

Urban Live-ability and the Challenges of Social Inclusion: A Case of Slum-Dwellers Around Karen Suburb, Langata Constituency, Langata Sub-County, Nairobi, Kenya

Vundi Nason
St. Paul's University

Abstract

This paper investigates the challenges facing social inclusion efforts in urban live-ability among slum-dwellers around Karen suburb, Nairobi City, Kenya. Urban centers present a complex and dynamic element of the modern landscape. In that regard, there is over 1 billion people dwelling in the slums globally, and the number is expected to grow in the next few decades. However, the rapid urbanization is not commensurate to the urban centers' ability to provide basic infrastructure such as roads and affordable housing; and basic services like tapped water and sanitation especially to the slum dwellers. Therefore, the slum dwellers have been subjected to extreme social exclusion and consequently growing inequalities that have attracted the attention of scholars, civil society, policy and decision-makers, and the affected citizens. The dystopian situation of social exclusion is more experienced in the urban-slums despite rapid urbanization world over. Urbanization has remained one of the most critical and fundamental forces driving the global economy, and one of the key indicators of economic productivity and economic development level. In that regard, the world cannot give up on urbanization because it is projected that by 2050, more than two-thirds of the global population might be living in the urban areas. Consequently, stakeholders are working hard to influence positively the changing contours of urbanization to achieve social integration and urban live-ability and social inclusion. The target population for this study was the households' heads, born in the slums, and have been involved in attempts to improve the slum dwellers wellbeing. A mixed research method was used, thus a structured questionnaire was used to collect quantitative data, while for the qualitative method, an interview guide was used to collect data through Focus Discussion Groups. The study had four objectives: to establish the types of social exclusion experienced by dwellers in the slums, investigate the efforts by slum centers to promote social inclusion, determine how the Karen slum dwellers are affected by social exclusion, and to evaluate why the stakeholders' efforts have not been effective in improving social inclusion in Karen slums. The study established the following: the social exclusion is fueled by poor governance, unfair distribution of resources, and the fact that slum dwellers do not participate in decision making and planning due to exclusion; poor relationship between the slum dwellers and the elites fuel tensions, and finally, inadequate service delivery. The efforts by the slum dwellers to improve their wellbeing bear little fruit due to wrong priorities by the government, lack of land tenure dissuades any long-term investment, the social environment in the slums remains insecure and volatile for business. For the existing opportunities to benefit the slums dwellers, there should be strong partnership between all the stakeholders, infrastructure development, participation and enactment of a strong policy framework.

Keywords: *Urbanization, Slums, Overpopulation, Healthcare, Housing, Sanitation*

Introduction

Naturally, cities are fundamentally sites of social difference; and the occurrence is so conspicuous globally (Short, 2021). Therefore, the intensity of social exclusion and consequently the growing

inequalities has attracted the attention of scholars, policy and decision-makers, civil society and the affected citizens. The dystopian situation of social exclusion is more experienced in the urban-slums despite rapid urbanization world over (Bagetta et al., 2022). Thus, urbanization remains one of the most critical and fundamental forces driving the global economy (Xinghua et al., 2021). Consequently, according to World Bank (2021), urbanization is a key indicator of economic productivity and economic development level. For example, according to World Bank (higher urbanization level in a country portrays higher Gross Domestic Product (GDP)). The contours of urbanization have tremendously changed the way people live; thus, the rapid growth of the phenomenon of urbanization has drastically transformed the world (De Larch & Theron, 2020). The sub-Saharan African (SSA) region has found itself engulfed in similar circumstances, and it is classified as the fastest urbanizing region globally. In fact, urbanization in SSA is generally complex and puzzling; it defies and eludes most of the recent literature on the phenomenon. It is projected that by 2050, more than two-thirds of the global population might be living in urban centers. However, urban population is not homogeneous but rather marked by intercultural-complexities, and composite social intrigues (Odinga-Martins & Sharifi, 2022). Sustainable urbanization or maintainable urban live-ability is about social inclusivity, collectivity in the urban initiation, planning, implementation, and resources distribution. Social inclusion envisions full citizens' participation in the process of urbanization for the promotion of shared values, purpose and vision. Indeed, participation is the only way to promote citizen-based urban centers that equally present the inclusive needs of all the urban dwellers; both high and low-income communities. Through enhanced citizens' participation, there is a chance to narrow the gap between the 'excluded minority' and the 'included majority' and to achieve the solution to exclusion: establishment of sustainable urban centers. In fact, according to Dong et al. (2018), the establishment of sustainable urban centers is the only practical way to realize urban live-ability and to defeat the challenges of social exclusion through promoting more social, economic, political and cultural integration.

Research Problem

As a matter of fact, world over, cities are fundamentally sites of social difference. The occurrence is so conspicuous globally, that it has attracted intense scholarly research. However, from a general point of view, there are a few people who tend to address the urban populations uniformly. Such treatment of the phenomenon is unfair, and undermines the realization of sustainable development (Short, 2021). By all standards, urban dwellers are characterized by social diversities and differences not limited to socio-economic, ethnicity, religious, political affiliation, gender, race, sexual orientation, social inequality, poverty, and inadequate access to social services like healthcare, sanitation, clean water, and housing services (Odinga-Martins & Ayyoob, 2022). This paper therefore attempted to investigate the challenges of social inclusion for the promotion of urban live-ability: a case of slum-dwellers around Karen Suburb, Nairobi, Kenya.

Objectives of the study

The paper was guided by the following objectives, to:

- 1) Establish the types of social exclusion experienced by dwellers in Karen slums
- 2) Investigate the efforts by slum centers to promote social inclusion in Karen slums
- 3) Determine how the Karen slum dwellers are affected by social exclusion
- 4) Evaluate why the stakeholders' efforts have not been effective in improving social inclusion in Karen slums

Theoretical Anchorage

This study is anchored on the theory of social exclusion. In the recent past, social exclusion theory has become one of the key issues informing the European policy agenda for the development of a conceptual model to address material deprivation, insufficient access to social rights, a low degree of social participation and a lack of normative integration (O'Donnell et al., 2021). Rather than describing forms of social exclusion; the theory enables the practitioners to carry out a causal analysis to subsequently show the underlying risk factors. The theory has been instrumental in the development of a specific measurement of social exclusion; for example, establishment of the main determinants of social exclusion as opposed to common social shortfalls that are experienced by all individuals in urban setting (Freedman et al., 2016).

The phenomenon of “social exclusion” first came into the limelight in 1974 in France (Elena et al., 2020). However, it was popularized by René Lenoir and was employed purposefully to refer to the people with various disabilities: physically and mentally disabled, plus those who were considered to be socially maladjusted; due to their vulnerability, the people had been left behind economically and socially (Burholt et al., 2020). Therefore, Lenoir advocated for the improvement of their conditions to bring more equity and reinforcement of social cohesion (Jackson et al., 2022). Social alienation and fragmentation resulted from social exclusion which was to blame for the breakdown of social bonds between individuals and the community (Moustakas, 2022). The theory expounds the multidimensional relational process whereby the social ties severed through continual prevention of access to institutions, denied opportunities for full participation, and impaired or compromised social solidarity. Thus, social exclusion is a relational process expressed in different forms of intentional exclusion, denial and prevention: deprivation of material resources, denial of social rights, and prevention from social participation and cultural integration (Elena et al., 2020). Moreover, social exclusion is exacerbated by societal failure to maintain social justice, fairness and equity among all the groups; and to guarantee equal access, control and participation of each individual in the democratic affairs of the community especially in decision making and choices (Moustakas, 2022). According to Madanipour and Talbot (2015), social exclusion is a serious social problem that might impede individual's ability to fulfill their social roles and full participation in the society, and thus result into total displacement and seclusion. The theory of social exclusion is helpful in the achievement of urban live-ability and overcoming the challenges of social inclusion. For example, it is helpful in the identification of groups and individuals that are not only in poverty but might be subjected to other forms of exclusion, deprivations, socially disadvantaged, and denied participation in community's life-activities (Kronborg, 2018). Additionally, the theory might help specialists, legislators, policy makers and other stakeholders in social change to explore the negative implications of social exclusion; and to holistically initiate significant and effective measures to sustainably combat and end poverty and inequality (O'Donnell et al., 2021). The theory is useful to stakeholders as they carry out a deeper analysis beyond the mere identification of terms like poverty and deprivation to describe social division (Moustakas, 2022). In that regard, the theory is fundamental in the development of good policies and effective legislation to address systemic material deprivation in the slums, insufficient access to social rights by slum dwellers, denied full social participation and a lack of normative integration of urban populations most significantly in the slums. Eventually, the products may be used as building blocks to end social exclusion in the urban centers, and flesh out strategies for promotion of integration and enhanced urban live-ability and social inclusion (Das et al., 2020).

Literature Review

City slums refer to the informal human settlement in the urban centers. Generally, the trend of the slums in the world is worrisome (De Larch & Theron, 2020). For example, slums tend to be declining in regard to citizens' living standards, degenerating service delivery, extreme poverty, dense population, and environmental conditions. According to UN-HABITAT (2020) a slum is a group of individuals living under the same roof in an urban area but experiencing different challenges, for example, lack of permanent or durable housing that may withstand extreme climatic conditions, and by thus offer sufficient protection to the occupiers. Besides durability, the house should provide sufficient living space and privacy for the members, therefore, where more than three people share the same room as it is common among most households in the slums, such circumstances compromise comfort and privacy (Guo et al., 2022). The slums dwellers suffer from lack easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts, and at an affordable price. Therefore, the quality of some of the water consumed by the slum dwellers is highly questionable notwithstanding the fact that it is unnecessarily expensive. The slums lack adequate sanitation services, therefore, access to simple facilities like toilet is a challenge, and thus 1 toilet may be shared by more than 100 people. It is therefore common in the slums to have what has been referred to as 'flying' toilets, denoting situations where human waste is thrown around wrapped in papers because toilets remain inaccessible because of the huge number of people queuing, and at times due to insecurity issues (Oginga-Martins & Ayyoob, 2022). Therefore, the phenomenon of slums reflects the struggles of the urban-underprivileged: extreme poverty, huge gaps of inequality, systemic exclusion from access and control over resources, and finally deprivation. Even though the conditions of the housing services remain deplorable, yet there is huge demand due to poverty, and the dwellers lack security of tenure that prevents forced evictions (Rai, 2021). According to Baggetta et al. (2022), social inclusion describes the process of citizens' full participation in economic, social, and political life, and resource management for the realization of the community or national SDGs. For an effective process of citizens' inclusion, they must show intentional efforts, a strong commitment and desire to participate in the process of social inclusion in all matters of life. In the same vein, the United Nations Development goal 11 commits itself to making cities sustainable through: more access to career and business opportunities, safe and affordable housing services, and establishment of resilient societies and economies; more investment in public services like transport, urban planning and sanitation.

Definition of Social Exclusion

The concept of social exclusion is not new, for example in the 20th century it was commonly used in France and later Europe (Rai, 2021). Despite its growing popularity globally, there exists no universally accepted definition of social exclusion. However, in a more fundamental way, social exclusion refers to the state whereby individuals or citizens are intentionally denied full participation in the society's economic, social, political and cultural life. Notwithstanding the complexity of social exclusion, the effects are indeed severe. For example, economic exclusion in the slums has been exacerbated by lack of critical job-related skills, inadequate access to educational opportunities due to slum-related poverty (Bull et al., 2023). Therefore, there is rampant unemployment, in the informal economy where citizens thrive through self-employment which remains peripheral because they cannot access credit facilities due to lack of collateral, and the illegal nature of the slums (Oginga-Martins, 2022). The cultural exclusion implies exhibition of practices that naturally imply superiority culturally by the citizens from the more developed

urban centers. By this, they exclude the slum dwellers from full and equal participation in the society (Guo et al., 2020). Through the lack of inclusion, the slum dwellers miss out on the benefits and opportunities that would otherwise improve their social lives. For example, employment opportunities, networking with other citizens and social development like acquisition of self-confidence, realization of their human rights and freedom (World Bank, 2021). Therefore, the general categorization of the slum dwellers promotes suspicions, and culture of inferiority complex which causes negative reactions and riotous behaviour from the slum dwellers as a survival mode when confronted by those from the elitist residential dwellers.

The commitment to build resilience in urban areas is foundational to the avoidance of human, social and economic losses. Most particularly, resilient urban centers are possible through the improvement of the sustainability of urbanization processes such as: the protection of the environment and mitigation of disaster risk experienced in the slums (Arvidsson, 2023). Besides the consideration of environmental issues, experts and practitioners in urban planning have also focused and stressed on the need to enhance citizens' full participation in all avenues of life to enhance access to the socioeconomic, critical opportunities, individuals' recovery and restoration of their status in order to redeem from all manner of impacts and vulnerability (Doget al., 2018). Despite the definition arrived at about the concept of social inclusion, one of the fundamental aspects of social inclusion is citizens' participation in all the fundamental social activities that affect their welfare (Kuddu et al., 2020). Consequently, the participatory model has unquestionably emerged as the stronger and a more favourable structure that addresses social exclusion through policy development and empowerment (Oginga-Martins et al., 2022). However, in actual sense, there is no miracle in realization of citizens' participation; therefore, proper audit is needed to establish any form of hindrances compromising citizens' full participation, access to resources, land and housing, employment and income, critical services like education and healthcare, and having opportunities to add their voices in the process of social inclusion through democratic processes (Bagetta et al., 2022). Additionally, Schrogel and Kolleyck (2019) opine that interventions against other matters that might breed social exclusion like gender, age, disability, ethnicity, and religious affiliation are necessary to efficiently promote social integration for the purposes of urban live-ability social inclusion.

Social inclusion and sustainable development are inseparable and complementary; thus, one cannot happen without the other (World Bank, 2021). In that regard, the phenomenon of social inclusion is fundamental in the realization of the sustainable development goals (SDGs) most specifically, SDG Goal 1 dealing with the eradication of extreme poverty (Guo et al., 2022). As explained by De Larch and Theron (2020), SDG 1 is concerned with ending all the forms of poverty everywhere, and by thus leaving no poor individual behind. In that regard, SDG 1 addresses most specifically discrimination, stigmatization, rejection and discrimination especially amongst the key populations such as: the homeless persons, those structurally challenged and discriminated against; unemployed and unable to secure employment. The doctrine of social inclusion popularly referred to as "leave no one behind" attempts to alleviate extreme poverty and the reduction of all forms of inequality through accessing and establishing equal opportunities for all, eradication of any discriminatory policies and inept legislation. According to Schrogel and Kolleyck (2019), the key principles in social inclusion include realization of security and development, migration and development, inclusive, sustainable growth, and finally development.

Causes of social exclusion of the slum-dwellers in urban centers

Whatever the form of exclusion, they all lead to reduction of individuals' standard or quality of life. Thus, social exclusion undermines peoples' living standards due to denied control, access and other forms of exclusionary acts and social justice (Steven & Gordon, 2017). In essence, in most of the developed countries like the United States of America, discriminatory acts and behaviour are acknowledged mostly towards the racial minorities. It is challenging at times for them to access critical services due to their colour. According to Chauhan et al. (2020), such acts of disparity in accessing services are documented,

Evidence to date indicates that patients from ethnic minority backgrounds may experience disparity in the quality and safety of health care they receive due to a range of socio-cultural factors. Although heightened risk of patient safety events is of key concern, there is a dearth of evidence regarding the nature and rate of patient safety events occurring amongst ethnic minority consumers, which is critical for the development of relevant intervention approaches to enhance the safety of their care (Chauhan et al., 2020).

An individual's ethnicity or race may dictate the quality of services he or she accesses and thus endangering the patient's safety. Lack of equal access to services is not only limited to ethnic or racial diversity. For example, disparities in socioeconomic conditions across ethnic or racial divides during the Covid-19 pandemic were blamed for the skewed access to healthcare services. It is also a matter of fact that the consequences of Covid-19 were not equally experienced; they were more severe among the people of colour. For example, among the American citizens, Black and Hispanic individuals experienced disproportionate job loss despite being citizens of the same country. Lopez et al. (2020) presents good evidence to illustrate this claim,

In April 2020, at the height of the first wave of the Covid-19 pandemic, national unemployment rates for Black persons (16.7%) and Hispanic persons (18.9%) were 17.6% and 33.1% higher, respectively, compared with White persons (14.2%) (Lopez et al., 2020).

As the evidence shows in Lopez et al. (2020), the White persons were not as badly affected by unemployment caused by the Covid-19 pandemic compared to the Black and Hispanic communities who otherwise recorded 16.7% and 18.9% unemployment rates nationally. Other strengths in fighting social exclusion among the developed countries is that all forms of social exclusion are prosecuted in functional institutions that challenge social exclusion; courts of law, social media that quickly calls out all forms of exclusion, and finally citizens who know and pursue their rights and freedoms.

Even though acts of social inequality access and discrimination are of global status, among the developed countries like Great Britain, there have been attempts and efforts to foster a sense of inclusion and belonging among all people despite their ethnicity, race, religion, and political persuasion. Although not perfect, the Great Britain government has tried to develop open, tolerant, social justice and equity for all individuals and by thus establish a popular culture for all people at all levels: economic, social, and political (World Bank, 2022). The region of the SAA in the past few decades has significantly shown an upward progression towards achievement of full social inclusion. However, while the rest of the world is taking pace faster steps, SAA on the contrary paints a very different picture. In the SAA, social exclusion may take other forms other than the conventional dimensions experienced elsewhere; for example, economic, gender, tribal and ethnic-based discriminations (Rai, 2021). At any rate, due to lack of legal or prosecutorial basis for exclusionary treatment, the vice is exacerbated by day. Among the developing countries, there has

been a complex history of ethnic rivalries due to competition for limited resources especially in the rural communities. Sadly so, despite the rapidly changing demographics in the urban centers, new inventions like social media, artificial intelligence, and the internet all these gains have been used for political mobilization and balkanization. While SAA is witnessing rapid urbanizations, the lives and social relationships in the urban centers are to a greater extent reshaped by socioeconomic factors, ethnicity and tribal affiliations. For instance, even choice of residence in the urban centers may to some degree be dictated by ethnic factors like social support, security and sense of belonging (Oginga-Martins & Ayyoob, 2022).

Rapid urbanization in SAA due to economic development and industrialization has resulted into gated communities, a phenomenon similar to the developed world gated communities; for example, the communities are self-sufficient and closed from communities deemed to be from lower economic class. Among the developing countries including the SSA region, slums stand out as the complex manifestation of social exclusion. Thus, by nature, social exclusion is not by choice but rather it is enforced; it is experienced when an individual or group of individuals are systematically compelled and prevented from participation, thus creating social exclusion (Guo & Liang, 2022). According to Das et al. (2020), matters of inclusion in Africa matter because the excluded groups risk being left out of socioeconomic progression and development; whereas, inclusion is helpful in understanding those left out (therefore, questions like what, why, how, and in what ways regarding those left out can be answered). Furthermore, through social inclusion, attention can be made to the key poverty drivers; that is essential for decision and policy makers to build structures and processes that may aid and abet social exclusion. Finally, it is costly for societies to ignore social exclusion; therefore, countries should invest more in the establishment of strong social contracts especially among the SSA region (Short, 2021).

Definitely, unchecked urban poverty might lead to more exclusion among the slum dwellers. For example, access to clean cooking fuel like gas might be next to impossible, it is therefore not uncommon for the poor families in the slums. Slum families cook using solid fuels such as charcoal. Prolonged usage of unclean cooking fuel might be a source of indoor air pollution, chronic respiratory diseases and infections. Moreover, due to poverty among the slum dwellers children often suffer from malnutrition and infections and low immune system due to inadequate quality food. According to Guo et al. (2022), slums generally are space poor. For instance, the slums lack adequate recreational areas; in that regard, most of the slum dwellers tend to develop higher levels of lifestyle illnesses due to alcohol and drug abuse, diabetes and other non-communicable diseases. According to Kuddu et al. (2020, p.4),

... in these areas, infrastructure is often lacking, including sufficient space for recreational activities. Further, in developing countries, as in developed countries, large employers frequently place head offices in urban capitals and work is increasingly sedentary in nature...

Thus, slum dwellers in the developing countries are space poor; therefore, due to lack of adequate space for physical exercise and recreational activities, they are at risk from emerging pandemics like obesity due to lack of adequate exercise. According to WHO (2022), obesity might lead to diverse non-communicable diseases including hypertension, cancer and cardiovascular disease.

Efforts by urban dwellers in promoting social inclusion in the slums

In accordance to the 2030 Agenda, nobody should be left out in accessing the benefits of prosperity and minimum standards of living enjoyed by the majority. For example, all citizens should equally access political, physical, cultural and social spaces. Additionally, citizens should equitably have access to social protection, information, electricity, transport, affordable and quality healthcare and clean water (Koehler, 2017). Globally, countries and societies should place the doctrine of social inclusion at the center in their analysis of sustainable development and socioeconomic achievements; where groups of individuals are deliberately left out in accessing services and social places, it becomes extremely difficult to attain sustainability in economic development and poverty reduction (Jackson et al., 2022). Therefore, in essence, social exclusion describes the complex and multidimensional occurrence; whereby groups of people continue being denied access to basic services, places and material resources, education, modern energy and adequate information. In that regard, the excluded individuals are deliberately subjected to a life of want, misery, poverty, and hunger because of the denied access.

Because of subjection to social exclusion, the slum dwellers need empowerment to be able to have access, equity and social justice in order to foster a favourable social climate that ensures equitable universal access to: material resources and income, employment opportunities, land, housing, inclusivity, critical services like education and healthcare. Social inclusivity enables citizens to enjoy equal opportunities, inclusivity, democracy, fairness and participatory practices in planning and adding their voice, implementation, evaluation, problem solving, and consequently decision-making; having their human rights and dignity accorded, respected, and protected. Consequently, social exclusion needs to be fought from all fronts to enhance sustainable development through social inclusion especially among the slum dwellers (World Bank, 2021). According to World Bank (2022), slums lack most of the basic urban services, for example, clean water, sanitation, waste collection and disposal, street lighting, and road network and access. Additionally, most of the slum dwellings also lack easy access to important institutions and social amenities like schools, hospitals and banks.

Slums are informal entities (Xinghua et al., 2021); essentially that means there exists little policy framework to regulate and to promote effective, efficient and productive governance in the slum dwellings (Davey & Gordon, 2017). Therefore, due to the informal approach of the slum practices, it negatively impacts the economic, social, political, and sustainable development. Consequently, slum dwellers end up having little access or lacking in entirety any access to economic opportunities and participation. In the end, that leaves them subjected to total social isolation from political and legal power, and access to both public and private properties. The governments in the world have a huge role to improve the slums through good governance based or relevant policies to address effectively the negative impacts of social exclusion and their roots (Jackson et al., 2022). For example, policy makers need to address slum-based poverty especially due to lack of accessibility of services, and material; relevant policies to drive sustainable, integrated and holistic slum upgrading to end all forms of deprivation; establishment of good policies to regulate basic service provision, and cover the underserved slum sections; develop policies that empower the slum dwellers to improve their livelihoods; strengthen their policies and legislative muscles to enhance the volume, quality, and affordability of their services (Schroegel & Kolley, 2019).

According to Corburn et al. (2020), slum dwellers risk to be heavily burdened by pandemics like cholera unless their basic needs are met: access to clean water, toilets, modern sewers, drainage,

garbage collection, adequate housing. Highly infectious diseases like Covid-19 might wipe out an entire slum due to the challenges facing the dwellers (Friesen & Pelz, 2020). For example, there is a big problem of overcrowding in the slum, and therefore, implementation of the basic control for the pandemic cannot be implemented. For example, social distancing and self-quarantine are totally unlikely (Solymá'ri et al., 2022). A sound policy framework is foundational in the promotion of urban live-ability centers; however, it is acknowledged that slums lack adequate public policy to address the needs of their residents or dwellers. For example, while Constituency Development Funds (CDF) scheme is used for local development, the slum areas are unable to attract sufficient allocation of national CDF funds because the true population of the slum dwellers may never be known. Secondly, the boundaries are not very clear thus leading to further exclusion (Akwalu & Muchai, 2020). However, from an economic standpoint, urban slums are dynamic microenterprise powerhouses; however, the constraints hindering the aspirations of the dwellers from improving their living standards, and attainment of higher socioeconomic development are remarkable. Investment in social inclusion is therefore a worthy cause (Rai, 2021).

Lack of policy-driven development in the slums has compromised the slum dwellers' ambitions due to weak policies and poor governance, inadequate infrastructure, poor planning not commensurate to the slum population, unaffordable and unrealistic rent for residential houses (Dong et al., 2018). Due to lack of policies to drive proper planning in the slums, the urban slums are located in lands that are unsuitably qualified for residential tenancies. For example, proximity to dumps or locations known for environmental hazardous, low-lying slopes, adjacent to railways, swampy areas and low-lying land. The slum dwellers need to influence the policies that affect their lives, this maybe through electing leaders with the ability to enhance representative democracy by championing the needs of the electorate (Cleave et al., 217). Good policies can address the social fractures or divisions within the slums and by this, create urban centers that are integrated and assumed live-ability where each individual has a sense of belonging and enjoys adequate access and control; and most significantly to promote the sense of trust among the other citizens irrespective of social class and status, utilization of every opportunity to fight all manner of marginalization and exclusion (De Larch & Theron, 2020).

Challenges in upgrading slums for urban live-ability

World over, in upgrading slums for urban live-ability, the improvement of urban live-ability has been made one of the topmost priorities in sustainable urban development planning and policies for the purposes of promoting quality of life in the cities politically, economically, and culturally. Most specifically, slum upgrading denotes the measures adopted for the improvement of the quality public services such as housing services, betterment of the infrastructure establishment, sanitation services, security, and removal of land illegality to enhance individual land tenure. For the citizens born and brought up in the slums, there is lack awareness of their rights; therefore, they accept most of the sufferings as natural. However, according to Cleave et al. (2017), the slum dwellers lack the political will due to apathy and demotivation. The social implications are that the demotivated citizens may not see the sense of participating to the slums upgrading. Land ownership is pertinent to all development; however, there is no evidence of land ownership in the slums due to illegality regarding to land occupancy among the slum dwellers. In that regard, all undertakings in the slums are deemed to be temporal and thus no attempts are undertaken for the establishment of permanent outcomes. Furthermore, lack of land ownership leads to some economic problems like lacking collateral when trying to access credit facilities; ordinarily people

residing in other developed urban centers are able to use their title deeds as collateral. There are some slum dwellers with credible development ideas, plans and proposals; however, they cannot be realized because the slum dwellers have no access to credit facilities (Cheema et al., 2021).

Government agencies, policy and decision makers do not factor in the slum dwellers, thus they are excluded from all the strategic planning and implementation. The needs for the slum dwellers not only remain unrepresented, but also never included in the development agenda. In essence, the exclusion and marginalization of the slums has become a huge hindrance to slum upgrading process and initiatives. Additionally, failing to be part of the development agenda, that means although the slum area needs remain obvious, they cannot be met without budgetary support. With the slums precariousness, all long term plans remain shaky and lack any serious consideration at all levels. For example, lack of critical services, and vulnerability of the slum dwellers dissuade all investors and planners. According to Cities Alliance (2021, p.9),

“...many slum dwellers are deprived of social services and infrastructure. Slums are spatially excluded from the rest of the city, translating into a lack of access to urban amenities and social infrastructure. The non-availability of community buildings, public space, sports facilities, schools, health services has an important impact on the lives of slum dwellers”.

Lack of access to critical services such as adequate social infrastructure, urban amenities, housing, and community buildings, public space, sporting facilities, schools, and healthcare services make the slums deplorable and dilapidated for any healthy human settlement. Thus, it is a matter of fact that without adequate access upgrading of the slums become next to impossible.

The slum upgrading process therefore cannot be relegated to individuals or a group a people; for better outcomes of the process, participation of all relevant stakeholders is key. Bull et al. (2023) notes that mobilization of the slum dwellers to collect their ideas, interests and plans is critical. However, most of the initiatives to upgrade slums are centralized, that does not only denote the exclusion of the slum dwellers, but the whole approach remains top-bottom. The problem with all manner of top-bottom is elitist and it excludes the interests, views and ideas of the common citizens; therefore the outcomes are not only irrelevant, but the whole initiatives are not owned by the local citizens. Without local ownership, most of the slum upgrading initiatives have never delivered the desired outcomes, and are never owned by the intended audiences, the slum dwellers. In all the other avenues in community development where the participatory approaches were given due consideration, the results showed that citizens' participation increased ownership and the overall acceptance of the project, and incorporation of the citizens' knowledge, ideas, and aspirations. Likewise, the involvement and engagement of the slum dwellers in contributing to the slum upgrading programs will enhance inclusion, public representativeness, and improved decision-making steps, sharing of better ideas redesigning the upgrading, better planning, implementation, and post-upgrading maintenances (Alliance, 2021).

Effectiveness of the stakeholders' push for slum upgrading

There is no shortage of stakeholders' involvement in reversing the conditions of slums at all levels, global, national, regional and local. However, the different stakeholders have to merge together for simple reasons: complementing their efforts, strengthening their voice, commanding a bigger pool of resources and finally to compare experience, research and lessons learned from different countries, cities and regions (Cheema et al., 2021). Slum upgrading is complex; there exists no

simple formula or shortcut, sometimes the gains are compromised by external factors that are seemingly beyond simple intervention. For example, more than often the initiatives by the various stakeholders like governments, the private sector, international agencies and the slum dwellers associations' efforts are greatly compromised by poor urban planning, rapid urbanization, more expansion of informal settlements, and urban-based elitists' political activities (Akwalu & Muchai, 2020). Therefore, the slums have borne more directly the social and economic pains emanating from the unprecedented rate of urbanization, poor planning, dilapidated infrastructure, impacts from the environmental constrains, lack of adequate housing services, and lack of critical services like sanitation, drainage, access to clean water and security services (Cleave et al, 2017). In summary, due to the backlog of the deplorable state of the slums, the stakeholders are overwhelmed and at best have only warned of more prevalence in the slums' future.

Fig 01: Diagram presenting the stakeholders involved with slum upgrading.



Source: Obare (2020).

Despite the stakeholders being distinctively identifiable, their contributions have not been effective (Bull et al., 2023). Some stakeholders have negative attitude towards slums in general, for example, they have not accepted the importance of the slums, they do not value delivery of critical services to the slums such as adequate housing, security of tenure; therefore, they make no attempts of mobilizing the dwellers for any possible consultations (Cleave et al., 2017). The involvement of the political class has not come without value, for example where their interests clash with those of other stakeholders like slum dwellers associations, urban planners and local NGOs, in regard to slums upgrade, such clashes have resulted in huge delay of the interventions. Furthermore, most of the stakeholders have planned their interventions without the involvement of the slum dwellers, however, the ideal situation demands planning with the slum dwellers, not for the slum communities; the inclusive and participatory approach are easily translated into sustainable interventions (Akwalu & Muchai, 2020). In their classical report, UN-Habitat (2007) identified the following principles that may lead to comprehensive and sustainable slum upgrading: empowerment of the locals to create the way for them to take control of their development (change), the central government to adequately fund the counties, and allow them to be fully autonomous in determining their development agenda, and deliverance of the basic urban services without any manner of interference. However, the counties must at all the levels exhibit good governance that is marked by making policies that are inclusive, equitable, responsive and

efficient. Furthermore, good governance is also about citizens’ participation, building consensus, accountability and transparency (Arvidsson et al., 2023).

Research Methods

To carry out this study, the researcher used mixed research methods. Generally, a research method describes the specific procedures adopted by the researcher for data collection and analysis. The choice of mixed researcher methods was intentional to the researcher; for example, mixed research methods enabled the researcher to get a full picture, description, and deeper understanding of the phenomenon under investigation (Tesfaye et al., 2022). For example, qualitative method was considered because it is flexible; by thus it allowed the researcher to have more spontaneity interacting with the study participant (Maxwell, 2021). By using it, the researcher learned a lot from the respondent’s behavior and interactions in their original life context as they responded to the “open-ended” questions. Furthermore, the respondents were free to respond in using their own words, and not limited to ‘closed-ended answers that required answers like “yes’ or “no’ (Michael & Moser, 2019).

The second research method used by the researcher is quantitative research. This method enabled the researcher to obtain greater knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon being studied. In particular, quantitative research enabled the researcher to produce objective knowledge that can be replicated by others using the same systematic procedures using the same techniques, conditions, context and setting (Mats & Deetz, 2019). The target population was the household heads who been living in Karen slums for the last 30 years. The residents were identified with the assistance of village headmen and the sub-chiefs who know the area and the residents very well. Because there was no possibility of studying the entire Karen slums due to inadequate time and financial resources, two slums (Kataka and Kuwinda) were randomly selected from the three slums in Karen (Kuwinda, Kataka and Kalinde).

Table 01: Number of household heads who have lived in the slums for over 30 years

The slum area	Female household heads	Male household heads	Total
Kataka slums	140	110	250
Kuwinda slums	180	120	300
Total	320	230	550

From the target population of 550 household heads, a sampling frame was prepared, and a sample size of 165 was randomly drawn; the sample size formed 30% of the study target (Tesfaye et al., 2022). Quantitative data was collected using from the 165 respondents using structured questionnaire through face-to-face interviews. Quantitative data analysis entailed a rigorous process whereby: the researcher started by cleaning and organizing the data. The next step entailed editing and coding the data, the raw numbers into meaningful insights through applying numerical values and descriptive statistics, the details emanating from the numbers was noted. The statistical analysis method adopted by the researcher was the usage of the frequency and percentages, then inference of the emerging pattern to make the data analysis. In summary, the data analysis began with data organization, coding, and description of the data, defining the emerging themes, presentation of the frequency and percentages, finally, connecting the interrelating themes as the basis of the analysis. Tables were used to present the findings.

To collect qualitative data, two Focus Group Discussion groups of twelve people each were formed from Kataka and Kuwinda slums. An interview schedule was used to collect data; two research assistants were used to record the data through notes and tape-recorders. To analyze qualitative data, the researcher prepared and organized the data; this will entail printing out the transcripts, gathering together the field notes, the recorded tapes, and videos (Maxwell, 2021). The data was coded and categorized using a word or a short phrase to represents a theme. After this step, the researcher identified the key themes, patterns and emerging relationships. These enabled the researcher to analyze the data through analytical and critical thinking skills. Finally, the researcher summarized the data and linked the research findings to the research purpose and objectives. In writing the data analysis, the researcher carefully noted all worthy quotations from the transcript (Alvesson & Deetz, 2019).

Results and Discussion

The study found that there were more female household heads 58%, compared to male household heads 42%. This state of affairs was also noted from the literature (Arvidsson et al (2023). During the FDGs sessions, the researcher learned from the respondents that slum families were complex, MTK 100 made the following comment

... you see some of men have other families from their rural homes, so upon retirement, they would relocate in the rural areas and by thus leaving the urban wife as the head of the household. MTK 100

Objective 01: To determine the types of social exclusion experienced by the Karen slum dwellers (The researcher used quantitative method for this objective, below are the findings).

TABLE 02: TYPES OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

TYPE OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION	MALE	FEMALE	Total	Percentage
Cultural exclusion	17	15	32	19
Economic exclusion	35	25	60	36
Social exclusion	13	10	23	14
Exclusion from opportunities	30	20	50	30
Total	95	70	165	100

According to 36% of the respondents, economic exclusion was the most common type of exclusion experienced by the slum dwellers, followed closely by exclusion from opportunities 30%. Most of the negative effects of social exclusion like poverty and unemployment stem from economic exclusion and exclusion from opportunities, the same notion was opined by key literature reviewed like (Rai, 2021) and (Kuddu et al., 2021) respectively. The policy makers, planners and practitioners have exactly the areas they need to focus on in order to promote urban live-ability and establish more sustainable cities.

Causes of social exclusion of the slum-dwellers in urban centers

During the FDGs sessions, the respondents were asked: “What is the cause of social exclusion in areas you live?” The respondents were clear on the causes of social exclusion.

1) Exclusion by the urban rich and powerful

The respondents in both FGDs agreed social exclusion was a result of negative human actions to keep the slum dwellers poor and excluded besides their efforts to improve their living standards. Top on the list of the causes was: deliberate exclusion by the urban rich and powerful 53%.

This was put very well by one of the respondents “KL 04” by stating that,

Our situation is not natural, it does not reflect who we should be; but people with economic and political power have made us this way. They deny us land rights by making land extremely expensive and out of reach for us, even the procedures to access land are so cumbersome and complex. When you are poor, accessing credit facility is impossible because you lack collateral, that way you cannot borrow (KL 04).

The little planning therefore that takes place in and around the slums is according to the interests and needs of the rich and powerful people. Therefore, the slum dwellers remain socially excluded and restricted from participating in various events taking place in society because their voices are never heard, neither their needs considered. Finally, the fate of the slum dwellers is sealed on long-term basis by urban poverty, inequality, and lack of welfare in the slums (Guo et al., 2022).

2) Poor governance

According to the respondents, because of poor governance, the slums and the dwellers remain ‘invisible’, to the planners and policy makers. Therefore, their planning does not include the slum dwellers’ participation, voice, interests and needs in the urban development plans. Even though they represent a big size of the urban population, very little is planned for according to our priorities and needs. If anything, therefore, they remain isolated and marginalized. That explains where there are no plans for jobs, services delivery, no roads access, not adequate, quality and affordable houses. When serious investment is called for, the slums are considered as informal and unsafe areas considerable development and investment. KW 12 had this to say in regard to poor governance,

I am certain that the current crisis you see here is as a result of poor governance. With a good political will and support from both Central and County governments, in less than ten years slums will be a thing of history. All leaders can partner with us, make it a priority and opportunity where we all focus on the rebuilding a better urban center where we have equal access and social justice. We can have systems that work for everybody and together solve the problems that have driven a wedge between us as citizens: social problems, healthcare issues, environmental and natural disasters (KW 12).

During the literature review, stakeholders’ full or popular participation was documented as fundamental at all level of decision making whether through democratic representation or direct representative. For example during the project initiation, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, finally through fair distribution of resources (Akwalu & Muchai, 2020; Dong et al., 2018; Guo et al., 2022).

3) Unfair and inadequate resource allocation

All the respondents felt that much of the social exclusion is as a result of inadequate resource allocation. The allocation done to the slums is never commensurate to the interests, needs and the size of the pollution living in the slums. KL 10 had this to say regarding resource allocation,

In fact, it will surprise you how little government financial resources are allocated to us as slums compared to our population and needs. The funds are too little and insignificantly inadequate. The roads remain unpaved, inadequate schools, and hospitals. Because of the unfair and inadequate resources, we continue to live deplorably in these slums both socially, environmentally, politically and economically. Without adequate allocation we will never pullout of the mess we call home and community. Even if we were to come together as a community to pull together resources, it can make very little difference. It should be the government to allocate adequate and fair resources commensurate to the needs of the slums for improvement (KL 10).

Inadequate resource allocation negatively affects intra-urban development, most significantly the slums. According to a study done in Botswana by Macrothink Institute (2016), it established that most of the inequality is in fact caused by the lite biasness. Therefore, both intra-rural and intra-urban social inequalities are caused inadequate resource allocation as the elite get lion's share to push for development in their areas. Another study in Kenya by Mulandi, Mutambuki, & Kabui (2022) arrived at the same point, they state,

“...resource allocation had a strong positive and significant association (service delivery). As a result, this study established that resource allocation influenced the delivery of services by Kenya's WWDAs in a positive and significant way. The study concluded that any variability in resource allocation results in a corresponding variability in service delivery by WWDAs in Kenya”.

Thus, there is correspondence between resource allocation and service delivery.

4) Lack of participation in decision making and development processes

The respondents agreed that for any sustainable change full participation of all the stakeholders is essential. KL 01 made a very powerful comment about participation in the process of decision making,

It is painful to be denied participation on making decisions that have a direct impact on your life. I would want to be part of the decision-making body so that I can be satisfied with outcomes of the decisions, and the direction things finally go (KL 01).

Still on the same point of participation in decision making and other matters of development, KW 04 made a very elaborate comment,

The elites must be willing to give up some of their power and control to make sure that all the other stakeholders have access rights to decision-making, have possibilities of inclusion in processes and discussion of issues that will certain outcomes and directions, effects and impacts directly on our lives. Therefore, we need consensus on the reasons, subjects and the relations we should maintain in the whole process of participation so as to make any useful social change at the end (KW 04).

The implication of the statement is that in participation there is give and take, in that regard, the elites should be willing to give in order to create room for others participation in decision and policy making because it will have a direct impact on their lives and development. In fact, the concepts of participatory approaches in development processes, equality, non-discrimination and fair distribution of the benefits of development benefits are essential for the realization of sustainable development (Rai, 2021; Kuddu et al., 2020). Therefore, efforts for the realization of

urban live-ability are of no exception. The slum dwellers therefore should be included in development initiation processes, planning, resource mapping and allocation, implementation and in monitoring and evaluation. In essence, equality and non-discrimination are considered as fundamental to the corpus of individual rights and freedoms as enshrined in credible legal frameworks locally and internationally as building blocks for equality and non-discriminative urban centers (Jackson et al., 2022).

5) Poor relationship between the slum dwellers and the elites

The respondents raised concern on the bad and negative relationship between the slum dwellers and the elites. They felt that this was uncalled for as citizens of the same country, and people who share together our wonderful city, Nairobi. The bad relationship marked by suspicion, hatred, mistrust, corruption and stealing, exclusion and marginalization was seen as one of the root causes of the social exclusion. This was expressed well by KW 11 by stating,

Our social exclusion is further fuelled by the bad relationship between us and them; for example, whenever a job opportunity arises among the elites, they mostly prefer to hire people from other neighbourhoods rather than recruiting someone from the slums around here. They blame us for anything that is bad, for example crime, drug peddling, and prostitution. However, as an elder in this slum, my instincts tell me that we will all be losers if we do nothing about the negative impacts of social exclusion. Rather, we can benefit from current crisis by using the opportunity to focus on ways of rebuilding more inclusive systems that allow the integration of whole society and by extension the urban centers. Such efforts will make our urban centers to become more resilient able to absorb future shocks of all nature: health, climate, natural disasters, or social unrest in our urban centers (KW 11).

Sustainable development is about collectivity, networking, partnership and collaboration (Cleave et al., 2017). Therefore, without addressing the intentional exclusion fanned by mere suspicion and mistrust, it might ferment social tension, violence and conflicts; and the escalation of such matters might end up being extremely costly both economically and socially (Solyma'ri, 2019). In that regard, to end the systemic social exclusion in the urban areas, citizens of all status, social and economic class, ethnicity, political persuasion and religious affiliation must become socially integrated by the desire and intention of achieving urban live-ability (Jackson et al., 2022).

6) Inadequate service delivery

The respondents felt to some extent, lack of adequate service delivery was to blame for the social exclusion in the slums and other social issues such as: neglect, lack infrastructure like roads, security lights, clean water, waste collection and proper housing. The neglect has led service deliverers to exclude us in their service delivery. This was well captured by KL 09 who stated,

The services we get here are so low in quality. There is no other place other than in slums where we find 'matatus' that are full of bedbugs; but we have no choice or alternative transport means. The houses look sickly and poor, even locating your own 'house' is a challenge. The toilets are so few, perhaps 1 toilet against 30 or more households. We are isolated socially from all social amenities; we go far to access such services even though we have the numbers. Nobody wants to visit the slums; they associate our dilapidated infrastructure with evil, moral decay and criminal tendencies (KL 09).

Any serious investor will critically evaluate the nature of the environment; therefore, any environmental retrogression and dilapidated infrastructure might be discouraging, and breed more fear thereby resulting to more social exclusion (Solyma'ris, 2019). From the findings of the study, with a strong will from the policy makers and urban planners, they can make a relevant response to the causes of social exclusion in order to establish live-able urban centers and reduce the negative state reflected in the slums.

Objective 2: Efforts by urban centers to promote social inclusion of the slum dwellers

The respondents were asked “What efforts if any do the urban centers put in place to promote social inclusion among the slum dwellers?” To that, the respondents felt that the messes in the slums are beyond their individual capacity. Therefore, they can bring very little change as individuals. This was expressed very powerfully by KW 07 who stated that,

We found the slums almost the way they are actually, they are as a result of many decades of unplanned urbanization. Imagining that individuals are capable of reversing the situation is day dreaming. Upon realization of the enormity of the problem, we have tried to partner with NGOs and the government. However, there is not much success. Sometimes the development partners get the priorities wrong. For example, the government's plan to improve housing in the slums was a total failure, without any steady form of income, the improved houses did not mean much to us. Job creation in the slums should have come first as a priority, then housing because if a person has some income, then living in the house is possible but not vice versa. The NGOs have been very busy but too little to show in regard to improving the slums; part of the problem is their lack of consultation, transparency, accountability and partnership with us. If they were serious, they should work with us from 'A' to 'Z'. (KW 07).

The slum dwellers felt incapacitated to do anything substantial to change the slums. According to KL 5, the slum dwellers' efforts might begin to bear fruits if their rights and freedoms may be recognized. For example, land ownership. “...as long as the slums are termed as informal settlements and we cannot legally own land, our efforts to improve the slums will never bear fruits.” (KL 5). Besides land policy, the government has the responsibility and mandate to strengthen all development policies to enhance equity, fairness, social justice, inclusivity and equal participation. The same notions were evident during literature review, and were seen as a priority...to have permanent access and control over land, enhance equity, fairness, inclusivity, social justice and equal participation among all stakeholders in the urban centers for social integration and urban liv-ability (Macrothink Institute, 2016).

Objective 3: The effects of social exclusion among the slum-dwellers in Karen

The respondents had a clear understanding on how their lives were affected by social exclusion. According to KL 12,

Here in the slum one can start a good business and target the working class who earn wages and are capable of buying household goods and foodstuffs. However, to start such a business huge capital is needed, and some kind of insurance. But there is no insurance agency that can undertake such a risk; insuring a business that is not built on a legal land, good infrastructure and solid policies (KL 12).

Even where the possibility of a business is viable, the environment in the slums remains very volatile due to risks like fire, political violence, and ethnic skirmishes. Therefore, establishing a sustainable business environment backed by good policies for long-term results, and good infrastructure is not possible in the near future (Mulandi, Mutambuki, & Kabui, 2022).

Besides the possible existing opportunities articulated by the respondents, they were also very clear about the limitations towards their efforts. KL 08 had this to say,

In the slums we lack the basic infrastructure services, for example, water, sanitation, collection of solid waste, legal electricity connections, water drainage, access roads, clear and established footpaths, security and street lighting, disaster response and management, housing services, land access and tenure. Upgrading the slums should involve all the stakeholders and allow participatory approaches and all levels; finally, upgrading should be holistic so as to include the integration of socioeconomic, political, cultural and environmental sector (KL 08).

According to respondents, the enormity of the challenges calls for collaboration of all the stakeholders. KS 03 commented this,

Slum improvement is complex; it involves strengthening of the community organizations' capacity to govern, giving institutional support to work efficiently in bringing social change in the slums; working closely with the people to improve their livelihoods in the slums so as to improve the wellbeing of the slum dwellers (KS 03).

According to the facts generated from the study, for any comprehensive and sustainable improvement of the slums, inclusion and engagement of the slum dwellers is essential because they have firsthand information on how their lives are affected by the slums. However, most of the interventions are instigated from the top by some politicians, international NGOs, and some urban planners who do so from the comfort of their offices without involving or engaging the citizens in the slums (Baggetta et al., 2022); indeed, all top to bottom approaches in urban development and change have never had any meaningful or sustainable change (Bull et al., 2023).

Objective 4: Why the efforts of the stakeholders' push for slum upgrading have not been effective

According to the respondents, they agreed that despite the heavy presence of the stakeholders in the slums, their efforts to improve the slums have not succeeded to a great measure. In that regard, KM 099 commented,

The stakeholders' efforts have not yielded much because first of all, they are in competition, they do not want to work together their resources and efforts are scattered and they have nothing to show although they have been around for years. They also do not involve us in anyway, nobody knows what they are doing for example, there is no accountability or transparency, and they work for themselves although they are in our area. (KM 099).

A better picture was painted by KM 120 who stated,

We appreciate the spirit and intentions of the stakeholders working here, but they will achieve more if they work together in partnership with all the agencies, and include us fully in their work where we become full partners to upgrade the slums. Secondly, they should focus on major issues that have pushed us to the present situation in the slums. For example: changing the land situation so that those who have been here for 30 years get title deeds for the land they occupy. The title deeds can be used as collateral to access development funds from banks. Make sure that all stakeholders some coordination in their works and activities for better outcomes. Force the absent landlords to be more professional and responsive to the policies the sub-county and Slum Dwellers Associations have made, finally we must be part of all efforts as the people living in the slums. (KM 120).

According to the respondents, the poor performance of the stakeholders in upgrading the slums is their irresponsible approach working independently, lack of coordination and not involving the local people, the slum dwellers (World Bank, 2021). Effective planning is when stakeholders agree to plan with the people and not planning for them. In development, top to bottom approach has never been responsive or effective (Tesfaye et al., 2022). The long experiences of the stakeholders should not go to waste (Zhou, 2018). Therefore, comparing notes, sharing experiences, knowledge and resources will boost achievement of the desired outcomes efficiently and responsively (Oginga-Martins, 2022).

Conclusion

Urbanization is indispensable in modern economies and development; all forms of social exclusion are costly and benefit nobody. Therefore, social integration and urban live-ability are fundamental, and can only be achieved through concerted efforts of the diverse urban stakeholders, the enormity of the problem emanating from social exclusion cannot be borne by a single stakeholder alone like the slum dwellers. Decision makers, legislators, urban planners, civil society, community leaders and slum dwellers should work in partnership to address urban poverty, poor infrastructural systems, low quality service delivery, informality and lack of legal framework to influence sustainable land tenure, access and control.

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