However, it is important to remember that sufficient lighting does not eliminate the actual reason for insecurity.[12]

The upgrading in Korogocho also constituted of improved drainage, although this has been criticized by residents for being of ... being congested and limits the flow of water. As the residents expect the government to manage the drainage, having it be congested by waste is seen as a betrayal from the formal city.

As there is a very low amount of urban furniture in the area, people often use secondary sitting spaces along the streets or sit on the ground on spots with climate protection, mainly from the sun. It is also common for residents to appropriate the public space with private furniture.[13]

VEGETATION

From elevated locations the surrounding vegetation is very much present in the experience of Korogocho. In the dense slum setting, vegetation can function as landmarks and a link to the surrounding areas.

Several studies show that visual and physical contact with vegetation has positive effects on human conditions and microclimates in the urban environment. Cooler temperatures, dust and pollution reduction are examples of environmental beneficiaries. Trees have a placemaking quality and often function as social gathering points.[14]

Vegetation also has positive effects on the environment in a larger scale for the rapid growth of slums has led to lack of appropriate land-use planning and measures for sustainable development. As a result, slums in Nairobi have replaced a large amount of natural and agricultural vegetation. These changes are affecting habitat quality and have prompted concerns of environment and ecological health degradation in the city.[15]

western literature

IN THIS CASE FORM CAME FIRST AND ENABLED SITTING ACTIVITY IN THE SHADE.

INTERESTING IS THAT THE CLIMATE PROTECTION IN THE PRIVATE HOME MIGHT BE EVEN LESS, DUE TO POOR VENTILATION AND MATERIALS THE TEMPERATURE IN THE SMALL SHACKS MIGHT BE VERY HIGH HENCE THERE IS NOT AS TEMPTING OR OPTIONAL TO REMAIN IN THE PRIVATE HOME.

DOES THIS MAKE THE SITTING ACTIVITY IN THE PUBLIC SPACE AN OPTIONAL ACTIVITY? (REFERRING TO GEHL)

can the slum be called a human habitat, maybe an inhuman habitat?

what do we mean with habitat, what is the difference to habitus?

sitting in the shade

We are also prone to a western image of the city spiced up with the ideals of our working field and generation. We are thrilled about the patched and painted steel walls in vibrant colours, the rich life of people that are sitting everywhere outside their homes, the funny gadgets sold along the streets recycled from Dandora and the "human scale" in the back alleys of Korogocho. But to tell the truth, would we rather live in a apartment with water, toilets and air-condition or sharing a steaming hot steel shack of 8 m² with our family of seven...

IS THIS BEAUTIFUL? SAYS WHO?

THE DEFINITION OF QUALITY IS PROBABLY VERY DIFFERENT FOR SOMEONE LIVING IN A SLUM THAN FOR US OR A POLICY MAKER

During the time we spent working with UN-Habitat we noticed that focus in slum upgrading mainly rests on physical interventions and upgrading of the form in that particular location. The western ideal of a city leads the character of the form. However, it can be argued that physical interventions are not enough and slums has to be seen as more than bordered locations. For the people living in Korogocho it will always a place relational to other places and for many people only a threshold on the way to another place. Many residents described close bonds to their rural home. In is common that people move to Korogocho in order to earn money in the city and improve the situation for themselves and their family, while still mentally living in their rural home. Hence, they do not see a future in Korogocho; they either want to move back to the rural home or to a "better place" with a "better life" in another part of Nairobi. In slums, where basic needs such as access to water and sanitation cannot be fulfilled, it is hard to argue for the importance of nonphysical aspects as physical interventions in more evident ways can improve the living conditions of the residents. However, the nonphysical aspects are vital in terms of implementation and maintenance. Furthermore, it can be argued that physical interventions can accumulate more positive outcomes if they are consider a greater context, where wider relations and networks are reconsidered.

SLUMS ARE RELATIONAL

Territorial strategies of the state are problematic in the way that they are emerging from an imagined framed place. This stems from a largely territorial imaginary of place and place politics. There is a danger in this territorial representation of cities and regions, since it facilitates territorial control of exclusion and inclusion, and the execution of power. Amin (2004) means that no spatial arrangement can be understood in isolation, but must be seen in a larger relational sense of place and space as nodes that gather flows and juxtapose diversity, mutually dependent on one another. Local and global interests form the strategies and tactics performed upon place; hence territoriality is always connected to a larger context (Dovey, K. 2010). The same goes for the conception of sense of place, which is sometimes understood in terms of deep and intrinsic meanings, celebrating the genius loci. Against such views, Dovey (2010) propose a more open conception of place where place identity is in constant change, defined by multiple identities and histories coming from connections and interactions rather than enclosed boundaries. In this view, the global and local merge and become the same thing where places are formed through connections with other places rather than local contingencies.

This view is useful to understand slums and informality. Frequently, residents dwell in a context that extends the territorial borders of the slum. In Kenya, most people identify with their home in the slum, as well as with a home away from home, a place in a rural district where the family, the graves and the heart is located. Places become nodes that gather flow and diversity, overlapping places that are not necessarily locally connected (Amin, A. 2004). Virtual relationships and existence strengthen this connection. Today, 93 per cent of Kenya's population own a mobile phone, and an increasing number has Internet access (Hahn, R. & Passel, P. 2012). These movements facilitate the transformation of places to "situated moments in distant networks" (Dovey, K. 2010). Our studies in Nairobi have guided us to a relational interpretation of place, without prescribed boundaries. As elaborated through Amin's network perspective (2004), this allows an altered meaning of power, and a different sensibility of the political that reduces authoritarian power and brings together different scales of practice and social action.

HUMAN HABITUS

In contrast to what earlier urbanists imagined, cities of the future will not be built out of glass and steel but out of clay, corrugated steel, concrete blocks and recycled materials; what Saunders (2010) calls the arrival city. The slums are part of the arrival city as they provide ground for new urban dwellers. One third of the 3.3 billion urban dwellers live in slums in Africa and they are growing twice as fast as the continent's cities (Davis, M. 2007). In contrast, the development discourse tend to consider slums as a threat and a challenge that must be handled. They are somehow treated as bordered areas, or territories, isolated from the rest if the city and considered to be places for a certain group of people.

Analyzing UN-Habitat, short for United Nations Human Settlements Programme, human settlements seems to be understood as a human habitat. Habitat literally means "it dwells" and originates from the Latin word habitare. It can be used both in its biological sense as "the place or environment where a plant or animal naturally or normally lives and grows" or within social science as "the typical place for residence of a person or group" (Merriam-Webster 2008). UN-Habitat put focus on the latter definition, where the name highlight the habitation, or dwelling, rather than the sociological aspects. However, in their agenda they do acknowledge that human settlements have a great mixture of behaviours, characteristics and activities. Defining slum areas as habitat strand at risk to limit the understanding of them, only focusing on a certain place, or territory, accommodating a certain group of people, prioritizing physical attributes in that place.

Dovey (2012) argues that in order to understand slums as complex opportunities for resilient urbanism, we should consider it in relation to human habitus. Human habitus is, he continues, the way one behaves and interrelates in and to a specific habitat and is therefore a way to include characteristics and development according to its circumstances (Dovey, K. 2011). Pierre Bourdieu was the first to use the concept within social science and explains habitus as "both the generative principle of objectifying classifiable judgements and the system of classification of these practices" (Bourdieu, P.

1984, p.170). He writes that sociology tends to divide and classify without considering that the objects also produces and classifies, and means that habitus is more appropriate to understand these structuring structures (Bourdieu, P. 1984). Hillier and Rooksby (2002) interpret his concept of habitus as the sense of one's, and others, place and role in the world of one's lived environment. It is connecting structure and action in a relationship between culture, structure and power. Hence, the micro-scale structures of the habitus are connected to the macro-scale fields of power where social, cultural and political capital circulate (Dovey, K. 2011). If slum areas are considered as human habitus, the people that dwell in them are rather coloured by certain customs and habits, than belonging to a certain field or human habitat.

Furthermore, habitus is being understood as shaped through experiences in a "field", a space where conflict and competition between actors produce struggles to achieve their objectives. A field is a space of play within a network of relations between different positions. Players in the field learn from experience and their actions are then constructed by external restrictions of rules and regulations, as well as by their own limits on what they think they can or want to do according to the circumstances in the field (Hillier, J & Rooksby, E. 2002). This can explain why people behave the way they do and why people feel more acquaintance in some situations than others. Due to our work in Korogocho we were put in a completely different field then we were used to and applied to our work, habitus has served as a way of understanding social interactions that are played out in the area. Different behaviours in the field will be related to the actors' position in the field, but they will also be related to how the actors view the field. Hence, the actors view of the future defines the present behaviour and consists of a relationship between a universe of probabilities, and the opportunities offered to them (Hillier, J & Rooksby, E. 2002).

To conclude, habitus can be understood as a perception of a situation that generates a particular response in form of practice, formed by a concrete potential of satisfying the actor's desires (Hillier, J & Rooksby, E. 2002). Understanding the interrelated forces that construct habitus is key to understand the dynamics of slums.

FORM – KEY MESSAGES

The form of the streets is interrelated with activity and conception and generates a sense of place. A city's form can be designed to stimulate activity, a positive conception and therefore a strong sense of place; the form describes the physical shape it takes to support the activities it desires.

The upgraded streets in Korogocho vary in form and appearance and six main characters have been found throughout this chapter. Aspects of form that have been investigated are: spatial relationships and typologies, characterization, connectivity, floors, walls, equipment and vegetation.

The paving of the streets has created a continuous urban floor connecting Korogocho with the wider city and facilitating movement and activity in the area. The walls that are mainly constituted of facades of permanent or temporary structures can inform the amount of care and improvement the residents put into their environment. The equipment in appearance of implemented streetlights has

had a vast impact on the sense of safety in the area and created possibilities for the appropriation of urban space during wider hours of the day. The vegetation has an important function in Korogocho as landmarks and shade.

- The streets vary in character, material and spatial organization
- The form of the streets highly affects the use
- There is less mud and dust on the streets, which facilitates movement and improves quality of life for residents
- Streetlights are an important factor for actual and perceived safety
- Some residents are dissatisfied with the management, quality and construction of the streets and drainage
- The total amount of waste has decreased due to facilitated collection.
- People often use places with protection from the sun to conduct optional activities in the streets

ACTIVITIES

Flow of people
Flow of capital
Traffic
Waste management
Illegal activities
Organizations
Services
Business

CONCEPTION

Memory
Information
Appropriation
Safety & security
Social relations
Sense of belonging
Vision

The form allows certain activities. They are correlating in the public space.

"stories help uncloak the world...." /T. Ingold

WHO SHOULD WE SPEAK TO IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND CHANGE?

04.2 ACTIVITIES

The activities associated with a place build upon diversity and vitality. Diversity suggests mixtures of uses and activities, complex variety, and an economic diversity. Vitality of a place refers to the number of people in and around the street across different times of the day and night as well as the uptake of cultural events, facilities and celebrations over the year: the presence of an active street life.[16]

After the study of form, we continued with the part of the field study where we wanted to focus on activities. One of our hypotheses was that the activity that appears in a place could sometimes be understood as moulded and moulding the form of the space. The streetscape allow different activities and the streets were occupied with people during the entire day. We were curious to investigate whether these activities existed before the streets changed its physical appearance, if the activity had increased or decreased or changed in character. A common understanding of a street is that it facilitates flows of traffic and people, but also economic prosperity and social relations. We used different methods to study activities and found interesting results.

An important tool in order to understand changes became interviews and stories from people that have lived in Korogocho during and before the upgrading. Charles and John are working as motorcycle taxi drivers in Korogocho. We met them a sunny day and asked them about their thoughts of the street upgrading and how their lives have changed since the streets were finished.

A SODA WITH CHARLES & JOHN

It is still morning when we meet John and Charles. John is dressed in a warm leather jacket, a knitted hat, a scarf and speed glasses. He is ready for a working day on his motorcycle.

"I got employed after the streets were paved. I often work overtime to get a decent salary. But it's better than it was before. After putting fuel and paying the owner of the vehicle, about 150 to 300 shillings remain for my family and me. If I earn 300 shillings per day its good, then I can put away one third for travels to visit my village."

John was born in Korogocho B 23 years ago and still lives there with his parents. He tells us that criminality has gone down a lot after the arrival of the motorcycles. Many of his friends used to be criminals but now they are employed as motorcycle drivers. John himself has never been engaged in criminal activities. His mother would not let him. Charles is self-employed and does whatever he can to make a living. Sometimes he sharpens knives, other times he makes random building works or drives the motorcycles. He is thirty years old and lives in Korogocho A with his two children and his wife Mirca.

"It is a difficult life when you never know from where the next money is coming. I wish I could move away from Koch and have a proper and more secure life somewhere else."

We sit down on a concrete bench outside the community centre and drink soda in the shade. People are passing by, looking at us with big eyes. John smiles:

"It is funny, the people here would never think that I would sit here and have a conversation in English with people like you. They don't think I am capable of it."

John and Charles explain that more people from the outside now pass by Korogocho. Those who are bypassing can bring goods and increase the level of supply in the area. It helps to wipe out the image of Korogocho as a dangerous place and makes it a more integrated part of Nairobi. Public vehicles can now enter in the area, making it possible to provide services such as fire brigades and delivery of goods. On the negative side they tell us that the wider streets have not managed to eliminate the escape ways for the robbers. And the large amount of motorcycles on the streets have increased the number of accidents. The community has built road bumps to minimize them and John and Charles suggest zebra crossings and traffic signs on the street. They also wish that schools would play a role in educating the children on how to use a road.

"The walking space is also really small considered the large amount of people that walks on the street. That's why they walk on the main road."

Many people got temporary jobs in the construction of the roads, but after the roads were finished they just went back to their normal life. Many others lost their jobs and their homes when houses and shops were demolished. Today there are many new shop-owners; those who had to move have found different places.

"When the government says something, the people have to listen. In our days, they don't hear what we are saying and they don't want to listen to how we want our Korogocho."

John and Charles explain that they would be happy to present their wishes and thoughts to the government if they got the chance, but the people in charge are not interested. They are sure many people will lose their homes in the upgrading process, and if you want to engage in the process and put yourself there, people will be jealous and you might even be killed. This has happened before. People might think that you are selling them out. We finish the sodas and leave them to go on with their work. They both have a long day in front of them. Before we leave John adds:

"I think it would be good if the government started building houses, but not changed the rent. And built a company to create more jobs. That's what I would do if I was the government."

CAN WE MAP PLACES?

Korogocho

ACTIVITY MAPPING

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

- Have the services/functions of
installation?
- What are the activities on the str
Has the street acted as a catalyst and facilita
change during the day?
- Have illegal activities decreased or increased?

METHOD

FIELD DATA COLLECTION:
By choosing seven key sites along the streets, noting ongoing activities, conclusions of
activity levels and types were investigated through observations, documentation and
dialogue. The investigations were conducted at three different times: morning, midday
and evening to indicate whether the activities changed during the day. By walking along
the streets taking photos and observing activities, important sites and types were found.

QUESTIONNAIRES:
The questionnaire survey studies the perceived changes in amount and type of activi-
ties since the streets were improved. It revealed if new activities have been generated
through the upgrading project and what functions have been created.

"*Spaces such as streets, street corners and empty
lots provide a stage for economic, social and
political activities – public spaces in this sense
are social spaces*" (Staeheli, L.A. & Mitchell,
D. (2008). *The people's property? Power, politics,
and the public.* Oxon: Routledge.)

To understand streets and street corners as a
stage for economic, social and political activi-
ties the mapping of activities on the streets
is essential to grasp their meaning as public

space. By choosing key sites along the streets,
noting ongoing activities at different times of
the day, conclusions of activity levels and types
can be understood. As activity often brings
more activity[19] it can be assumed that some
places have the possibility to become positive
economic and social nodes in the community.
The questionnaires support the observations
and highlight the perceived changes in activity
nodes and type and amount of activity.

The mapping of activity levels led to the
conclusion that the level and variety of
activity was often high in street corners. To
investigate this phenomenon further, a more
in-depth study of street corners was done
noting street vending, business structures and
leisure activities. Type and amount of activi-
ties varied within the different street corners
chosen. The northwest entrance had a high
amount of different activities; both temporal
and permanent market vending structures,
selling a variation of goods. As the Korogocho
playground is situated nearby, different sport
activities are practiced during the day.

ADOPT A
LIGHT
BIO GAS STATION
NGUNYUMU
PRIMARY
ST JOHN CATHOLIC
PRIMARY SCHOOL
ST JOHN
CATHOLIC CHURCH
KOROGOCHO
PLAYGROUND
ST DANIEL COMBONI
PRIMARY SCHOOL
MDOZAS
TEMPORARY
MARKET
STANDS

IS THIS ALSO OUR
MENTAL MAP?
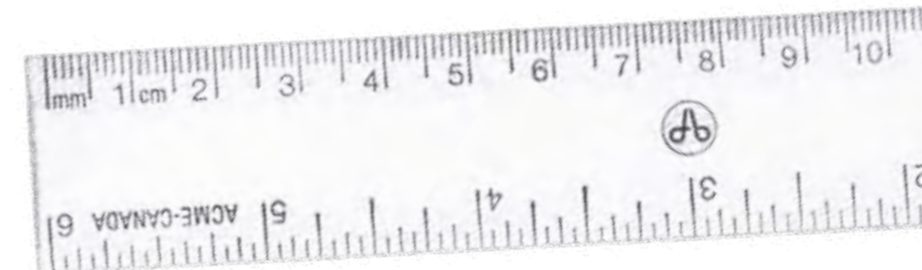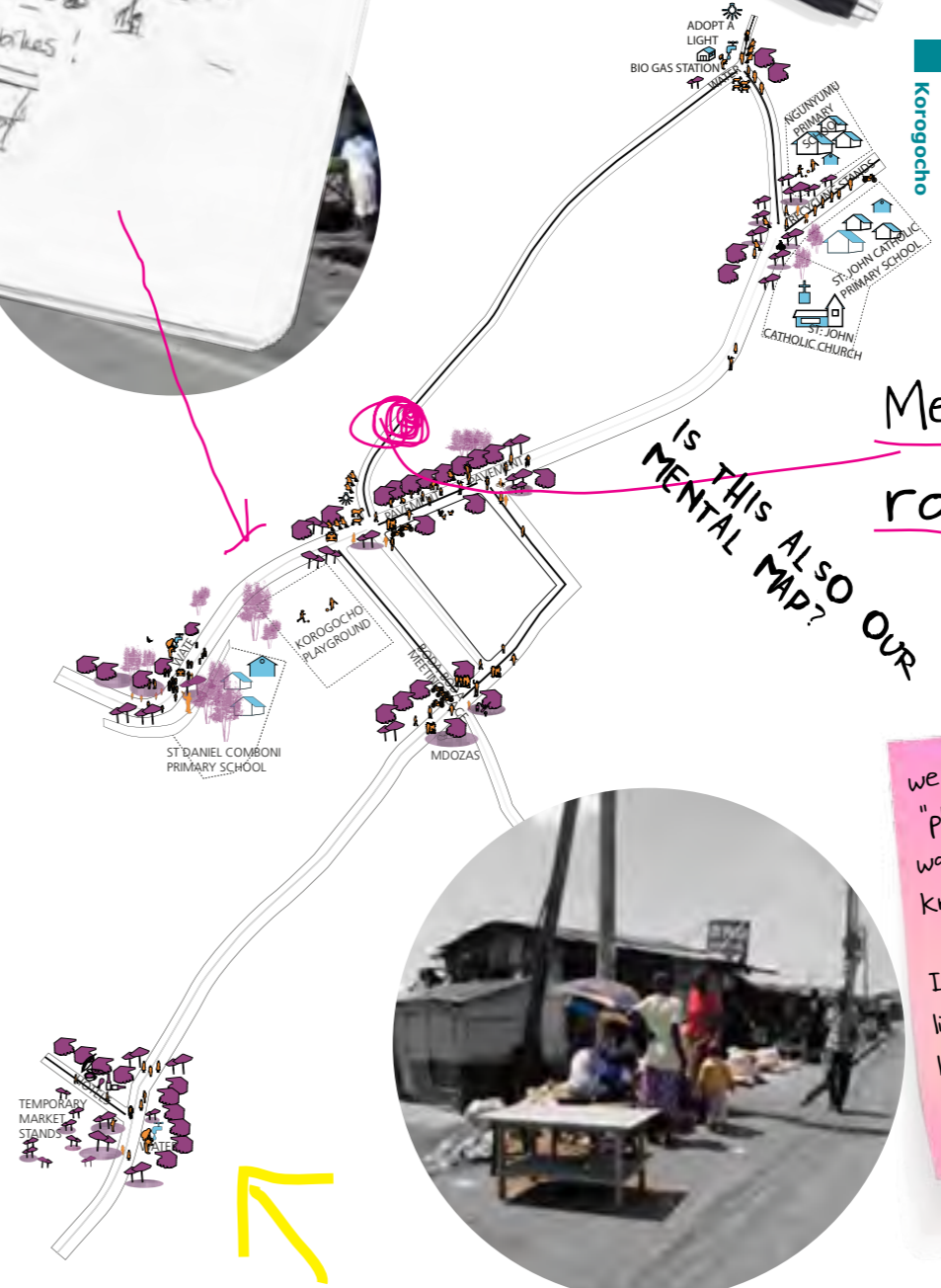
Meeting place for the
rollerskaters

we had a hard time making this
"place-map" and realized that it is in a
way our mental map of the places we
know in Korogocho.

If this map were made by a person
living in Korogocho it would probably
look completely different...

THAT STREET CORNERS ARE PUBLIC MEETING
PLACES PROBABLY HAS TO DO WITH OTHER THINGS
THAN PHYSICALITY. NOT ALL STREET CORNERS ARE
MEETING PLACES, WHY?...

Here you can
buy avocados and
mangos!

AGAIN THE REPRESENTATION DOES NOT
MIRROR REALITY. THIS IS SO DIFFICULT...

Time: 12
2/3-2012
Crossing: Community lane/Mama Ngundo
Mama Ngundo
vending
motorbikes!
street stands

The mapping of activities and attraction points in Korogocho contributed to a wider understanding of the area and the associated activities. Strolling down the streets, talking to people, observing and "being in place" gave us a base for the ongoing investigation. We could see the vendors appropriating smaller or bigger areas selling food, mechanics, treasures from the dumping site being sold and kids running around playing with old bicycle wheels or homemade footballs. The streets are the activities and the people dwelling in them. As newcomers we could get a sense of the hidden borders that people associated with their homes or workplaces. During discussions with residents we understood that many had been evicted from their homes to give space for the widened streets. The abrupt demolition of people's homes and working places had upset many residents and many consequences that might not have been considered in the streets upgrading occurred. As places are connected we understood that all changes from the top in the physical environment has to be carefully considered since they often have unexpected outcomes and effects in peoples lives. When a big change happens very fast it might be harder to accept, especially if it happened seemingly outside the reach of your own control.

STREET LIFE

THE ATTACHMENT TO PLACE

The sequence of places along one's daily routes to home, school, work and leisure are often the core cartographic feature of subjective cityscapes and people seem to identify places by practical use, for example those spots that they go to for some particular purpose or function (Gieryn, F. T. 2000). A sense of place is not only the ability to position a location on a cognitive map, but also the attribution of meaning to the physicality of that location (Tuan, Y-F. 1977). The formation of emotional and sentimental bonds between people and place brings together the physical shape on a geographic site and the meanings we invest in them. Place attachment can be created through personal experiences, hence the longer a person has lived in a place the greater his attachment to it is (Legat, A. 2008). People recall places that they associate with momentous events in their lives more easily. Place attachment results from interactive and culturally shared processes of endowing streets, buildings or neighbourhoods with an emotional meaning. The attachment to places also correlates to the geography and physical form of the places themselves (Gieryn, F.T. 2000).

According to Kärrholm (2004) appropriation is when a person or group establishes a certain sense of belonging to a place or area but does not purposely mark it as theirs; the place is then no longer a place among any places but a certain dedicated place, my territory, my mother's street. Territorial appropriation, he means, does often connect to places to which one has established an extra strong relationship. The appropriated exercise of power, he continues, are often more evident on places closely located to ones home or on places located along more populated paths (Kärrholm, M. 2004). Olwig (2008b) means that the feeling of belonging to the land and becoming attached to a place through movement is an old phenomenon. Hunters and gatherers where moving along familiar paths and exploring new ones to find eatable materials and track game. Movement and knowledge gained from consequent use in the carrying out of everyday tasks produces a sense of belonging that generates landscape as a place for dwelling (Olwig, K.R. 2008b).

THE STREETS FOR EVERYDAY LIFE

The paths and streets in a city are the record of the lives and works of the people that dwell in them, performing their everyday tasks and thus leaving something of themselves in the place. As well as the paths from Ingolds dwelling perspective the streets can be seen as the taskscape made visible. The existence of a path as well as a place is dependent on people and activities (Lynch, K. A. 1960). Streets in a slum are part of a large weave of places in the city and the world. These places are created of people, and without the people neither space nor place exists (de Certeau, M. 1984).

Slum settlements often have a low interference of formal city planning and are often the result of the effort of the citizens themselves and outside the law. Hence the informal city is more the consequence of the practice of everyday life where the production of places, as streets, homes and neighbourhoods, have become habitus with the necessary tactics for survival (de Certeau, M. 1984). Hence, the upgraded streets in Korogocho can be seen as a paved and widened result of the practice of every day life.

THE STREETS AS A PLACE FOR MOVEMENT

As stated by Ingold (2000) place and movement are highly connected: "*Places do not have locations but histories. Bound together by the itineraries of their inhabitants, places exist not in space but as nodes in a matrix of movement" (Ingold, T. 2000, p. 219).* Similar to this line of thought is that place is pause in space that allows movement and that each pause makes it possible for a location to be transformed into a place (Olwig, K. R. 2005). The street can be described as directed horizontal space where movement is facilitated. When a street is transformed into a centre, where people stay without having a certain direction; it becomes a non-directed horizontal space and thus a place (Tuan, Y-F. 1974). Tuan (1974) states that there is a close connection between place-making, the body and orientation. Undifferentiated space, he continues, ends up as a single object-situation or place when a person have a sense of direction and notion of oneself in relation to the whole, then the whole can turn into a locality with appropriate movements.

Streets in a human settlement are connected to a wide variety of activities but streets are above all movement and one of the main purposes for streets are communication and access (Jacobs, B. A. 1993). Streets are also highly connected to orientation as they often have a sense of directional quality they are important for orientation in a city or area (Lynch, K. A. 1960). Hence it is natural to talk about the streets as place for movement and orientation, and how people are moving on the streets is important for the experience of place.

STREET FLOW

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

- Has the flow of people changed?
- Who uses the street? Are certain groups underrepresented? Is there a change in use and movement according to time of day? Is it easier to use the street now? Where is the highest density of people?
- What are the activities on the street and edge zone? Has the activities changed? Has the street acted as a catalyst and facilitated new activities? Are the activities changing during the day?
- Has the illegal activities decreased or increased?

METHOD

FLOW SURVEY:

The flow survey quantifies movements, including both motorized and non-motorized vehicle traffic plus pedestrians. Data from the flow survey describes peak traffic volumes and accessibility. It complements the analysis of the streets in favor of pedestrian security and tells in what extent the public transport is implemented and where.
   The flow survey takes into consideration the gender perspective in order to understand hierarchies and functions, and studies for what purpose the different streets are used. During the survey people and vehicles were counted at selected key-sites on three different times of the day, five minutes at a time. While doing so gender, age group and constellation are studied. The calculation of vehicles noted type of vehicle and gender of the driver.

QUESTIONNAIRES:

The questionnaire survey investigated the perceived changes in traffic and pedestrian flow that is brought by the upgrading project, changes such as amount of traffic, new functions and purpose of use. The survey led to the discussion with the residents of how traffic could be organized differently.

SCHOOL WORKSHOP:

In the school workshop, children from Ngunyumu Primary School were asked to point out sites and indicators causing insecurity on their way to school. They pointed out where risks for traffic accidents are high.

The flow of pedestrians and vehicles within Korogocho has been investigated through different methods to give an idea of how the different functions of the streetscape are organized. It is said that by looking and observing in an initial phase will give a first understanding of an area. It gives awareness and opens up for questions and discussions.

Observations are usually supplemented by measuring and counting, which offers additional guides of how streets are used and designed.[20] The flow survey revealed which groups that use the streets and how the flows and density of traffic are divided in the area. It informed about the expansion or improvement of pedestrian facilities.

FIGURES & FACTS

a lot of pedestrians!

Community Lane
Ngomongo Entrance

Kamunde Rd Dandora
Entrance

Kamunde Rd Baridi
Lane

Kamunde Rd
Community Lane

Kariobangi
Entrance

Market Rd
crossing

Market Rd
Informal Entrance

amount of men/women

amount of vehicles and pedestrians

Korogocho

TOTAL AMOUNT OF FLOW IN THE SURVEY

Matatu	2 (0,1%)
Car	23 (1%)
Motorcycle	361 (22%)
Bike	95 (5,4%)
People	1995 (71%)
Child	427 (21%)
Youth	462 (22%)
Adult	998 (43%)
Elderly	108 (5%)
Woman-group	114 (8%)
Man-group	108 (7%)
Mixed	56 (3%)
Singe	1179 (70%)
Other	6 (0,4%)

Handwritten annotations:

difficult to measure, only source were inteviews with residents

calm area

line of transit or place?

WHAT ABOUT THESE BLANK SPACES? THEY ARE ALSO A CLUSTER OF PATHS AND MOVEMENT PATTERNS... MAYBE WE FAILED TO MEASURE THE MOST IMPORTANT MOVEMENT?

busy area
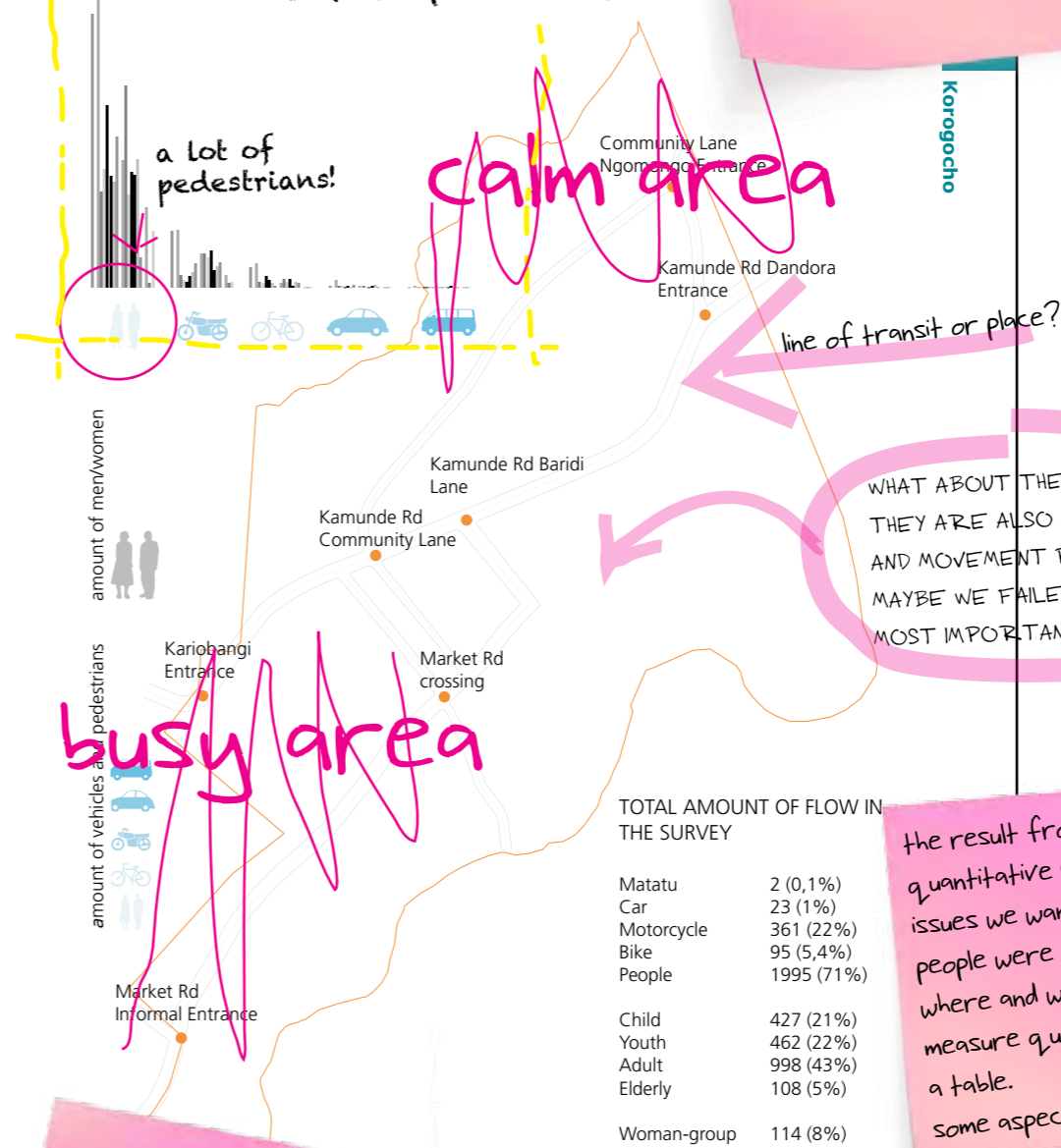
STREETS IN A SLUM ARE PART OF A LARGE WEAVE OF PLACES IN THE CITY AND THE WORLD. IN THIS MAP THE BORDERS AND THE STREETS ARE ALL THAT IS LEFT...

the result from our survey are very quantitative in form of numbers. issues we wanted to know like why people were moving to where, from where and why are difficult to measure quantitatively and present in a table. some aspects are lost...

IF THE ACT OF WALKING IS MUCH MORE THEN GOING FROM ONE POINT TO ANOTHER ARE THESE NUMBERS RELEVANT?

THE INCREASED NUMBER OF VEHICLES IS ALSO MENTIONED AS POSITIVE BY MANY RESIDENTS. SOME EVEN WISH FOR MORE MOTOR TRAFFIC, AS IT SIGNALS SUCCESS AND AN UPSCALE AREA.

HERE TOO PUBLIC SPACE ARE DESCRIBED IN TERMS OF PHYSICAL CRITERIA

that places are not only point A or B do not only mean that they are physically interlinked but also in terms of information flow, a greater context, time, memories etc...
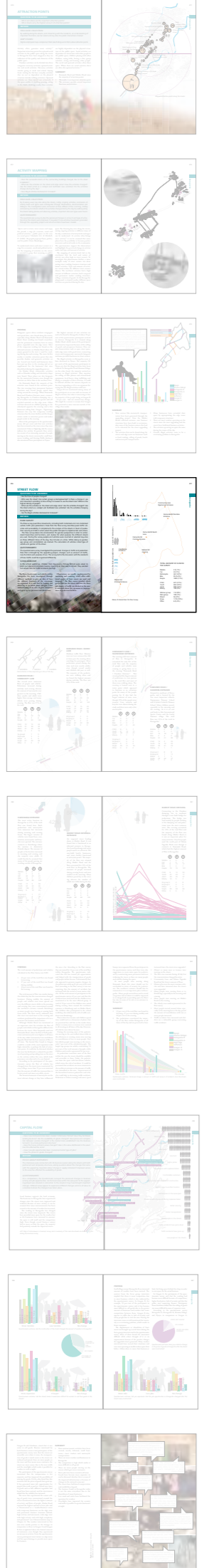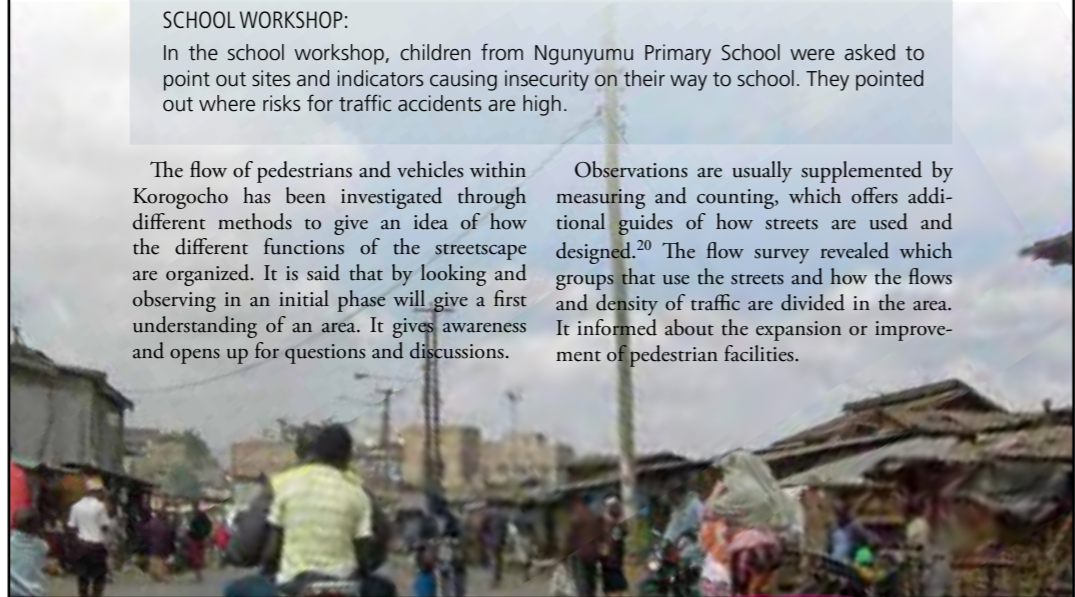
One of our first observations when moving on the streets of Korogocho was the busy life and high amount of people and pedestrians. Everyone seemed to use, act and be on the streets and quite soon we started to recognize people in the mass. Several times our new friends from the Artists United organization had to tell us to watch out for the motorcycles that drove with very high speed through the walking crowd. Considering the small space left for the pavement, the streets were designed to accommodate more vehicular traffic than pedestrians. After several visits we decided to investigate the movement on the streets in order to analyse what kind of movement that was most frequent. Who used the streets, when and how? In what constellations did people move? Did the flow vary depending on the time of day? We decided to count the flows in seven different crossings during three different occasions. Accompanied by friends or committee members we spent several hours putting lines for each person or vehicle that passed through. The information was gathered in tables and diagrams and transformed into a flow analysis showing the streets that occupied most people and how these people moved. Our results told us that walking was the most common mode of transportation in Korogocho, which is quite different to other city parts of Nairobi and the mode we travelled in Nairobi ourselves. Walking was the considerably most widespread activity we noticed in the streets. Hence, the streets can be seen as place for movement. We wanted to understand how movement was connected to the experience of place and whether the act of walking could establish other relations to place than through high-speed vehicular transportation.

STREETS AS A PLACE FOR MOVEMENT

WALKING THE STREETS

Sack (1997) writes that travelling by foot expose us to our surrounding, which we can see, hear, smell and feel. When walking, you need to pay attention to the surroundings to gain knowledge about the path you walk through action and experiences (Legat, A. 2008). In this mode, Sack continues, we have a sense that we are travelling through places (Sack, D. R. 1997).

Through walking, a city-dweller gets to know the city and fellow citizens and it is through walking that a person truly inhabits a city rather than just small parts of it. We experience place and movement through the physical body and walking has an outspoken function serving to constitute place (Blomely, N. 2010).

To walk by foot is the mean of transportation that the majority of human beings have used throughout history (Ingold, T. & Vergunst, L. J. 2008). Walking is a social action and humans change the patterns and ways of walking in order to accommodate the physical changes in their own bodies, the bodies of whom they walk with and change in environmental conditions (Legat, A. 2008). Bourdieu (1977) speaks of habitus as the body's active engagements with, and in, its surroundings and the practical mastery of everyday tasks. We walk because we are social beings and we are social beings because we walk. Some theorists argue that the body is in itself grounded in movement. Walking is not just what a body does but also what a body is, walking or thinking in movement is initial in the being of a body (Sheets – Johnstone, M. 1999). The act of walking is much more than an act of moving from one point to another. Walking is characterized as a significant form of embodied practice charged with a productive social, cultural and potentially political meaning and the sites where walking occurs are produced and constituted through the act of walking itself. Hence, rather than fixed nodes, from and to which people travel, places can be seen as components in the landscape partly produced through patterns of mobility and as a process of becoming (Blomely, N. 2010).

Ingold and Vergunst (2008) are of the opinion that when planners and architects are speaking about place, focus tends to lie on the site or locales. They mean that life is not lived on scattered locales but rather on the highways and byways upon which they lie. Legat (2008) refers to place as a site along a trail or the trail itself including all the locales on it or to the entire region including all its trails and locations. People know stories about places because other people have walked and left footprints in these places before them. To walk a path is to remember how it goes, thus every movement forward and the act of walking demands a recollection of the past. To turn towards some place it is necessary to turn away from another. As a human being you cannot be everywhere at once but you will always have a relation to the places where you have been and where you are going, constantly on the move, coming and going (Ingold and Vergunst 2008).

082

what are we going to do with these numbers?

FINDINGS

The total amount of pedestrians and vehicles calculated in the Flow Survey was 2480.

- 33 per cent of the total flow was found in morning
- 27 per cent of the total flow was found during midday.
- 40 per cent of the total flow was found in the evening.

The total amount of flow was similar during the whole day, but the concentrations changed locations. During midday the amount of people and vehicles were more spread out over the different streets while in the morning and evening they were concentrated around the northwest entrance to Kariobangi as many people were leaving to Kariobangi from work. The flow survey ... this street was used mo... residents proclaimed th... generator for business ...

Although Market ... an important street ... people and vehicles ... between the street ... Kamunde Road, ... trians and motor... of the day, whil... Ngendo Road ... all times. Th... could be a ... high crimin... tion point... the street... ity of op... as the ... pavem...

Ac... tion... cha... ev... t...

the area a lot. According to the flow survey, they accounted for 14 per cent of the total flow within Korogocho. The questionnaire indicated that this has created job opportunities and helped with the transportation of goods and people within the area. Unfortunately, they also appeared to generate negative changes. As the pedestrians made up 81 per cent of the total flow (according to the flow survey) it was not surprising that the amount of accidents has increased with the arrival of more motor vehicles. Of the total amount of participants in the questionnaire survey, 69 per cent said that the accidents have increased and the children were mentioned to be the most affected group. A total of 70 per cent of the children were noted during evening times around the northwest entrance to Kariobangi and on Market Road. The children who participated in the school ...kshop also indicated the risk of traffic acci-...Kariobangi.

...men and children spend ...of places that ...how,
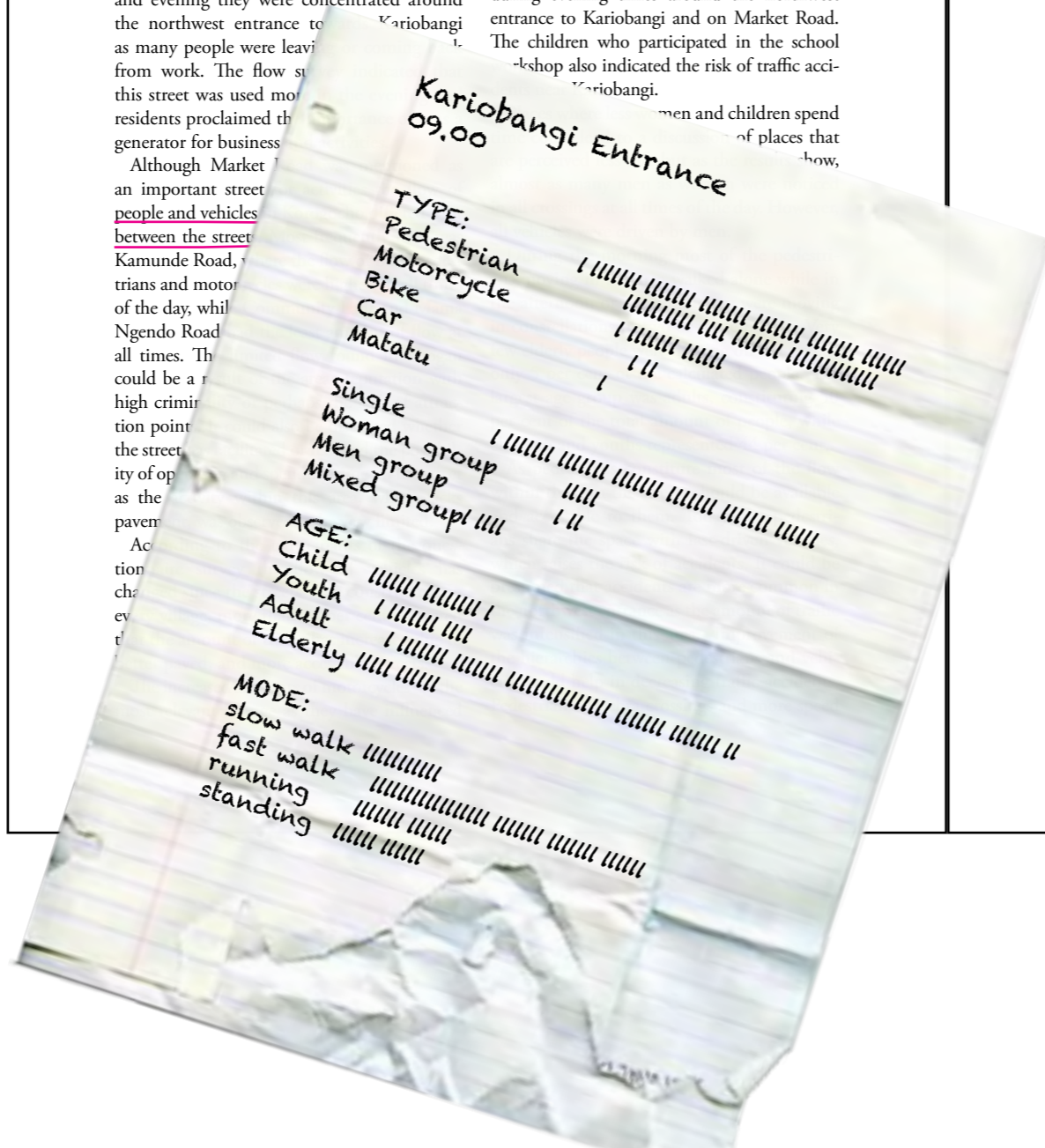
bumps were requested from the participants in the questionnaire survey and there were also suggestions to create more space for pedestrians by constructing more pavements and even widening the streets as there are many people and vehicles sharing the space.

As most people were moving along Kamunde Road, this street should not be overlooked in terms of security for pedestrians. The northwest entrance should also be examined as it is an important place in Korogocho. Many people moved here and to avoid congestion and accidents it could be improved in its design both as providing space for flows but also in terms of its role as an entrance to Korogocho.

SUMMARY

- 33 per cent of the total flow was found in morning, 27 per cent during midday and 40 per cent in the evening
- The pedestrians constituted the majority of the flow within Korogocho at all times of the day and are perceived to have

increased ...
- Almost a...moving on...
- The flow w...the concentrations changed location Community Lane and Mama Ngendo Road had the lowest amount of flows
- Motorcycles were the most common vehicles and have increased since the streets were upgraded
- Many people were moving from or to Kariobangi, especially in the morning and evening
- More people were moving on Market Road in the evening
- The elderly were underrepresented in the flow survey
- Most people moved around alone especially in the morning but as the day passed the amount of constellations with two or more people increased
- Traffic accidents have increased and children are a vulnerable group concerning traffic accidents

Korogocho

THAT ALL THESE INTERESTS AND GROUPS HAVE TO SHARE THE SAME SPACE AND COMMUNICATE, CAN ALSO BE A STRENGTH AS PEOPLE HAVE TO INTERACT TO SOLVE CONFLICTS.

WE HAVE SEEN THAT SOCIAL NETWORKS AND BONDS ARE OFTEN WIDE AND GREAT IN KOROGOCHO. HAS THIS TO DO WITH THE HIGH AMOUNT OF SHARED SPACE?

Kariobangi Entrance
09.00

TYPE:
Pedestrian
Motorcycle
Bike
Car
Matatu

Single
Woman group
Men group
Mixed group

AGE:
Child
Youth
Adult
Elderly

MODE:
slow walk
fast walk
running
standing

Questionnaire outcome. Percieved change in amount of traffic and amount of accidents since the streets were constructed.

More accidents
Less accidents
No change
More traffic
Less traffic
No change

Nyayo
Kisumu Ndogo
Korogocho B
Korogocho A
Highridge
Githaturu
Grogan B
Grogan A

Involvement in slum upgrading for organisations such as UN-Habitat often starts with the conduction of a situation analysis assessing the condition in the slum (UN-Habitat 2008). In the case of Korogocho it was conducted in the form of a socio-economic survey where the situation was translated into numbers, tables and maps. The analysis is meant to be the basis for future actions in the area, proposing recommendations and solutions to implement an upgrading. In order for organisations to get involved, there has to be a demand and interest from governments or other investment-strong organs which, we have been told, often are targeting hard values with measurable effects. The vehicles seem to be prioritized in the design of the streets in Korogocho, a phenomenon common in urban planning and slum upgrading. After meetings with residents we understood that the mixed use of the streets caused several traffic accidents, particularly to the children. The questionnaire survey supported these facts. Although a socio-economic survey had been done to understand the current situation in Korogocho it was conducted after the street upgrading had begun and seemed to lack understanding of the streetscape in a greater context and knowledge in all of the functions that the streetscape hold.

THE DANGER OF MISSING OUT

IGNORING CONTEXTS

As interpreted by Dovey (2012), Deleuze and Guattari proclaim that every place is the result of a mixture of structures of hierarchical control and camouflaged power practices blurring identity and authority. These aspects might be complicated to grasp and hence also hard to consider in planning. Slum upgrading aims to improve the living conditions for the residents in a slum settlement through interventions, and a common thought is that development of these hard-values are needed in order for conducting soft-values (German Technical Cooperation, 2010). Hence it can be argued that the technocratic way of looking at the street, as a piece of the infrastructure system considering its value only in terms of mobility, circulation and access mostly connected to the physical form, is still dominating much slum upgrading practice. This is reinforced by the fact that the modern city is to a large extent dominated by lines of transit, leading to a two-dimensional sense of space (Jukes, P. 1991).

As we have seen throughout our work, slum upgrading practice is highly influenced of images and representations from the western planning practice and mainly conducted from a monocular perspective. This monocular perspective, Olwig (2008b) writes, constructs a feeling of possession and staged performance in a hierarchical social space. This can be seen in some of the future plans for the upgrading of Korogocho that we have encountered. As the plans are unaware of or ignoring many important structures and systems in place the gap between some of the plans and the reality in Korogocho today is very big. If these plans are translated to reality they might destroy or lack many for the residents important qualities in the streetscape and hence also place attachments to the streets. It also risks leading to a tension between spatial practice and local codes of control (Hillier, J. 2005 & Dovey, K. 2010). As streets generate and contain aspects invisible on plans and maps the outcome of an upgrading ignoring these values might not be the expected.

The upgraded streets in Korogocho have been designed according to governmental street dimension-policies. These have a little or no connection to the actual context in Korogocho. The future upgrading plans are imposing a completely new street grid on the area where all of the streets would have more or less the same width as the ones upgraded today. Hence, they are assuming that all of the streets would function with the same hierarchy, wich stand at risk to destroy existing neighbourhood- and social-systems.

In Korogocho we found that all streets were different from each other. Some were "market streets", some were "highways" with high amount of traffic and some were "backstreets", calmer and isolated from the busy atmosphere found in other parts of the area. The path system within the area's dense structures, that contain the actual majority of space in Korogocho, has completely different rules of movement and organization than in the upgraded streets.

The existence of "backstreets" and a walk along them opens up another dimension of Korogocho. The backstreets allows you to both loose yourself and to hide from sight. You don't know quite where you are going or what you will find around the corner. The disorganized dwellings appear produced by an endless series of individual decisions rather then determined by some official plan (Jukes, P. 1991). If all streets are turned into transition lines this dimension risks getting lost. As the street and the street pattern is one of the most solid structures of a city (Conzen, M.P. 1960), the backbone of the taskscape, they need to be treated with care and long-term thinking. Otherwise it will risk turning the streets into unpleasant places, without identity and function for the people dwelling there.

Grogan B and Gitathuru, stated that it was easier to sell goods. Reasons mentioned by both business owners and participants of the questionnaire survey were that the streets are accessible even when it rains, the transportation of goods is much easier as the streets are widened and paved, there are more people on the street and that means more customers, the streets are more secure due to the new width and the streetlights which make it possible for vendors to work at night.

The participants of the [...] survey mentio[...]

for business.

Right: The names are [...]
interviewees anonymous.

SUMMAR[...]

- New m[...] created, [...] nesses, [...] transportation
- There are more vendors and businesses in Korogocho
- The competition is high which makes it more difficult to sell goods
- There are more people moving on the streets, which give more customers
- More jobs have been created in all areas
- Goods have become more expensive (it can be discussed whether this is a cause of the improved infrastructure or because of changes in the national economy)
- The streets have facilitated transportation and availability of goods
- The business found in Korogocho today is not the same everywhere due to the demolition of many businesses
- Less mud and waste have facilitated the operation for vendors
- Streetlights have improved the security and made it possible to operate businesses at night

After a two-day long interview session with as many business owners as we could get hold of we could compile their views on the street upgrading. We walked along the streets in pairs to make us seem less intimidating, but even though we had a translator with us, it was hard to reach everyone. Most of the business owners did not want to talk about the street implementation, perhaps we looked too out of context to inspire confidence. Many slum dwellers have a complicated relationship to official institutions due to previous attempts/promises/applications to upgrade or improve the slum. A stigmatization has developed which has created a we-and-them, resulting in a complex relationship. This was obvious during our investigations in field, many of the slum dwellers wanted to use the situation to express disappointment on previous interferences or ask for aid thinking we were an official institution. The different perspectives on slum upgrading create dismay between top-down institutions and the residents, two worlds, two contexts. Would it ever be possible to meet?

It became evident that by constructing the streets, business has followed. The constructing has physically facilitated vending and businesses due to the implementation of streetlights, which have created extended business hours, easier conveyance to transport goods within the area and the city, lessened dust and mud enabling the customers to approach their structures regardless weather. In this case, the form facilitates the activity.

PAMELA: A BUSINESS OWNER

STREETS FOR ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

Streets are corridors for the movement of people, vehicles and goods supporting the urban economy. Millions of livelihoods in cities of the global south are dependent on the street space. In most urban centres a range of activities take place in and around the street: vending, hawking, services such as, handicrafts, metalwork; and transportation including many forms of public transport. In addition, urban street vending supports a complex and largely hidden economy of suppliers, money-lenders, landlords, importers and exporters. The informal street economy is often largely unrecognized by urban authorities and dismissed as survivalist, chaotic and peripheral even though it employs many people. In developing countries street vendors are a key element of the urban economy where each layer in the hierarchy gains economic advantage. The street economy is a wide concept and embraces all the commercial and business activities that, to some extent, profits from the street. The street economy includes profitable enterprises, which can be a stepping-stone to secure work (Brown, A. 2006).

As stated above, the actual construction of streets in slums can provide an immediate economic boost if a local work force is utilized. The increased access of outsiders to the area and better relationships with surrounding economies can also enhance the circulation of money in the area (UN-Habitat 2011a).

PAMELA'S STORY

Pamela has invited us to her home at the back of her food shop at Market Road. We get off the paved street, skip over the dusty drainage filled with waste and enter Pamela's small rooms through a narrow path. She welcomes us with a smile. Pamela tells us that she lives in the shack with her seven children. She has run the shop since 1995 and is the structure owner. Pamela was 20 years old when she came to Korogocho from a small village close to Lake Victoria to get married, she has been a widow since 2005. She remembers the time of the street construction as bad. Two of her rooms were demolished and the shop and house became a lot smaller.

"It affected me and the destruction was done in an inhumane way. I had to use a lot of money to repair the structure, as business had to stop during rebuilding and I lost my income."

The government never mentioned any compensation, Pamela tells us that she just had to oblige to what they said. She would want to be involved in the process but she did not have any say about the demolition. Even though the Residents Committee is around, it was difficult to discuss the demolition with them.

"The construction period was messy but people have gotten used to live in smaller rooms and have smaller shops. What has happened has happened. Now we have streetlights and streets."

Pamela thinks the upgrading of the streets have had a good impact on reducing crime.

"Before the path behind this house was really dangerous. There used to be stabbing when people went to work early in the morning. The streets has opened other social arenas and linked Korogocho to other areas."

Immediately after the construction a lot of traffic accidents happened. Pamela thinks that people have learnt to behave on the streets. Some have made bumps to control the speed and it has reduced accidents. When we ask what Pamela would do differently if she was the government she laughs.

"Oh I am glad that I am not the government. I could not have done it, I would have sympathised too much with the people, and it would have been too difficult to decide things when people were upset."

Then Pamela thinks for a while and goes back to being serious.

"First I thought about compensation but that would have been too expensive and hinder the progress. Everyone would claim that they had been affected and needed compensation."

What she really think should have been done is to provide for a more structured upgrading, which would provide options for the people from the government's side.

"That would have made the demolition less inhumane."

If she would improve the design of the streets Pamela would recommend putting up street signs. For an example; "children are playing", "school ahead" or "children crossing". She thinks something like that should have been done already.

ACTIVITIES
Flow of people
Flow of capital
Traffic
Waste management
Illegal activities
Organizations
Services
Business

FORM
Material
Spatial typologies
Spatial relationships
Equipment
Connectivity
Entrances/exits
Topography

CONCEPTION
Memory
Information
Appropriation
Safety & security
Social relations
Sense of belonging
Vision
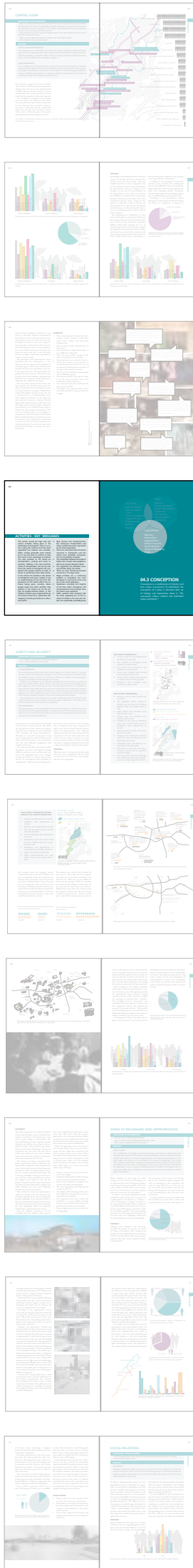
ACTIVITIES - KEY MESSAGES

This section reveals the high level and various activities taking place in the streetscape of Korogocho. There is a notion among the residents that the street upgrading has inspired new activities. Often, activity generates more activity but it can also lead to conflicts as they limit some to the advantage of another. The main activities on the streets are transportation, vending and social interaction. Walking is the most common mode of transportation and during rush hours the streets of Korogocho are congested with people walking to work or school or performing their daily chores. In this section the activities in the streets of Korogocho have been studied to get an understanding of how the form and perception of the streets affects the activities taking place. Locating where people dwell and what activities they perform in the streets can set the design for people-oriented streets. In this chapter, activities were explored through the study of street flow, capital flow and mapping of existing activities and attraction points.

- New services and microeconomics like motorcycle transportation and street vending have been generated by the street upgrading
- There are more permanent business structures in Korogocho and the streets have facilitated transportation and availability of goods
- The competition between businesses is higher even though more people/customers are moving along the streets
- The upgrading has facilitated vending activities along the streets
- There are more temporary business structures in the edge zones
- Illegal activities are a continuing problem in Korogocho but have decreased in most parts of the area due to the street upgrading
- Pedestrians constitute the majority of the flow within Korogocho and are perceived to have increased since the streets were upgraded
- Traffic accidents have increased with the street upgrading due to the increase of vehicles in the area and children are a particularly vulnerable group

04.3 CONCEPTION

Conception is a combination of identity and how a place is perceived. To individuals, the conception of a place is therefore their set of feelings and impressions about it. The conception reflects cultural and individual values and beliefs.[21]

[Handwritten annotations:]

how generative is the form for the activities? The activities that are needed would probably take place anyway, even if not supported in the form

carrying out an activity is a way of appropriating place!

UN language!

can definitely also be an activity!

Naming streets can be a way of imposing control! This depends on WHO is giving names to streets and places. as we have seen in Nairobi many original African names have been replaced with colonial western names. (appropriation) probably places and streets in slums already have names by those who dwell there, these names should be formalized and used instead of giving new ones.

the more people we spoke to, the more obvious it became that people had completely different conceptions about reality. we realized how tricky it was to represent them with a fair mirroring of reality, it would be impossible to reach everyone....

curiously, this is not at all reflected in the design of the streets...

After some time in Korogocho, it became clear that the residents, the government and UN-Habitat had very different conceptions of the place. Many residents were influenced by the conception of the government, and others stood in conflict with them.
Njeru, one of the founders of the radio station Koch FM tells us his story of the streets. He has been taking part of the naming of the streets and thinks that they will play a vital role in a future, more orderly Korogocho...

NJERU SAYS: "especially with the tenants things might get a bit hot"

"The streets have been encroached by people over time and become narrower and narrower."

Njeru leans back in the worn out armchair and recalls the first upgrading of the streets that started in 1987. He means that the upgrading that has been made recently is to maintain and go back to the width of the street as they were back then.

"The first upgrading started after the visit of a member of the parliament, vice president Joseph Karanja and the president Moi. The area had no access roads by then and Moi stated that not even his pigs could live like this."

The first street upgrading was the implementation of streetlights and to make the streets accessible by people. They made the streets wider but did not tarmac them. The people who had to move when the streets were widened got land in Nyayo, one of the eight villages of Korogocho. However, Njeru means that president Moi did the upgrading in his own interests. He knew that most of the tenants were from the Luo tribe, he wanted a place in the government, saw the opportunity to gain votes and said that he would give the land to the tenants. He remembers that it resulted in some tension in the area:

"Tenants refused to pay their landlords and in Ngomongo (village next to Korogocho, reds. note) there were even some killings. But the situation in Ngomongo is different from Korogocho, the residents own the land and are permanent; in Koch the houses are just temporary structures on government land."

Njeru was born in the neighbouring Kariobangi in a carton structure about 35 years ago. When he was very young, his family was one of the beneficial that got a house in Korogocho. Since that day he has lived in almost all of the villages, by choice. Today he stays in a house in Grogan. This afternoon, we meet Njeru at the Koch FM radio office in Korogocho, the first slum radio station in Kenya that he founded together with nine other young enthusiasts in 2001. About two years ago, when the street construction started, he was involved in the team that was naming the streets. Today,

only the English names of the streets can be seen on Google earth.

"One of the roads is named after a female village elder that was fighting to secure the space for the community centre. She was very informed about development questions. Her own children were criminals and she wanted to hinder other people from seeing their children suffer like she did."

Njeru is happy that movement and transportation is much easier since the streets were constructed, and that the street is not as muddy during the rainy season. And funds have reached into the community:

"The streets have made government money take shape in the community, other times there are many promises but little action."

However, Njeru is concerned about the dysfunctional pavement. People walk on the street while the pavement is mainly used as a place for business. And there are no spaces set aside for recreation of children, most schools lock immediately after classes and the children only have the streets. The increased number of motorbikes injures many adults and children. Some people have by own initiative tried to slow down traffic by building bumps by waste and gravel but they are not permanent, the motorbikes still go the same way until they are destroyed so they don't solve the problem.

"I think we should block the street a particular day so that it would only be for people. Activities on sections of the streets could be organized if the entrances were blocked. People could do different things, women could cook, and people could drink, eat and dance. But that would also be insecure; even a crowded place might be insecure in Korogocho."

During the implementation of the streets, space has been reduced for those dwelling on the streets. Some had to move. But Nieru thinks that they are self the ones to blame, they have encroached on the reserved road space of the upgrading in 1987. No electricity poles have been removed since they were put there.

"Before the streets were widened you could see that space was reclaimed, sometimes you could even see an electricity pole in the middle of someone's business."

This leads us over to talk about the process of the upgrading programme. Njeru thinks that it can be called participatory since the residents were given the opportunity to elect representatives for the residents committee from every village.

"It is participation through a representative. Maybe later the elected representatives get assimilated to the system and might lose focus. Today, when the committee is in the right mood they invite people to ask and get answers to their questions. But there are levels of participation. Not all individuals can always get involved, that would take too long time."

In five years, if the process goes well and without political interference, Njeru thinks that Koch will be more organized with one plot for every house and a street between every plot. The level of crime will go down. Some residents will have moved. If the residents get a title deed for their plot and house many might sell it and buy land to cultivate somewhere else for the money.

"Maybe people think they can get 450 000 shillings for the title deed, then they could buy a bigger space where farming and grazing of a few animals is possible. Maybe some will move outside Nairobi but not necessary to a rural area. You cannot move away from some people, the land you live on brings you together."

But not everyone will get this opportunity. Njeru remembers asking the programme coordinator what will happen with people that are affected by the programme, those who are not structure owners and have to move themselves or their business due to the widening of the streets. The answer he got was: "Sometimes radical decisions must be made. When a leg has cancer you have to amputate."

"Now we will see in practice what happens, especially with the tenants things might be a bit hot."

Our perception of Grogan A and Grogan B was higly affected by the general fear of the area!
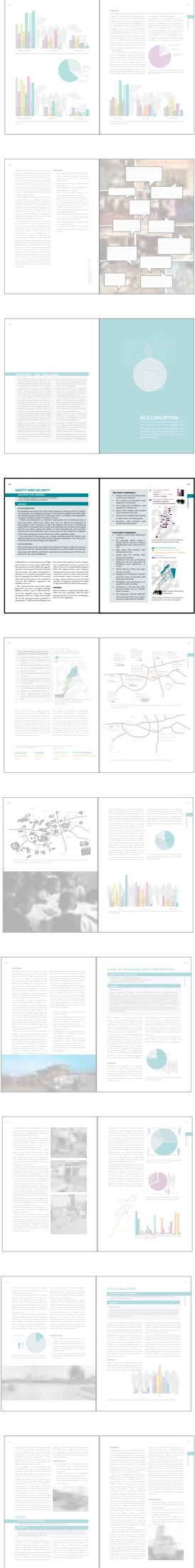
SAFETY AND SECURITY

What is the difference between safety and security really?

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED
- Has residents' experiences of security changed?
- If so, in which direction and where?

METHOD

SCHOOL WORKSHOP:

The workshop was held at the public school, Ngunyumu Primary School, in Korogocho and aimed at investigating changes in the actual and experienced safety along the children's route to school. The school was chosen as it targets a wide geographical group of children located throughout the area.

Children are addressed as an important target group when assessing security as such issues often affects them. Hence, their view can indicate the perspective of other groups in the community as well.[22] By assessing the routes it is possible to reveal which of the streets that are used most frequently and if routes have changed with the new streets. Asking the children to mark areas along the route that they experience as more frightening, safer or more unsecure than before the completion of the streets, provides a picture of how the children experience safety.

The second part of the exercise was a design workshop where the children were asked for ideas on how the streets could be designed safer/better. This informs recommendations for future design and upgrading.

QUESTIONNAIRES:

The questionnaire survey investigated the perceived changes in safety and security that arrived with the upgrading project. Questions such as if the streets have become safer or less safe after the construction were asked and complemented with the main reasons for the eventual difference.

In Korogocho, as in many slum areas, the high level of crime is a major concern. This affects the perception of security. Before the upgrading many crime hotspots were located around street crossings and along thoroughfares.[23] Therefore, it is essential to investigate if and how the upgrading has affected the perceived safety and actual security in the community and how this influences engagement and mobility in the area.

The experien...

been used in the initial part of the investigation to understand the main conception of safety in the area. To understand the situation before the implementation, street dialogues and questionnaires have been used jointly with comparisons with the safety audit from the socio-economic impact assessment... murder to target a grou... ...urity ...eld ...o.

2012-12
The old community chief wanted to stop events, he wanted the streets only for infrastructure. The community has been engaged and the area has really been transformed. Especially the street of Grogan. The initiative has met growing respect among parents. They do mentoring, focusing on the older youth to be ambassadors for the young ones. The streets are the engines of community, which can influence the whole area. Overall, crime has gone down. You can still find hidden alleyways, or more peripheral areas like the river and the dumpsite.

PRE-STREET TENDENCIES[25];
- Grogan A was the only village where murder was mentioned.
- The outskirts of Korogocho were targeted as critical areas.
- The central part of Gitathuru was targeted as a critical area.
- Many crime hotspots were located near entrances to the area.
- Several crime hotspots were located in street corners and along paths.
- Numerous crime hotspots were located near open places.

POST-STREET TENDENCIES;
- Grogan A and B were experienced as unsafe.
- The upgraded streets, except in Grogan and the low part of Mama Ngendo Road were experienced as safe.
- Open places with overview were experienced as safe.
- Escape ways for criminals were experienced as fewer.
- Outskirts of the area as Dandora, along the river and some parts of Kariobangi were experienced as unsafe.
- Spaces with low activity were experienced as unsafe.
- Mugging and motorcycle accidents were the issues of insecurity most frequently mentioned.
- Streetlights were mentioned as an important factor for safety.
- Orientation in the area was experienced as better and as a positive factor for safety.
- The long paths through Highridge from Kamunde Road were experienced as escape ways for criminals.

- Pre-street security Hotspots
  Issues mugging, rape, robbery murder

mugging rape robbery murder

Korogocho

- Pre-street critical areas specifically targeted in focus group discussions
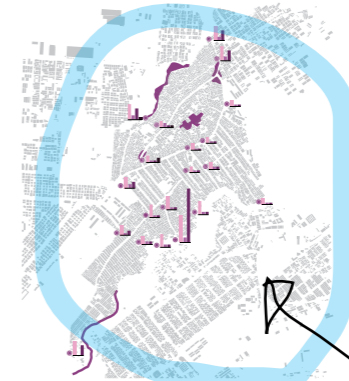
Safety perception prior the street upgrading, according to the Socio-economic Survey.

- Post-street critical areas
- Post-street safe/good areas
- Spots with overview and orientation
- Streetlights
- High-risk traffic accidents

...focus group discussions, interviews

Safety perception after the street upgrading, according to this case study in Korogocho.

This comparison is problematic since it builds upon two different studies with different methods.

This became very clear when the rollerskating kids reclaimed the "dangerous" Grogan Street!

Safety was one of the main concerns during our fieldwork in Korogocho. Our new friends in Korogocho were extremely keen to accompany us wherever we walked. The village of Grogan was the extreme; several times we had to turn around on the street of Grogan because of some danger that we did not really see. We became aware of how unaware we were of the codes and the silent language that was played out in front of us. Interestingly, as soon as the roller skating kids reclaimed the street of Grogan, the perception of it changed completely. It was transformed to a performance ground where anyone could participate. We could stroll down the street and feel our friends' surveying eyes loosen. The criminal youth gangs seemed to accept this event and let it be.

We had long discussions about what brings along the image of Nairobi as such a dangerous place. The security industry is thriving with everyone's desperation to fence their homes. It seems like the security business is creating a circulating reference of a dangerous place, that in turn is making it more dangerous. The vast social differences of Nairobi are increasing this gap. When people start to possess things, they become suspicious towards others who are less prosperous. When integration is initiated through a street that is connecting a slum area to the rest of the city, the feeling of safety might increase both within the area and exposure to the city's other residents might change their conception of slums.

STREETS FOR SAFETY AND SECURITY

By outsiders, and sometimes by the slum dwellers themselves, slums are often perceived as unsafe and insecure (UN-Habitat, 2011a). As slums seem to lack a clear form and structure, which can provide the basis for feelings of safety and security, they are often experienced as threatening environments to the majority of people who dwell outside of them (Abbott, J. 2004). The recognition and orientation in our surrounding is crucial, when we feel lost we feel apprehensive and with disorientation comes fear (Tuan, Y-F. 1974). Streets can be predominant elements in providing a sense of orientation in an area. Paths with clear and well-known origins and destinations have stronger identities and help tie an area together (Lynch, K. A. 1960). Hence it can be argued that to add orientation and overview to an area generates an experienced feeling of security for both dwellers within and outside the area.

Building streets to improve access into, and within slums, has proven to enhance safety and reduce fear of crime. Access to the rest of the city in combination with easier orientation can increase the number of people from outside to enter a slum area, raise the level of activity, and bridge the socio-spatial gap with the rest of the city (UN-Habitat, 2011a). In highly unequal societies, levels of violence and crime are high (Warah, R. 2011). Social cohesion can reduce social inequalities, decline exclusion and bridge the gap of urban segregation. Slum dwellers and the urban poor face a particularly acute risk of crime and violence. Often they rank either among the prime victims of urban crime or the common perpetrators. It is not an issue of poverty, but rather of the gap between social groups and neighbourhoods that could cause frustration that influences the level of crime (UN-Habitat, 2011a).

A prerequisite for the situation in a slum to improve is when a slum becomes lively enough to promote and enjoy public life. The wish to reside in a slum is influenced by physical factors in the neighbourhood. The valued security of one's home, in part, is a literal security from physical fear. Experience has shown that slums where the streets are empty and where residents are unsafe are less likely to spontaneously improve (Jacobs, J. 1961). Streets that gather the movement and activity of people provide a high degree of natural surveillance where the presence of other people generates self-policing (Montgomery, J. 1998, Gehl, J. 2006). The feeling of trespassing on someone else's territory is highly connected with built structure, safety and activities. If there are no public activities in an area a visitor might experience uncertainty and trespassing (Gehl, J. 2006). How cities are structured can affect incivilities. Cities that have attractive and lively public spaces and streets life combined with little segregation experience higher level of security (UN-Habitat, 2011a).

According to the safety audit conducted in Korogocho before the street upgrading took place, many crime hotspots were located around street crossings and along thoroughfares (Gathuthi, C. et al. 2010). Hence it can be argued that streets are strategic points to take actions in interventions for raising safety and security. Adequate streetlights, streets and community facilities have shown to have a direct effect on the perceived safety and security (UN-Habitat, 2011a). There is a difference between actual safety and perceived safety (crime prevention). The perceived security is related to public space, if people feel safe in the public space there are better opportunities for the public space to improve, which in turn increases safety (Eberhard, D. 2006).

Policemen patrolling the streets of Korogocho. Is that what brings safety to an area?

POST-STREET TENDENCIES FOUND DURING THE SCHOOL WORKSHOP;

- Grogan was experienced as unsafe.
- Gitathuru was experienced as unsafe.
- Dandora was experienced as unsafe.
- The river was experienced as unsafe but with potential.
- Parts of Highridge were experienced as unsafe.
- Korogocho B with the chief's camp and the football field was experienced as safe.
- Kariobangi was experienced as unsafe because of traffic accidents.
- Nyayo was experienced as safe.
- Home neighbourhood and well-known areas were experienced as safe.

Post-street security issues; rape, robbery, killers, thieves, accidents, dirt, drugs

■ Post-street unsafe areas

■ Post-street safe/good areas

specific targeted in focus group discussions
Target group; children Ngunyumu Primary school

The outcome from the mapping exercise revealed that 48 per cent of the children used parts of Kamunde Road (measured after the crossing with Community Lane), 20 per cent used parts of Market Road, 37 per cent used parts of Community Lane, and 30 per cent used parts of Muthenya Road on their way to school. Of the children living in Korogocho B, only 8 per cent used Market Road, 17 per cent Community Lane and as many as 75 per cent used Kamunde Road to school.

The children were asked if they walked the same way to school after the street upgrading, 40 per cent answered 'yes' and 60 per cent answered 'no'. There was no great difference between boys and girls. When the children were asked if they walked to school alone 44 per cent said 'yes' and 56 per cent said 'no'. Slightly fewer girls than boys answered that they walked to school alone. The total amount of children asked were 40 - 20 boys and 20 girls - and 4 of them did not give an answer to

Do you walk the same way to school since the road was constructed? (no answer 4)

Yes 60%   No 40%

Do you walk to school alone? (no answer 4)

Yes 44%   No 56%
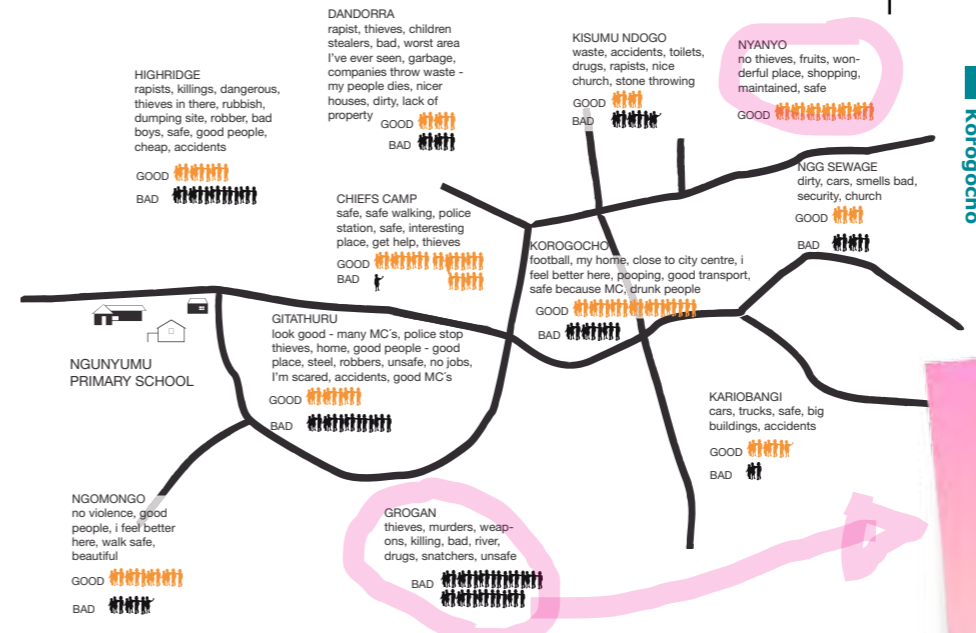
The place for the market, always crowded - natural surveillance!

DANDORRA
rapist, thieves, children stealers, bad, worst area I've ever seen, garbage, companies throw waste - my people dies, nicer houses, dirty, lack of property
GOOD
BAD

HIGHRIDGE
rapists, killings, dangerous, thieves in there, rubbish, dumping site, robber, bad boys, safe, good people, cheap, accidents
GOOD
BAD

CHIEFS CAMP
safe, safe walking, police station, safe, interesting place, get help, thieves
GOOD
BAD

KISUMU NDOGO
waste, accidents, toilets, drugs, rapists, nice church, stone throwing
GOOD
BAD

NYANYO
no thieves, fruits, wonderful place, shopping, maintained, safe
GOOD

NGG SEWAGE
dirty, cars, smells bad, security, church
GOOD
BAD

KOROGOCHO
football, my home, close to city centre, i feel better here, pooping, good transport, safe because MC, drunk people
GOOD
BAD

GITATHURU
look good - many MC's, police stop thieves, home, good people - good place, steel, robbers, unsafe, no jobs, i'm scared, accidents, good MC's
GOOD
BAD

NGUNYUMU PRIMARY SCHOOL

KARIOBANGI
cars, trucks, safe, big buildings, accidents
GOOD
BAD

NGOMONGO
no violence, good people, i feel better here, walk safe, beautiful
GOOD
BAD

GROGAN
thieves, murders, weapons, killing, bad, river, drugs, snatchers, unsafe
BAD

This map is a summary of the places that were listed as good and bad by the students, and the characteristics associated with them.

Korogocho

Everyone is scared of Grogan. Is it really that dangerous, or is it a place everyone avoids, making it a self-fulfiling curse?

48% Uses part of Kamunde road (after the crossing)
20% Uses part of Market road
37% Uses part of Community Lane
30% Uses part Muthenya road

NGUNYUMU PRIMARY SCHOOL

8% Of the children living in Korogocho B uses Market Road to school

17% Of the children living in Korogocho B uses the Community lane to school

75% Uses Kamunde road to school
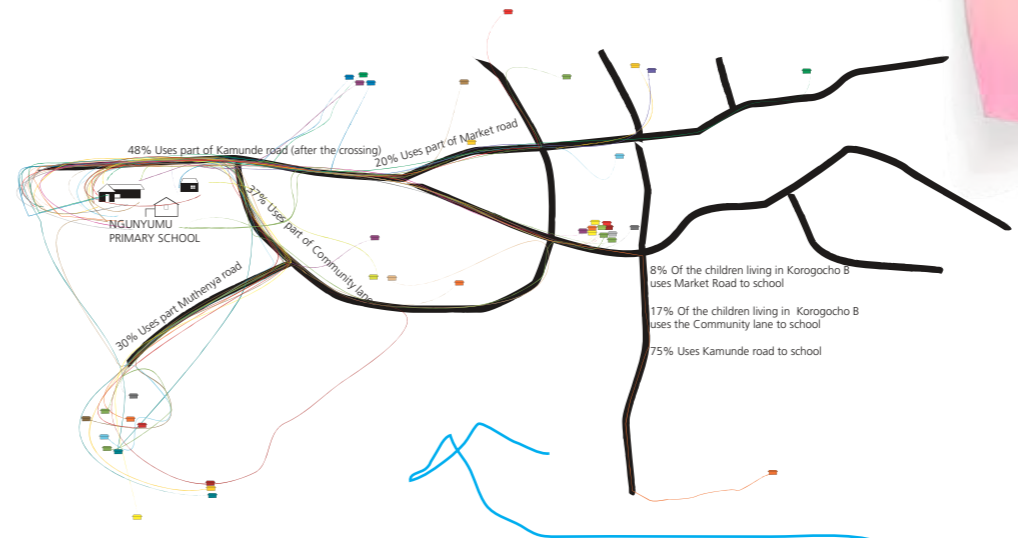
This map represents the way all students that participated in the workshop take to school.

THIS MAP IS FROM THE SCHOOL WORKSHOP. INTERESTINGLY, THE STREET PATTERN DIFFERS FROM THE MAP ON GOOGLE EARTH... WHICH MAP IS MORE TRUE?

As part of our research we had planned to do a school workshop and suddenly we found ourselves in a classroom with 40 children. The workshop took place in the public school an early morning and we felt quite prepared. Last year when we wrote Nairobi Narratives we held a workshop in a school in Mathare slum and got to familiarize ourselves with the setting. This time we wanted more of a dynamic discussion and rearranged the tables so that the children would face each other. This was unfamiliar for them; they wanted to place the tables in straight lines facing the black board where we, "the teachers", should teach them. They expected authority but we wanted them to teach us! In retrospective, the workshop would have been easier with a translator. Sometimes, we had to rely on the older students to explain things to the younger in Swahili. We had some issues to reach to the micro-spatialities of the street; the children saw the bigger picture and associated danger with names of different areas rather than exact spots. This might also have been an issue with the map. We used the map that is painted on all the walls of the schools and the children recognized it immediately, and the low level of detail in the map might have been generalizing. It is relevant to question the setting and the constellation. Maybe more elaborated answers could have been reached through transect walks with smaller groups, or through smaller group discussions.

THE CONTROL OF STREETS

Throughout history the street has often been referred to as an insecure area. This can be seen in degrading word compounds such as street-girl, street-children and street-riot, and even street-vendor that sometimes when used is carrying a degrading peal. The danger with the street is that it carries unpredictable and uncontrolled possibilities and do not respond to high demands of organization and orderliness. This might seem chaotic and desirable to structure and order (Franzén, M. 1982). Human attempts to dominate, control and tailor the world are centuries old. When something that used to be manageable and logical gets out of hand the sense of overview and responsibility might get lost. Then it is tempting to try to compensate for this through the articulation of rules and regulations, of norms and ideals and actions are increasingly alienated from their effects (Hellström Reimer, M. 2010). A slum might be informal but not random or chaotic, each house that is built contributes to an overall plan without any formal system of control in place (Dovey, K. 2010).

An example where the nature of the street provoked domination is the "rookeries", or the slums, in the mid-Victorian London where the commercial street became a weapon in the fight for the elimination of slums. The back alleys in London where described as "devils' acres", "dark purlieus", "sinks of iniquity" and "plagued spots" and the labouring and dangerous classes that dwelled in the streets were described as "deviants", "moral filth" and "dregs of humanity" (Jukes, P. 1991). This picture often led to a superficial technical solution to the problem of poverty. Believing that by destroying the buildings and the back alleys and "cleaning up the filth" the social conditions produced there would also disappear. The ascetic consideration is evident (Jukes, P. 1991).

Many different interests claim control over street space. Streets located in areas with high levels of competing interests and busy flows of people are more frequently the focus of conflict. This is a dilemma since many and diverse activities, people and multiple meetings are components that are prerequisites for vital streets (Jukes, P. 1991). For example, locations with busy pedestrian flows are key sites for street vending (Brown, A. 2006). When one interest becomes overwhelming it can cause over-crowding, traffic problems, public health dangers and petty crime (e.g. pick pocketing) (Hansen, K.T. & Vaa, M. 2004). Authority's response to these conflicts is often the removal or restriction of unconventional street uses like roller-skating, cultural events or informal vending. Attempts to control street life can have drastic effects both on economy and the level of activity in and around the street (Brown, A. 2006). As stated before, streets with a high level of activity generate more and new activities and are often experienced as safer than uninhabited streets (Montgomery, J. 1998, Gehl, J. 2006).

The street is the most visible place where police exert authority with a mandate for territorial control (Mitchell, D. 2003). However, police can never achieve complete street sovereignty because they do not control social and gender dynamics that has an effect on the street life (Brown, A. 2006). The effort for direct control of the street is represented by the police force but Franzén (1982) means that there is also an attempt of indirect control over the street that was adopted with the zoning system in the functionalistic planning tradition. By ascribing a certain place an expected usage and giving it a certain formation the planners sought to control activity in that place. The paving of a street or giving it a certain form is followed by a limitation of activities and options for what might happen in that space and hence also what usage that is accepted. The cultural norms and images of what a street is and what activities that is supposed to occur there is also restrictive and can to some extent be excluding (Kärrholm, M. 2004). This might be referred to as cultural control over street space.

Usually it is the culture of the group with most resources and influence that dominates space, "culturally controlled" environments where privatizing and commercializing takes over space leads to the exclusion of other activities (Kärrholm, M. 2004). The built environment does not determine how people interact but it does constrain the range of interaction possible. Culture and power in urban design can result in the inclusion and exclusion of certain groups from urban society and urban space (Gehl, J. 2006). What unites many of the streets in cities of the south is the weakness of the state in controlling a vibrant, sometimes poor, economy. One effect of this is a sense of slippage or boundlessness (Dovey, K. 2010). As discussed before, when the strategies controlling a space are weak tactics tend to develop and have a bigger impact (de Certeau, M. 1984). Hamdi (2004) means that systems on the border to chaos are more creative. There is a risk that when a use is imposed from above, even in an indirect way, this boundlessness or specific character gets lost or comes into conflict with the attended use. If the residents feel that the forces shaping the street are out of reach, sense of belonging and concern might be weakened. If you feel that you have control over a place or space you feel more responsible for what happens to that place (Sack, D. R. 1997).

Korogocho

When we were discussing ways to improve security in the area many children suggested more police patrol.
Police patrolling the streets sends signals of authoritarian- and territorial control but it does not affect or change the social dynamics in that area, rather redirect it to other areas...

This map is a combination of the places that the students pointed out in the mapping excercise, representing the places they percieve as dangerous or appealing.

either of the questions above. Of the participants in the questionnaire survey, 42 per cent answered that Korogocho has become safer, 42 per cent said that it was less safe and the rest did not notice any changes. This indicates that there are still security problems even though the security in some areas has been improved.

When looking at the villages separately, Nyayo had noticed an improvement in security with 84 per cent of the participants from the questionnaire survey saying so. People answered that the wider streets has enabled the spotting of criminals from a distance. The streetlights and the motorcycles were mentioned by all participants as factors that have improved security and reduced the amount of criminal activities. The possibility of travelling easily by motorcycle has even facilitated walking through insecure areas as it makes it possible to get away at any time.

In Korogocho B, 65 per cent of the participants answered that the area has become less

safe after the streets were improved. Unemployment was mentioned as a cause of criminality in the area. The youth was perceived as a big issue as many of them are unemployed or underemployed. Several of the participants in the survey stressed that they wanted more police to patrol the streets in order to increase security.

Questionnaire ou
streets became s
(total respondent

future professor?

THE KIDS EX PECTED US TO TEACH THEM, WE WANTED THEM TO TEACH US!

outcome. Do you experience that the streets becam

Interview with Artists united   2012-12

We met Philip at 11am outside of the Kariobangi Catholic Church. He had his hair in a big rasta-hat and apologized for the short time he had kept us waiting. Philip took us to 'Artists united for a safer Korogocho', a tall concrete building where he just got installed in his new studio. Crammed around his desk we bombarded him with questions. During our talk Daniel and Simon, and later Mike and Robert joined in. They were all pioneers of Artists united, part of a music group called Hope Raisers, Mike part of Ghetto Classic. What had made them all come together was their belief in art as a motor for community development.

In April 2011 they launched a successful event, a festival that connected a lot of organizations working in Korogocho. This was an initiative that aimed at unite the many organizations that are active in the area; they took it as their responsibility to do what they could with the little resources they had. They all showed scepticism towards the big number of NGO's, blaming them to work too much as individual organizations instead of turning the power of the many into an opportunity.

Recently the same guys realized that art and music does not appeal to everybody, and they started to reclaim the newly built streets and to use them as roller-skating grounds. Every Saturday they meet at the new street in Grogan, the most insecure and unsafe area of the community, and teach children how to skate. Through this, they also work to change the negative perception of the area. Other days, they take the kids to the Kasarani stadium or to the city centre to skate, as a way to expose them to other parts of the city. They organized an event the 31st of December, and had a very successful collaboration with women from Korogocho that helped to calm down traffic.

They believe that the community should drive the changes, canalizing support from NGO's.

CHATTING WITH SCOLASTICA & CATHERINE

Scolastica and Catherine throw themselves at us as we enter the schoolyard, laughing and thrilled that we meet again. They are friends from eighth grade in the public Ngunyumu Primary School and hope to continue to study after they graduate. Scolastica is 16 years old. She was born in Muranga but today she lives in Highridge with her stepfather, mother and five siblings. Her stepfather owns a butchery and her mum is unemployed. The butchery has been there for 8 years and is located along the street in Highridge. Scolastica tells us that when the streets were paved her stepfather's business was forced back. However, the new place he got might even be bigger so he is not concerned. The girls lived in Korogocho during the construction of the streets. Catherine recalls:

"It was very bad, people had to move. But there was no violence; they found somewhere to move in Koch,"

Catherine is 15 years and lives in Kisumu Ndogo with her two brothers and her mother who is working in a factory that is processing soap and oil for export and international trading. The factory is located in Babadogo, a neighbouring area to Korogocho and Catherine tells us that her mother is happy about her work. It gives money for the children's school, trips, food and clothes. Catherine's father passed away when she was 12 years old during the post-election violence. The girls use the streets to walk to school and when they want to go somewhere outside Korogocho. When they do not go to school they play, mostly in someone's house, study or go to the library. Catherine would like to build more schools, libraries, electricity, streets and hospitals. The girls used the streets before the upgrading but tell us that traffic accidents, rapes, thieves, and insecurity was common. Catherine says:

"In Korogocho there is only one library and the other one is in Kariobangi. Sometimes the library is full. In the evening the children cannot read because there is no electricity. But the streets help people. Now the streets have begun to grow with a new hospital and more security. But it is too dangerous on the streets. There is enough space to play in the schools. Children like to play in Daniel Comboni. People are fighting for it to be left open for the children to play after school."

The girls explain that they are both football players and like sport. Scolastica tells that she has two talents; high-jump and football. St. John's is opened in evenings after school, Saturdays and Sundays during sports trainings then Catherine can play basketball there. Scolastica says:

"We even do taekwondo, there is a club in this school and I'm in it. It is called "Fight for peace" and teaches children how to defend themselves."

When we talk about the future, Catherine explains that in five years she wants to be in school so that she can get out of the slum. She also wants Korogocho to grow so that it will not be called slum again. Scolastica wants to make life better and learn more.

"I want to go out into the world to know more about other countries and then I will be able to come back to the slum and help."

It is difficult to get the girls to talk about the streets. It seems as they find other things more important. But if the girls could change the design of the streets they say that the streets are not completed so first they would like to complete them. They would like to have more cars and matatus in Korogocho that could go to town, and then people
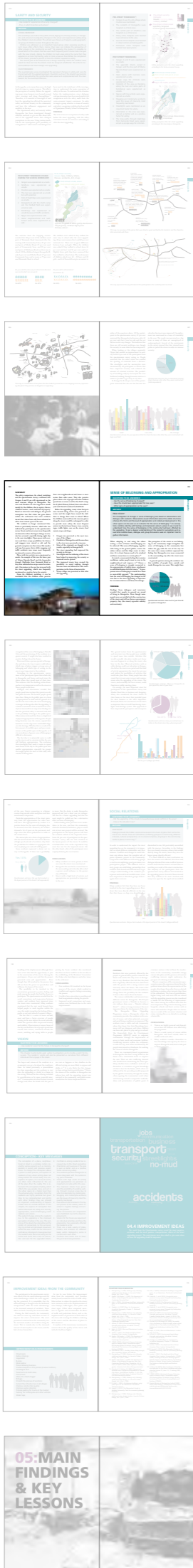
could go there and sell things. They also want to have more security and reduce the accidents. The solution to this is more streets and traffic police.

"It would also be good to divide the street in different lanes for pedestrians, bodas and cars. People would stay in the right lane because they do not want Koch to be a slum."

Then they start to talk about other things. Scolastica would build more beautiful houses and more schools.

"The houses are very bad. During the rains, the houses get soaked. And at our school there is thousand students and they do not learn. They don't have money to go to school so their parents tell them to go and sell things in the morning and then in the evening they can get something to eat."

It really is a silly question

Is it possible to determine if a community's sense of belonging has improved?

Our sense of belonging changed!

It became clear that the more time we spent in Korogocho, the stronger we felt a sense of belonging towards the area.

We saw a clear correlation between meaning and familiarity. This can also be translated to the transformation from space to place through time. If you spend much time in an area, which is likely to happen close to your home, your attachment to it grows...

this goes beyond community! PLACE is not bounded to the imagined borders of the community...

to what extent can sense of belonging be understood through diagrams? How can it be measured by figures & facts?
A hard task indeed...

SENSE OF BELONGING IS NOT LIMITED TO A SPECIFIC LOCATION. IT IS ALSO INDICATED IN THE MENTAL SPACE. THE RESIDENTS IN KOROGOCHO FEEL A STRONG CONNECTION TO THEIR RURAL HOMES.

THE OPENING OF A BUS OFFICE IN KOROGOCHO HAS MADE SOME RESIDENTS CLOSER TO THEIR RURAL HOME.

WE BELIEVE THAT THIS CAN STRENGTHEN THE SENSE OF BELONGING TO KOROGOCHO.

sense of belonging

IF YOU COULD GO TO ANY PLACE IN THE WORLD, WHERE WOULD YOU GO?

EH, I DONT KNOW A BEACH MAYBE?

IS THE SLUM A HOME OR JUST A PLACE TO STAY?

THE QUESTION OF WHO IS ALTERING THE STREET SCENE IS ALSO AFFECTING THE SENSE OF BELONGING. SLUM UPGRADING IS AN ALTERNATION IMPOSED FROM A TOP DOWN PERSPECTIVE AND THUS A SENSITIVE MATTER...

SUMMARY

The safety comparison, the s... and the questionnaire survey... Grogan A and B are still exp... most insecure villages in K... river and Dandora are also tar... mainly by the children, due to ... 'children-stealers', waste and law... Based on interviews and dialog... conception was that crime ha... within the settlements but so... meant that crimes have only bee... other more remote spots in the a...

The residents no longer men... thuru as particularly insecure, wh... indicated by participants in the qu... survey. Streets and street corners were frequently mentioned as where the largest change in security has occurred, especially during night due to the new streetlights. Open spaces with overview and fewer escape possibilities for thieves and muggers were viewed as safe and the general conception was that crimes like murder and rape have gone down while mugging and traffic accidents were issues most frequently mentioned as sources of insecurity.

Places with low activity were experienced as unsafe. An example of this was the lower part of 'Mama Ngendo Road' and the long paths through Highridge from Kamunde Road as they were mentioned as escape routes for criminals. Orientation in the area has increased with the street upgrading, which was frequently mentioned as a positive factor for security.

From the children's workshop it can be concluded that the children often percei...

... school-... ...hotspots ...ed as ...chil-... When ...laces ...order ...ent ...rity, ...on the streets, bus/ matatu stops and shops.

- Grogan was perceived as the most insecure of the villages
- Outskirts of Korogocho and the area close to the river were perceived as insecure
- Most of the criminals are thought to be youths, especially in Korogocho B
- The street upgrading had improved the security in the area
- Streetlights and the widening of the streets have helped in improving the security as criminals can be spotted
- The improved streets have created the possibility to avoid walking through insecure areas and allowed for safer transportation in the form of motorcycles
- Nyayo village was perceiv...
  the upgr...

SENSE OF BELONGING AND APPROPRIATION

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

- Has the sense of belonging changed?
- Have the streets been appropriated for new uses?
- What signs of appropriation can be seen?

METHOD

FIELD STUDY:

The investigation of changes in sense of belonging was based on observations and dialogue with residents. Observations reveal information about the visible structures of place (the form) and the level of appropriation and individual improvement in the urban space can be seen as an indicator for the sense of belonging.[26] As conceptions combine identity with feelings and impressions about a place it was crucial to understand how the sense of belonging in the community had been affected by the upgrading. To get a deeper understanding of the residents' perceptions and re-veal local in... ...group discussions were an important tool to ... to successfully upgrade.[?] The understanding how the sense of belonging has changed in the area due to the street upgrading is important for recommendations and future knowledge.

The perception of the streets as not belonging to the community might strengthen the sense of belonging in the community but widen the gap with the rest of the city. At the same time, many residents expressed the feeling that Korogocho was more connected to the surrounding city after the streets were constructed.

A general opinion among the residents was that mobility of people from outside and inside Korogocho was easier. This might have

FINDINGS

Findings from dialogues and interviews revealed that people in general are proud of living in Korogocho. Even though some people were not satisfied with the construction of the streets and still see them as government property, they (the streets) represent stability and continuity.

23% Most of the day
7% Only for sleeping
64% Whole day
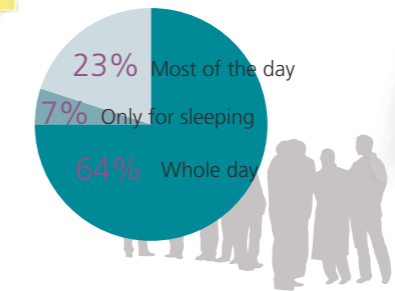
Questionnaire outcome. How much of your time do you spend in Korogocho?

UN-Habitat wanted us to investigate whether the sense of belonging in Korogocho had changed after the streets were upgraded. This was by far the hardest investigation we undertook. Is it even possible to determine if a community's sense of belonging has improved? Even though UN-Habitat wanted us to present "figures & facts", we felt it impossible to measure the sense of belonging. When we thought of our own experiences it became clear that the more time we spent in Korogocho, the stronger we felt a sense of belonging towards the area. Does this mean that time is key to develop a sense of belonging? When thinking of time as a significant factor in this matter, we started ponder on the fact that the street scene has been altered. The intervention has de-territorialized the streetscape and this could have affect on the sense of belonging, making the residents re-territorialize the space. The residents who had to move due to the street upgrading, the reorganization of the increased space and the power structures, surely must have influence the sense of belonging as well as the question of who that is altering the street scene. Slum upgrading is an alternation imposed from a top-down perspective and thus a sensitive matter. Improving means altering but does this strengthen or weaken the sense of belonging?

Sense of belonging is not limited to a specific location, it is also inflicted in the mental space. We have understood that many residents in Kenya feel a strong connection to their rural homes, the home away from home. Since the streets have been upgraded in Korogocho, some expressed appreciation for the newly established bus office, selling tickets to far away destinations. Suddenly they were closer to their rural homes and we believe that this can strengthen the satisfaction, and thereby sense of belonging, in Korogocho.

STREETS FOR SENSE OF BELONGING

According to Relph (1979) the places we are most attached to also become the places that we care about, places that we are responsible for and feel committed to. The caretaking of these places shows our relation to the world. Streets in slum areas are often residential streets lined up by structures and homes to hundreds of residents. As a place of home streets are valuable entities for the sense of belonging. The urban culture consists of structures shaped by a diversity of different identities, backgrounds and concepts. Residents that adapt to these create a sense of belonging to them; they make it their home. (De Vaal, M. & De Lange, M. 2008)

The home is an important part of every human being as it becomes a place of care, commitment and responsibility. People feel a certain respect to it, both for what it is to others and what it is to them (Relph, E. 1976). This relationship is based on identification to certain objects and orientation within the home area. In primitive areas, like slums, the physical elements and small details can have greater importance for the identification than the orientation. The relationship to these objects develops already at childhood and follows the person through out the life, contributing to the individual experience of identity (Norberg-Schultz, C. 1976). The concept of home is a place where identity is created by memories and dreams, and the stronger these memories are the harder it is to leave home (Douglas, P.J. & Smith, E.S. 2001). As stated before many necessary daily activates takes place on the street in a slum setting, in this sense the street is an elongation of the private home (Gehl, J. 2007). This makes the street in a slum setting especially valuable when targeting to create a greater care and responsibility for the physical environment among the resident (Relph, E. 1976). Residents in neighbourhoods with a higher quality of the physical environment are more likely to have stronger emotional bonds to where they live. It can then be argued

that improvement of the physical conditions, to create higher quality environments, have the possibility to strengthen the sense of belonging among the residents (Gieryn, F.T. 2000). However, this is under the conditions that the streets continue to be the territory of the residents in spite of strategies imposed from above via the upgrading. If the upgrading turn the streets into the territory of the government or into an excluding territory favouring certain groups, this might have a negative effect on the sense of belonging (Kärrholm, M. 2004).

A place is often recognized by its common use. The users give local meaning to the place and might reinforce the identity by giving the place a name, like "the place of the roller-skaters" or the "highway". Physical traces created by the use also emphasize the identity of a place and make it more recognized as a territory for certain uses and people. This strengthens the sense of belonging for the users but excludes the nonusers, as it affect the conventions around how a certain place should be used (Kärrholm, M. 2004).

As mentioned above streets have an essential role to play in slum upgrading processes as they are often the only public space available and the place for people to hang out, meet, work and socialize (Staeheli, L.A. & Mitchell, D. 2008). Place attachment is a result of these accumulated experiences. Place attachment can develop in several different ways and are based on individual experiences and identities. Gifford (1996) names six sources for place attachment; genealogy, when places are linked to persons through historical identifications of the family; loss and destruction of a place, that often strengthens the identity to a place that will never exist again; ownership, that often make the place become part of us; cosmological place attachment, that refers to a culture's religious and mythological views on person-place attachment; attachment to places we seldom visit, like Mecca and Jerusalem; and place attachment that develops

through narratives that explain the important issues- and questions of life in terms of people-place interactions. In the context of the streetscape as place, attachment in slum areas is rather assuming to be based on the genealogy, ownership, and narrative while loss and destruction can be thought of as result of slum demolition and displacement. The effects of displacement vary depending upon whether the dislocation is forced or voluntary. It also depends on whether the displacement is temporary or permanent (Geiryn, F.T. 2000).

By focusing on streets and place attachment in slum upgrading the sense of security and well being, and the defining of group boundaries and the stabilization of memories, can be facilitated. In places like the street or on the pavement, unpredictable encounters with others occur on daily basis (Jacobs, J. 1961) and the street in a slum setting is where the private and the public activities meet (Gehl, J. 2006). This promotes a widening of personal networks and norms and strengthens the sense of social space have the possibility to bring people together in networks of mutuality and association that encourage creative forms of community engagement. The pavement also produces safety, trust and the socialization of the young. If residents' attachment is not considered when changing urban patterns it may wound the social well being within the neighbourhood. To be without a place of one's own is to be almost non-existent (Relph, E. 1976).

...ough there were a few who had the opportunity to join in the construction of the streets. Among the participants, 14 per cent said that the project generated some job opportunities. Even though they felt involved in the process they did not have the power to spread ideas and influence the layout of the streets.

The possibility to be involved in the construction generated a positive feeling and pride among the people that had the chance to participate. The questionnaire revealed that the social connections and cooperation between vendors and residents have improved since the streets were constructed. Many residents mentioned that the new social bounds have helped people to work together within the area; this might strengthen the feeling of Korogocho as one unit instead of separate villages.

The fact that it is easier to move around, meet and have a better overview of people moving in the area widens the social network, which has a positive effect on personal security and stability. Observations at various hours of the day revealed that a lot of people spend time outside their houses, orientated towards the streets, watching and saying hello to people passing by. Some residents also mentioned that there are fewer conflicts in the area due to the establishing of the Residents' Committee that helps solve land disputes and other issues in the settlement.

CONCLUSIONS
- Few residents felt involved in the layout process of the streets, which resulted in conflicts and negative feelings concerning the process
- Conflicts have arisen due to resettling and land reorganization during the process
- Improved social connections and cooperation were facilitated due to the street improvements
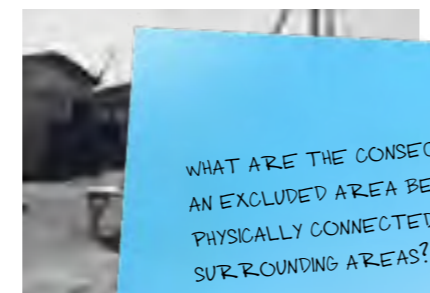
VISION

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED
- Has residents' vision for the future in Korogocho ch...

METHOD
This chapter mainly builds upon earlier investigations and is mostly a point for discussion. The residents' visions will also be presented as narratives from different individuals that engage in the street.

The hopes and visions of the residents in a community can say a lot about the conditions there. As stated previously, a precondition for slum upgrading and the residents to stay after the upgrading is a belief in a future in the setting, without the fear of being excluded by gentrification or by more powerful interests.[34] Communities are often hesitant towards changes and when the break with the past is too vast or happens to fast, d... affected setting are more likely... dislike it.[35] It is also likely th... in slum settings lead to gentrifi... the visions of the residents in... inform how well the upgra... received in the community... mendations for future impl...

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insecurity, a...
Korogocho stand...
change limits the...
to have a clear v...

The various... different vision... government w... city without... slums[37] - whe... important fac...

The Korog... Programme wants a K... community provides the residents with security of tenure and where physical, economic and social living conditions are improved. The residents want a stable and safe community where they know that their flourishing businesses will not disappear and where children can have safe places to play and go to school. The Kenya-Italy Dept for Development Programme (KIDDP) wants to empower communities through the improvement of access to basic social and economic facilities. Conflicting interests within the settlement, or with the city, were often mentioned by the people interviewed as a hindrance for reaching the vision of a better Korogocho.

There are community-based organizations in Korogocho that have strong beli... future an... the area... who benefi... Many dwe...

...notio...
the co...
e plac...

...ears of gentrification, ...nts that are related ...ess are also considered ...ving of improvement. ...residents show that the ...s better housing, more ...basic services such as ...People often see insecu- ...economic situation and ...s an obstacle to reaching

CONCLUSIONS
- Visions are highly personal and dependent on how the residents were affected by the programme
- There is a wide variety of visions within Korogocho and from outside often in conflict with each other
- Many residents consider themselves to have knowledge and capacity for how to improve Korogocho and want to take part in future processes

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HAS THE LOSS AND DESTRUCTION OF HOMES MADE THE RESIDENTS FEEL STRONGER BOUNDS TO KOROGOCHO AS THEY HAVE NOSTALGIC MEMORIES OF A PLACE THAT WILL NEVER EXIST AGAIN?

Sense of belonging through ownership?!

A CLASH IN THE VISION! Many residents that we have met romanticize the orderly city. For the least well-off this remains a distant dream, and upgrading brings fear of exclusion, removal and unsecurity. We, as landscape architects romanticize the slum and it's dynamics.

Back to the ground! When we tried to talk about visions with the people in Koch, we realized that they did not correspond to the visions we expected to hear. We were so much into our thinking about streets as place that we forgot to remember that other, often way more material things, were the prioirty for many residents. We bacame aware of difficulties to reach into the core of one issue that is evident for us as trained landscape architects and started to reflect upon elitism in our proffesional language....

AS WE HAVE DISCUSSED, FORMALIZATION CAN ALSO BE USED AS A TOOL FOR POLITICIANS TO CONTROL SLUM DWELLERS...

WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES WHEN AN EXCLUDED AREA BECOMES MORE PHYSICALLY CONNECTED TO THE SURROUNDING AREAS?

CAN IT ALSO BE SEEN AS TRESPASSING ON SOMEONE'S TERRITORY?

THE LESS INFLUENTIAL FEAR THAT THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO INFLUENCE THE FUTURE! THIS SEEMS TO RESULT IN LACK OF CARE FOR THE PROJECT...

Are signs a way of appropriating and structuring a place?

Making order and structurizing an area, is that a sign of beutification, risk demolish other, unstructured patterns that may be valuable for the areas identity?

- Do we have the right to go there and say that informal creativity needs to be kept because we think it's beautiful? What is really the dominating vision, is it the planners, the strucutre owners or the residents'?
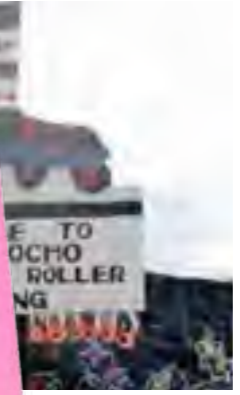
many of the residents that we spoke to said that they felt an insecurity and uncertainty for the future, something went wrong...

The "kings of Korogocho" dream of a Korogocho that is orderly arranged, with a nine-meter road to every plot. It goes in line with the image presented by the City of Nairobi, of a Nairobi without slums, a beautifying image produced by "western" development ideals. The "kings" dream of this because they know that they are there to stay, they are structure owners or influential in the local government and they will be appointed one of the plots aligned along the straightened roads. However, their dream does not accommodate all the residents in Korogocho. Those who are not included in the dream, which will have to move, probably have other dreams. What we experienced when being in field and talking to residents was that the importance of function came before beauty. They wished to have streets without mud and potholes, security, houses with proper roofs, space where they could cook and sanitation facilities near their homes. The adults and parents named things that would make life easier in Korogocho while the children dreamt of big, luxurious houses and painted cars and swimming pools with big gardens, things they had seen that happy families on TV were living in.

THE DOMINATING VISION OF BEAUTY

In the western world during the 19th century urban beautification was a tool to express the values and the culture of the urban dominating class, to educate the citizens and to impress visitors. It was a great enthusiasm, and sometimes obsession, to renovate the city's image by cleaning up and beautify the city centres (Peterson, J. 1976). In Europe, Haussmann called his demolition of working-class central Paris a "strategic beautification" (Jukes, P. 1991). These tendencies are similar to what can be seen in the government visions for Nairobi and other third world cities today (Nairobi Ministry of the Metropolitan, 2008). In modern city planning an aesthetic surface often conceals the ethical reality and redevelopment is concentrated around notions of ugliness ad beauty, aversion and desire (Jukes, P. 1991). Urban beautification schemes in order to project a positive image of third world cities, especially connected to big events and expositions, is suggested to be the most common justifications for slum clearance programmes (Greene, J.S. 2003). These shortsighted strategies of forced removal are practiced in order to conceal the existence of slum dwellers and, in doing so, protect national claims of "development" (Greene, J.S. 2003).

In Nairobi this line of thought can be seen in the actions of the government during the late 1960s, on and off, to the late 1990s when government considered the formations of informal settlements undesirable and official government policy was to demolish or move the slums away from the city centre (Weru, J. 2004). Informal areas in view from the formal city such as located close to major transportation lines or central districts are more probable to be cleaned up and beautified (Dovey, K. 2010). Urban beautification of one area risk a push towards slum formations in another, as the people "cleaned away" might have no other option than turn to informality (Wasike, P. 2002). The effects of "cleaning up" and the extreme division this might create within a city can clearly be seen in Nairobi. You can be arrested for sitting on a flowerpot in the Central Business District while children play in and around raw sewage in other areas because their neighbourhood lack basic sanitation and other playable open spaces (Warah, R. 2011). Thus urban beatification is not only a threat in terms of demolition but also a part of the reason for the geographic location of a slum and a factor that might reinforce the gap between a slum and other areas (Warah, R. 2011).

As we keep arguing in this thesis, dominant ideology of municipal guidelines in the south is highly influenced by northern city management policies (Brown, A. 2006). Not the least in the conception of nature as true beauty and designing with nature as the only aesthetic option (Hellström Reimer, M. 2010). The term "greenwash" is commonly used within environmental discourse, to describe the superficial adoption of development initiatives. It also describes the struggle for symbolic capital in a field that is victim to fashion and where representations dominate. Aesthetic form that catches the imagination and meets the current issues of the market has a great deal of currency (Dovey, K. & Owen, C. 2008). The idea that aesthetic enjoyment or beauty is the perfect perception and that aesthetic pleasure comes with the experience of complete logic has been very influential in the western world (Hellström Reimer, M. 2010). This has lead to a globalized aesthetic culture, where beauty has become ever-present and sometimes resulting in homogenizing and normative definitions (Hellström Reimer, M. 2010). There is an unconscious link between urban development and the use of beautification to improve cities and neighbourhoods. In practice there is a tendency to choose the easy way out and apply the dominant and most 'natural' approach. This means a mainstreaming of dominant cultural practice where development strategies often follow the upper-class norms of beauty. These norms are often denying the values of those groups that do not correspond to them. Limited conceptions have merged into a limited view of development where the importance of interaction with the community is under-evaluated (Moulaert, F., Demuynck, H. & Nussbaumer. J. 2004). Edensor (1998) describes the Indian street as a tangle of spatial forms and practices, smells, values and representations in contrast to the increasingly regulated, desensitized and over-determined western street. This disorder might to some extent be a mythic construction by the western gaze and a logical structure for the people living in the area (Dovey, K. 2010). Concepts of aesthetics and public order lead to a desire to ´tidy´ and ´control´ public space, because the western concept of beauty is closely connected to logic and order (Brown, A. 2006).

CONCEPTION - KEY MESSAGES

The conception of a place, neighbourhood or street is a complex notion created by various aspects such as memory, position in society and previous experiences. To change the conception about a place is a slow process; conceptions of residents of any urban setting does not always reflect the actual reality. The conceptions of a place, or a cause of events, are often more influential on the use of the place than the reality. This is reflected in the conception of safety, which affects the way people move and act in the urban space on a higher level than the actual security. Conceptions from the residents are highly personal but given time to be comprehended and jointly with other findings they can provide an important understanding of aspects hidden from an outside observer. In this chapter, the aspects of conception that will be discussed are safety and security, appropriation, sense of belonging, social relations and visions.

The evident change among the residents due to the upgrading is the improved perception of safety in the area. The widening of the streets has strengthened the notion of connectivity to the surrounding city context and perceived movement within the area. Visions for the future and confidence in Korogocho have grown but the residents also feel uncertainty for the future and some feel a lack of connection and care for the upgraded streets

- Confidence among residents has increased due to the street upgrading
- Orientation and overview in the area is seen as better and as a positive factor concerning safety
- The residents perceive Korogocho as more integrated with the surrounding parts of Nairobi
- Streets with high levels of activity and appropriation are perceived as important and safe within the area
- The improved streets have generated the possibility of avoiding walking through insecure areas due to safer transportation by motorcycles
- Mugging and motorcycle accidents are the issues of insecurity most frequently mentioned
- Few residents felt involved in the layout process of the streets, which resulted in negative feelings concerning the process
- Social connections and cooperation were facilitated due to the street improvements
- Visions for the future are dependent on individual priorities and how the programme has personally affected the residents so far
- There are a wide variety of stakeholders and interests on different levels within Korogocho, some in

jobs
communication
transportation
business
more-food
transport
clean
access
more-cars
security
streetlights
less-crime
no-mud

accidents
Accidents killings expensive
eviction unemployment insecurity
motorbike

04.4 IMPROVEMENT IDEAS

The result from the Questionnaire survey reveal the most negative, accidents, and the most positive, transportation, effects of the street upgrading project. The participants were also asked to give some ideas on how the upgrading could be improved.

Speaking with the residents we got the impression that the majority were satisfied with the upgrading of streets. It seemed as the upgrading had helped to increase the perception of security in the area, as well as the actual number of illegal activities. Mobility appeared to have increased and also the connectivity within and to Korogocho, working towards integration with the rest of the city. From the residents stories it was obvious that the increased mobility also had led to an increased amount of motor traffic with higher speed on the streets, mainly constituted of motorcycle taxis. Therefore, one of the major concerns among the residents that followed the construction of the streets was the increased number of accidents. To counter this trend many residents emphasized the need of traffic signs and other traffic calming measures. We observed that the residents themselves had tried to reduce traffic speed by building road bumps out of garbage and dust at critical spots.

As our experiences in Korogocho implied, the upgrading programme implement no soft measures in order to educate the residents on how to use the streets. Especially children seemed unaware of how to handle the new traffic situation. We where told that several children had become injured or even died playing on the street or while trying to cross. Another observation we did was the importance of different approaches on resident involvement to create a wider sense of care and attachment to the streets. Many residents told us that the streets was looked upon as the property of the government instead of the dwellers in Korogocho, hence they didn't feel interest in taking care of the streets as they didn't understand what to gain.

A GROUNDED EXPERIMENT

We found that many aspects concerning the streets in Korogocho where hidden from us as outside observers. Given time these aspects could unfold as we gained trust from the residents and they shared some of the hidden stories of Korogocho with us. The time and resources it takes to unfold these stories to get a deeper understanding for conceptions about a place is often not there in an upgrading process. In the publication we could only give the residents a single page to express their ideas of improvement but their voices and wishes followed our thoughts. As a way to react we got the idea to do an intervention that mirror some of our findings in Korogocho. The idea was to give physical form to the improvement ideas we had received from the residents with the overall aim to make a statement that emphasized how to use the street, increase the awareness of traffic rules and to limit the high speeds of vehicles. We also hoped that the intervention would act in order to start a discussion about the use and ownership of the streets.

As many of the residents proposed street signs as an improvement we decided to elaborate on that and put the idea into practice. Inspired by the thought we communicated our ideas with our friends in Korogocho and begun the journey. Seven signs were placed on different locations calling for the protection of school children and slow down traffic. We also intended to make signs with street names for the main streets in the area as an act of place-making and identity building. During our last visit to Korogocho one place-making sign was raised, accompanied by a colourful graffiti-wall proclaiming space for Korogocho roller-skaters. However, the street-name sign project remains a task for the future since lack of budget hindered the progress.

To start up the process we were advised to hold a meeting with key-stakeholders from the policy and political side in Nairobi. Mr. Nyaseda Omondi at the ministry of local government, a member of the city council, as well as members of the residents committee in Korogocho attended the meeting. The project idea was presented and the group agreed to let this intervention be implemented without going through the City Council directions; "*then it will not happen within the coming two years*". Korogocho was considered a "*special case*" and thereby regarded as benefitting from such fast changes making our project a lot faster to implement.

After the meeting we held a workshop with some of the school children in Ngunyumu Primary School that helped us to point out some critical areas of safety. This information was complemented by a focus group meeting with a youth organization from Korogocho called Artists united for a safer Korogocho, with who we had been collaborating earlier. They assisted us with a more detailed identification of critical areas for traffic accidents.

The workshop and the discussions were followed by another meeting where a number of artist from the community were given the responsibility to arrange the design and painting of the signs. Meetings were held with local constructors and designers to agree on a layout that would fit the intended design and at the same time ensure good visibility in the streetscape.

A key incentive in the process was to keep the planners (our selves) as invisible as possible and to delegate planning responsibilities to different community groups in Korgocho. We believed that the community would feel more attached to the implementation if they understood it as generated by the residents increasing the attachment and care of the project. As the employed artists begun the work we were surprised by the very formal appearances on the designs. Our thought was that they would see this as an opportunity to make a piece of art, using their artistic and creative freedom and make alternative designs. This is another indication of the norm of the formal that seems to have infiltrated development agencies as well as slum settlers.

During the day when the signs were put in place, it evolved as a local event that gained much attention from the community. We needed to take a step back and let the youths from Korogocho do the installation of the signs, giving them opportunity to explain what and why the intervention was done. As many residents felt left out from top-down decisions we sensed that many of them had a natural suspicion towards us as outsiders and that the signs would be more accepted and appreciated if they were seen as an initiative of someone from Korogocho.

IMPROVEMENT IDEAS FROM THE COMMUNITY

The participants in the questionnaire survey were asked to list the main advantages and the disadvantages which the street upgrading facilitated. It is remarkable that the...

As can be seen below, the improvement ideas from the community were therefore mainly based around the issue of traffic safety. Ideas on how to reduce the speed on the streets were common, such as the implementation of street bumps, traffic lights, more police and street signs. Other ideas comprised measures to organize and accommodate the flows of traffic and pedestrians better, such as the implementation of pavement on both sides of

IMPPROVEMENT IDEAS FROM RESID...

Street signs
Zebra crossings
Vegetation
Bumps
More police
Places allowing business
Involve everyone in the process (involve mothers)
Streetlights first
Pavements on both sides
Sewer lines
Make the streets bigger
Bridges
Smooth the process of evictions
Extend the infrastructure in all villages
Improve construction quality
Improve waste collection
Provide parking for trucks at the market
Parking for motorcycles and other vehicles
Water taps

CHAPTER FOUR ENDNOTES

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WHO IS THAT?

we have seen that it can be difficult to involve local workforce. for example in the constructions of the upgraded streets, the aim was to use local workers, GOOD!, but some residents were left out from the opportunity due to existing power structures in Korogocho.

a problem we faced when talking to people about improvements was that it seemed as they often said what they thought we wanted to hear or expect from them. another issue was that the strong voices frequently took over. There is a big difference in authority depending on gender and generation. young people and children were looked upon as they had nothing of value to say.

WHAT IF WE DON'T LIKE WHAT WE HEAR?
At many times we were surprised by the residents' visions for the future, many especially the children told us that they wanted more cars, bigger houses and an area more like the luxury suburban parts of Nairobi.

ONE VOICE?

"I AM THINKING ABOUT HERE IN KOROGOCHO IT IS A VERY GOOD STREET. SOME SAY THAT KOROGOCHO IS A VERY DIRTY STREET. WHEN THEY SAY LIKE THAT THEY MEAN THAT THERE ARE SOME MEN WHO USE TO THROW SOME ALCHOHOL INSIDE THE PIT." GIRL AGE 12 (SCHOOL WHORKSOP)

WHAT IS A GOOD STREET?
when we were talking to people in Korogocho about the streets and what could been improved or made differently we found that it was difficult to take the discussion to a level beyond traffic issues, dirt and material. people didn't seem to understand what we meant, this might be a communication issue or that the people just didn't see "a good street in the same way as we did. Our image of the street as place might have closed our eyes for what the residents really wanted the street to be.

PARTICIPATORY PROCESS?

STREET SIGN INTERVENTION TIMEFRAME
-April 13. Improved implementation plan sent to KSUP
-April 16. Youth leaders contact local manufacturers for the construction of signs
-April 20. Transect walk, identification of key sites. Specification of technical guidelines for the design of signs delivered to manufacturer
-April 23. Construction of signs finished. Workshop in Korogocho to paint the signs.
-May 8. Preparation of holes to anchor the signs.
-May 9. Putting the signs in place!

ONE RISK IS IF IT TAKES TOO LONG TIME, THE RESIDENTS WILL GROW BORED AND THINK THAT NOTHING WILL HAPPEN

PARTICIPANTS
- The research team of four (the authors of the thesis)
- Two youth leaders from Korogocho (workshop)
- A group of artists from "Artists United for a Safer Korogocho"
- Hardware manufacturer in Korogocho, employed to provide material and construction of the signs
- Labourer from Korogocho, employed to construct holes to anchor the signs on the spot

HOW SHOULD WE INTERPRET THIS?

"I WOULD LIKE KOROGOCHO TO HAVE SPACE FOR THE VEHICLE TO MAKE A DANISH WHEN CHILDREN ARE CROSSING THE ROADS THE CHILDREN MUST DOES NOT PLAY ON THE ROAD." /GIRL 12 YEARS

"I THINK WE CAN MAKE THE ROADS SAFETY TO US NOT ONLY US FOR. OUR CHILDREN IT IS BETTER TO MAKE OUR STREETS BEAUTIFUL. WE MUST BE A EXAMPLE FOR OTHERS." /BOY 13 YEARS

MAYBE NOT MENT IN PHYSICAL TERMS...?

In order for the street sign intervention to happen we needed to do it as fast implementation, a "quick fix". Even though the goal was to involve as many of the residents as possible not everyone could be included due to the fast process. UN-Habitat met the same issue concerning the paving and widening of the streets. The fast process left many people out from the decision-making, but fast implementations are sometimes necessary in order for anything to happen at all.

The residents had many other ideas for improvements but we decided on street signs because it was doable. The result from our field investigations pointed on traffic accidents as one of the biggest issues that the street upgrading had generated, but important to understand is that the people we reached probably where the ones with a strong voice and perhaps not presentable for the entire community. This process made us aware that a participatory profile is not easy to keep. It can be questioned if it is even possible to talk about something as " the voice of the community" or "recommendations from the residents" when a group clustered together always tend to hide some voices in favour for the loudest. Sometimes it might be better to hear the voices separately and treat them as the individuals they are. It is easy to criticise UN-Habitat for failing to have a participatory process but we could give ourselves the same critique. Even though our intervention might not have been carried out according to a participatory curriculum we believe that it has given some positive impact to the community. The difference between demanding the time of people that a participatory method demands or making things happened fast is very fine to balance...

STREET SIGNS IN KOROGOCHO

05:MAIN FINDINGS & KEY LESSONS

It is important to take into account that the famous policy makers and stakeholders will most probably just read this and ~~will~~ maybe the recommendations, skipping the theory and field study chapter.

WHAT EXACTLY IS PARTICIPATION?!!

We understood quite quickly that participation builds upon involvement of the community, but then; is it possible to determine who the community really is? And how do we consider those who do not want to participate, or those who we never met?

we saw that different modes of communication worked differently depending on what group and location. we could also afford a "trial and error" approach and test various ways.

our non-authority position as students, young people and frequent visitors of Korogocho sometimes made the communication easier... or more difficult.

The main findings build upon a sample of encounters and stories, interpreted by us.

we noticed that it was difficult to interpret the result from our various communication channels.

it took time to understand what people really meant, and even to this day we are not sure that we understood everything in the way that it was intended...

APPROPRIATION??

Micro-economies have been blooming! Here you can buy some plastic things, brought from Dandora dumping site.
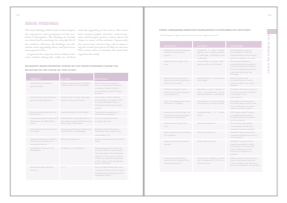
Through our investigations of form, activities and conception we had received both figures and facts and been able to spend time in, and meet people from Korogocho. The study found that the street upgrading overall was appreciated and successful. It had boosted public activities, micro-economies and brought positive visions about the future to many of the residents but also increased the amount of traffic accidents, forced evictions and created higher competition between vendors. Our 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' investigations gave evidence that could be shown for decision makers, but we knew that they were limited and did not talk for all residents. What we called 'quantitative' was not really quantitative, the questionnaire only reached 200 out of 42 000 people… To get a totally general and objective view of project may never be possible, all we could do were to consider the limited group of residents we came in contact with. Public participation builds upon input and involvement of a community, but who is the community? Participatory processes are tricky, it is crucial to consider whom you reach and why, often it is the already organized groups within the community who is heard. The stories we heard and the people we met were just a sample of all the people in Korogocho and we quickly understood that participation needs time, 'quantitative' time spent in the area. Our results were also supposed to be the base for principals that could be used in the evaluation of future projects, and we started to feel responsible for bringing forward useful information.
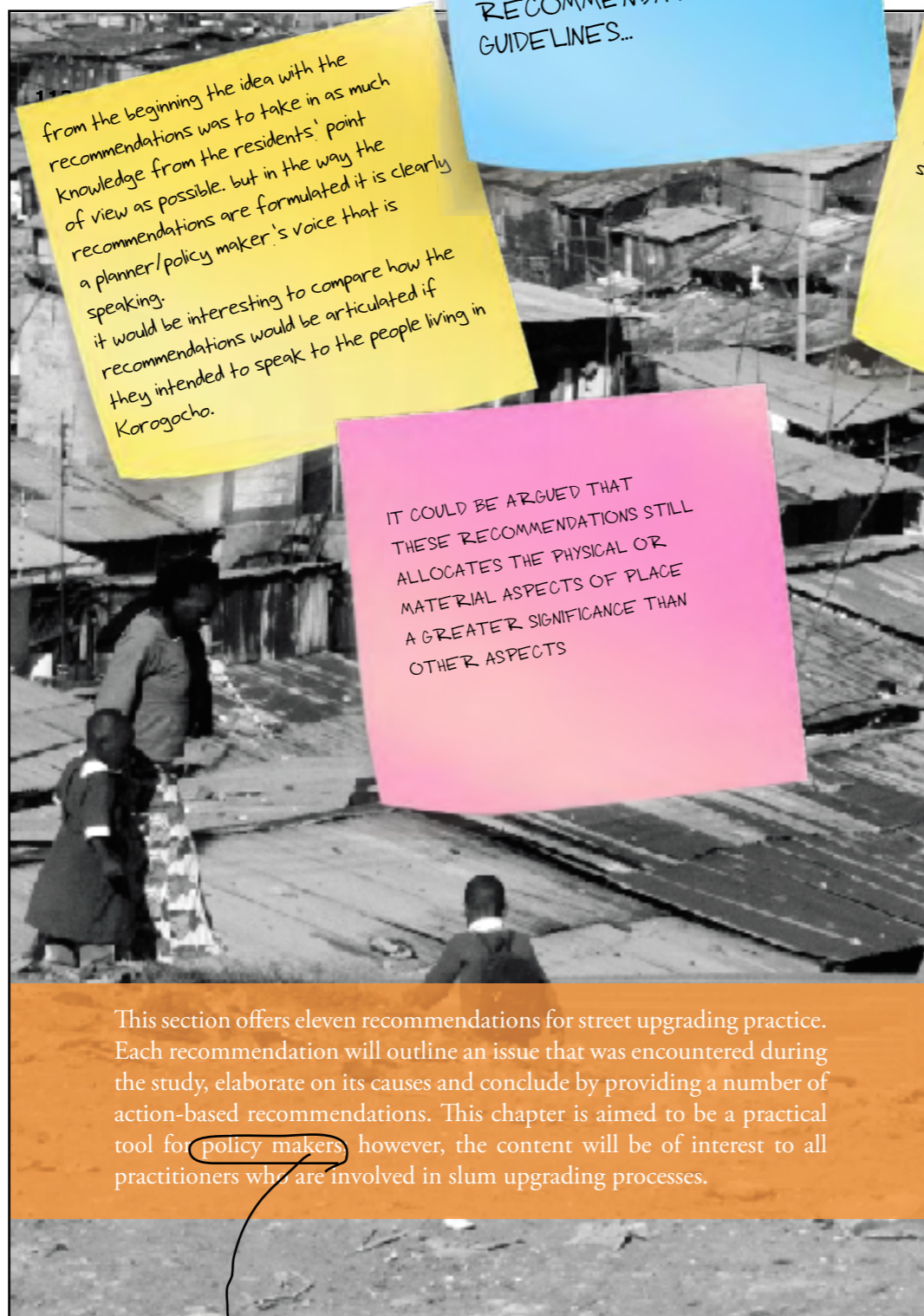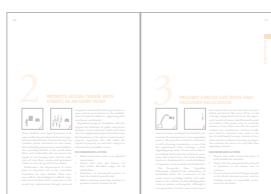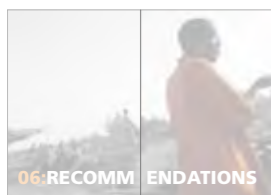
FIELD STUDY: A REFLECTION

To state whether the project had been successful or not was difficult. In a slum setting where people are living under very poor circumstances and each day is a battle of survival, the implementation of streets may not be the residents' first choice of improvement. We understood that there are many ways of looking at it and everyone we asked had their personal opinion depending on how they had been affected by the street upgrading. To grasp the "public" opinion was not an easy task and we ended up comparing percentages and numbers, trying to grasp the overall perceptions and understandings. The issues in slums are complex and demand more than just the implementation of a street or public space, they are part of a greater process made up by small steps turning in different directions where formal and informal activities are mixed in both successful and severe forms. The informality creates an allowing landscape where everything is possible, but the possibilities are highly limited by the lack of formal regulations and governmental support.

When studying our results we realized that the streets had changed some of the social structures. Korogocho had become more integrated within Nairobi as the mobility inside and to other areas was facilitated by paving and accessibility. The construction of streetlights, implemented together with the streets, and wider reserve had made the area safer and many residents could have their shops open during night. A couple of times we had stayed in the area until evening and experienced the large amounts of people returning to their homes in Korogocho. The streets connecting to other parts of Nairobi were filled up with pedestrians, vendors and motorcycles and places changed in character and function. Although different age groups frequently used them for different purposes during different times of the day their design and layout did not respond to these changing, temporary activities. The streets were not designed as playgrounds, highways, pavements, markets, backyards and social meeting places, but appropriated and formed by the residents to the extent possible. A street that accommodate all these activities at the same time is not easy to design but by allowing more space for the pedestrians, temporal places and playgrounds some mixed use places could be shaped.

Public participation, we learned, is important to establish socially sustainable improvements. Unfortunately, participatory planning does not always mean that the commonalty is represented. To give weight to their arguments many decision makers use the term public participation in their planning programmes, although the public many times consists of only a small group of influential people. During our research we also realized that the including of the public is sometimes very difficult due to difficulties in explaining study purposes and aims. When working with the residents we experienced both a language barrier because of lack of knowledge in Swahili (the mother tongue in Kenya) and because of the language of landscape architecture with its different concepts and expressions. Another limitation was that no one wanted us to walk alone on the streets. In the beginning we always had a friend or representative as company for security reasons even though we felt comfortable in walking alone from the matatu stop to the different meeting places.

Before we set out to explore Korogocho we formed a "Method-document", explaining our indicators and tools. It was helpful to have these written guidelines as we tried to guide ourselves through the process, although directed by demands of visible results and figures and facts. As a group of four, we could make a broad research with tools overlapping and crosscutting each other in a triangular circulation. We understood issues in different perspectives and could spend a lot of time on site, which also made us comfortable in our roles in Korogocho and with the residents. Through the field study we understood the importance of being and acting in an area. If we had not spent this much time, met all those people, and made new friends, Korogocho would still be an unknown place. We would not understand some certain patterns and social structures, or how the residents think and feel; we would be strangers in an unknown world where the street upgrading project would have been something that happened in a location somewhere in space.

06: RECOMMENDATIONS

This section offers eleven recommendations for street upgrading practice. Each recommendation will outline an issue that was encountered during the study, elaborate on its causes and conclude by providing a number of action-based recommendations. This chapter is aimed to be a practical tool for policy makers, however, the content will be of interest to all practitioners who are involved in slum upgrading processes.
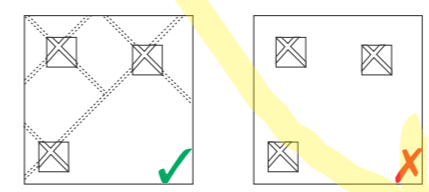
1 INTEGRATE STREETS WITH WIDER UPGRADING PROGRAMMES

Streets should be looked upon as components of wider upgrading programmes. It is vital to think about upgrading processes not as single interventions but as a continuum of broader, inter-connected processes. The objective should be to join the individual interventions, both within and across slums, to build a city-wide approach to slum upgrading.

Streets function as an entry point that facilitates continuous improvements of an area but if they are not connected to other parts of the urban fabric and parallel programmes, they will risk repeating the failures of past initiatives. Hence, the goal of upgrading processes should be to improve the situation in the project area but it is equally important to prevent the formation of new slums through the establishment of partnerships and the mainstreaming of objectives. It is unlikely that a city without slums, as stated in the *Nairobi 2030 Vision*, will be possible unless slum upgrading programmes are mainstreamed to take on a citywide approach.

The city consists of multiple and complex networks of processes. When these processes are interlinked, the urban fabric will evolve as more integrated, diverse and resilient. Development initiatives should be flexible in character, allowing many alternative scenarios for the urban future. Crosscutting platforms to form partnerships and networks between different initiatives, programmes, agencies and administrative units should be established. Horizontal and vertical communication channels should be established to promote collaboration between multiple stakeholders, both on the micro and macro levels. This will enable coherent, long-term upgrading processes that will improve the image of the entire city and the life of all its residents.

RECOMMENDED ACTION

- Develop frameworks to enable the collaboration between different agencies, programmes and political levels
- Establish platforms for information exchange
- Evaluate the process and communicate the lessons learned for future implementations

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UN MADE IT CLEAR FROM THE BEGINNING THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE REPORT RESULTED IN SOME KIND OF RECOMMENDATIONS OR GUIDELINES...

from the beginning the idea with the recommendations was to take in as much knowledge from the residents' point of view as possible. but in the way the recommendations are formulated it is clearly a planner/policy maker's voice that is speaking.
it would be interesting to compare how the recommendations would be articulated if they intended to speak to the people living in Korogocho.

the task was to formulate simple hand on recommendations with a voice easy enough for policy makers to understand. we found it difficult to keep it simple when the recommendations had to be on such a general level.

the language is sometimes very complicated

Even if it is not the INTENTION, it could potentially be read as a call for induced gentrification...

Will this lead to ignorance of local contexts?

IT COULD BE ARGUED THAT THESE RECOMMENDATIONS STILL ALLOCATES THE PHYSICAL OR MATERIAL ASPECTS OF PLACE A GREATER SIGNIFICANCE THAN OTHER ASPECTS

and as places in a wide network of places

SOME RECOMMENDATIONS STAND AT RISK TO JUSTIFY RELOCATIONS AS LONG AS PEOPLE ARE GIVEN NEW HOMES. IF NOT ALL RECOMMENDATIONS ARE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION, ASPECTS SUCH AS PLACE ATTACHMENT ETC. CAN SUCESSFULLY BE IGNORED....

WHICH POLICY MAKERS WILL ACTUALLY READ THIS...?

ISN'T THIS WHAT WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DO?

As a development of our main findings and key lessons, we were asked to make some recommendations. These were made to transform our findings into hands-on recommendations for policymakers. Many scholars call for theory that is learning from praxis; the work with recommendations could be considered a way of trying to do that. However, there are many constraints in the use of recommendations in reports. The language is formed in such a way so as to be easily accessible for policy makers. However, their loose character might also lead to intentional misinterpretations, or in most cases probably to an overwhelming indifference.

The package that the recommendations are presented in stand at risk to end up in a pile among other UN-reports, never reaching the actual target group. The concept of the recommendations is guidance, something that not necessarily have to be followed but should be considered. Most likely many policy makers will not consider them in their plans and those who will, probably already have an interest to learn. This means that those who should consider them the most will leave them out. To reach those policy makers we believe that alternative ways of communicate are needed, emphasizing the importance of soft value development. The will to develop should come from within and not because the global eye is watching.

MAINSTREAMING: A REFLECTION

In the same way as the physical form of the publication is moulded into a particular form through guidelines for the usage of fonts, boxes and layout, the investigations carried out are presented and shaped by these guidelines and previous practice. The result and recommendations that in this case became the outcome of the publication will follow what is appropriate and expected in the frame of a UN-report. The focus within this frame is not to question the current planning practice or go to the bottom with certain issues. In the writing of the report we were often told to tone down critique towards decision makers and negative individual voices concerning the upgrading process. Instead we were asked to present the findings that were supported by our quantitative surveys, even though they are hardly representable for a wider constitution of the residents in Korogocho. By gathering and categorizing people into larger groups they are not seen as individuals but as something more vague, "the community" or "the residents", hence the link and understanding between the planning practice and the actual results for the individuals effected might get lost. The contradictory issue here is that it was also very important for UN that we highlighted that the recommendations where based on experiences by the residents and not presented as based on facts.

The massive production of UN-publications has lead to a kind of routine repetition of practice where nothing is brought to the extreme or questioned. The reports are mainstreamed by planning practice and also risk to result in a mainstreaming of the theory concerning practice in slum upgrading. This might in turn influence the practice on the ground. We noticed that there is a special "UN-way" of doing things, which is a result as well as a cause, to a larger mainstreaming of planning practice concerning slum upgrading. Our first meeting at the UN was very overthrowing and our ideas on how to execute the impact assessment of the street seemed very much in clash with the ideas of our mentors. However, we found a way to communicate and meet in the middle. In a way we too became "mainstreamed". This might not only be a bad thing and even though we often expressed a strong critique towards our own work with the publication and the UN, some things might be mainstreamed for a reason. As we mentioned before, there is a great wish to make a change and a big fear in doing anything too experimental or drastic. Things that were not well tried out would fail an organization like UN-Habitat and they might loose credibility. With great power comes great responsibility… and this might result in a dead-end street where the call for a new planning practice can never be heard. When an organization becomes too big and important it might end up being able to do nothing at all. The fact that UN-Habitat takes on students and other professionals to work with reports implies that they want to think bigger and go outside their own box. And the truth is that the ones with power in the Korogocho slum upgrading programme was the Kenyan government. In reality it doesn't seem as UN-Habitat can take any active decisions concerning the process with the actual street upgrading. Thus it seems very important to target the policy makers and speak to them in a language they understand.

What is problematic is that slums around the world do not look the same and the aim with the recommendations in the publication was to be able to work with a street-led approach to slum upgrading everywhere, if the recommendations where to be very specific they would be set out to fail. Initially we where asked to create an "evaluation model" that would be possible to replicate but still specific enough for Korogocho. Our contact at UN-Habitat told us that they already had an evaluation methodology for evaluations on street level and whole programmes but not specific on a neighbourhood scale. It is very difficult to make something site specific, yet general enough to be reused and reinterpreted without being misunderstood.
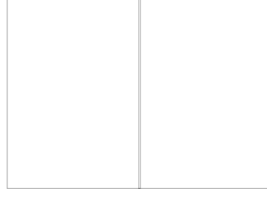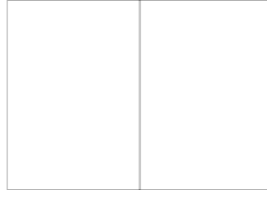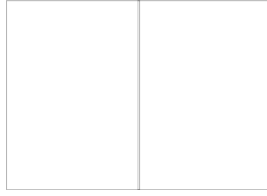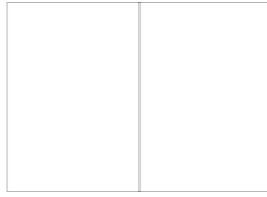
Successful urban places are based predominately on streets and the connected street life. Streets serve as democratic, open public space and as platforms for economic and social development. Therefore, streets play a fundamental role for the public life in cities, and particularly in slums where open space is scarce.

This report explores the role and potentials of streets in slum upgrading, using the street upgrading project in the Korogocho slum in Nairobi, Kenya as a case study. It focuses on the experiences and perceptions of the residents in Korogocho, and the changes 'on the ground'.
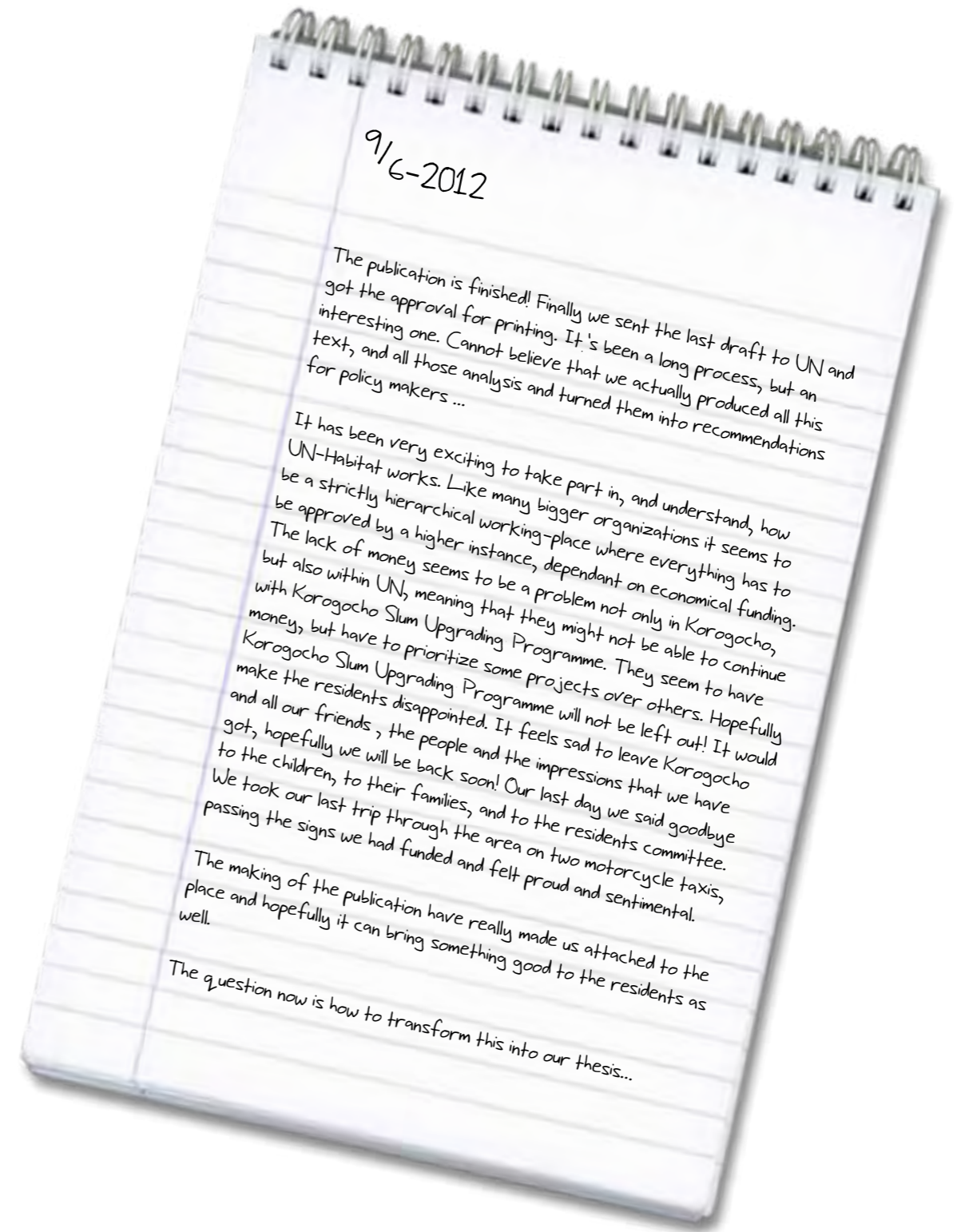
UN⊕HABITAT   www.unhabitat.org

9/6-2012

The publication is finished! Finally we sent the last draft to UN and got the approval for printing. It's been a long process, but an interesting one. Cannot believe that we actually produced all this text, and all those analysis and turned them into recommendations for policy makers ...

It has been very exciting to take part in, and understand, how UN-Habitat works. Like many bigger organizations it seems to be a strictly hierarchical working-place where everything has to be approved by a higher instance, dependant on economical funding. The lack of money seems to be a problem not only in Korogocho, but also within UN, meaning that they might not be able to continue with Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme. They seem to have money, but have to prioritize some projects over others. Hopefully Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme will not be left out! It would make the residents disappointed. It feels sad to leave Korogocho and all our friends, the people and the impressions that we have got, hopefully we will be back soon! Our last day we said goodbye to the children, to their families, and to the residents committee. We took our last trip through the area on two motorcycle taxis, passing the signs we had funded and felt proud and sentimental.

The making of the publication have really made us attached to the place and hopefully it can bring something good to the residents as well.

The question now is how to transform this into our thesis...

END DISCUSSION

3

Language barriers!

Those who were involved in the project were the ones who were willing to speak. They were also used to speaking to people in English. Our first meetings in Koch made us think that all people spoke good English, something that became a problem later in the process...

we saw that different modes of communication worked differently depending on the group and the location. we could also afford a "trial and error" approach and test various ways.

our non-authority position as students, young people and frequent visitors of Korogocho sometimes made the communication easier and sometimes more difficult.

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ghest level of

During our form investigations it became quite clear that the processes in field differ from the processes at the desk. Before we went there we were determined to make a survey of form by observing and map the physical attributes,

understand th
text we studi
s from goog

Our view of participatory processes changed quite quickly after some visits in Korogocho. We came there convinced that participation was the key to all great projects. After some time we understood that participation is a really complicated thing. Homogeneous groups often attend meetings and it is hard to reach out to everyone. Budgets seldom allow the time for comprehensive participatory processes and sometimes it is just an alibi to undertake upgrading processes with already set out goals.

y we realized that they did not correspond to the the visions we expected to hear. We were so much into our thinking about streets as place that we forgot to remember that other, often way more material things, were the priority for many residents. We became aware of difficulties to reach into the core of one issue that is evident for us as trained landscape architects and started to reflect upon elitism in our proffesional language....

ed that it was difficult to
t the result from our va
ication channels.

THEY TALK TO U

e found it hard t
communicate with the
residents, we probably
looked too out of
context to inspire any
confidence.

we have seen that it can be difficult to involve local workforce.

for an example in the constructions of
he upgraded streets the aim was to use
cal workers but some residents were
left out from the opportunities due to
existing power structures in Korogocho.

the language is sometimes very complicated

Is it possible to decide
impacts we want to an
glasses that we do not wan

k time to understand what p
meant and even to this da
sure that we understood e
he way that it was intended.

the more people we spoke to, the more obvious it became that people completely different conceptions reality. we realized how tricky it to represent them with a fair mirror of reality, it would be impossible to reach everyone....

Questionnaires will just reveal the tip of an iceberg. The result might be; 50 % says YES there is more crime in the area But we want to understand more... why, where, how, who etc. (note from first meeting at UN)

oblem we faced when speaking to
e about improvements it seemed as
often said what the thought we
to hear or expected from them.

is a general
olicabele model
e aspects of pla
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wers contact l
manufacturers for the construction
sites. Specification of technical guideline
design of signs delivered to manufacturer
–April 23. Construction of signs finished.
Workshop in Korogocho to paint the signs.
–May 8. Preparation of holes to anchor the signs.
–May 9. Putting the signs in place!

–April 20. Transect walk, identification

PANTS
research team of four (the author of the thesis)
= Two
ers from Korogocho (workshop)
ts from
ed for a Safer Korogocho"
cturer in Korogocho, employed
and construction of the signs
rogocho, employed to construct
signs on the spot

SEEMED A BIT ST
TO HAVE AN EX PE
BEFORE THE INVES
BUT WE MIGHT HAVE
IN OUR OPEN-ENDED METHOD, AS
WE NEVER CAN BE COMPLETELY
BLANK

issue was that the strong voices
took over. there is a big
in authority depending on
generation. young people and
were looked upon as the...
nothing of value to say

is impossible to be
bjective, but maybe
that is not a purpose
of its own.

We are also prone to a western image of the city spiced up with the ideals of our working field and generation. We are thrilled about the patched and painted steel walls in vibrant colours, the rich life of people that are sitting everywhere outside their homes, the funny gadgets sold along the streets recycled from Dandorra and the "human scale" in the back alleys of Korogocho. But the truth be told would we rather live in a apartment with water, toilets and air-condition or sharing a steaming hot steel shack of 8 m^2 with our family of seven...

The process o
UN-Habitat

WHEN WE TOOK ON THE ASSIGNMENT OF MAKING A REPORT FOR UN-HABITAT WE REALIZED THAT WE HAD TO INVESTIGATE FURTHER HOW THEY LOOK UPON SLUM UPGRADING & WHY THEY HAVE ADOPTED A STREET-LED APPROACH?!

but as soon as we got to Korogocho we knew that the feelings towards the place, the conception, was constantly reflected in our investigations.

I ♥ KOCH

PROCESS

Trying to figure out the process of this thesis is not an easy task. It may have started when we first dropped the idea of evaluating a slum upgrading project, during our first visit to Nairobi to write Nairobi Narratives, when we joined university, or even the day we were born. When using our own perceptions and experiences we surely affect the production of the result. The process behind this thesis can in a way be described as a circular process, moving and transforming itself into new endless processes, just like the city builds up and tears down to be rebuilt in other forms and shapes. To recognize ourselves, not only as observers but also as interpreters and influencers, have enabled us to consider and criticize the result that we achieved in the work with Korogocho Streetscapes. This has been an interesting approach but also frustrating; criticizing is easy when you understand that everything is influenced by the subjective interpretations of the person who is reading.

WORKING IN A GROUP

Being a group of four has been a dynamic way of working with the thesis. We have served as supervisors for each other as well as our toughest critics. Working together has allowed us to go beyond the frames of a thesis and extended the work to the setting of a lifelike project, giving us an insight to a probable future work situation. It facilitated the management of the fieldwork and the extensive empirical study, allowing us to investigate more things on site. Sometimes it was problematic to get "under the surface" when we were all together on site. People perceived us as a unit that was frightening. Therefore, we understood that we had to divide ourselves to get personal contact with the residents in Korogocho.

Dynamic discussions have driven the work onward. Sometimes individual interests had to stand back in favour for the common goal of the group and to reach consensus compromises and adoption of ideas was needed. It was great to understand how this contributed to make the final product better than it would have been with one, subjective view. Together we could brainstorm ideas and see each aspect from different perspectives where we finally agreed on the most relevant way forward. This was fun and challenging, communication was very important but not always easy; we found that we sometimes had understood situations differently. Symbols and pictures became important tools when communicating our thoughts both within the group, but also towards UN and with the residents in Korogocho.

FIELD WORK

Initially, the idea was that the evaluation and fieldwork in Korogocho would take bigger part in the final result of the thesis, but now, when finished, our work in field has been incorporated in the a package of a UN-report. The open-minded process and flexibility to change directions have allowed our personal process to go beyond the package of the publication and critically comment and analyze our work with UN-Habitat. We have had the opportunity to learn on multiple levels from slum upgrading, understanding of place and representations, group work, method shaping and dynamics of a process; invaluable experiences for our future work as landscape architects. Throughout the process, we could unfold our experiences and understand connections between vision, place and practice.

Working on the report with UN-Habitat imposed a framework upon us, a typical UN-report structure, opposing many things we wanted to do; drifting, learning about the life world of the citizens, unfolding our experiences through time. It became evident that when adopting a ready-made framework there is a risk that site-specific, important indicators are missing out. A more loose approach could lead to unexpected findings. However, it would also be subjective and inadequate in other ways. The tools we used in the UN-report were designed to produce communicative and comprehensive information to fit the "UN-package", but the figures and facts anticipated by UN-Habitat could not always respond to Why and How. The compromise became key in our process, it was a balancing act between not letting the form of the UN-report constrain our integrity, being true to Korogocho and continue a smooth collaboration with UN-Habitat. The UN-package shaped the way we took on the assignment, the framework directed our investigations and controlled and moulded the product. In the writing of the report we were told to tune down critique and negative individual voices concerning the upgrading process. Instead we were asked to present the findings that were supported by surveys. We had to take on a diplomatic role, avoiding to step on sore toes not to upset important stakeholders, or problematize relations that we were not aware of.

SUBJECTIVE INTERPRETATIONS

Our analysis was built upon visits on site and the people we met and translated into figures, diagrams and texts reflecting our personal views on these experiences. This translation naturally depends upon our individual contexts, stories and histories. Sometimes it was difficult to explain and communicate our purposes, due to the

language barrier and our usage of professional expressions. Some theory needed to be simplified in order to be useful in practice or communication. This evoked discussion to what extent our research could include a fair range of residents, somehow we were bound to our contacts in field and their networks. It was challenging to be in between plans, goals and the hidden agendas of the government. Sometimes we felt like we were just the players of a game aiming at things that were out of our reach and understanding. Would we support things we did not want to support? In Korogocho, it was clear that we were not the first western people to visit the area. Many residents had an in-built scepticism towards us, suspecting that we had developing interests in mind, that shaped the answers and the (non-)willingness to invest their time. Many also thought of us as NGO workers and expected us to spend money in the area. This definitely shaped the answers we received and became obvious during the sign-intervention. When residents understood that the community was involved they accepted it; establishing a project in an area demands involvement of residents. Our methods demanded residents' time and it is clear that if many processes similar to ours has been undertaken in an area without any concrete output, why would they invest their time in it? We were not only asking for the resident's time but also their life stories. Taking pictures of ones home, property, or despair became a question of human integrity that should be handled sensitively. It did not always feel morally right to use someone's habitat as a study object although our intent was to get the residents view of street upgrading and listen to what they had to say about the project.

Throughout our process we got to meet people both on the ground and among decision makers and when we were put in relation to UN-Habitat we were met with different attitudes. To some, this was welcomed with respect. Others, those who didn't think they would benefit from interaction with UN, met us with scepticism. We felt concerned about this, as we wanted to act without people prejudicing our purpose. The history of the upgrading process in Korogocho was complex and in our search for facts we realized that many conflicting interests and multiple realities shaped the stories. It was difficult to take all these stories into consideration, and to know that many stories had yet to be told. The stories changed how we perceived the places in Korogocho and we felt eager to tell the complete story about our unfolding process. What had influenced our attitudes to the place? How could we be honest to our new understandings of the situation? Through the thesis we could go behind the scenes of a framed system-world and analyze it from our own experiences of within the places of Korogocho.

the form facilitates the activity!!

• extended business hours

• better transportation

• less dust and mud

Initially we where highly influenced by our own and others perception of slums. From our friends in Korogocho we learned which role to take and how to interact with people in the field, this made it easier to spend time in Korogocho and we noticed things we didn't se from the beginning. People that are working with slum upgrading often have little time to spend in the field. This might mean that their images of slums are based on few or fast impressions. When we spoke with people at UN many of them told us that they didn't want to go to the slums, as they felt insecure and uncomfortable there.

RACE OF ACTIVITY OR
NDICATOR ON LACK OF

The map reveals a very different truth than the actual in-situ experience, an experience that have everything to do with relational space and the perception of ~~Place~~ place

rogocho space
e are many, lo
high amount of
street, is this
eet life? Would
somewhere else

bare in mind that the reality has very little to do with the two-dimensional image represented in front of you.

ALSO HERE PUBLIC SPACE ARE MORE DESCRIBED IN TERMS OF PHYSICAL CRITERIA

that places are not only point A or B doesent only mean that they are physically interlinked but also in terms of information flow, a greater context, time, memories etc...

THE FORM ALLOWS CERTAIN ACTIVITIES. THEY ARE CORRELATING IN THE PUBLIC SPACE.

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consequently
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f place is so much
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IN TH
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INTERESTING
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LESS, DUE TO POOR VENTILATION AND MATERI-
ALS THE TEMPERATURE IN THE SMALL SHACKS
MIGHT BE VERY HIGH HENCE THERE IS NOT AS
TEMPTING OR OPTIONAL TO REMAIN IN THE PRI-
VATE HOME.
DOES THIS MAKE THE SITTING ACTIVITY IN THE
PUBLIC SPACE AN OPTIONAL ACTIVITY? (RE-
FERRING TO GEHL)

CHARACTERIZATION
ENERALIZATION?
characterizing, we stand at risk
re important micro-spatialities.
is a balancing act to do this with
minating to much information...

QUICK FIX PROGRAMME!
Landscape Architects always talk about
letting processes take time to be able to
keep an honesty towards the context,
but many of the good things with the
project mentioned in the community was
the fact that goverment money was
materialized with the implementation of the
streets...

THE LESS INFLUENTIAL
THAT THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO
INFLUENCE THE FUTURE!
THIS SEEMS TO RESULT IN LACK
OF CARE FOR THE PROJECT...

ARE THERE RULES
STRUCTURES TO SO
CONFLICTS THAT U
DOESN'T SEE?

IT COULD BE ARGUED THAT
THIS RECOMMENDATION STILL
ALLOCATES THE PHYSICAL OR
MATERIAL ASPECTS OF PLACE
(IN THIS CONTEXT CONNECTED TO
SOCIAL NETWORKS) A GREATE
SIGNIFICANCE THAN OTHER AS

SEN
LIMITED TO A SPECIFC LOCATION. IT
IS ALSO IN ICTED IN THE MENTAL
SPACE. THE RESIDENTS IN
KOROGOCHO FEEL A STRONG
CONNECTION TO THEIR RURAL
HOMES.

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METIMES THEORY MIGHT
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PRACTICE OR COMMUNICATED
TO OTHERS.

could potentially a
r induced gentrification...

IN A WAY THIS RECCOMENDATIONS
JUSTIFIES RELOCATIONS AS LONG
AS IT IS PEOPLE ARE SUPPORTED
AND GIVEN NEW HOMES, THE
RECOMMENDATIONS DOESENT
CONCIDER ASPECTS SUCH AS PLACE
ATTACHMENT ETC.

WE BELIEVE THAT THIS CAN
STRENGHTEN THE SENSE OF
BELONGING TO KOROGOCHO.

RURAL HOME.

PLACE
A P, DOES IT
XIST FORMALLY?

LASH IN THE VISION!
y residents that we have met
manticize the orderly city. For the
least well off this remains a distant
dream, and upgrading brings fear of
exclusion, removal and unsecurity. We, as
landscape architects romanticize the slum
and it's dynamics.

Will this lead to ignorance of local
contexts?

INTEREST AN
CHARE THE SAME
UNICATE CAN ALSO
AS PEOPLE HAVE
O SOLVE CONFLICTS.

certain situation or plac
realized that our experience was often ve
different. The conception varied depending on
the mode we where in, who we went with, which
route we took, how we entered Korogocho and
if we where walking or going by motorcycle.
(see also the theoretical text on pp. XX) As w
got to know people and places and understood
how the places where connected we also felt
more secure and noticed things we didn't becam
aware of during the first visits.

CICKEN OR E
CONCE PTIO

WHAT CAME FIRST?

ar
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n from space
e. If you spend
n, which is likely
o your home, your
attachment to it grows...

s on who is giving the names
eets and places.
ve seen in Nairobi many original
mes have been replaced with
ern names. (control?)
s and streets in slums
mes by those who
names should be
instead of giving

to happ

WE HAVE SEEN THAT SOCIAL
NETWORKS AND BONDS ARE OFTEN
WIDE AND GREAT IN KOROGOCHO.
HAS THIS TO DO WITH THE HIGH
AMOUNT OF SHARED SPACE?

PLACE

EXPERIENCING PLACE

We started to look at Korogocho as a represented place via maps, google earth and literature. During our work we got to know Korogocho as experienced place and found things that could not be revealed to us by representations. We noticed how walking the streets changed our conception of Korogocho from a seemingly unorganized vast space to a surprisingly small area with well-organized systems of networks and patterns of movement. We understood how activities and movements were organized over the day and what first seemed hectic and un-logic turned into something expected. The more time we spent in Korogocho, the area mentally shrunk in size and the more we got to know about people and the more personal experiences we had, the easier the area was to grasp.

Furthermore, we noticed that even though we have the same backgrounds and often have been exposed to the same images within the group, our experiences of places in Korogocho often differed. This strengthens the argument that place is a very complex thing to grasp and the experience of place is first and foremost influenced by our personal, mental worlds. What might be more important for the experience of place than the locational characteristics of the setting and the social networks that give ones life meaning. The residents "home away from home", the use of cellphones and other medias are as big part of everyday life as walking the street and might be formative for the experience of place.

Within Korogocho walking was our primary mode of movement, in the rest of Nairobi and to reach Korogocho we often travelled by taxi or matatu. When we imagine Nairobi today we think of Korogocho as a place with high levels of features but disconnected from its surroundings. The distances we travelled by car are still fairly blank on our mental maps or appear as lines with some key-points. Modes of travel make time and distances distorted. Nairobi is a city where most people working with slum upgrading go from point A to point B with car. On the contrary, slum dwellers often walk long distances because they can't afford other modes of transportation. Hence, the image of the entire city is probably completely different depending on how you move. This also strengthens our understanding that a place like Korogocho is not being part of the everyday life of the policy maker or the planner. It is there, as an isolated place on the mental map, but it never has to be approached outside their working situation.

It can be argued that walking a street gives more dimensions to the experiences of place than driving it by car. It might also ease the understanding of how places are connected, as travelling with car gives a more two-dimensional experience of space, shaped by the movement from point A to B. The paving and widening of the streets has not only opened up the places in Korogocho for distant visitors, it has also increased the likeliness that many of them will experience parts of the streets as two-dimensional.

REPRESENTING PLACE

On the map, Korogocho appears to be located close to the city centre. However, this is not the notion we had when being there. When we were able to compare our experienced dimensions of Korogocho with the rest of Nairobi and put Korogocho in a context, we could conclude that our imaginative picture was different than the ones presented to us via maps and other representations. The studying of maps and information on paper contributed to the understanding of the place relations such as borders, territories, links and connections. However most of these elements are not experienced on site. Even though some of the shapes on the map, as borders between villages and the outside border of Korogocho, have left a mark in how we experienced space. The slum is too complex to be explained as a homogenous human habitat. We found it to be the opposite; a place with various cultures, activities and perceptions; an arrival city were different people gathered while waiting for a better life.

Through the time we spent in Korogocho we understood unexpected conditions that may not be obvious otherwise. We found that social patterns were very hard to evaluate without being in place, as they demand meetings and interactions with residents. We also noticed that finding these more invisible aspects of place took time. In the beginning it was easier to focus on physical aspects of place as these where easier to grasp. Without knowing them it might be more difficult to understand other issues. At the same time, it is easier to remember the physical aspects when they are linked to stories from individuals or personal experiences. When we were to represent theory about place in the UN-report and link it to practice, place was simplified and categorized into components. We realized that a weakness with a conceptual framework like this is that the complexity of place doesn't always allow itself to be divided into different categories. The components of place, if there ever is such a thing, are highly intertwined and should always be seen in relation to each other in order to make sense. We found that when we were speaking about place in the UN-report and even later, physical aspects easily take over, probably because they are more immediate, easier to communicate and to represent. Concluded from our experiences, people working with slum upgrading or planning overall often have a low amount of time to spend in the field. Hence their view of slums as place might be based on fast or few impressions. This might enhance the fact that physical aspects often are central in discussions and representations of place, both in literature and practice. This might also widen the gap between lived and experienced place and lead to a planning practice disconnected from local context and the everyday user.

When non-physical aspects of place in slums are represented it is often negative images such as issues of security, low educational levels and high level of poverty. These are often represented as facts measured in a quantitative way and hence convincing.

These kinds of images tend to stick and when we visit a place all of our experiences are filtered through them. We have spoken with several people working with upgrading from above that do not even dare to go to the slum, and when they do they act with fear and uncertainty. Some of the residents have stated a lack of trust towards authorities due to this, as they know that the decision makers do not have an accurate image of Korogocho, as they never go there.

PLACE AND IMAGE

Theory about place that we have encountered during our education and that we use in the report often take departure in a western context. It took a while for us to understand that some of these images are not relevant in a slum, or even in Nairobi. The streets in Korogocho are an elongation of the private home. The residents of Korogocho do not have a choice to linger here, in this sense it is not optional activity and the physical form of the place might not have such a big importance on how people use the space. Aspects such as security, actual availability of space and social structures might be more important. In a slum we cannot say that it is a successful street just because it has a high level of activity that might be optional in Europe but is not in Korogocho. However, a thoughtful design of the street layout might support certain activities that are beneficial for the slum dwellers.

Western theory states that necessary activity and everyday tasks strengthens belonging to a place. When we have communicated with the residents many of them do not seem connected to the streets, it is simply the only place to be. We have also learned that the streets have been upgraded before and the street space has been re-appropriated as living space. Even if the streets are frequently used as a part of the everyday life they do not seem important in the way we thought. This can be seen as an example on how strong the influence of negative images about a place can be. As people do not want to be identified or actually identify themselves with their own image, or the image they think we have of Korogocho, they do not feel as attached to it. The residents would rather be in another place and they know that the general image of slums and often even their own is very negative. Some has expressed the wish to change the image "to make Korogocho never be called slum again". The fact that many people doesn't seem to have as strong bonds to the streets as we thought also has to do with the fact that for many Korogocho is just a place to stay. The places that we think about the most might not be the same as the places where we are bodily. The childhood home, the work or the school, the place where we se ourselves in the future, a wonderful place we visited; might be the places that occupies most our mental space.

if no successful outcomes of the upgrading can be documented and measured it is not [...] that UN will be able to use it with [...]

UN IS DOING THEIR EVALUATIONS ON UPGRADING PROJEC[...]

IS THAT TRANSPARENCY?

The fact that KSUP is a depth swap project with the government of Italy brings on the dimension of distant development goals and their formative role for the project that is carried out. The money is key.
FAST AND MEASURABLE RESULTS! THI S TAKES THE PROJECT AWAY FROM THE LOCAL CONTEXT.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN ORGANIZATIONS LIKE UN HABITAT DECIDES TO REDIRECT THEIR FOCUS ON SLUM UPGRADING?

ONE MUST CONSIDER THE FORCES OF GLOBALIZATION, NORMALIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION !

[...]E AM THINKIGN ABOUT HERE IN KOROGOCHO IT [...]S A VERY GOOD STREET. SOME SAY THAT [...]OROGOCHO IS A VERY DIRTY STREET. [...] WHEN THEY SAY LIKE THAT THEY MEAN THAT [...]HERE ARE SOME MEN WHO USE TO THROUGH SOME [...]HOL INSIDE THE PIT." [...] (SCHOOL WHORKSOP)

FROM THE BEGINNING UN MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT THE REPORT RESULTED IN SOME KIND OF RECOMMENDATIONS OR GUIDELINES...

[...]N ORDER TO GET INVESTORS AN[...] THE GOVERNMENT ON THE "STREET [...]RAIN" HARD VALUES THAT ARE [...]ASIER TO MEASURE ARE MORE [...]ECTIVE TO USE AS AN ARGUMENT [...]

it might also be a good idea to use the residents local knowledge as they might have greater awareness of what kind of maintenance that might be needed, how much, when and where.

AS WE HAVE DISCUSSED, [...]FORMALIZATION CAN ALSO BE USED AS A TOOL FOR POLITICIANS TO CONTROL SLUM DWELLERS...

[...] the voice of a UN-Habitat he told [...] be too precise and dominant. UN is often in collaboration with other organs and governments and depending on their support. If stakeholders and policy makers follow the advices in a report and they say; "we did as you told us", UN has to have a way to protect its back. At the same time it is custom that a publication leads to some guidelines and recommendations. This often seems to lead to generalisations and vagueness in the language. This we will se later on...

MAPPING HAS BECOME [...] ANY SLUM UPGRADING [...] CAN BE USED I TO CO[...] DWELLERS.

[...]AT THE SLUM [...]S A FORMAL [...] OF THE CITY [...]EETS ARE

PAVED?

[...]his is so important, but seems to be [...]onstantly ignored in slum upgrading [...]ocesses

UPGRADING [...] MAKE THEM [...]UST STATED [...]RMALIZE

CAN IT ALSO BE SENSED AS A TRESPASSING ON SOMEONE'S TERRITORY?

WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES WHEN AN EXCLUDED AREA BECOMES MORE PHYSICALLY CONNECTED WITH THE OUTSIDE?

THE DEFINITION OF QUALITY IS PROBABLY VERY DIFFERNT FOR SOMEONE LIVING IN A SLUM AND A POLICY MAKER

dismay between top-down institutions an[...] the residents, two worlds, two contexts.

Would it ever be possi ble to meet?!

WE HAVE SEEN THAT THIS IS AN EXTREMELY HARD RECOMMENDATION TO FOLLOW, THERE ARE MANY INFORMAL REGULATIONS AND STRUCTURES OF OWNERSHIP IN KOROGOCHO

MAYBE PHYSICAL IMPROVMENTS S[...] THE BEST WAY TO [...] THE OVERALL QUAL[...] LIFE?

WHAT IS A GOOD ST[...]

when we were talking with people in Korogocho about the streets and what could been improved or made differently we found that it was difficult to take the discussion to a level beyond traffic issues, dirt and material. people didn't seem to understand what we meant, this might be a communication issue or that the people just didn't see "a good the street in the same way as we did. Our image of the street as place might have closed our eyes for what the residents really wanted the street to be.

WHAT IF WE DONT LIKE WHAT WE HEAR? At many times we where surprised of the residents visions for the future, many especially the children told us that they wanted more cars, bigger houses and a area more like the luxury suburban parts of Nairobi.

Projects often ha[...] and limited budgets! Planners h[...] to earn a living. That affects the plannin[...] process,

IS THAT ETHICALLY DEFENDABLE??

ONE RISK IS [...] TIME THE R[...] BORED AND S[...] HAPPENDS

PERSPECTIVES

During our fieldwork we found that many people and perspectives were involved. We met stakeholders and decision makers while acting on site with the residents and saw that slum upgrading could be understood from many different perspectives. This surely affects planning practice and with our thesis we got the chance to put our published report in perspective and discuss its role in slum upgrading processes.

THE PACKAGING OF "REALITY"

Our subjective interpretations of the situation in Korogocho were packaged into the format of a printed report. Findings and understandings were translated, interpreted and given a layout to fit the rules of a UN report. The target group set the tone of the language, leading to condensed texts with an attempt to reduce the academic vocabulary, standing at risk to result in simplifications and generalizations of theory and findings. However, simplifications of the language can be a healthy task for scholars to engage with to make theory accessible and limit the elitist vocabulary that circulate among architects. Even though it can be argued that the language in the report is still an elitist language translated to fit another scholar. Hence the theory is still inaccessible for a greater public and far from practice.

This process of simplifying or translating theory into a different context is dual. On the one hand, it can be understood as an attempt to bridge practice and theory. Much academia stays in the academic cloud, out of reach from those engaged with planning practice, not at least those who will be affected by it. Still, the academic discourse relentlessly calls for a theory revolution that is learning from practice. How can this ever happen if scholars never engage with praxis? Researchers are not encouraged to publish articles in popular magazines. This keeps academia within its own world where the language can remain elitist and scholars keep citing each other, developing the planning discourse only for the benefit of their research. Planning and practice remain two separate worlds and the philosophical works by architects do not communicate to the common man.

On the other hand, the general character of popular publications stand at risk to be misinterpreted by policy-makers, or more likely lacking the edge to be considered at all. Many reports hold the same characteristics, and however brilliant the argument might be, it risks fading and blending into the world of ever-similar works.

THE PACKAGE IN PRACTICE

Many UN reports are documentations of projects that UN-Habitat has a stake in, resulting in best practices and mainstreaming of projects. In reality, these are never that clean: some stakeholders are ignored while others (the beneficiaries of the project) get space to speak out loud. Often documentations seem to ignore the complex reality and illustrate simplified, successful results. Written reports, as well as maps and other ways of representing landscapes, will naturally affect the way landscapes consequently will be reproduced. Nairobi is visualizing an ideal future without slums, a way of categorizing informality as something negative and separate from the state and any urban process. As mentioned in the informality chapter, this view is hypocritical since informality is everywhere in Nairobi, from the slums to the highest political leaders, and it has been proved that eliminating informality will never result in improving the lives for the poorest residents.

Representation of landscapes is a way of idealizing and rationalizing the world. Architects often have to produce concrete results and projects. It has to happen fast to fit into the budget of the project, but to what prize? A report is meant to be the channel for practice, but hold so many levels and steps of interpretation. Even if our intent as landscape architects was to communicate a holistic understanding of the landscapes in Korogocho, those who interpret the publication might not take it as such. To prevent the risk of normalization, other methods of communication should be considered. Perhaps, reports could be complemented with workshops, live performances and interaction to ensure a more thriving interpretation.

Publications and policies are used as guidelines in slum upgrading, and as such they can act as powerful tools to shape planning processes. Like maps, they represent a certain reality shaped by the person creating it. While demonstrating our results and findings it became obvious that the same map can point on different aspects depending on the angle of the representation. It is not only the interpretation but also the intention by the designer that influence the reading and the representation of reality. This is one of the key things that we have learned during our fieldwork in Korogocho. All "information", both the one that we send out and more importantly the information that is communicated to us will be coloured by subjective interpretations. In our future as practicing landscape architects, this should be considered in every project.

PERSPECTIVES ON SLUM UPGRADING

Many of the residents in Korogocho demonstrated that their dreams of the future were influenced by western ideologies of space. An orderly, geometric, urban structure with cars and big, fenced houses was seen as the ultimate form. What we saw on site was rather the opposite; the creative and dynamic landscape that characterizes many informal settlements. At first we romanticized this landscape, but continuously we started to understand that the visions of the residents were not correlating to our taste. We started to question our different interpretations of the slum, and our different images of the "good city". Western, normalized planning ideals appears to have infiltrated the minds of the residents in Korogocho. This probably incorporates many issues of identity formation. Slum dwellers do not want to be associated with the slum and its physical attributes due to the negative perceptions that lie within the concept of "slum", as created by the western planning ideals, embracing the formal city without slums.

Although the concept of public participation is emphasized in most planning processes of today, our field study demonstrated that this does not always mean that a majority of the public is represented. In the case of Korogocho the concept seemed to be used by decision-makers to strengthen their position in their argumentation, and to satisfy the global, watching eye.

We experienced that UN-Habitat had a very passive voice in KSUP, where the government was undoubtedly the biggest stakeholder. Still, their logo mark all documents, so those not involved in these processes would read their role as more important. The way the project was executed does not fully correspond to the UN-Habitat agenda. Is that ethically defendable? And if not, would their decision to not have a stake in similar projects result in that nothing happens at all?

When the street upgrading project in Korogocho suddenly could fit perfectly with UN-Habitat's new slum upgrading approach, we were asked to do an evaluation of the project with a focus on soft values associated with streets. This was serving the agendas and visions of the organization and included a cleaning and simplification of many things. The tone was set with the predetermined goal to highlight the role of the streets, which naturally limits the investigations. Further, there is seldom enough money in a project to allow the time to honestly represent a place and never enough space in the printed material. Individual stories and the complex realities that we dwell in disappear in figures and "facts", making the lived world distant, abstract and easy to modify.

Our attempt to make a report with a holistic and open approach demands a lot of time and site visits. By getting to know a place through both theory and practice provided us with a wide and complex image and have made us aware of all the different perspectives and interests there is in slum upgrading. The awareness of the constant struggle between these forces has made us realize the importance of the planner as a link between the top-down and the bottom-up perspectives. This insight will be invaluable in our future as practicing landscape architects.

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