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Author	B. Hendriks
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Summary

This study deals with urban livelihoods, institutions and inclusive governance in Nairobi, Kenya. The international development agenda since the 1990 Washington Consensus, mainly revolved around good governance, decentralisation and enablement of the private sector. In addition, the citizenship and deepening democracy debate mainly revolved around a rights based approach to development and processes of voice and influence through consultations over policies and implementation. In line with neo-institutionalism most research strands assumed that institutions could be instrumentally designed and reformed. Only in recent years there has been an increased recognition in the literature that processes of inclusion do not automatically lead to favourable impacts and are rather interpreted as normative and ideological.

This study aims to formulate conditions for contextualised and effective mechanisms of inclusive and responsive governance. This concerns the formulation of conditions with regard to 'invited spaces' which are offered by the government, and 'claimed spaces' which are created by the poor themselves. The study questions how increased contributions to poverty reduction and improvement of quality of life for Nairobi citizens can be realised in an equitable and responsible way, while contributing to (economic) development of the city and the country. To adequately address this two-sided objective (economic growth and poverty reduction) in the contemporary context, one must analyse both processes and impacts; moreover it is necessary to examine impacts in terms of quality of life as well as influence and political rights. The four specific research questions to answer the central question are:

1. Which livelihood pathways are created by households in informal settlements of Nairobi and what are the major access modifying factors which influence their levels of assets and vulnerability?
2. How do interaction and negotiation processes of actors within claimed and invited spaces take place and what is the extent of conflict and cooperation in these processes?
3. How effective are the claimed and invited spaces in increasing quality of life, influence and political rights and how can their effectiveness be increased?
4. What is the influence of international, national and metropolitan institutional contexts on these spaces, negotiation processes and impacts in Nairobi?

The theoretical framework of this study is based on a multiple scientific theories. Livelihoods theory offers a multi-dimensional and comprehensive

view on poverty and possibilities for analysing processes and impacts of impoverishment. Social capital theory contributes ideas relevant to the analysis of bonding, bridging and linking capital of households, processes of reciprocity, enforceable trust and bounded solidarity, and the positive and negative consequences of social capital. Collective action and social movements theory offers concepts relevant to consumption and politically oriented action repertoires and processes. Chronic poverty literature criticises the relatively power neutral concepts of early social capital theory and livelihoods literature and stresses the structural character of poverty. Citizenship and deepening democracy literature and democratic network governance theory contribute to further conceptualising and differentiating collectively claimed and invited spaces and the interaction and negotiation processes within them. Citizenship literature, governance assessment literature, democratic network governance and multi-level governance literature, each contribute to the differentiation between notions of influence on implementation, processes, policies and political rights. Finally, literature on the mutuality of formal and informal social and political institutions contributes to completing the conceptualisation of the full scope of institutions at play, particularly in the sub-Saharan African context with prominent informal institutions.

The research was carried out in Nairobi, Kenya. The metropolitan city of Nairobi is an excellent context for analysing the actors, processes, impacts and contexts of claimed and invited spaces. Nairobi has a high level of political-economic complexity and dynamics and is a growing international nexus point where the conflict of economic growth versus quality of life is distinct. Its context of rapid integration in the global economy since the early 1990s, the contrasts between 'neo-patrimonial' African politics of patronage and clientelism and Western based neo-liberal governance models of private sector development, decentralisation and multi-stakeholder partnerships, as well as the considerable macro-economic growth between 2002 and 2007, makes it interesting for analysis of mutually co-existing top-down and bottom-up shaped spaces for the poor from the informal settlements of Nairobi.

The research differentiates between individually and collectively claimed spaces and invited spaces. For the study on individually claimed spaces, households from the informal settlement of Mathare Valley were selected. For the study on collectively claimed spaces the issue of access to peri-urban land and tenure was selected, after pre-selection of three issues by the slum residents themselves. For the study on invited spaces the mechanism of city-wide governance networks was selected.

The study used a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods to answer the formulated research questions. For the research on the household pathways of the poor in informal settlements, the research methods of a household survey and focus groups were selected. For the research on negotiation processes in individually claimed spaces, data were collected through the household survey. For the research on negotiation processes in collectively claimed spaces, semi-structured interviews were held with the leaders of the selected housing initiatives, support organizations, government and key-experts, as well as focus groups with members of the collective initiatives. Negotiation processes in invited spaces were researched through key-informant and in-depth interviews with public private and civic stakeholders. The impacts for individually claimed spaces were measured through an asset- and vulnerability-index based on data from the household survey. For collectively claimed spaces impacts were measured through a second household survey among members of the one housing initiative that had already moved, interviews of leaders and members of the other housing initiatives involved in the research and leaders of support organisations on potential beneficiaries, poverty reduction and gaining influence and political rights. The impacts of the invited spaces were measured through interviews with key stakeholders and secondary data sources of public and private sector, civil society and donor organisations. The effects of international, national and metropolitan institutional contexts on spaces, processes and impacts, were explored on the basis of interviews and literature study.

The research data was collected during five fieldwork periods between 2002 and 2008. This allowed for a more historical and longitudinal approach to the research with regard to the study on invited spaces, observing spaces over a longer period of time and identifying underlying explanatory patterns. I pursued my Ph.D. research as an external candidate, next to my work as an advisor, programme leader and team leader with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. The research builds on my earlier work with international NGOs and as self-employed on issues concerning Nairobi's slums.

This study starts with the analysis of the composition of the livelihoods and livelihood pathways of poor households and the effects of household characteristics, ambitions and relations in Nairobi's informal settlements. The livelihoods approach offers a multi-dimensional approach to poverty, capturing the complexity, diversity and dynamic character of poverty and deprivation. Previous studies on urban livelihoods are however limited focus predominantly on individual assets rather than taking a comprehensive approach to livelihoods, were mainly qualitative, and only to a small extent include structural household characteristics. This study focuses on urban livelihoods, taking on a comprehensive approach to livelihoods. In order to catch these

elements fully, the methodology of an asset- and vulnerability-index has been applied, which allows for a certain degree of quantification and comparison of livelihood profiles between groups. The asset-index involves the quality and size of human, financial, productive, social, organisational and political assets. The vulnerability-index involves the quality and size of resilience, diversification and regularity.

The analysis of livelihood pathways of poor households in Nairobi's slums confirms the general notions of urban livelihoods studies of the primary importance of human and productive assets in terms of prioritisation of activities. Most urban households are engaged in some kind of economic activity. The findings, however, challenge the primacy of human assets over other assets for the urban poor in terms of influence on vulnerability. Financial and human assets both rank high, even when applying double weighing of human assets based on the relative importance attributed to it in the literature. Without double weighing of human assets, financial assets rank highest and human assets rank almost equal to productive assets at almost half the level of financial assets. These findings on the one hand confirm the current call for increased emphasis on (institutions conditioning) human assets in the context of globalisation, in order to increase the effects of livelihood activities on vulnerability. On the other hand these findings also indicate the importance of simultaneously taking into account alternative (institutions and structures conditioning) assets, such as productive assets.

The shows that the 'life-cycle' predominantly explains variation in vulnerability and asset bases of households. In the expansion stage vulnerability is at its highest and asset-bases are at their lowest, whereas situations slightly improve during the consolidation, dispersion and transition stages of the life-cycle. The structural factor of gender to a lesser extent determines vulnerability and asset bases of households. Two-parent households are least vulnerable. The effect of household ethnicity on vulnerability and asset bases of households is negligible, which is worth mentioning in the context of the December 2007 post-election crisis. In addition, the minimal difference in vulnerability between mono-local and multi-local households is remarkable and challenges ideas in the literature. The other household characteristics, such as size, length of stay and previous residence, have a limited impact on total asset and vulnerability indices. Yet, these characteristics help to shape individual indices and play a role in understanding livelihoods and designing interventions.

This study compared multiple types of household ambitions and discovered the most frequent ambition was the running of a household micro-enterprise (HME), accounting for three quarters of all households. Other household

ambitions include renting out structures and plots, operating tools and machines, and regular employment of at least one household member. Realisation of these ambitions varied between 6 and 14 percent. The study challenges the notion in the literature that HMEs are mainly run by women within sub-Saharan African metropolitan contexts. Men and women were found to equally operate main HMEs as well as business-oriented HMEs. In addition, differences in types of main HME and additional HME especially show between men in two-parent households vis-á-vis male-headed and female-headed households and women in two-parent households.

This study differentiated social capital into social, organisational and political relations in order to clarify the contributions of these assets and the relations between these and other capital assets. More than three quarters of households are engaged in social relations. Slightly more than a quarter of households are engaged in organisational and political relations. Frequency of social relations is highest for the category of (extended) family, followed at a considerable distance by neighbours, shopkeepers, and friends. The bonds of extended family play an important role in food, illness and funeral relations and to a lesser extent in relations to credit, shelter, child care and school fees. Regular (inter)national remittances in cash provide for school fees, food or shelter. They are for two-thirds received from immediate family, although frequency is low. Irregular remittances in cash, especially for food, are slightly more frequent than regular remittances in cash. Irregular remittances in kind concerning food double the prevalence of irregular remittances in cash. Links with politicians are most frequent with municipal councillors, slightly less prevalent with chiefs and village elders and least frequent with higher political leaders. These concern especially the issues of access to plots and structures and help in times of calamity, and to lesser extent access to business, security, and resolving neighbourhood conflict. Organisational links with the city council are limited and the council's performance was rated low. Links with CSOs are most prevalent in credit and health, and to a lesser extent education.

The household characteristics of household-head and ethnicity also influence the frequency of social, organisational and political relations. Male-headed households engage least in all types of relations, while female-headed and two-parent households engage two times more in political and organisational relations than male-headed households. Households of Kikuyu ethnicity have highest frequency of organisational and political relations and the least in social relations as compared to households of other ethnic backgrounds.

Overall, the livelihoods of the poor in the informal settlements of Nairobi can be characterised as vulnerable. Only 10 percent of households in the sample from a low-income area are classified as non-poor through operating business-

oriented household micro-enterprises. Only 4 percent of households are able to move out of poverty through migration to non-slum areas for economic prospects. The majority of households depend on their social relations and on operating livelihood-oriented HMEs.

The remainder of this study analyses the different interfaces (individually and collectively claimed spaces and invited spaces) the poor can engage in to improve their quality of life, influence and political rights.

The first step in the research of the interfaces concerns the analysis of negotiation processes. The research findings on negotiation processes in individually claimed spaces of social, organisational and political relations, confirm the notions in the literature of a critical and more balanced approach, which emphasise both opportunities and constraints. Political relations are characterised by low levels of trust through clientelist practices, the necessity to bribe, and expected support in return during political campaigns and elections. Organisational relations are more cooperative, partly through trust along ethnic lines, although conflicts over (re)payment of credit and school fees are frequent, and clientelism exists. In social relations trust is often stronger through family ties, shared clan or ethnic background. Yet, these cultural ties often also involve negative phenomena such as cultural repression of village life, a lack of bridges to other neighbourhoods and people with different ethnic backgrounds, and withdrawal to individualism. Reciprocity provides security in times of need, though is often considered a burden in the longer term.

The research findings on negotiation processes in collectively claimed spaces for access to peri-urban land and tenure indicate that, however difficult it might be, it is possible for poor and very poor households from informal settlements – mostly in partnership with finance institutions for low-income housing – to both continue to pay their rent and save or repay a loan to purchase land in peri-urban areas. The costs of building prior to relocating may be affordable to the poor, but are too high a burden for the very poor. Building prior to relocation includes costs for provisions of infrastructure and basic services, as well as advantages of economies of scale, volume and uniformity. Alternative ways to cover these costs are limited, as the benefits from the acquired land are mostly delayed through long land delivery times (both up to land acquisition and settlement), and micro-credit for housing loans, which are mostly available after collective repayment of land purchase loans. In addition the (future) property rights and housing design for habitat as an asset are often limited.

The study shows that flexibility of land subdivision through informal institutions was perceived as offering enough tenure security in relatively

recent settlements with comparatively high migration and increased densities through renting rooms. For original owners, sufficient tenure security was generally provided through the collective block title deed, payment receipts, records in the cooperative logbook and trust in elders/witnesses. For second owners, tenure was additionally secured by a formal written agreement between original and second owner, registration fee and witnessed land transfer by the cooperative committee. Share certificates were only perceived as necessary in a quarter of the cases. Generally, the costs for these certificates as well as formal titles were perceived as (too) high; and additionally, new owners are often still indirectly linked to the social networks of the original owners. Hence, the research does not (yet) confirm gradual tenure formalisation.

The study confirms the major dispute types identified for peri-urban land buying cooperatives, trusts and societies of the poor from informal settlements in sub-Saharan African metropolitan contexts. A remarkable sub-category of disputes was identified between private owner and the state, on the effects of settlement of large numbers of slum dwellers on the political support base of an area MP/Minister, which was however disguised as an environmental dispute over a wildlife migration corridor. The study also confirms that dispute resolution with internal actors predominantly occurs through the informal institutions of elders and committee members. However, there are fully free of partiality. The research further confirms initial attempts for informal dispute resolution or prevention of external conflicts, either through witnessed agreements of negotiations with neighbours or through a preventive legalised memorandum of understanding with the local community. If informal institutions failed, then dispute resolution shifted to formal state institutions of either Court, High Court or National Environmental Tribunal. The research also confirms the in the literature mentioned disadvantages of formal dispute resolution (excessively long, costly and intimidating procedures).

The research findings on negotiation processes in invited spaces of city-wide governance networks concern the process factors of inclusion/exclusion, representation, accountability and metagovernance for three consecutive governance networks in Nairobi (between 1993 and 2009). The study differentiates four main types of governance network approaches based on democratic network governance literature. Next to the in the literature common differentiation between conflict and coordination based governance networks, it is additionally differentiated between calculation and culture based governance networks. This leads to a dichotomy of governance networks along the calculation/culture and coordination/conflict axes. This differentiation of governance network approaches offers the opportunities to better conceptualise governance networks as inherently dynamic and better articulate

transitions of governance networks from one governance network approach to another.

This study shows that inclusion and exclusion of types of actors through the years to a large degree reflect the time-bound preferred approaches to governance networks of mainstream development literature, indicating the donor-driven nature of invited spaces. Inclusion of the poor has been limited and hardly increased through the years. It is highest in the calculation/conflict based governance network of participatory budgeting. Yet, total and continued participation figures are low, and are characterised by sharp disparities in gender, ethnicity and culture and class. The research findings do not confirm the recently in citizenship literature popular notion of 'opting out' as a deliberate collective strategy of the poor. Rather, non-participation was found to be due to negative experiences of citizens with donor-driven invited spaces, which serves as a warning for the risk of (normatively) misinterpreting non-participation as strategic 'opting out'.

The findings on the additional question of 'participation in whose name' show severe limitations in representation of the poor in calculation/coordination and calculation/conflict based governance networks. Representation by CSOs as well as municipal councillors predominantly lacks sufficient reflexivity of the representatives and (re)creation of points of identification and actual support. The findings on the calculation/conflict based governance network of participatory budgeting confirm the notion of close relatedness to traditional or informal political channels of representation in the sub-Saharan African context. Representation of citizens at city level is weak, with (elected) ward representatives per individual ward mainly playing a legitimising role and councillors interpreting their often one-sided mandates widely and negotiating and deciding over political interests amongst one another. Issue or sector based representation of private sector and residents associations in the culture/conflict based governance network shows sufficient reflexivity of the representatives and recreation of points of identification and actual support. Representation of private sector associations is however strongly mixed with personal interests. Representation of the middle-class umbrella residents association is characterised by a large gap between the outspoken and confrontational approach of the representative and the less confrontational approach of the represented, who are nonetheless welcoming the results

The research findings show an increase in complementary accountability channels related to the governance network types through the years. The calculation/coordination based governance network in retrospect faced direct and horizontal accountability deficits, which it partly sought to compensate through strong answerability to the donor and direct participation of the donor

in the governance network. Horizontal and direct accountability channels were increased in the calculation/conflict based governance network. Mutual reinforcement of the complementary accountability channels especially occurs through the interplay of horizontal and societal accountability mechanisms leading to the functioning of direct accountability mechanisms. On the one hand, there is still a deficit in accountability mechanisms, especially with regard to the poor in informal settlements. Local and national horizontal accountability mechanisms are either not functioning properly (monitoring committee at local level) or weak (financial rather than participatory criteria at national level). On the other hand there is an excess of accountability and the notion that (poor) citizens are played out against one another is confirmed. Integration and/or coordination of direct accountability mechanisms might increase options for accountability claims of citizens concerning strategic prioritisation rather than implementation. Alternatively additional societal accountability mechanisms engaging at local and national level could provide a viable strategic alternative. An example of this is the current 'People's Budget' by the Nairobi's People Settlements Network.

This study found unbalanced metagovernance in all types of governance networks through the years. Calculation/coordination and culture/conflict based governance networks are characterised by overregulation through respectively network design (hands-off; strong intervention) and network framing (hands-off; weak intervention) by the national government in formation and mobilisation stages. These locally negotiated governance networks are traded-off spaces, leaving network management in negotiation and production of outputs and outcomes stages at the local level emptied out. This emptying out was respectively related to repression of the authoritarian regime and to wider national government interests. Calculation/conflict based governance networks are characterised by under regulation through network design by the national government in formation and mobilisation stages. Network participation in the negotiation and production stages is concentrating too much power in local politicians' hands, not balanced by the much called for additional national government hands-off regulations for participation. Increased legitimacy through democratic anchorage of governance networks through direct participation of politicians is therefore not confirmed in the sub-Saharan African metropolitan context.

Overall, the study found that the poor have low trust in political relations and processes of inclusive governance in all types of spaces. The majority of the poor prefer to build social relations of trust built on shared (extended) family and ethnicity. Processes in all spaces are, however, characterised by reciprocity that is often experienced as a burden. Societal accountability remains one of the major ways to influence institutions, though is negatively influenced for the

poor through bounded solidarity beyond the immediate and extended family, and through the lack of a resource base for negotiations. Yet, recently initiated deliberative societal accountability mechanisms provide some hope in this respect.

The first step in the research of the interfaces concerns the analysis of impacts in terms of quality of life, influence and political rights. Based on the literature quality of life is operationalised as a social conception. It refers to both vulnerability reduction and delivery of services to the wider society. Influence and political rights are operationalised based on notions of citizenship and institutions. Influence refers to the tangible impacts on allocative and distributive rules of the game or policies, processes and implementation of services, and political rights refers to the tangible impacts on constitutive rules of the game.

The study confirms the notion of social capital as predominantly contributing to vulnerability reduction, rather than as a 'missing link' for moving out of poverty. Yet, impacts of organisational relations, and to a lesser extent political and social relations, on asset-bases and vulnerability reduction are considerable. Impacts are nearing those of the household ambitions of renting urban structures and running business-oriented HMEs. In addition, the study confirms the relevance of differentiating between non-material resources in order to avoid a catch-all conceptualisation of social capital. The impact of organisational assets on vulnerability compared to other assets of the asset-portfolio almost equals that of productive and human assets (weighed once). The impact of political assets is still considerable, although ranking last but one and accompanied by severe negative social capital, concluding that social assets have the least impact on vulnerability.

The findings on collectively claimed spaces show that the mechanism of land buying cooperatives of collective access to land and individual subdivision of plots forms a viable 'third way' that works for the poor. However, gaining access to land and tenure is not only aimed at secure shelter and housing at the location, but is part of the wider livelihood strategies of the poor. The economic impacts are considerable and promising, especially when also taking into consideration the possibilities for optimising the process. 7 percent of the original owners were able to change status from very poor to poor. Half of them can be considered non-poor on the basis of wealth ranking. Moving out of poverty is related to multiple plot-ownership from the time of settlement and/or through the purchase of plots, and is accomplished only by two-parent households. Poverty reduction is not found based on access to collateralised lending and micro-finance through formal titling and/or the selling for windfall gains; rather it is related to incremental building strategies and (sub)letting

rooms to tenants. Furthermore, investments in housing improvements are considerable and express sufficient tenure security and expected return on investments. Half of the original owners invested incrementally in developing their plots. Initiatives that do not allow incremental building and (sub)letting, are not accessible to the very poor. The study confirms limitations to social impacts on gender equity in women's access through marital status.

The findings on invited spaces of city-wide governance networks confirm the mixed results of the good governance agenda. The time period covered by these invited spaces almost equals the period of the good governance agenda and the study can therefore be interpreted as an assessment of the results of this agenda in Nairobi. The impacts of invited spaces on quality of life have been limited. The calculation/coordination based governance network especially contributes to vulnerability reduction of the poor. The calculation/conflict based governance network especially contributes to the service delivery for poor and middle class citizens, with almost half of the budget spent on roads and bridges, while only ten percent is spent on projects directly contributing to informal settlements. The culture/conflict based network does not directly contribute to vulnerability reduction and service delivery, as it focuses primarily on institutional changes as a necessary pre-condition for overall change in governance.

The research findings show that initial spaces contribute only to a small extent to the widening of spaces through influence and political rights, which could correct the imbalance in contributions to quality of life.

The study shows that individually claimed spaces, as expected, mainly contribute to ad-hoc influence at the implementation level. Both organisational and political links primarily concern prerequisites for gaining access to assets. These links do not contribute to gaining influence on social and political-economic structures that limit structural improvement of the situation.

The research findings show that collectively claimed spaces in peri-urban access to land and tenure contribute to some influence on implementation level and potential influence on processes/policies and political rights. The findings of this study do not (yet) confirm substantial impacts on influence and political rights through the collectively claimed spaces in per-urban land tenure. Negotiations are often project related rather than project transcending. In the short term this can be interpreted as an opportunity to create spaces on which to build further spaces and claim inclusive (peri-urban) land governance in the near future. In the longer term, isolated spaces also contain the risk of a lack of shared learning and scaling-up and being played off against one another. One of these isolated negotiations potentially widened political rights, when it won

the appeal to the High Court at the National Environmental Tribunal on land access for the poor in the peri-urban metropolitan areas.

The study indicates that the overall impacts of invited spaces on influence and political rights beyond formation have been limited. The findings confirm that negotiating political rights through executive spaces of culture/conflicts networks is potentially effective for middle-class citizens and private sector actors, although challenges remain for acquiring executive instead of advisory roles. On the other hand, none of the types of invited spaces provides impacts on political rights for vulnerable low-income groups. The most effective invited spaces for vulnerable and low income-groups have been executive spaces of calculation/coordination based governance networks providing influence on policies and implementation, mainly with regard to the banning of evictions and demolitions. The political spaces of culture/conflict governance networks only provide influence on implementation of projects, both for vulnerable low-income groups and middle-class citizens. Spaces for poor citizens in calculation/conflict and calculation/coordination based networks only slightly widen at implementation level, all facing difficulties in effectively linking citizens to the city level. Linking of low-income groups with political strategies of the middle-classes and their residents associations and private sector actors has been identified and involved physical threatening of councillors related to the middle-class civic pressure over co-governance of the city. This resulted in changes in process of equal distribution of projects over all wards. Gaining confidence and trust through joint operations led to some widening of spaces at implementation level, but not at the level of political rights. Although, the calculation/coordination based governance network originated itself as a widened space at the level of political rights.

The third and last step in the research of the interfaces concerns the analysis of international, national and metropolitan institutional conditions under which these spaces can sustainably deliver to the poor from the informal settlements. This study shows that national institutions remain dominant. International institutions are both accommodating and constraining, though are largely mediated through national institutions. National institutions recently became more inclusive and accommodating in the area of private sector and business development and through fiscal decentralisation, though still do not match the poor in Nairobi's informal settlements. National institutions in other areas have been either lacking or largely restrictive. Metropolitan institutions are either absent or negating the recently more accommodating national institutions.

The main institutional conditions for sustainable impacts of individually claimed spaces for the poor from the informal settlements, in addition to the increasingly enabling regulatory frameworks for private sector development

and the potential realisation of metropolitan regulation of the housing market, are simultaneous interventions in human assets through training in globally competitive skills, knowledge and product innovation.

Important institutional conditions for more sustainable impacts of collectively claimed spaces are more enabling national and metropolitan policies and governance in order to overcome the currently largely restrictive or lacking regulations. Another important condition is the linking of peri-urban land buying initiatives and (inter)national and metropolitan coalitions. Currently coalitions are predominantly engaged around issues of evictions, slum upgrading, and negotiations over land and housing policies in regard to informal settlements.
The most important institutional conditions for sustainable impacts of invited spaces are the long term support of international donors and support organisations to building community structures and citizen engagement mechanisms for influence and political rights independent of changes in governance network approach, the simultaneous support of conflict and cooperation strategies also beyond emergence and formation stages of governance networks, and the increased offering of real space and support to local solutions and innovations regarding co-governance and executive spaces rather than mainly blueprint solutions. In this way the enormous constraints of central government political and administrative dominance over local government could be partly overcome. Thereby national and local contextual factors greatly influence the degree of success. Alternative strategies through informal political channels might also contribute.

Finally, this study contributed to the formulation of a new comprehensive framework based on a balanced structural approach for the analysis of both accommodating and constraining institutional and structural conditions for sustainable impacts of spaces on quality of life, influence and political rights for the poor. This has been accomplished through the integration of theoretical notions by a multi-disciplinary approach. This is consistent with similar recent attempts of integration of theoretical notions within several research orientations.