

Good urban governance, actors' relations and paradigms: Lessons from Nairobi, Kenya, and Recife, Brazil

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Good Urban Governance in multilevel stakeholders perspective

A third of the global urban population – or one billion people – today reside in slums. This number is projected to double to 2 billion by 2030 unless drastic measures are taken. In developing countries, where 95 percent of the future global urban growth is projected to take place, the situation is exacerbated, with some countries such as Sudan, Central African Republic and Chad having over 90% of their total urban population residing in slums (UN-Habitat 2008). These processes often outdo the capacity to govern and steer, and with pressure increasing, conflict potential is high (Kraas & Sterly 2009).

Local and global attempts to deal with these urban challenges have been subjected to several paradigm shifts both in development discourses and urban planning and management with a new conceptualization evolving every decade in average. These shifts were a reaction to (and at the same time re-feeding into) larger processes such as globalization, and they incorporated other wider discourses in the urban management sphere, for example the amalgamation of sustainability approaches into urban development debates from the Agenda 21 (UN 1993).

With a multitude of actors participating on different levels to be involved in decision-taking, and the need to foster network-based governance approaches instead of the hierarchical government model (Herrle et.al. 2006, Jordan 2008), led to the widening of participatory approaches in planning and urban management and the governance paradigm (for a chronology of specific participation paradigms see Hickey & Mohan 2004). Stren and Polèse (2000) define governance as the relationship between state agencies and communities that goes beyond government or urban management, it is thus a process that involves interconnections and relationships amongst stakeholders from the public, private or civil society actors at all scales local to global (Kraas & Mertins 2008; Benz 2004). This would significantly increase the role of other non-state actors without necessarily increasing the involvement of the state, but fundamentally altering the roles and options of actors to position themselves (Hirst 2000).

The concept of 'good urban governance' is normative and used as role model. It can be explained as the search for solutions by negotiating involving a multitude of methods and governmental/formal as well as non-governmental/informal actors (Kraas & Mertins 2008; Kraas & Sterly 2009). Good governance is as well understood as a strategic concept, aiming at improved administrative competency and efficiency, transparency, combating corruption and raising accountability of officials (Ziai 2003).

Referring to urban planning, the consequence is a more communicative form of planning and decision-making integrating affected inhabitants and further actors, leaving the presumed scientifically more objective planning model behind (UN-Habitat 2009). For research purposes, governance can be seen from three major positions:

- First, as stated before, governance is but one of the larger paradigmatic views in the urban development debate
- Secondly, from a constructivist viewpoint, actors may define implicitly or explicitly (normative) governance concepts to serve their ends (Jordan 2008). Here, common

patterns of regulation and negotiation can be traced; but due to asymmetric distribution of power certain actors are included or excluded, consciously or unconsciously (UN-Habitat 2009, Häußermann et al. 2008, Mertins 2009) - and thus democratic legitimization is lowered (Papadopoulos 2004).

- Thirdly, for empirical work, governance is used as analytical concept and framework applied in political sciences, serving the understanding of complex structures of societal action (Benz 2004).

For this research, the analysis of conflict (potentials) therefore is based on a stakeholder analysis. Obviously, the interests of the involved actors and actor groups differ to a large extent – as well as their power and their scopes of action. However, here, this characterization of actors is enhanced and widened by their specific paradigmatic views. With the fast evolution of housing paradigms from modernization to MDGs (see table 1), it can be assumed that these have not changed revolutionary by replacing each other, but rather are used concurrently and competing. Therefore, all actors not only are distinguished by their interests and power, but may have incompatible paradigmatic positions that hinder effective cooperation.

Paradigm shifts in urban and housing policies and the changing roles of key actors

The post war era witnessed explosive urban growth and other socio-economic challenges; Southern cities were quickly overtaken by unregulated structures and slums which became part and parcel of urbanisation in developing countries (Pugh 2000, UN-Habitat 2003, Maldonado 2006). The governments of newly independent countries took the role of an architect, creating new towns such as Chandigarh in India and Brasilia in Brazil. In countries which had not gained independence the urban population was kept low by segregation and restriction policies that prevented rural urban migration and maintained the purity of the city plan. Any emerging informal structures were simply demolished. With independence in 1960s, repealing of oppressive policies and institutional roadblocks to urbanisation led to massive rural-urban migration that overwhelmed the urban areas, policies and structures. The suppressed urban crisis exploded in the form of urban decay, collapse of systems and informalisation.

In response to socio-political and economic challenges facing the newly independent countries, modernisation became the global development paradigm to transform them from "traditional" into "modern" countries. Emphasising rapid urbanisation, large infrastructure projects and industrialisation at the expense of agriculture were implemented, with the assumption that development would trickle down urban hierarchies (Moser and Peake 1994, Kendall 2007). The government took the role of a planner to deal with the growing crises. Five-Year Development Plans included modern public housing, slum clearance and urban renewal. But with the public housing being highly inadequate and meeting only 5% of the housing demands, slums still mushroomed. A laissez-faire attitude towards the urban crisis ensued, it being seen as a temporary situation that would disappear with economic growth and modernisation (Obudho and Aduwo 1989, Hope 1999, Weru and Bodewes 2001).

However, as modernization did not yield the expected results, the urban poor were left out and the urban crisis deepened in nearly all developing countries. In 1969, the United Nation declared it a global crisis that required urgent global action (UN-Habitat 2006). Thus, from the 1970s, international actors became key stakeholders in the urban arena shaping policy direction and action. The failure of modernisation approaches led to the basic needs, redistribution and growth paradigm in the 1970s, aiming to ensure minimum standard of the life-sustaining variables and targeted methods for redistributing the benefits of growth equitably. The 1976 Vancouver Declaration and Plan of Action stated that adequate shelter was a basic human right, which to ensure was governments' duty through direct self-help and community action. However, urban initiatives remained top down by the central

government, with the other actors playing a minimal role (Muraya 2006). In the ensuing Sites-and-Services schemes involving international actors such as UN-HABITAT and World Bank, the government became provider of land with basic service and infrastructure. But these schemes failed in their objective of cost recovery and replicability. They were highly unaffordable to the urban poor, benefiting less than 6% of the targeted group in many countries.(Malpezzi and Sa-Adu 1996).

In the 1980s, economic crises and low faith in government brought a shift from the basic needs and Keynesian strategies to neoliberal politico-economic orthodoxy that emphasised the private sector and free markets, laissez-faire economics, privatisation, trade liberalization and deregulation. World Bank introduced Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) to ensure these countries repaid their mounting debts and maintained financial discipline. The SAPs, also reinforced by other international actors, required decentralization with more involvement of the local government, private sector and civil society but with a minimal state with reduced public sector expenditure and involvement. The government was to be an enabler of the private sector and civil society, through legal and institutional reforms that would facilitate them to deal with the urban challenges, and the urban sector to work more effectively. Civil societies, with international organisations' help became the main actors in the project based urban upgrading of the 1980s. However the SAPs led to socio-economic decline, paralleled by rapid urbanization and growth of megacities with increasing urban inequalities. Despite many incentives and enabling efforts the private sector did not step in to deal with the urban challenges facing the urban poor nor perform sufficiently the roles the government had withdrawn from (Pugh 1995; Syagga et al. 2001, Omenya & Huchzermeyer 2006, Davis 2006).

Table 1: Paradigm shifts and envisioned key actors

Decade	Global themes, policy doctrines and responses	Key actors	Government role
1950s Post war or Colonial era	<i>Reconstruction or containment</i> New towns, Restriction, Repression	National governments	<i>Architect</i> for new towns and nations or maintaining the purity of the cities
1960s Independence:	<i>Modernisation</i> and urban growth Public housing/ laissez-faire Demolition, Resettlement	National governments	<i>Planner</i> for economic take off and development
1970s Global economic and Urban crises	<i>Basic needs</i> , Redistribution with growth Urban crisis a global issue Sites-and-services, Aided self-help	National governments International organisation The beneficiaries	<i>Provider</i> of basic need
1980s Neo-liberalism	<i>Neo-liberalism</i> SAPs, Free markets, Enabling approaches, Slum upgrading Less government	Private sector Civil society International organisations	<i>Enabler</i> of the private sector and civil society
1990s Globalisation	<i>Sustainability:</i> Sustainable urban development Security of tenure, regularisation and urban management	Civil society Private sector National governments International organisations	<i>Regulator</i> of the private sector, market and global forces for sustainable development
2000s New millennium	<i>MDGs</i> Good urban governance Cities without slums City and nationwide policies Public-private partnership	Global to local actors in all sectors public, private and civil society- both formal and informal	<i>Partner</i> with all relevant stakeholders to alleviate poverty and other urban challenges

Sources: Kedogo 2009

In the 1990s it had become apparent that the private sector, globalisation and market forces required regulation. Good governance was required as economic development alone would not necessarily eliminate the crises facing the developing countries, as integration and

participation seemed critical to achieving development. Agenda 21 called for global action emphasising participation of the urban poor and partnerships among the private, public and civil society sectors. It recommended change from sector-centred approach to cross-sectoral, integrated co-ordination that incorporated the social and environmental concerns into the development processes (UN-Habitat 1998). Non-state actors became key actors either contributing to the processes or acting as watchdogs demanding greater transparency and accountability from the public and private sector (for the World Bank NGOs see e.g. Bläser 2005). The government became a regulator of the market and global forces to ensure sustainable development, access to land, security of tenure and financial resources mobilisation. Slum regularisation and upgrading programmes focussed on capacity building, environmental management, poverty alleviation and property rights (Pugh 2001, Mittula 2003, UN-Habitat 2008).

Deepening globalization in the 2000s increased disparities and informality, rapid urbanisation with increasing poverty and marginalisation necessitating further the need for the good urban governance. The realisation that the living conditions for most people in the world continued deteriorating rapidly despite many intentional and local efforts brought the need for more aggressive and time-bound targeted measures. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), a global commitment by nations to global partnership to deal with extreme poverty including slums and ensuring environmental sustainability. There need for better governance, accountability and other development institutional preconditions was again put forward. The government became a partner to other actors, forming partnerships with the international agencies, civil society and private sector actors to address urban poverty and crises. Emphasis was placed on public-private partnerships involving urban poor, local government authorities and local businesses. For instance Cities Alliance's 'Cities Without Slums' action plans and UN-HABITAT Slum Upgrading Facility aimed at mobilising efforts and funds through partnerships and cooperation. There was a shift from the previous project based strategies, to citywide and nationwide strategies involving many more actors (Cities Alliance 2009, UN-Habitat 2009) As the number of actors grew and the role of the government shifted, so did the roles of the other stakeholders. Actually the paradigm shifts were triggered by actors with a given set of interests mainly from the international arena (Jordan 2008).

Mapping actors: The global level in urban and housing policies

Key international players the urban arena include the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT), World Bank, Cities Alliance, multilateral and bilateral agencies in addition to countries development assistance programmes. Currently the programmes of these actors are organised around the MDGs and guided by similar principles such as the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. However, they also have different legal references, paradigmatic stands and interests that influence their actions. The UN-HABITAT, mandated to promote socially and environmentally sustainable urban areas in an endeavour to achieve adequate shelter for all, is guided among others by the Habitat Agenda and MDG 7, predominantly followed the sustainability and community participation themes. The World Bank, providing financial and technical assistance to developing countries, has the goal of fighting poverty. Its paradigmatic focus is still more neo-liberal, focusing on enabling the market and private sector to work towards solving the housing and urban problems. Agencies such as the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in addition to following the mandates, objectives and interests of their mother countries in general have a basic needs approach, working through the civil society or government. Thus, bilateral agencies mainly reflected their countries' or parent organisations' values and priorities and paradigms.

The World Bank (2010) looks at good governance as normative approach still mainly focusing on government: this includes the government's exercising authority, its capacity to perform its functions and its respect of law, and the mechanisms of establishing government

structures. For UNDP (2010), good governance is a process of policy decision making and implementation, resulting from interactions between civil society, public and private sector; a process that goes beyond government. However, UN-Habitat (2010) views it as continuous process of accommodating diverse interests of both formal and informal institutions, individuals and civil society in planning and managing the society or place. Beyond these incongruent definitions, multilateral agencies and alliances display complex internal governance arrangements that disclose heterogonous paradigmatic views within those institutions (Bläser 2005).

Nairobi: Heterogeneity and conflict

Nairobi, the capital of Kenya and the largest city in Eastern Africa, has a population of 4 million people, over 60% of which reside in slums of high density, are poor and engage mainly in informal economic activities (see figure 1). With slums growing at the same rate as the city at 5% per year, and the majority of its current and projected future population falling out of the existing formal frameworks, urban governance issues are paramount (Hendriks 2010). Stakeholder relations have been unhealthy, characterised by conflict, antagonism, resistance and violence (Kedogo 2009). Indeed these unhealthy relations have been blamed for greatly contributing to the deteriorating urban situation and failure of many initiatives to improve the situation (Syagga et al. 2001, Mittulah 2003, Omenya & Huchzermeyer 2006).

National institutions and government

The government ministries and parastatals deal with urban issues at a national level. The housing ministry, although mandated to facilitating quality and affordable shelter and MDGs objectives, leans more toward towards public provision of housing, mainly due to the failure of the private sector to provide for the poor and the local government not taking an active role (see table 2). However other key urban ministries and parastatals have generally taken either a laissez-faire or even a hostile attitude towards the urban poor and the informal sector, mainly concentrating on service delivery for higher income groups (Bradshaw 2008). For instance the while the mandates of several ministries such as the Ministry of Local Government, of Nairobi Metropolitan Development, of Lands, and of Roads and Public Works specifically mention the urban poor, their action and philosophy have been geared more towards urban renewal and beautification (Kedogo 2009). Urban policies have been mainly biased to favour the elites. The varying personal and political interests of the ever changing key personalities in those institutions also greatly influence the internal paradigmatic approaches, thus rendering the position of those institutions less consistent (Huchzermeyer 2006, Mittulah 2008).

At the City level

The local government authority City Council of Nairobi (CCN), is charged with city governance, planning, provision, maintenance, monitoring and evaluation of public services, infrastructure and other housing related issues. Even though the legal framework is laid out in the Local Government Act (Cap. 265), CCN's various departments are governed by a variety of different and sometimes conflicting laws, resulting in an ineffective and fragmented legal and regulatory framework. Moreover CCN is composed of elected council members and the executive staff with diverse and sometimes conflicting approaches, which based on both, participatory governance paradigms on one hand, and vested political and economical interests on the other (Mittulah 2008, CCN 2010).

Attempts to improve governance; coordination, participation and decentralisation include the creation of Nairobi Informal Settlements Coordination Committee (NISCC) in 1996, Local Authority Transfer Fund (LATF) in 1999, Nairobi Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plan (LASDAP) in 2002, and the current Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper and Economic Recovery Strategy. The fragmented and diverse paradigmatic positions within the local authority itself compound the problem with the other stakeholders with different positions and stands (Mittulah 2008, Kedogo 2009, Hendriks 2010).

The Provincial Administration

The provincial administration is a structure of the central government reaching over various scales from national to local and implemented parallel to the city authorities. It is the most visible arm of the government at the grassroots levels. Created as a tool for pacification of the natives by the colonial government, and currently guided by the Chiefs' Act (Cap.128), Administration Police Act (Cap. 85) and Governments Lands Act among others, it is mainly concerned with the maintenance of law and order and implementation of government policies. The present mandate includes promoting good governance and development coordination (GoK 2010). However this administration has been blamed for illegal allocation of land in the slum area and the subsequent protection of the slum lords through patronage and corruption and thereby greatly contributing to the current slums situation (Syagga et al., 2001, Dafe 2009), with those currently benefiting reluctant to support the principle of good governance and development programmes that might change the prevailing situation. Thus the administration has generally preferred laissez-faire attitude to urban development issues, however individuals within administration subscribe to more recent and pro-poor paradigms (COHRE, 2005; UN-Habitat 2006, Amnesty 2009, Kedogo 2009).

The Civil society

The Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) encompass numerous actors varying in scale from international to grassroots level, all with diverse interests and approaches. Mainly involved in advocacy, lobbying, mobilising people and funds, project implementation and service provision, the CSOs include the formal and informal Community Based Organisations (CBOs), religious bodies and Faith Based Organizations (FBOs), and other community self-help groups. The CSOs are guided by several laws including the NGO Coordination Act 1990, Companies Act 1959, Societies Act 1968 and Trustees (Perpetual Succession) Act 1982 among others all falling in different government ministries or sections. While most NGOs and several FBOs and CBOs operate formally, most CBOs at the grassroots level are run semi- or informally.

Due to their diverse interests, the different CSOs have varying degrees of support or opposition to the ongoing housing and urban programmes including the promotion of good governance. Indeed, CSOs are supposed to play a major role in the good urban governance paradigm. Many of them generally have a basic need and basic human right approach and are involved in the improvement of the lives of the urban poor and advocated for principles of good governance. However, some CSOs such as the 'merchants of poverty' gain from the current deplorable conditions oppose any change that may alter the status quo, the including principles of good governance itself (Syagga et al. 2001, Kedogo 2009, GoK 2010)

The private sector and the market

The private sector contains a wide variety of actors ranging in scale from the giant multinational corporations to small informal enterprises. As a condition for good urban governance the private sector is envisioned as a key stakeholder engaging meaningfully with other sectors to achieve sustainable urban economic development. Direct involvement in urban issues has included corporate social responsibility, public-private or private-civil partnerships and business associations. However, their involvement in dealing with urban challenges pertaining to the urban poor has been minimal. In fact, several private sector stakeholders engage in business practices that worsen the lives of the urban poor and are not coherent with good urban governance principles (Syagga et al. 2001). Supposed to operate within the countries' laws, large multinationals sometimes operate above the law or through negotiated political compromises, while many small enterprises operate without any legal framework from informally to illegally.

The slumlords who through patronage control most of the Nairobi slum housing constantly oppose initiatives geared toward the improvement of the urban poor housing. Generally the private sector attitude ranges from a laissez-faire attitude that seeks to leave things as they

are to expecting the government to provide for the urban poor (Omenya and Huchzermeyer 2006, Kedogo 2009).

The urban poor

For good urban governance, the presentation of interests of the urban poor in urban affairs is paramount. Despite several efforts towards their inclusion and increased participation in urban and initiatives, their involvement remains low. Most have been excluded from or by the existing social, economic and political process. Moreover due to past experience, several slum dwellers interviewed in the study perceived their role as passive recipients of policies and programmes but not active participants. Many expected government to be more involved in solving the urban problems, while others feared intervention would lead to displacement be higher income groups, thus preferring the situation to be left as it was. On the other hand, for the urban poor living or working in the informal sector, their interactions with the government, local government or private sector been confrontational as exemplified by frequent street battles between them and the authorities, forceful evictions, demolitions and other clean up exercises. Thus the challenge still remains how to best integrate the urban poor into the urban governance structures and the global social and politico-economic systems (Kedogo 2009).

Table 2: Paradigm shifts and stakeholders approaches in Nairobi

Decade	Policy doctrines and responses	Stakeholders dominant paradigmatic approach	
		Nairobi	Recife
1950s Post war or Colonial era	Reconstruction, containment beatification Architect Urban renewal, preservation, Restriction Repression Hostile policies towards informal sector	Metropolitan Ministry Formal private sector Local government authorities	
1960s Independence	Modernisation: planning and public provision	Housing Ministry Slum dwellers CBOs, FBOs	
	Modernisation: planning and Laissez-faire	Other key ministries Slumlords Provincial administration Formal private sector	Drug lords
1970s Global economic and Urban crises	Providing basic needs and aided self-help	Slum dwellers NGOs, CBOs, FBOs Informal private sector	(PRAs) Slum dwellers Informal private sector
1980s Neo-liberalism	Neoliberalism Enabling policies, Civil society with less government	World Bank Formal and informal private sector NGOs, CBOs, FBOs	World Bank Civil Construction enterprise syndicate
1990s Globalisation	Sustainability, Regulation, community participation and capacity building	UN Habitat Bilateral organisations	UN Habitat Ministry of Cities City council with participatory budgeting and planning / (PRAs) NGOs (e.g. for urban enviroment)
2000s New millennium	Partnership Public private and civil societies	UN Habitat Bilateral Organisation NGOs, Housing Ministry	UN Habitat NGOs

Sources: Kedogo 2009 and interviews with key stakeholders

Recife: Common ground?

The metropolitan area of Recife (RMR), located in the northeast of Brazil, is the capital of the state of Pernambuco. Recife metropolitan area (RMR) population rose from 1.9 million in 1975 to 3.5 million in 2005 and is expected to reach 4.1 million in 2015 (UN 2005). The average annual growth rate was 1.8 % from 2000-2005 and is predicted to be 1.2% from 2010 – 2015. These rates are higher than for the two biggest Brazilian urban agglomerations, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (UN 2005). Recife is the first planned city of America with regular street layout, canals, canalisation, embankments and bridges. Since the early 20th century a number of plans were developed, nowadays Recife is the city with the highest number of urban development plans in Brazil (CAMPOS 2003). A multiplicity of urban actors and stakeholder groups is actively involved in planning processes on the different levels (see table 2), sometimes conforming, more often not conforming as they are aiming at different goals.

It can be said that the processes of modernity in the city of Recife have induced intense social, environmental and technological transformations, that, in spite their some economic and social value, did not surpass but deepened the inequalities of this region (Cavalcanti et al. 2006). Slum quarters known as "palafitas" without basic infrastructure and services for the populations, are a reality for most part of the so called "excluded" population (cf. Kuehn, Souza 2006). Nowadays, RMR shows high social disparities. It is estimated that around half of the population lives in one of the often very densely populated 450 squatters (favela) (Santos 2004). In many cases these are located at risk areas like steep hills or riverbanks (see figure 2).

National institutions and government

At Brazilian national level different ministries deal with urban issues, foremost the Ministério das Cidades, the Ministry of Cities. In the Brazilian constitution two articles deal exclusively with urban/housing issues, one dedicated to urban development and the other ensuring property rights for dwellers having lived continuously on land not officially reclaimed by the owner (Souza 2003). This security of tenure approach follows the sustainability paradigm and stems from an urban social movement that emerged after the end of the military dictatorship in the late 80's. Until that time urban policies were mainly set up for upper classes, negotiating the need to support lower classes and especially the landless. The existence of areas that need special attention like environmental protection areas and areas of special social interest (favelas, irregular parcellings) has often been neglected in former land use maps and thus failed to gain official recognition (Souza 2003).

The basic instrument of urban development for cities bigger than 20.000 inhabitants is a compulsory master plan (Plano Diretor). It has to be adopted by the city council as communal law involving civil participation (Maricato 2001). Despite of this broad range of instruments deficits still persist. Often members of city councils have traditionally tight relations to real estate owners and inadequate separation of public and private spheres and the lack of highly qualified and adequately remunerated civil servants lead to a certain susceptibility to corruption, thus, the implementation and control of the adopted laws are main difficulties of a proper urban development (Maricato 2001).

Regional and City level

The government of the state of Pernambuco created various administrative bodies to guarantee the institutionalization of central entities of the urban managing system, such as CONDEPE/FIDEM (Agencia Estadual de Planejamento e Pesquisas de Pernambuco). This planning agency is responsible for setting up the Integrated Plan for Development of the Recife Metropolitan Region - RMR (PDI), established in 1976. In the metropolitan context of Recife, social issues and conflicts are directly connected with the use and development of open spaces. Municipality and RMR are aware of the problems caused by unequal distribution of land and unequal access to land and open space, resulting in legislation and

development plans (e.g. PREFEITURA DO RECIFE 2005 and CONDEPE/FIDEM 2005). Areas of social interest were already indicated in 1979 by the Plan of Reclaim of Social Settlements of Low-Income Population in the RMR. Zones of Social Interest (ZEIS), will present a City Plan indicating habitation infrastructure and partner-led economic development mapping. In order to incorporate citizens' interests at the strategic level, Recife City Council manages the priorities of the employed resources to the urban development through the participatory budgeting approach.

Local Settlement Level and civil society

Recife territory, for a long time, experienced a diverse range of fiscal-territorial divisions and political-administrative systems. These divisions occurred in successive forms, looking always to take care of the specific objectives, whose purposes had been for taxation, the licensing of tradesmen, the application of the urban legislation, as well as the town planning and the System of Information and the Demographic Census (Atlas Ambiental do Recife, 2000). The City today adopts a territorial division of Political-administrative Regions - RPA, for the implantation of its systems of planning and information and serving as the base for the Orçamento Participativo (Participatory Budget). The main objective of the OP was to involve the associations and inhabitant advice councils for participation and management with the government. The purpose was to improve transparency, decision making and management. Following the 1987 political changes, authorities have tried to develop settlement projects in the favelas which should provide necessary infrastructure and risk prevention from the very beginning, in a mix of the provision with the sustainability paradigm.

The private sector and the market

The private sector got increasingly involved in urban planning decisions and governance structures throughout the past decades. It ranges from global companies and strong regional syndicates to the informal sector that is highly active especially in the favelas. Direct involvement in terms of subsidizing or being initiator of urban development projects is common in Recife and usually comprises public-private or private-civil partnerships. Generally the private sector attitude ranges from utilitarian profit orientation to strong social corporate citizenship engagement including projects with strong social focus and upgrading plans, however sometimes neglecting the weakest groups. Specifically in favelas often other power structures prevail, mainly based on drug dealing and excluding legal governance structures and even governmental control.

The urban poor

Urban development in Brazil is to this day basically affected by capitalist mechanisms resulting in unequal access to urban land and extreme disparate distribution of infrastructure within the cities (Coy 1997). This is also true for Recife. Who has the financial power to be able to participate in and profit from this system has the right to the city, but a big part of the population that is excluded from the formal real estate market only has the right to the exile in the "non-city" (Maricato 2001). With the disorderly growth of the city of Recife, during each population growth period it has been necessary to further discuss the occupation of free spaces. With each new influx, migrants establish more irregular occupation of mountainous and flood prone areas of the urban space. Involvement and participation of urban poor is increasing; however the budget that is distributed in the participatory budgeting is still only a part of the cities' annual budget and grassroots stakeholder groups are hardly involved in urban governance structures and the social and politico-economic systems.

The role of competing paradigms in good urban governance

Urban development is contested ground. On a scale from cooperation to conflict, however, the protagonists' relations are not only defined by their interests and power, but also by their fundamental understanding of their own role within such a wider context. Thus, these actors may be sited according to their paradigmatic position, explaining their capacity to cooperate

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or to struggle, to find common ground within controversy or not to be able to cooperate even with similar objectives and interests.

The case of Nairobi shows a largely heterogeneous set of stakeholders in terms of their dominant paradigmatic approach, where some of the actors display a rather traditional position, and others have adapted new positions over time, or have entered the arena during later decades and thus exhibit more recent paradigms. Also, the institutional actors are not homogeneous entities regarding their paradigmatic position, a fact which adds considerably to the complexity and the conflict potential, thus reducing options for cooperative solutions.

In Recife, the planning tradition has established a more consensual perception of the problem of marginal settlements and the options for its solution. However, until the late 1980s, the paradigmatic positions were not adopted due to the political situation. Thus, the concurrency of differing positions may be explained by a backlog of paradigmatic adaptation.

Nevertheless, in both cases, the institutional stakeholders are less stable in their paradigmatic positioning: paradigms in urban planning in any public institution can change easily after any election, when a large part of the staff in charge is being replaced. Thus, the actors' network and the dominant paradigmatic view of the institution may shift on short notice. Establishing secure stakeholders' relations and mutually defining policies across institutional boundaries seems also not to be possible sustainably, even with similar paradigmatic positions. Also, with fluctuating staff, personal relations are altered and block the evolution of epistemic communities of common paradigmatic positions.

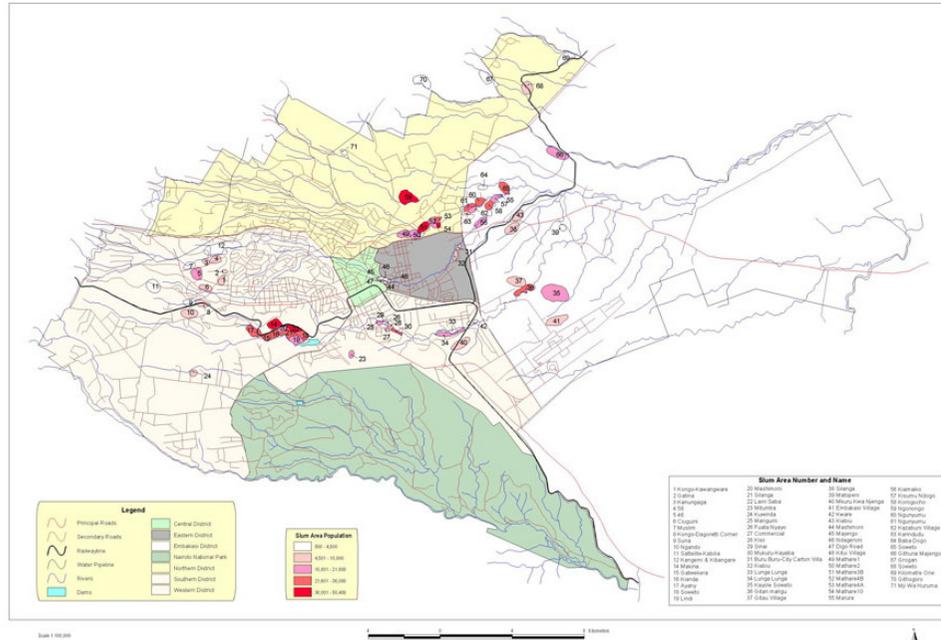
In sum, the actors' relations are defined – as expected – by their interests and power relations. Behind these positions, however, a deeper layer of paradigmatic positions interferes with the cooperation and conflicts of the stakeholders: with common paradigms, cooperation will work and even differing interests and conflicts may be resolved. On the other hand, the research indicates that differing paradigmatic views might hinder or prohibit cooperation even between actors with apparently similar objectives, and may prohibit constructive problem resolving.

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The data for this paper was mainly obtained by stakeholder analysis and from expert interviews with the key persons in Nairobi and Recife in the period 2007 to 2009. The study involved integrating the stakeholders' own reflective perceptions, and how they were viewed by other stakeholders. This was augmented by critical reviews of their documents and other secondary data sources. We appreciate the support by DAAD for scholarship and BMBF in the research project "Emerging Megacities: Open spaces in megacities – Potential for nature orientated living (Die Bedeutung von Freiraumflächen für naturnahes Leben in Recife/Brasilien)" 2005-2008.

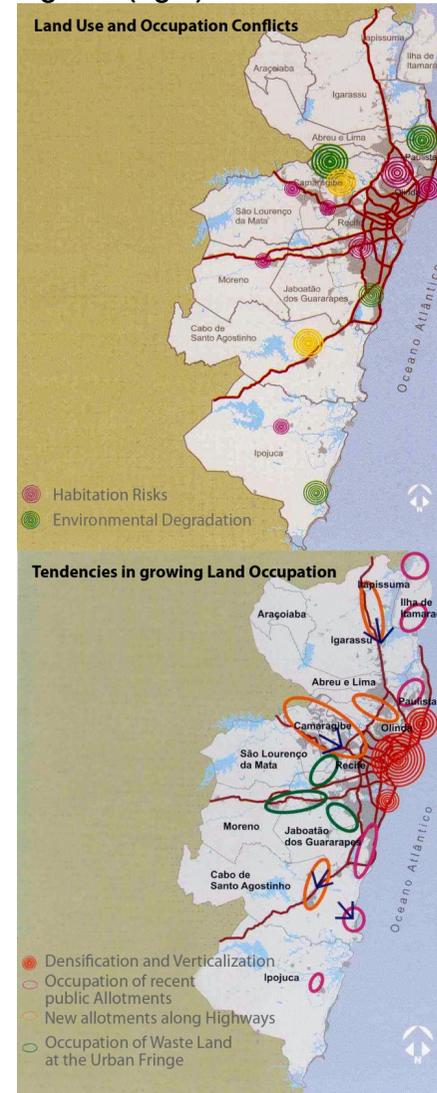
Figures

Figure 1: Slum areas in Nairobi



Source: Oakar Services(2009)

Figure 2 (right): Land Use and Occupation in RMR



Source: CONDEPE/FIDEM (2005)

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