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**Local Agenda 21 experiences in Nakuru:
Processes, issues and lessons**

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Local Agenda 21 Experiences in Nakuru: The Processes, Issues and Lessons

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List of Acronyms

AFD	Agence Francaise de Development
AGIDS	Amsterdam Research Institute for Global Issues and Development Studies
BADC (now DGIC)	Belgian Administration for Development Cooperation
BC	Belgian Consortium
CBOs	Community-based organisation
DDC	District Development Committee
DURP	Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Nairobi
HABRI	Housing and Building Research Institute, University of Nairobi
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
ITDG	Intermediate Technology Development Group
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Association
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
KUL	Katholik Universitiet, Leuven
LA21	Local Agenda 21
LADP	Local Authority Development Plans
LASDAP	Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plans
MCN	Municipal Council of Nakuru
MOLG	Ministry of Local Government
NGO	Non-governmental organisations
PGCHS	Post Graduate Centre for Human Settlements
SSP	Strategic Structure Plan
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlement
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCRD	United Nation Centre for Regional Development
WWF	World Wildlife Fund for Nature
WB	World Bank

Executive Summary

This paper examines the processes, challenges and the lessons that can be learnt from the Local Agenda 21 process in Nakuru. The purpose of the case study is to analyse the process of localising Agenda 21, in order to identify the different stakeholders, and the main activities as well as the opportunities and obstacles faced in implementing Local Agenda 21 proposals.

Nakuru town is located 160 km north west of Nairobi and is the fourth largest urban centre in Kenya after Nairobi, Mombassa and Kisumu. It is situated at an altitude of 1859m above sea level within the region of the Great Rift Valley whose formation gave rise to a unique natural structure. Urban development is squeezed between Menengai crater in the north, Lake Nakuru in the south and fault lines in the west. The town has been experiencing a rapid population growth rate and the standards of urban services have been falling requiring a new approach towards urban planning and management. The local authority's commitment and willingness to collaborate with community groups, NGOs and industrialists have formed a foundation upon which to build the LA 21 programme.

Localising Agenda 21 is a UNCHS (Habitat) programme that provides concentrated capacity building interventions to support urban planning and management. In Nakuru the programme has been under implementation since 1995. Its aims are to support the development and implementation of broad-based environmental action plans focusing on context-specific aspects of municipal planning and management. The Programme should also incorporate emerging and ongoing settlement improvement initiatives. A further aim is to enhance the capacity of local authorities to integrate these action plans into Strategic Structure Plans so that they may fulfill their pivotal role between development actors. The Programme focuses on tangible results and impacts for low-income communities in the selected pilot towns, leading to more sustainable and equitable urban development. The Programme advocates that "*Strategic Structure Planning*" (SSP) should be used to formulate and monitor the implementation of local agendas. SSP is presented as a process that mobilises all interested actors in a dynamic, continuous and consensual vision-building and policy-making process. This process should run in parallel along three tracks: a) working towards a long-term vision and a desirable spatial structure; b) formulation and implementation of action plans and removing bottlenecks; and c) , interaction and participation of stakeholders and dispute resolution between different levels of civic society.

Numerous activities have been planned within the framework of the 'Urban Pact' and the broad guidelines and the priorities of the council. There are activities directed at capacity-building, awareness creation, solid waste management, water supply, upgrading the housing stock, reduction of pollution to Lake Nakuru, establishing a Town Planning Unit, mapping exercises, greening of the town, control of urban expansion, promotion of eco-tourism and the bus park-market area planning among others.

Partnerships with many organisations have been established. These include The World Wildlife Fund (WWF), University of Nairobi, UNCHS, Belgian Administration of Development Cooperation (BADDC), City of Leuven, Post Graduate Centre for Human Settlements (PGCHS) community-based organisations (CBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the private sector and individuals. This partnership development is an ongoing activity and is central to the LA 21 programme.

In terms of policy, the process and outcomes, the LA 21 in Nakuru can pave the way for urban sustainable development, although more is still required in terms of implementing all the proposals and action plans. Communication and information sharing remain critical issues that will help to ensure a swift transition.

Local Agenda processes are of an inherently political nature. Local politics in Nakuru are very complex and the LA 21 process reports have depicted local politics as “a hindrance to the success of the programme”. The three-tiered SSP approach followed in the LA 21 process in Nakuru engages in the political process. One of the “strategic” goals of the vision and communication components is to avoid political confrontation and to smooth the way for the action component, where proposals are checked for actual implementation. It is at this stage of implementation that personal and business interests, or political opportunism most vehemently come to the fore. Unless supported by sufficient political goodwill, projected actions will be contested and will stall.

Several action plans in Nakuru have fallen victim to this situation. We have observed that there are a number of possible causes. Firstly, the councillors have limited levels of in-post education and exposure due to the two-yearly election and lengthy committee-based decision-making processes. Secondly, –there is limited information flow between councillors and their officers, limited cooperation between different departments and frequent turnover of key personnel. Finally, there are causes that are related to the way LA 21 process perceived the Municipal Council of Nakuru, for example underestimating the way council officers’ initiatives remain limited by the system, underestimating the different ways in which technicians and politicians rationalise things and overestimating the dependability of political commitments.

Despite the best efforts of coordinators and their teams, problems of engaging ordinary people persist: women, youth and generally the poor have been excluded from the LA 21 process. This may be attributed to the limited resources available and the tradition of working only with the educated and articulate property-owning middle classes. This was very much in evidence in the preparation of the SSP for Nakuru. A team of high-level physical planners and some officers of the MCN (who are dubbed the ‘MCN Planning Team’) prepared the Plan and final documentation, although the team relied heavily on sectoral studies carried out by several consultants. Local people, the Nakuru County Council, the Kenya Wildlife Service and the informal sector were excluded from the process.

A number of lessons can be learnt from the LA 21 experience in Nakuru. These include lessons for practical urban planning capacity building in the MCN, lessons from the SSP as a model for other towns, lessons for managing the SSP and proposals for future SSP projects.

Local Agenda 21 Experiences in Nakuru: Processes, Issues and Lessons

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the processes, challenges and the lessons that can be learnt from the Local Agenda 21 (LA 21) process in Nakuru. The purpose of the case study is to analyse the process of Localising Agenda 21, to identify the different stakeholders and main activities, and to analyse the different opportunities and constraints to implementing LA 21 proposals. Much of the information presented in this paper is based on existing documentation of the LA 21 process in Nakuru, the SSP reports and discussions during a 2-day workshop held in Nakuru just before the writing of this paper on the views of different stakeholders¹. It is our intention to highlight the visions and frustrations of different actors in the process and during the implementation of some of the proposals. It is hoped that the case study will offer lessons for different initiatives world-wide which aim to develop Local Agenda 21 programmes, especially in the developing world.

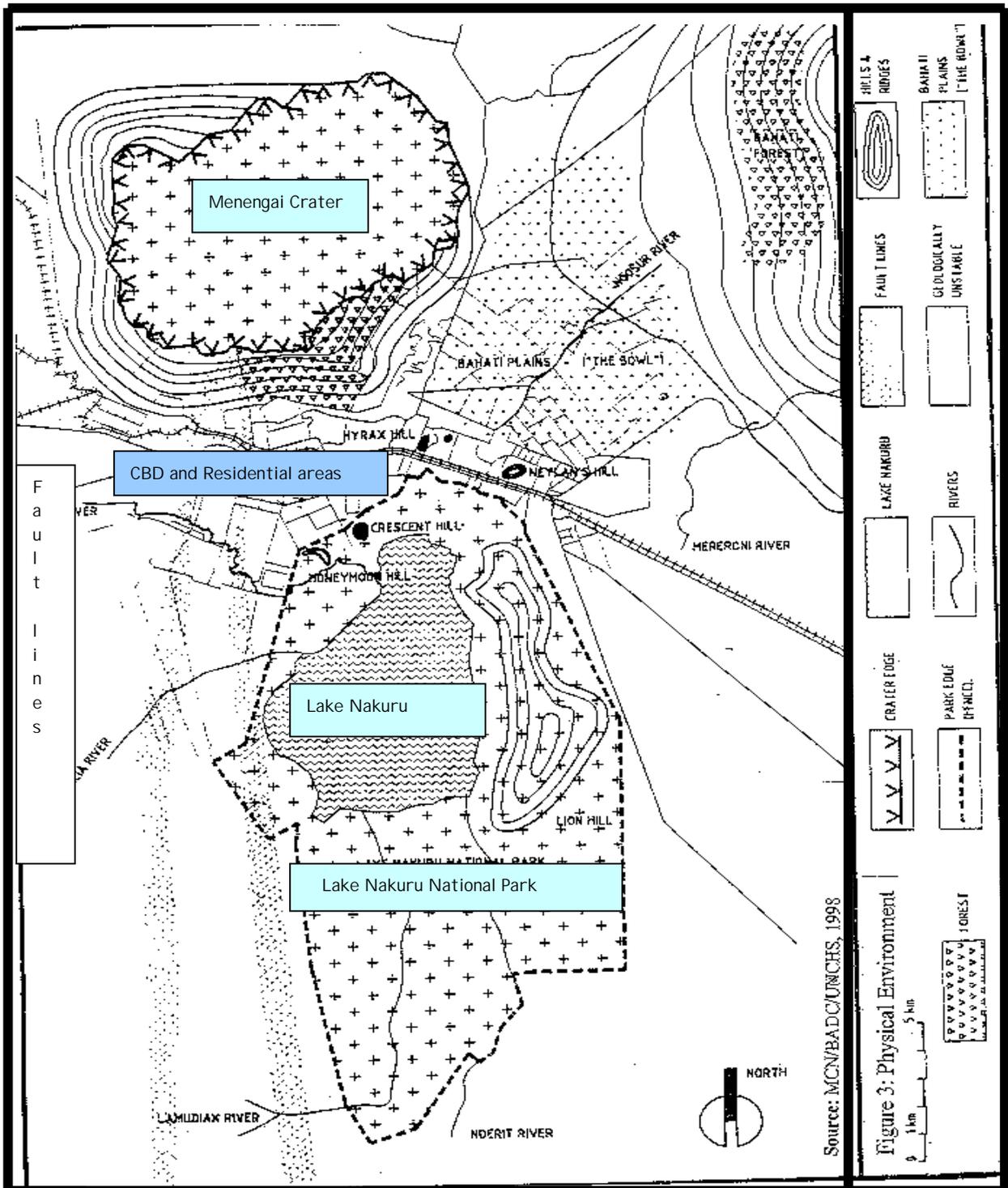
We first give some background information about Nakuru, its environmental problems and the political and administrative structures before we introduce what a Local Agenda 21 means. We then discuss the LA 21 process in Nakuru, the activities, and internal arrangements, and assess the contributions of LA 21 to urban sustainable development. We examine how the 'brown' and 'green' agendas were addressed in the process and later discuss the opportunities, obstacles and critical issues in the process. Finally, the lessons learnt are distilled and some conclusions drawn.

II. BACKGROUND TO NAKURU AND ITS ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

Nakuru town is located 160 km north west of Nairobi and is the fourth largest urban centre in Kenya after Nairobi, Mombassa and Kisumu. It is situated at an altitude of 1859m above sea level and is within the region of the Great Rift Valley whose formation gave rise to a unique natural structure. The town started as a railway station on the Kenyan-Uganda railway at the turn of the last century. The name 'Nakuru' is derived from *Nakurro*, the Maasai word meaning a 'dusty place'.

¹ We define stakeholders as those actors who have a stake in urban development and urban poverty alleviation for a given city and in this case, Nakuru. This includes representatives of community groups, NGOs, CBOs, private sector, training and research institutions, state agencies, local regional and national authorities. These stakeholders are supposed to be represented in the decision making process.

Map 1. The Physical Environment (showing the landscape units)



The town is located in an environmentally sensitive area. It is sandwiched between Lake Nakuru National Park to the south and the Menengai crater and its associated volcanic landscapes. Further to the north-east of the town is the Bahati Escarpment forming the western fringe of the Aberdares Escarpment. Unstable geological zones experiencing frequent local geological activity characterise the western zone of the town. The most affected area of the Municipality is on the western side of the Central Commercial District around Ngata, Kiamunyi, Rift Valley Institute of Science and Technology.

Lake Nakuru is the lowest point in the region rising only to 1758 metres above sea level. All rivers in the region therefore drain into the lake. The geological instabilities and the associated faulting, in the Nakuru area and the Rift Valley region as a whole means that the area is highly vulnerable to earthquakes and related disasters such as land subsidence and land sliding. The area west of Nakuru has already experienced frequent land subsidence. Similar hazards could be expected in areas of the central part of the town where there is evidence of ground depressions; disappearance of surface water into fissures, and cracks and settlement of building. Walls and buildings are known to vibrate when heavy commercial vehicles pass nearby, indicating the presence of underground cavities.

The population of Nakuru has been growing at the rate of 5.6% per annum. From 38,181 in 1962, the population reached 163,927 in 1989. Nakuru is now the fourth largest town in Kenya (after Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu), with a 1999 population of 239,000 (GOK, 2000). The population is projected to rise to 760,000 by 2015, which is approximately 50% above the present levels. The population growth has been influenced by the birth rates, rural-urban migration and boundary extensions. There is rapid 'urban' development at the periphery of the town because many people take refuge there as a result of housing shortages in the town centre. Most of these settlements are in areas expropriated from agricultural uses by subdivision plans. This makes planning complex, especially as residents demand inclusion in the municipal boundaries and they benefit from urban services, which are being stretched beyond their limits. The majority of the population lives in unplanned settlements that are not served with municipal services and the quality of the environment in these neighbourhoods has been falling.

The major economic sectors of the Nakuru urban economy are; commerce, industry, tourism, agriculture and tertiary services. The commercial sector in Nakuru contributes about 19% of the economy of the town. Within the Central Business District (CBD), retail activities occupy 26%; wholesale has 10%, and the informal sector enterprises 18% of all the commercial activity space². The most dominant forms of business in the Nakuru economy include: retail in hardware, general wholesale, outlets for agro-industrial machinery, motor vehicle trade, spare parts and servicing the agro-chemical retail and wholesale outlets. There is a significant network of financial institutions providing banking, insurance and credit services to the business community.

Nakuru's industrial development started with the first agro-industries in the 1920s. Currently there are well over 100 industrial establishments including grain milling and storage, processing of cooking oil from agricultural raw materials, agro-chemical production, soaps, blankets and dairying in the town. There is currently a decline in manufacturing but a level of growth in industrial retailing of finished products.

The economy of Nakuru is largely dependent on the rich agricultural hinterland. There is an increasing growth in small-scale agricultural activities within the metropolitan area. This is mostly located in the peri-urban areas of Bahati, Kiamunyi, Engashura, Kiamunyeki and Mwariki, where sub-division of large farms into smaller portions is rampant. The presence of key natural features such as Lake Nakuru, Menengai Crater and archaeological sites such as Sirikwa holes and Hyrax Hill gives rise to tourism potential in Nakuru. The town has a vibrant economy based on broad

² See DURP (1999) Sectoral studies Report

sectors such as commerce and trade, manufacturing industry, service and tourism, agriculture and forestry, and informal trade and industry.

Housing is the largest user of space in the municipality. From a provider perspective, there are two categories of housing- public and private. The former comprises housing stock by the government, its corporations and municipal authorities for staff accommodation, and council housing for rent. The latter comprises housing stock developed by individuals for rental purposes or for their own habitation. There are at least 6,956 public housing units within the town, 5,434 of which are owned by the Municipal Council of Nakuru and 1,522 by the central government departments and corporations (MCN/BADC/UNCHS, 1999). The rate of growth in the public housing sector is minimal. The private sector is the largest provider of housing in Nakuru town. Apart from government leases, the sub-division of large farms (owned by cooperatives and land buying companies) avails land for formal and informal private housing development. The rate of house building in this sector is high but has been declining recently. It is estimated by DURP (1999) that a majority of Nakuru residents are tenants.

There are numerous types of housing in the town. These include flats/high rise buildings, maisonettes, bungalows, semi-detached, terrace housing, row housing and informal housing. Private housing offers a wide range of housing typologies. The spatial structure of housing and settlements in Nakuru has evolved from racially-based differentiation to a zoning system based on socio-economic status. This tends to correspond to densities of development with high-income areas generally having low densities while low-income areas are characterised by high densities.

The majority (87%) of Nakuru residents are tenants while a significant 13% own and occupy their own units (DURP, 1999). Owner-occupied housing has lower plot coverage and tends to create relatively lower densities. It is also minimal in low-income settlements. Private housing offers a wide range of accommodation types including formal and informal single rooms in the low-income settlements, bungalows (Milimani), maisonettes (Kiamunyi) and flats. Formal private housing for high and middle-incomes is well served with water, sewerage systems, septic tanks and electricity. Private informal housing in the low income settlements face a number of problems such as poor planning and inadequate infrastructure such as roads, drainage, waste collection, water, security and electricity.

In the low-income neighbourhoods environmental hazards are increasing. These areas have inadequate water supply, poor sanitation and waste is rarely collected. There have been several outbreaks of diseases in these neighbourhoods as a result of the deteriorating environmental quality. The area to the west has a geological fault line running through the estates of Kaptembwa and Kwaronda causing soil subsidence in the rainy season which results in deep gullies. Apart from the poor private housing in Kaptembwa, Kwaronda and other areas, the council public housing is in dire need of attention as it is uneconomically managed and in a state of disrepair. The inter-linkage between urban activities and the need to protect the lake and the park further complicates the planning of the town.

Political and administrative structure in Nakuru

The MCN is charged with the responsibility for governance within the Municipality based on the legal provision in the Local Government Act, Chapter 265, Laws of Kenya. Governance in the municipality is also administered by the central government through the Provincial Commissioner (PC) and the District Commissioner (DC). The two administration offices also comprise the security councils in Nakuru. A common problem between the MCN and the central

government is the poor coordination that often prevails, to the extent that political party functionaries at times usurp the powers and functions of the municipality³. The role of the MCN in the development of the economy is modified by the PC and DC as well as other central government policies and administrative institutions that operate in the context of the province and the district.

Nakuru acquired its municipal status in 1952. At municipal level, Nakuru is divided into 19 elective civic wards. A councillor in the MCN represents each ward. In addition different parties nominate five councillors and the District Commissioner for Nakuru also sits in the council. A mayor, who is also one of the councillors and is assisted by a deputy mayor and various sectoral committees, heads the MCN. In theory, the council should be an autonomous local authority but in practice it is an agency of the central government on behalf of which the council implements policies under the supervision of the Minister of Local Government.

Like all other municipalities in Kenya, the MCN is a creation of the Local Government Act (Chap 265). The Act provides for the establishment of Local Authorities and clearly defines their composition, roles, functions and jurisdiction. For the purposes of effective policy making, legislation and translation of decisions and laws into the social, economic and ecological domains, the MCN has a legislative arm, the major function of which is policy formulation, and an executive arm which implements these policies. The council is supposed to manage the growth of the town by undertaking elaborate planning and managerial activities, such as the provision and delivery of services and control/regulation of the day-to-day developmental activities within its jurisdictional boundaries. The extent to which these arms function to ensure the efficient provision of basic urban services and coordinate urban development initiatives depends to a large extent on socio-economic and political conditions.

The legislative arm operates on a committee system model, with each committee consisting of elected council members and performing specific functions. There are seven committees in charge of the following issues: education, social services and housing, public health and environment, water and sewerage, housing development, town planning and works, and finally the finance committee. These committees are in charge of formulating policies, laws and regulations that guide the council's activities. There have been frequent conflicts over policy formulation between the municipal government on one side and the central government on the other.

The executive arm is divided into seven departments based on the nature of services provided. These include general administration, municipal engineer, education, social services and housing, public health, water and sewerage⁴ and finally the municipal treasurer. Each department is further divided into sections with specific powers, duties and responsibilities. There have been frequent tensions between these two arms which affect the provision of basic urban services. The seven committees and seven departments with their various sections constitute the management and organisational structure of the municipality. Of the seven standing committees, the Town Planning and Works Committee is the one that deals with town planning and development control issues⁵. As with other principal functions, the council lacks the

3 One of the areas of conflict is the collection of revenue at the bus-Matatu terminal.

4 This department was recently commercialized through an agency agreement between MCN and Nakuru Quality Water and Sewerage Services Company Limited (NAQWASS).

5 Discussions with a newly posted town planner. The position of the town planner was recently created as it was realized that there is need for a qualified town planner within the municipality. Earlier, the planning roles were undertaken by the office of the town engineer.

capacity to undertake planning and development control activities effectively. This can be attributed to the lack of skilled personnel and enforcement mechanisms. Since the council does not have a town planning department, planning issues are dealt with by the municipal engineer's department, which has numerous other responsibilities - hence planning matters are not given the attention they deserve. Current plans to establish a well-equipped and staffed town-planning unit are, however, expected to bridge this gap.

Community participation and involvement in the full council meetings and in the Ministry of Local Authorities are either through the elected councillors or through the technical officers linked to the people through service delivery. The development needs of the community are also addressed through the administrative units that link to the national level through the District Development Committee. Instruments used to reach the people are the by-laws, licensing enforcement, plans etc. The management structure of the council has a number of weaknesses such as inadequate participation by the communities in decision-making, unresponsiveness of the management to the diverse needs of the community, poor functional relationship between the councillors and the chief officers, barriers between the management structure and the community and a lack of appropriate tools to work with.

There have been attempts by the MCN to promote community participation in environmental management through the support of community organisations (CBOs). CBOs are recognised entities by the municipal authorities and are involved in some municipal deliberations. The MCN is aware that, in order to serve people more effectively and to gain maximum support for its programmes, it must become more accountable and transparent to the local people, for whom the decisions are made. The local people must be involved not only in the preparation process, but also in various aspects of programme implementation.

The capacity of the council focuses on planning, personnel, their skills, available equipment for work and financial management. The council has accepted the revised building by-laws to enable affordable housing construction. The works committee give advice on planning matters related to sub-divisions, change of user and PDPs plans. In addition the lack of a planning unit and poor financial management has affected the Municipality's ability to repay its loans, meet its daily responsibilities and remittance of workers payments to various statutory bodies. It has both external and internal debts totalling about US\$.3.814 million (MCN/BADC (now DGIC)/UNCHS, 1999).

III. INTRODUCING LOCAL AGENDA 21

What is Local Agenda 21?

Agenda 21, the blue print of sustainable development, which resulted from the 1992 Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro, recognises that many problems and solutions concerning sustainable urban development have their roots in local activities. The participation and cooperation of local authorities is a vital factor determining the fulfilment of Agenda 21 activities at the local level. It therefore calls upon local authorities to undertake consultative processes with their populations in order to achieve a consensus on a 'Local Agenda 21' for their communities.

Local Agenda 21 is defined by the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI)⁶ as a participatory, multi-sectoral process to achieve the goals of Agenda 21 at the local level through the preparation and implementation of a long-term strategic action plan that addresses priority, local sustainable development concerns. The concept brings the complex goal of global sustainability to a more human scale by providing it with local content and commitment, thus making it an achievable goal rather than an abstract and elusive ideal. LA 21 efforts are not aiming for a single document or a project, but put emphasis on an evolving process that will flourish with support from local communities and national, regional and international efforts. One of the objectives of Agenda 21 is that every local government should, by 1996 draw up its own Local Agenda 21 in close consultation with its citizens (ICLEI, 1992).

Local Agenda 21 seeks to strengthen the role of all major groups in society, including children, youth and women. It sets out to develop and build on partnerships between groups in the local community. According to Selman (1996), the concerns of Local Agenda 21 are not confined solely to those of environmental stewardship, but embrace much wider issues of active citizen participation and 'quality of life': which is perhaps a more friendly term to describe its primary goal. It is a process that asks local government to work in partnership with the local community to develop a strategy comprising a series of action plans. These will set out how they will work together towards the goal of sustainable development in the 21st century and beyond.

The Habitat Agenda (Istanbul, 1996) reconfirms the Local Agenda 21 as a valuable approach to harmonise urban development with the environment. Proponents of Local Agenda 21 programmes argue that they are not about starting from scratch but rather about building on existing programmes, activities and policies (UNCHS, 1996; ICLEI, 1997). For local authorities that have already undergone integrated strategic planning, Local Agenda 21 will be about applying sustainability principles to that framework. LA 21 can build on work already being undertaken, ensuring that it is long-term, involves the community and takes account of principles such as ecological integrity and equity between and within generations.

There have been previous attempts to study the LA 21 all over the world. Some concentrate on examining the obstacles to the Local Agenda 21 processes (see, ICLEI 1997), others focus on national responses to Agenda 21 (ICLEI, 1997) while others examine different options and obstacles in the continuing Local Agenda 21 processes (Malbert, 1998; Selman, 1996, 1999). Following the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), local governments, national and international NGOs, and international bodies and UN agencies entered a period of experimentation with the implementation of the Local Agenda 21 concept. The lead actors in these efforts were the local governments themselves which worked, often with the support of their national municipal associations, to develop the Local Agenda 21 planning approaches appropriate to their circumstances. However, international programmes played a critical role in documenting and analysing these

6 ICLEI presented a draft of Chapter 28 of Agenda 21 during the Earth Summit, including the mandate for all local authorities to prepare a "local Agenda 21." The final version of Chapter 28 approved at the Earth Summit stipulates that "by 1996, most local authorities in each country should have undertaken a consultative process with their population and achieved a consensus on a local Agenda 21 for their communities." Following the adoption of the LA21 at the Earth Summit, ICLEI began organising to ensure that this mandate would be used to advance sustainable development.

growing local experiences, and in facilitating the exchange of Local Agenda 21 approaches (ICLEI, 1997).

It should be noted from the outset that a fashionable view of Local Agenda 21 is that it is largely about process (Selman, 1999). It is a process where partnerships are formed between various actors, and where consultative processes are started whereby problems are identified, actions prioritised, and joint activities are started. The importance of this process lies in the way in which it promotes genuine participation amongst stakeholders and the general public, both in setting priorities and taking decisions. It is a process in which, theoretically, the local authority is supposed to avoid being seen as a lead agency, and is at most 'first amongst equals'⁷. At the Nakuru workshop, participants⁸ confirmed their perception of LA 21 as a process-based exercise. Many workshop participants also noted that the process of conducting an LA 21 was on a pilot basis and a coordinating unit has been established. An important element however has been to establish a capacity to continue the process to ensure that LA 21 is itself sustainable.

Origin, objectives and aims of the Localising Agenda 21 Programme

LA21, from its inception was conceived by the funding partner (Belgian Administration for Development Cooperation (BADC, now DGIC) as a targeted programme, which should:

- support secondary cities (preferably capitals of provinces),
- select cities which must be related to fragile eco-systems,
- ensure visible impact (therefore concentrate programme resources exclusively to the participating cities),
- operate on a multi-year basis but with a limited time frame, initially four years,
- Guarantee visibility of Belgian inputs (therefore remain a single funded programme).

For UNCHS, the target cities of the Localising Agenda 21 Programme typically include provincial headquarters with between 50,000 and 500,000 inhabitants. Local authorities of secondary cities are amongst those most in need of capacity-building initiatives but at the same time are often the most neglected. In addition, secondary cities are currently growing, in many cases, at a faster rate than large metropolitan areas.

However, as urban environmental problems in secondary cities are often in their early stages, much can be accomplished in terms of prevention through choosing pathways for sustainable urban development. In addition, improved infrastructure in medium-sized cities and better connections with their hinterland can have impacts on infrastructure, services and living conditions in neighbouring rural areas. Finally, in medium-sized cities there are less external factors interfering with urban development compared to larger cities and it is therefore easier to isolate causes and effects in the relationship between improved environmental planning and management and changes in the quality of the living environment.

Under the guiding framework above, the Local Agenda 21 programme of the UNCHS is a specific initiative, sponsored by DGIC and run by UNCHS (Habitat), which

⁷ According to Selman (1999) most local authorities see the LA 21 process as a mechanism for reinforcing their service delivery roles.

⁸ This information is a result of discussions at a recent workshop held in Nakuru immediately before the writing of this paper.

started in 1995 to offer a multi-year support system for sustainable urban development in three selected secondary towns – Nakuru (Kenya) Essaouira (Morocco) and Vihn (Vietnam). The preference for medium-size towns was based on the observation that a good number of large cities in developing countries were already benefiting from the assistance of multi-lateral programmes such as the Sustainable Cities and the Urban Management programmes. The programme also aimed to disseminate the lessons learnt from these towns to other cities in the region, to further help build the capacities of the local authorities. The Localising Agenda 21 programme operated with the following primary objectives:

- i) Stimulating appropriate urban planning and development initiatives in the selected cities, involving a range of local, regional and institutional actors and resource persons. This includes research and formulation of key urban development issues, urban planning methodology and structure plans for directing the future of the town;
- ii) Enhancing the capacity of local authorities and actors to effectively deal with the long- and short-term planning and development issues by organising workshops and work sessions;
- iii) Achieving tangible results and visible impacts by undertaking selected pilot projects for implementation.
- iv) Communicating the programme objectives and activities to the general public and stakeholders in the town and incorporating the feedback into the programme.

In this way, the programme aims to address a range of planning issues, from the regional to the level of the individual dwelling, as well as from the long-term to the short-term. Environment, ecology and sustainability are cited as the chief criteria for all endeavours of the programme.

The LA 21 programme established local teams for the project in the selected cities, which were incorporated within the municipal authorities. These teams comprised of existing staff members of the municipalities as well as additional personnel selected for the programme from the region. A full-time Belgian associate was based in the location to support each team.

IV. LA 21 PROGRAMME IN NAKURU: THE PROCESS

The Local Agenda 21 programme started in Nakuru in 1995 through a multi-partner process involving BADC, UNCHS (Habitat), the Government of Kenya and a consortium of Belgian universities, various departments of the University of Nairobi, the local private sector and professionals. At the local level, the project has involved other stakeholders such as the private sector, NGOs and CBOs. The process relied upon consultation and negotiations among the various stakeholders as part of the process of building consensus towards a commonly agreed upon plan of action. A result of the consultative processes was the resolve to carry out many actions leading to sustainable urban development. These included the establishment of a town planning unit, the preparation of the Strategic Structure Plan, identification of priority zones for intervention, refining a range of activities for streamlining urban development and upgrading urban and natural environment, and outlining actions for strengthening local institutions and stimulating partnerships.

Aims and goals of the LA 21 in Nakuru

The aims of the LA 21 process in Nakuru as agreed during the consultation process involved a range of activities and programmes intended to impact on the quality of life

for residents within the Nakuru municipality. The main aims of Local Agenda 21 in Nakuru are:

- To support the development and implementation of broad-based environmental action plans focusing on context-specific aspects of municipal planning and management;
- To enhance the capacity of the Municipal Council of Nakuru (MCN) to integrate these action plans into strategic plans, stimulate inter-sectoral synergy, draw attention to cross-cutting issues, and fulfil MCN's pivotal role in bringing together public, private, non-governmental and local actors' development initiatives into sustainable partnerships.
- To deliver tangible results and visible impacts for low-income communities in the selected pilot neighbourhood, leading to more sustainable and equitable urban development⁹.

Participants in a two day workshop held in Nakuru immediately prior to the writing of this paper, to examine the views and experiences of stakeholders in the LA 21 process in Nakuru, listed the following aims and goals of the process:

- To create partnership and capacity building linking the MCN, CBOs, NGOs and the central government in the delivery and administration of services;
- To involve the community in the development, delivery and administration of its own city;
- To develop a framework and strategy to mobilise resources for short- and long-term sustainable development;
- To emphasise local resources.

The following section examines the LA 21 programme and the content of a series of workshops held since 1995.

Workshops

The major components of the LA 21 activities in Nakuru were a series of workshops organised by the MCN and UNCHS (Habitat) with the support of the Belgian Consortium. This brought together a wide range of stakeholders in Nakuru, including councillors, officers of the council, district and provincial administration, research and training institutions, parastatals, NGOs, CBOs, industrialists and other partners. These workshops not only acted as fora for exchange and discussions, but also as work-sessions in smaller thematic groups to examine in more detail the key planning and development issues.

⁹See paper by Mwangi & Ndegwa (forthcoming 2002) on Experiences of Research Institutions in the Localization of Agenda 21 process in Nakuru – A New Research Agenda? p.5.

Key data and dates in the LA 21 Process

Location:	Situated in the Rift Valley, 160 km from Nairobi; along railway and trunk road
Town setting:	Urban development squeezed between Menengai Crater and Lake Nakuru National Park
Altitude/climate:	1850 m; avg. max. temp. 26 Jan./24 July; 1000 mm rainfall p.a.
History:	Started from railway outpost in 1900; rapid growth since Independence
Administrative Status:	Headquarters of Rift Valley Province; 4th ranking town in Kenya
Economic base:	Agricultural service centre; transport communication centre; agro-industry; tourism (Lake Nakuru); administration centre
Municipal area:	78 km ² in 1994; 290 km ² in 1996
Population:	360,000 in 1995 growing at 7%
Municipal budget:	US\$ 5,730,000 in 1995; i.e. US\$ 16 per capita

Key dates in the project

Nov 1995 – Consultative workshop to reach consensus on priority areas of action and to define the vision for the town.

Sept 1996 – Planning workshop for Technical Officers and mobilisation of stakeholders to forge consensus on the future administration of the bus station and market area.

Nov 1996 – Training of councillors as ‘Guardians of the Environment’ environmental problem identification and action planning.

March 1998 – Partnership with the town of Leuven, Belgium –exhibition on Nakuru in Leuven, technical exchanges on planning and housing in the Municipality of Leuven and Nakuru.

May 1998 – Technical workshop.

Nov. 1998 Stakeholders workshop.

June 1999 – Setting up of a Town Planning Unit to enhance municipal planning capacity.

July 1999 – Strategic Structure Plan finalised and advertised.

Dec. 1999 – Negotiations on financial support for investments in solid waste and water are under way between the council and (AFD) *Agence Francaise de Development*.

April 2000 – Completion of a Strategic Structure Plan for Nakuru town and its environs & evolution of a long-term vision for the town.

a) Consultation workshop

In November 1995, as the first activity in the process of building consensus towards a commonly agreed shared platform, a consultation workshop was organised in Nakuru. The objectives of the workshop were:

- To review the urban planning and management practices in Nakuru, leading to a common understanding of factors promoting and/or hindering urban sustainable development;
- To work towards an integrated view of urban development of Nakuru;
- To reach consensus of all stakeholders through consultative processes and
- To refine the organisational structure of the local team in order to facilitate effective support to the planning process in Nakuru.

The workshop reached a common understanding of the many factors promoting and hindering sustainable development in Nakuru. Working groups stressed an environmentally conscious development, promoting Nakuru as a 'People's Green City'. Nakuru was envisioned as:

- an eco-town, integrating natural and human imperatives
- a rail-road town
- a center of eco-tourism
- a regional capital and a service centre
- a proto-type town of East African Highlands.

Participants in this workshop were drawn from all sectors in Nakuru including the representatives of the local authority, the central government agencies, universities, civil society organisations, KWS, NGOs, the private sector, UNCHS and representatives from the Belgian consortium and BADC.

The result of this first workshop was synthesised into the first Urban Pact, expressing the visions and desirable outcomes for development of Nakuru Municipality, inter-related action plans to implement the visions, and a decision making structure. In view of the absence of a planning apparatus at the local level, this Pact also called for the creation of a Municipal Planning Unit in order to undertake key planning tasks. The workshop also resolved to carry out many actions that would lead towards urban sustainable development. Some key decisions were:

- Setting up a town planning unit to enhance municipal planning capacity and improve planning methods and practices;
- Preparation of the Strategic Structure Plan to evolve the long term vision for Nakuru
- Identification of priority zones for intervention like the bus park area, council housing estates, Nakuru east side and geologically sensitive areas
- Refining a range of activities for streamlining urban development and upgrading urban and national environment and
- Outlining actions for strengthening local institutions and stimulating innovative partnerships.

The workshops adopted Strategic Structure Planning (SSP) as the approach for achieving urban sustainable development in Nakuru. The LA 21 process interprets urban planning as a "Strategic Structure Planning" process, which mobilises all interested actors in a dynamic, continuous and consensual vision-building and policy making process. A clear understanding of the spatial structure of the town helps to

identify strategic priority actions. SSP deals with the sustainability of spatial, ecological, social, economic, technical and institutional factors of urban development. This process proceeds on Three tracks dealing with long-term visions, daily actions and communication with the stakeholders. The three tracks must be continuously inter-related. At the meeting points of the tracks, policy decisions are integrated into the process which are formalised through “Urban Pacts”. These are dynamic, result-oriented negotiated agreements between all responsible parties and are integrated in the existing institutional framework of the local authority. Incrementally, the activities along the three tracks result in a Strategic Structure Plan. This product consists of a vision on the urban development, a spatial concept as a basis for the desired structure and a programme of actions.

The organisation of seminars for sensitisation of community leaders in Nakuru resulted in the creation of a number of environmental action groups¹⁰. These further led to joint environmental action between CBOs and the municipality. This has impacted on the living conditions of the residents of those neighbourhoods that were involved in the seminars and workshops. Subsequent initiatives have been diversified to include income-generating activities for housing and small-scale enterprises¹¹.

Based on the information provided in keynote addresses, position papers and site visits, the workshop reached a common understanding of the factors promoting and hindering urban sustainable development in Nakuru. Small groups worked towards an integrated view on urban development of Nakuru and deliberated on the relevance and feasibility of possible action areas.

b) Planning workshop

The second major activity was organised in September 1996 as a workshop devoted to planning issues in Nakuru. The workshop organized several workgroup sessions where general and specific planning problems and assets of Nakuru were worked upon and were debated. Several priority zones were identified that required immediate planning interventions:¹²

- i) Bus park and market area: prime urban node; space use conflicts leading to congestion and loss of revenue. There was therefore the need to reorganise the spatial structure and improve the management.
- ii) Council rental housing estates: vital housing and land assets for the council; lack of maintenance, underutilised land assets, irrational rent structure. There was therefore a need to revitalize through increasing densities.
- iii) Menengai Crater: potential for tourism but deforestation and inadequate access are major constraints to the exploitation of its potential. There is need to tap the under-utilised potential and to define urban edge between the crater and the town.
- iv) Buffer zone between the town and the park: there are incidences of dust pollution from the lake into the town. At the same time, pollution from industries and storm water contaminate the lake. There is need therefore to structure the transition between the park and the town; define an intermediate buffer zone and the edge of the town.

10 One of these groups is NAROKA, formed in 1997 after a three days Participatory Environmental Planning workshop (PEP) and is actively involved in solid waste management and water supply initiatives.

11 Examples include peanut butter making among others.

12 See Map one for specific locations.

- v) Geologically sensitive areas: the areas on the western side of the town are unstable due to a number of fault lines in the area. There are incidences of sinking ground that render the area hazardous and there is a lot of environmental degradation. There is an urgent need therefore to zone off the area and limit and organise the settlements.
- vi) The East side: given the various constraints to urban development in Nakuru, the only possibility for further development and expansion of the town is towards the eastern side. This is a rapidly urbanising peri-urban area with both residential and agricultural activities. There is need to structure the region by selective urbanisation and protection of agriculture.

Apart from these priority zones, many other activities were undertaken that needed a lot of support. These included reviewing the progress of many environmental activities which were started as follow-up to the previous consultation workshop.

It was decided to undertake the preparation of a long-term Strategic Structure Plan (SSP) for Nakuru, involving not only the agencies and actors in Nakuru, but also institutions from Nairobi. It was also decided to establish the Municipal Planning Unit, committed to in the earlier urban pact. This local planning unit, called the Planning Team, was to coordinate the preparation of the SSP. The Belgian Consortium provided the methodological and conceptual inputs.

c) Technical workshop – Strategic Structure Plan: intermediate presentation

In May 1998, a workshop was organised to review the preparation of the ongoing Strategic Structure Plan (SSP) for Nakuru; to critically comment on presentations and outputs of different chapters of the SSP document; to define the ongoing schedule of work on SSP; to assist in the coordination between different chapters of the SSP and between different partners, actors and consultants contributing to the SSP.

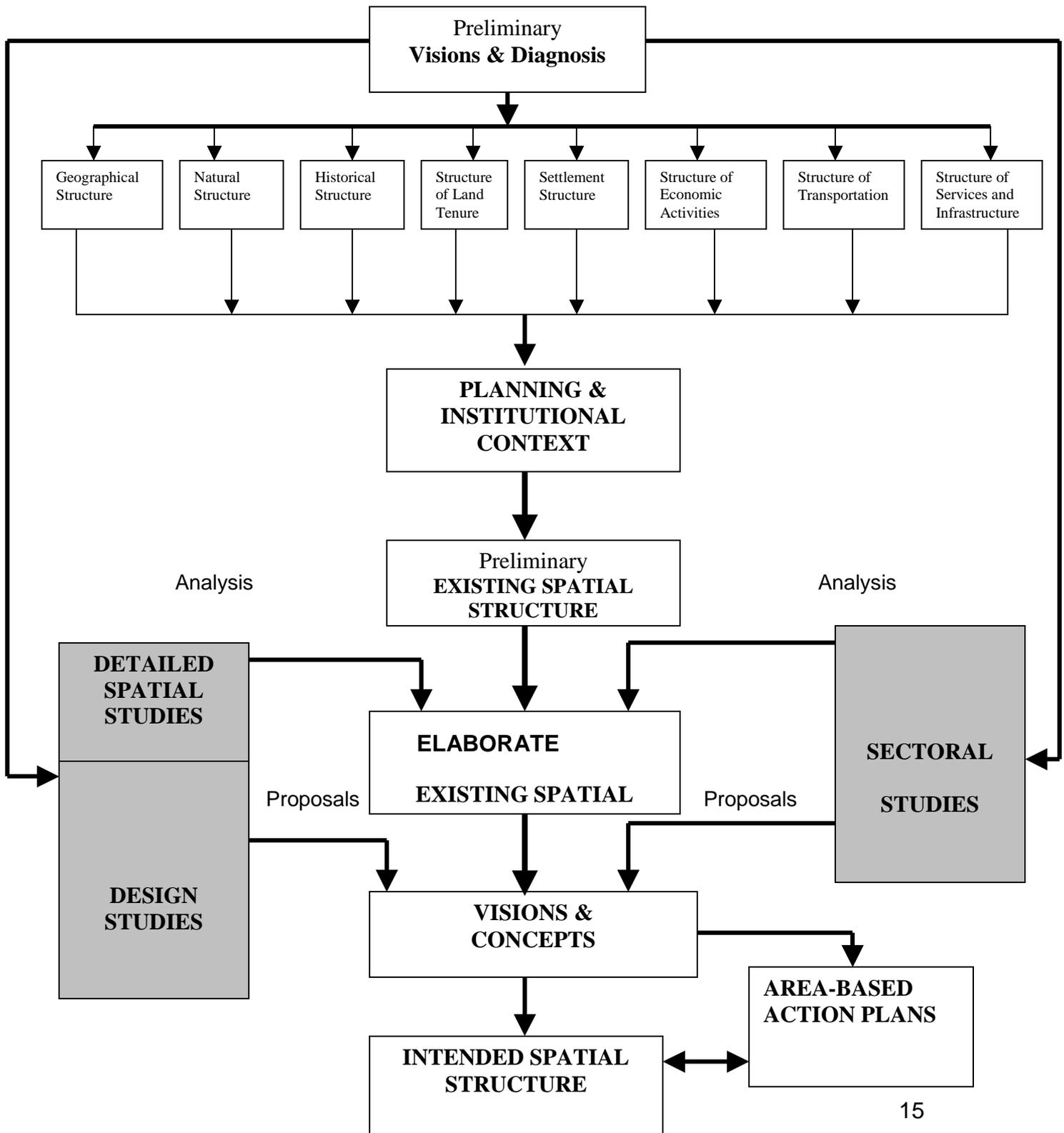
Activities included a 3-day planning workshop on the subject of Nakuru SSP and other LA 21 activities. This workshop was attended by different actors and consultants involved in the preparation of the SSP. This technical group included the Planning Team members in Nakuru, planners from the provincial Planning office in Nakuru, members from departments of the University of Nairobi (DURP, HABRI and Department of Architecture), members of the Belgian Consortium (BC) and members of the UNCHS (Habitat). The event also included an advisory board meeting of the LA 21 project. The board members attending this meeting included municipal councillors and administrators, stakeholders, community representatives and other interested parties. The meeting reviewed the ongoing SSP process as well as other LA 21 activities. Further activities included the meeting for the SSP tasks and coordination teams, field surveys and visits.

d) Final workshop – Strategic Structure Plan: final draft presentation

In November 1998, a stakeholders' workshop was organised by the MCN to present and discuss the first draft of the Strategic Structure Plan (SSP) for Nakuru. The aim was to critically comment on the presentations and outputs of different chapters of the SSP document; define the further schedule of work on SSP incorporating comments made during the workshop; assist in the coordination between different partners, actors and consultants contributing to the SSP and to discuss the further follow-up of the ongoing Nakuru-Leuven municipality cooperation activities. The three day stakeholders workshop on the subject of Nakuru SSP and other LA 21 activities was attended by different stakeholders and actors, MCN officials and councillors, CBO and NGO representatives as well as all the partners and consultants involved in

the preparation of the SSP. Activities during the workshop included preliminary meetings with the planning team in Nakuru to discuss the workshop organisation and presentations during the workshop; follow-up meetings for SSP tasks and coordination and meetings to review an existing pilot project, under the Leuven-Nakuru municipal cooperation as a part of council housing revitalisation strategy. In order to achieve this, the plan preparation process followed the following key steps (as illustrated in the figure below):

Figure 1.1. Conceptual Guide to the Preparation of the Strategic Structure Plan



- ii. Preliminary vision development and diagnosis as dictated by the aspirations and goals of the population. The vision determines and is related to the outcome of the sectoral studies and detailed spatial studies;
- iii. A critical analysis of the planning and institutional context as a basis for the preparation and implementation of the Strategic Structure Plan;
- iv. A critical analysis of the existing spatial structure (character of urban space), outlining key problems, challenges and potentials;
- v. A more detailed examination and analysis of the existing spatial structure, which is, further informed by outputs of sectoral and detailed design and spatial studies;
- vi. Proposals are derived from all three existing sectors; namely, sectoral studies, design studies and the existing spatial structure.
- vii. Visions and concepts are confirmed and reviewed using the outputs of the studies in line with the proposals;
- viii. The formulation of an Intended Spatial Structure is the culmination of the above analytic processes and the negotiated visions and goals;
- ix. Finally we have the area-based action plans based on the prioritised actions.

V. ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE LA 21 PROCESS

The actions within the LA 21 framework dealt with building consensus for a long-term vision, action for environmental improvement, institutional strengthening, focusing on the municipal council, and stimulating innovative partnerships. Thematic areas include strategic structure planning support, urban regeneration, and improvement of environment and infrastructure. A variety of practical projects can be identified as outputs, though not all of them may be attributed specifically to LA 21 alone. The following were mentioned as LA 21 activities:

Activities for SSP document preparation

The LA 21 process in Nakuru has been trying to use action-oriented planning to achieve urban sustainable development. Action planning is defined as a participatory process of development planning that involves a relatively short-term plan, using available resources to meet limited objectives in a defined area (Baross, 1991). The main advantage is the short-term effectiveness and it is by nature innovative and flexible. Action planning within the LA 21 process has been a problem solving rather than a problem defining enterprise.

While action planning is not new in Kenya, the process of organising LA 21 activities in Nakuru was lengthy each stage being more experimental than authoritative (Mochache, 1998). The difficulties started from the very fact that planning has often been the domain of the Physical Planning Department (in the Ministry of Lands and Settlement - MOL&S) of the central government. Yet in LA 21 the PPD is being called upon to be a partner with a wider array of actors in the process. All actors now appreciate the fact that the LA 21 model calls for cooperation and partnership rather than leadership and expertise.

The process of action planning as utilised in the LA 21 process in Nakuru was designed to offer greater possibility of success based on the involvement of the key actors from problem identification through implementation. The Ronda-Kaptembwo Action Plan was as result of a three-day Participatory Environmental Planning (PEP)

workshop¹³ organised in collaboration with the Green Towns project of the Ministry of Local Government.

The Strategic Structure Plan is a tool to improve planning and management practices especially in urban planning in Nakuru and its environs. It is the blueprint for urban sustainable development for the town and is probably one of the most important achievements of the LA 21 programme. It was put together through a multi-sectoral process that involved a diversity of stakeholders including the Municipal Council of Nakuru, training institutions such as the University of Nairobi's Department of Urban and Regional Planning, the Department of Architecture, Housing and Building Research Institute (HABRI), the Post Graduate Centre for Human Settlements (KU-Leuven) and the government departments of Physical Planning and Urban Development as well as local NGOs and CBOs.

Apart from the major workshops discussed elsewhere, some other activities contributing to the preparation of the SSP document included:

- **Urban Planning Studio of the DURP**

The Department of Urban and Regional Planning (DURP) of the University of Nairobi conducted the preliminary phase of the SSP preparation as an academic exercise carried out under the curriculum of the Urban Planning Studio for first year post-graduate students, and sponsored by the UNCHS LA 21 programme. The six-month exercise, guided intensively by the members of staff of DURP, including two-weeks of field-work in Nakuru assisted by a member of the Belgian Consortium (BC), was conducted as the first phase of the Plan and this provided the preliminary data which subsequent phases built upon. The final output of the Studio was presented to MCN and members of the BC for critical appraisals in July 1997.

- **Technical Work-sessions on the Strategic Structure Plan**

Several technical sessions were organised and attended by the planning team to discuss and work on the SSP document. Some of these week-long sessions were also attended by members of the BC and took place in January, August and September 1998. The September session was organised as a retreat at Lake Bogoria, where the final shaping of the draft SSP document took place, before presenting it in the final workshop in November 1998. The planning team also organised similar sessions in 1999 for finalising the draft document. These intensive work sessions were crucial in progressively defining the structure and content of the SSP. Some of these sessions were also attended by other members of the participating institutions like DURP, HABRI and Department of Architecture of the University of Nairobi.

There are good indications that in its initial stages, the SSP process in Nakuru has benefited from an extraordinary synergy between UNCHS, BC, DURP and the local Planning Team (the fore-runner of the Municipal Planning Unit). Local stakeholders were invited to all the workshops and their comments on the SSP process and its outputs were duly recorded and incorporated. Only a couple of CBOs were active prior to the elaboration of the SSP. The fact that many more have emerged since then (130 groups identified in 1997), indicates at least that it is feasible for these organisations to achieve results, and at best that a wide-spread participatory

13 The objectives of the PEP workshop were spelt out as to develop a strong desire among the participants to actively improve and enhance the living environment in Ronda and Kaptembwo by discussing problems, causes and finding solutions. An environmental development plan and an action plan were developed for immediate implementation by a volunteer action group.

movement is taking place. The enthusiasm and willingness of CBOs to work towards better living conditions is beyond doubt. However, we need to echo a concern expressed by MCN Officers and other project partners that the expectations of more recently-included CBOs and other beneficiaries may either be too high of the project or that their expectations may not coincide with an SSP that they did not help to formulate. We also see an additional challenge ahead should the rapid multiplication of CBOs and their demand for technical guidance and financial assistance exceed the capacity of LA 21 process, the Planning Unit and the MCN officers to provide an adequate and timely delivery of services.

- **Realisation and approval of the Strategic Structure Plan**

As a result of partnerships formed in Nakuru, the LA 21 process accomplished its main objective in Nakuru: a final Structure Plan was approved in April 2001. It is the first, and so far only, plan to be approved under the New Physical Planning Act of Kenya 1996 (together with the regional plan for Nakuru District, which was developed during the same period in a collaboration between the Ministry of Physical Planning and the University of Nairobi). This is a major achievement for all project partners and local stakeholders involved and is being recognised as such by observers at a national and international level. It creates a momentum that could greatly benefit the LA 21 process.

The LA 21 process did not actually create new legal and administrative frameworks for this approval but it convinced national authorities to accept the experiment in Nakuru as a pilot project to explore ways of decentralising planning responsibilities. The fact that UNCHS lent its support to the initiative may have added leverage to this process, but overall, government officials, especially those from the Ministries of Local Government and from Lands and Settlements that we talked to gave the distinct impression that the new approach had their full support and approval¹⁴.

National authorities¹⁵ seem to have fully embraced the idea of strengthening the planning capacities of local authorities. Legal and administrative measures are being taken to broaden replication of the Nakuru experience nationwide. According to a representative of the Ministry of Local Government, it will require three to five years before local and national competencies can actually handle the implementation of current measures – and this is based on the assumption that all measures become effective immediately and that all necessary resources can be mobilised to build the capacity of local authorities (e.g. through the Government Training Institute in Mombasa).

An important aspect of the Strategic Structure Plan is the commitment of each partner to a package where after discussions and consultations, each partner will be expected to carry out certain activities and fulfil various expectations up to the year 2020. The plan includes a process for analysing and interpreting existing problems and challenges as well as the potentials of Nakuru. It does this by carrying out studies on selected key strategic elements of the town's existing spatial structure forming a basis for the formulation of the Intended Spatial Structure (ISS) for Nakuru's desired future. The overall goal is to guide the future of Nakuru up to the year 2020. To achieve this, the plan aims to integrate social and economic developmental activities, together with investments to support infrastructure and

14 The author has previously held interviews with officials from the Ministry of Local Authorities and that of Lands and Settlements while collecting data for a PhD research

15 We observe that there was full participation by the Director of Physical Planning and the Provincial Physical Planning Officer during all stages of the SSP preparation.

services, with environmental considerations – all these with the aim of achieving sustainable development. The plan area covers about 440Km². This includes areas within the existing municipal boundaries, and surrounding peri-urban areas that are rapidly undergoing transformation and acquiring an urban character. It is an instrument for guiding rather than dictating future development of Nakuru by making strategic choices. This plan document contains the following components as outlined below:

Outline Contents of the SSP for Nakuru

Introduction: Key issues of urban development; general methodology of SSP; urban development issues in Nakuru; LA 21 process in Nakuru and the scope and contents of the report.

Planning and institutional context: This Chapter contains the analysis and interprets the institutional context within which the SStrategic Structure Plan is prepared. Some of the issues covered include the policy-making environment, the legal scope of planning and enforcement, the role of different actors in planning and the strengths and weaknesses of the current systems of urban planning and management. It also covers the existing planning frameworks and instruments operating in Nakuru.

Existing spatial structure: This key section focuses on existing realities, problems, and assets of Nakuru. A good knowledge of entities (elements), linkages, functions and the relationships of activities within the town is pertinent. Preliminary analysis of existing spatial structure is necessary, which defines areas for further research and action. The existing spatial structure contains an analysis of geographical structure, natural structure, historical structure, structure of land tenure, settlement structure, economic structure, transportation structure and structure of services and infrastructure.

Key planning sectors: The sectoral studies comprise detailed work on those elements that are not clear enough at the completion of the preliminary existing spatial structure. They include such areas as demography, land, housing situation and needs, economic, development, transportation and services. Potentials and problems arising from this interpretation as well as possible strategies to follow are described.

Detailed spatial and design studies: The objective of these studies is to come up with a detailed analysis and interpretation of specific areas/sites so as to define the structure, fabric and typology of the intended development of the area. Specific studies include peripheries of the town, edges, fabrics, nodes and strips. The Chapter also explores proposals and strategies for specific locations in the town.

Intended spatial structure: This section brings together all the proposals realised from the analysis of the existing spatial structure (together with the sectoral and design studies, planning and institutional context), based on the vision. The intended Spatial Structure includes the following elements: visions and development perspectives, spatial concepts and proposals.

Source: MCN/Rep of Kenya/UNCHS/ABOS (1999) *Nakuru Strategic Structure Plan: Action Plan for Sustainable Urban Development of Nakuru Town and Its environs. Vol. I & II.*

- **Creation of a Municipal Planning Unit**

The creation of the position of town planner was a logical step after the planning team had developed a master plan. In mid-1999, a planning unit was established and the MCN appointed a municipal planner and agreed to recruit more personnel. The LA 21 process provided adequate equipment and strengthened the unit with capacity building activities. At the moment of the evaluation the MCN acknowledged that the planning unit should be expanded to a Planning Department that would include a town planner, a municipal valuator, a municipal architect and a municipal surveyor. It was envisaged that this department would take over coordination of the LA 21 process in the future and that the office of the town clerk would head the core team to provide a sound legal framework for the project.

- **Concrete action plans**

- ***Control of urban expansion***

To control expansion in a western direction, a geological survey was conducted to demonstrate the potentially destructive effect of the fault lines. These measures were integrated in the SSP but are difficult to implement since most of the expansion is in the form of informal settlements.

Proposals to control southern expansion have focused on the provision of a buffer zone between residential areas and Nakuru Wildlife Park. So far, these proposals have proven to be too far-reaching to be feasible or effective and alternatives have yet to be developed.

There have been concerted efforts to reverse the pollution of Nakuru Lake and a Pollutant Release Transfer Registers initiative has been started in Nakuru. PRTR are publicly accessible information systems which record chemical specific, source specific and standardised data on emissions of toxic substances to air, water and land from industrial facilities. They are catalogues or registers of potentially harmful pollutant releases to the environment from a variety of sources. In 1995, a PRTR working group consisting of representatives from industry, academia, government and WWF launched the PRTR initiative in Nakuru. Among the first actions to be taken was the drafting of a format for reporting annual industrial solid and liquid waste emissions. This was based on the PRTR programmes in USA and Canada. Nine priority pollutants were highlighted for special attention. Investigations carried out by WWF-LNCDP at Lake Nakuru showed that a number of contaminants were present in the lake waters including lead, copper, chromium, zinc, mercury and DDT, as well as its components of degradation. Ten industries volunteered for the pilot phase. PRTRs have been shown to be effective in reducing pollution and ultimately preventing it. As well as helping community groups, conservation organisations, and town planners, the information they provide is also valuable to industry because it can cut waste emissions, saving companies money and enhancing their reputation with the public. The project today covers 16 industrial facilities. Of these, ten facilities¹⁶ have been submitting their emission reports. The project is facilitating formation of committee in each of these industries to develop and implement Waste Reduction Action Plans (WRAPS). The other six industries joined the project at the beginning of 2000 and WWF is helping them generate their emission reports for 1999; these will form benchmarks for waste reduction strategies.

16 They included Spin Knit(k) Ltd., Kenya Seed Company, Gohil Soap and Plastics Ltd., Sunny Autoparts Ltd., Pyrethrum Board of Kenya, Nakuru Tanners Ltd., Londra (K) Ltd., Flamingo Paints Ltd., and Ply and Panels Ltd.

Water management

The main source of water in Nakuru is ground water. There have been efforts to reduce the effects of over-consumption of ground water by increasing supply from other sources. The LA 21 process has initiated rainwater harvesting as part of its tree nursery projects in primary schools. This action could possibly have been combined with systems for capturing and filtering rainwater for human consumption, available from WWF. While these systems have been developed for low-density settlements in the peri-urban areas around Nakuru, it may be interesting to explore their potential in other locations, especially in view of the contamination of ground water.

In the growing peri-urban areas there is an urgent need for the provision of more water sources and more boreholes are being dug. Due to the use of low quality materials or poor craftsmanship during the installation, existing boreholes could not function at optimum capacity. The LA 21 process has rehabilitated and facilitated the maintenance of several boreholes and improved hygienic conditions of water storage by covering the storage tanks with roofs.

The process has also improved water distribution systems by separating watering points for human and animal consumption. Several CBOs have taken the initiative to provide safer drinking water in better hygienic conditions and at cheaper rates than was previously the case. The LA 21 process helped them to obtain funding from ICLEI to establish water kiosks that meet this objective and are carefully managed, also reducing spillage.

Within the Flamingo estate, proposed measures to improve water supply have also been developed. The existing system is badly maintained and defective, resulting in a massive losses of water. New water supply systems will be linked to the provision of sanitary blocks attached to every dwelling unit. These measures have not yet been implemented because they are unaffordable to the tenants.

None of the proposed measures addresses the problem of high level of fluoride in the water pumps from most boreholes. Concentration levels vary from six to 22 mg per litre compared to the World Health Organisation's (WHO) standards which allow for 1.5 mg per litre. Frequent consumption over an extended period can cause health problems such as dental fluorosis and skeletal fluorosis. The LA 21 process cannot be expected to deal with this issue directly, but it should be taken into account.

Solid Waste Management

CBOs have been actively involved in the development of action plans aimed at reducing the problems of indiscriminate waste disposal in many low-income neighbourhoods. CBOs were already active in Nakuru, in particular in the Lake View Estate, before LA 21 process took off. Awareness raising has resulted in a multiplication of CBOs and their activities. This could well be among the most important achievements of LA 21 process in Nakuru.

Most CBOs that are currently active in Nakuru consist of 15-40 members i.e., a very low proportion of communities that may consist of up to 1500 households¹⁷. Obviously, the CBOs often have a low representational value since they are acting on their own initiative without being elected by their community for this purpose. Moreover they have limited financial and technical capacities. In spite of this, these organisations show great enthusiasm and are quite successful at fund-raising and networking. To ensure that their activities carry even more weight, it is therefore of

¹⁷ We noted in a household survey conducted in 1999 for a PhD thesis that the CBOs are not really representative.

crucial importance that LA 21 process in Nakuru continues its efforts to support these groups and to assist their organisation through the election of development committees. In the present configuration, these committees seem to offer the best chance to further decentralise decision-making to a community level and to institutionalise empowerment in Nakuru.

In cooperation with WWF and the MCN, some neighbourhoods have constructed refuse chambers to ease the collection of household waste and to reduce incidences of indiscriminate dumping. This initiative has served a triple objective

- To provide collection points that would facilitate waste collections by the Municipality,
- To contribute to cleaning up the environment within the communities and finally
- To contribute to the clearance and maintenance of water drains, thereby reducing polluting effluents to Nakuru Lake.

In combination with cleaning-up campaigns organised by the CBOs, these objectives have largely been met: whereas waste previously spilled all over the street it is now piled up in and around the refuse chambers. However, the handling of solid waste near and at these collection points still happens in most unhygienic circumstances. The effects of raising awareness about separate-at-source selection, hygiene, safety and security thus appear limited. This may be because CBO members who underwent training courses either failed to apply and disseminate their knowledge or have engaged in other activities since then.

A second consideration concerns the design of the refuse chambers that makes the disposal and removal of solid waste inconvenient due to its elevated platform. Its movable parts also require regular maintenance.

Finally there is the issue of contributions to the waste management plan. This issue is problematic because the municipality does not have the necessary resources to organise waste collection on a regular basis because of the lack of serviceable vehicles available. This also undermines the effectiveness of providing refuse chambers. According to recent developments, the demonstration project (refuse chambers) and the overall SSP framework were important factors for AFD to start negotiations with the MCN on a comprehensive solid waste project. The newly acquired refuse collection truck obtained through a grant from the World Bank is expected to change the situation. The workshop participants in the last workshop noted that the MCN has taken a long time to deliver the truck to the Lakeview CBO which will manage and maintain it. .

Tree nurseries and greening of residential neighbourhoods

There have been campaigns to introduce tree nurseries in primary school. This aims to raise awareness among school children by letting them grow trees in their neighbourhood school. It also intends to raise parents' interest in urban environmental issues through their children's activities in school and has the advantage of having a strong community ownership. The LA 21 process provides for a system to collect rainwater; while seeds are collected from neighbouring trees and seedlings protected from grazing animals. School children take turns in tending the gardens under the supervision of teachers. Beneficiaries of the project were satisfied with it. However, they acknowledged that its sustainability was problematic for the following reasons:

The project largely depends on the personal initiative of a few teachers who have both the availability and the capacity to support and coach the project. The prospect of letting children take young trees back to their dwelling environments and plant them there proved unfeasible for several reasons (unaffordable, grazing domestic animals, no water reserves). The objective to offer young trees for sale on the market would require a more “market oriented” and “management oriented” approach than the current persons/institutions involved can provide.

One other concern of the greening initiative is to encourage tree planting and other related activities in the residential areas. The SSP has an emphasis on the planning for and provision of green areas in appropriate locations, such as the green buffer area that is proposed around the major storm water drain running from Menengai Crater to Lake Nakuru. In view of the dust pollution and drainage problems in many residential areas, this commitment could have been translated in several small-scale action-plans to be initiated by the CBOs themselves. However, the plan did not allow for providing CBOs with the resources to effectively implement the greening of their neighbourhoods. In one community, for example, the council sold the open space that was supposed to be converted into a communal green area and playground. The developer who purchased the plot plans to build a supermarket with parking lot. This clearly demonstrates that the greening of residential areas does not figure as high on the municipal agenda as proposed by SSP.

Promotion of ecotourism

There is an urgent need to promote and exploit the tourism potential of Menengai Crater. This idea has been thoroughly discussed and, in spite of opposition against such priority¹⁸, it was incorporated in the SSP process and its outputs. We need to mention that the town will need to tap the tourism potential of the Crater in an organised and sustainable way if it is to attain the status of an eco-town. This approach may well be the only way for the MCN to generate some income from the visitors to Nakuru Park. Given the weak negotiating position of MCN with the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) and the need for municipal revenues to finance other action plans, the LA 21 process might have initiated a feasibility study. In a second stage this could have involved a multi-disciplinary team including tourism promoters, developers, investors, among others. Of course, any proposal coming from these studies would need to be carefully meshed against the SSP.

There has been cooperation with WWF and KWS since 1988 especially in issues related to the promotion of cleaner neighbourhoods surrounding the Lake Nakuru National Park. Negotiations in 1996-97 have brought good results, in particular concerning the work with NGOs and CBOs, and establishing cooperation with universities. Later on, both WWF and KWS independently elaborated their contacts with those project partners. Exchanges with the LA 21 process itself became less frequent.

Promotion of low-cost housing technologies (in cooperation with Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) -EA)

The synergy between the LA 21 process and the activities of ITDG-EA in the low-income settlements in Nakuru is undeniable. ITDG-EA has made effective use of the LA 21 project infrastructure, the local team and its close links with the MCN to develop and implement several action plans related to housing in Nakuru.

¹⁸ Much of the forest within the Crater has been cleared to give way for new settlements.

ITDG-EA in collaboration with the local team organised awareness-building workshops for low-income households and training on low-cost building technology for local artisans. It also formed partnerships with key stakeholders to set up an integrated urban housing project in several of Nakuru's informal settlements. The success of these interventions can be measured from the financial support from NACHU (the National Cooperative Housing Union) and the formation of Nakuru Housing and Environment Savings and Cooperative Society (NAHECO), a local savings and credit cooperative.

The municipal by-laws on low-cost housing in Nakuru were linked to a demonstration project set up by the urban livelihoods and shelter programme of ITDG-EA. They proved a useful "test-case" in a campaign to adjust the national legislation on building standards. This was an on-going campaign conducted by the national advisor to the LA 21 process and regional director of ITDG.

The Bus Park

The bus park is a complex urban nucleus: it is a node for transportation of goods and people by road and by train, a wholesale market, a fresh foods market and a site for hawker's stalls. It is also a node where many local and regional business interests intersect. Any intervention is doomed to fail unless it can count on local participation, a lot of political goodwill, and full cooperation from the MCN officers. Although there have been efforts to reconcile different interests, these three conditions have never been fully realised so that implementation of the proposed interventions for the moment remains partial (e.g. re-organisation of the market and hawkers' activities).

The spatial separation and reorganisation of cross-country, provincial and city transportation is an improvement, but there seems to be no binding agreements between the MCN and the private bus operators on use and maintenance of this public space.

Possibilities were explored to resolve this problem by linking the problem of the Bus Park up with negotiations with the railway authorities to (a) lease land in front of the railway station, and (b) reorganise the transport by rail to reduce road transport for passengers and goods. Negotiations on the first issue are underway. The second issue is matter of transportation policies at the national level and the LA 21 process cannot be expected to be in a position to bring about change in those policies. Still, we need to mention that this is an issue worth pursuing, especially once an MCN Planning Department could add leverage to the proposal and possibly link it to the development of the town as a centre for ecotourism. Again, it will require significant study and preparation by a multi-disciplinary team including transportation specialists, tourism promoters, planners, developers, investors, etc. And again, the proposals would need to be meshed against the SSP and discussed with the local stakeholders.

The Flamingo Estate

This is one of the council estates (planned settlement) with separately built common sanitary blocks. It was initially built for single tenants, but is now inhabited by low-income families. Water and electricity supplies are defective and sanitation deplorable. Based on a study by the Housing and Building Research Institute (HABRI), the LA 21 proposals for rent reform were met with protest from tenants because they were unaffordable. After a consensus was negotiated, the water supply was renewed but still appears to be defective.

Following the HABRI study, there has been a series of collaborative proposals submitted for the reorganisation of the Flamingo Estate, by the Belgian Consortium

(BC), by the Joint Project Officer, by the Municipality of Leuven and by the the local team. All these were attempts to understand and explore the possibilities of intervention and were meant to be an ongoing process of searching for solutions.

Proposals for rehabilitation consisted of an extension of the dwelling units, provision of private sanitary cells attached to the unit, and construction of new multi-storeyed buildings. They required limited sections of road front council land to be sold to finance the rehabilitation. However, project partners (including MCN) were not confident that the council could manage such an operation with the required fully transparent and accountable procedures and bidding processes. If this operation is not successful, it would not only reduce the possible financing required for redevelopment, but could also inflict serious damage on the status of the LA 21 process in Nakuru. Until this condition is met, the project remains unfeasible and has been stalled.

Mobilisation of communication channels to support that action programme

The Council Officers were actively involved in training. The workshops that were directly related to the project in Nakuru offered technical and managerial skills or exposure to the problems faced in other cities, both national and international. Officers also benefited from the partnership with the Leuven municipality. However, they maintain that they still lack technical and managerial skills to effectively perform the awareness raising tasks that they are supposed to fulfil for LA 21 process.

Councillors also benefited from a UNCHS training programme on environmental issues, and a workshop reviewing the achievements of the LA 21 process so far. On the whole, they benefited less from awareness-raising, training or exposure opportunities than the council officers. This is partly due to the short-term nature of their office, their interests and educational background, and the multiplication of and ensuing competition between political parties.

UNCHS, the BC, local and national actors actively cooperated in promoting the Nakuru project through publication of a brochure and several journal articles, production of a videotape and exposure to international audiences. The BC was responsible for setting up a system of cooperation between Nakuru and Leuven municipalities which has been ongoing since 1996. It has resulted in major joint projects (e.g. the exhibition "Nakuru – an African Town") and small-scale initiatives that the municipalities undertake with other project partners (e.g. email exchange between schools, cobblestone paving project in Nakuru, etc.).

Awareness raising

The organisation of seminars to sensitise community leaders in Nakuru resulted in the creation of a number of environmental groups. These in turn are leading to environmental action between community-based-organisations and the municipality, which, in turn, is improving the living conditions for the residents of these neighbourhoods.

Institutional strengthening

- There has been collaboration between the municipality of Nakuru and University of Nairobi with the involvement of researchers and students in Strategic Structure Planning. This collaboration exposed potential planners to a 'planning for real' exercise. Some chief officers have attended courses on environmental management overseas funded by the programme including, notably, the participation of a senior public health officer at the Institute of Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS) at Rotterdam in 1998. Capacity building work has been carried out at three levels:

- elected councillors having training in leadership skills and environmental management;
 - technical officers having training in planning, environmental management and how to work with and be involved in community-based initiatives; and
 - community-based groups having training in environmental management, sanitation and needs assessment.
- A training manual for councillors as guardians of the environment has been developed and is an example of an output that can have a direct impact on other municipal councils. It can also have a potential impact on councillors world-wide when translated and adapted to local contexts. Particularly important for the council has been the fact that the joint action programme has provided opportunities for various departments to work together. In this way they began to appreciate one another's roles and how each fits into the overall plans of the council.
 - Creation of Zonal Development Committees: This was meant to structure the relationship between the CBOs and the municipal authority, in order to improve contacts and information channels on issues related to planning and environment.

VI. INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS WITHIN THE LA 21 PROGRAMME

Here we examine both the *actors involved* and those that are excluded from the LA 21 process. Another continuum for considering key actors and their relationships in LA 21 process is the *formal or informal structure*, which may range from formal legally binding contracts, to commitment documents, to unenforceable public agreements. Formal agreements include specific objectives and mechanisms between the MCN and other partner groups. There are also less formal agreements, which we may term as organisational networks rather than partnerships. Besides the formal relationships between organisations and actors involved in the LA 21 process, there are a series of informal networks inter-linking different actors. We also examine the decision-making structure and coordination, how tasks are divided and performed and finally we examine the process of monitoring and evaluation within the LA 21 process in Nakuru.

Partners in the LA 21 process

The collaboration between the municipality of Nakuru and the universities and national government officials in the Strategic Structure Planning contributed to the collection of information and testing of ideas. It also exposed future planners to an innovative planning methodology, and gave the council a tool to guide urban design and development. The LA 21 programme acts as a facilitator for developing partnerships between different actors. It supports the mutual consultation process, encourages brainstorming and clarifies expectations. The initial stages of such processes are often difficult, because of the complexity of translating general urban sustainable development principles into actions which make sense to different partners.

The parties implementing the LA 21 in Nakuru and the organisational set-up were formalised through a Memorandum of Understanding and the urban pact between the Ministry of Local Government, the Municipal Council of Nakuru and the UNCHS (Habitat). The key partners actively involved in LA 21 can be categorised as follows:

- Government departments: - Municipal Council of Nakuru, Physical Planning Department (Provincial and District) of the Ministry of Lands and Settlements,

Urban Development Department of the Ministry of Local Authorities and parastatals with interest in infrastructure.

- Institutions and research organisations: - Departments of Urban and Regional Planning (DURP), Housing and Building Research Institute (HABRI) and the Department of Architecture all of the University of Nairobi, Catholic University Leuven (KLU) through its Post Graduate Centre in Human Settlements (PGCHS).
- NGOs: World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF) through its Lake Nakuru Conservation Project, Shelter Forum of Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG)
- Development agencies: UNCHS, The Belgium Administration for Development Corporation (BADC), the Belgian Consortium (BC), Leuven city in Belgium, ICLEI.
- CBOs as partners: there are ten local CBOs that are actively involved in the LA 21 process in Nakuru.

The level of intervention of most of the activities within the LA process are at the level of the municipality: Citywide intervention at the regional level has been suggested in the SSP. Among the objectives of the LA 21 programme was the strengthening of North-South local level partnerships (De Meulder, 1998). The main funding for the LA 21 process comes from the Belgian Administration Development Cooperation with technical inputs from UNCHS (Habitat). The post Graduate Centre for Human Settlement (PGCHS) of the K.U. Leuven acts as the convenor of a consortium of Belgian universities, municipalities, consultancy firms and NGOs, providing support to programme activities. The training and capacity-building section of UNCHS (Habitat) plays a similar role within the Centre. Local teams complement the existing institutional framework for urban planning and management. They consist of members of the municipality, the central government and NGOs.

Through the exchange, officers of the council, some councillors and residents in low-income areas have learned how to manage a housing project so it becomes viable for the municipality in terms of income generation. The people of Leuven, having realised the shortage of proper houses in the low-income areas of Nakuru, have raised funds to build some houses to be used as a showcase. The partnership between Nakuru and Leuven has enabled the exchange of information between councillors and the community at both ends.

Leuven has encouraged Nakuru council to enable civil society involvement in the Localising Agenda 21 activities. The Leuven children, working together with Nakuru children on greening projects, have contributed to their understanding of sustainability issues. It is indeed out of this friendship that the Leuven students have decided to fund raise and help build a school for their poor counterparts in Nakuru. Other partnerships and contacts have been made between the project and NGOs such as the Intermediate Technology Development Group (low-cost housing), National Housing Cooperatives Union (housing loans), and World Wide Fund for Nature (solid waste management).

Excluded actors

The Nakuru County Council¹⁹ was not involved in the entire LA 21 process. This has some serious implications since the council is in charge of the larger Nakuru District in which the hinterland affects the growth of the town. The lack of involvement of the NCC will definitely hinder the implementation of the SSP and other LA 21 activities especially in the peri-urban areas. The Nakuru District Development Committee that is in charge of all development initiatives in the district was also not actively involved

¹⁹ The Nakuru County Council is the local authority in-charge of the entire Nakuru District.

within the LA 21 process. This is a serious exclusion and will definitely affect the implementation of proposals within the LA 21 and the SSP.

The Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) was initially involved in the process but later withdrew because there was both little interest at the headquarters to continue active participation and they could not commit themselves to undertake any of the proposed activities. KWS manages the Lake Nakuru National Park that covers over 64% of the entire municipality and there are conservation measures included in the SSP. There were efforts by the DURP and MCN to persuade Kenya Wildlife Service to be an active partner through the Nakuru SSP. DURP made its first contact with KWS during Phase I which was in the form of a letter, informing KWS on DURP scheduled field work in Nakuru. KWS however, did not participate in phase I. The organisation was only marginally involved through the Nakuru SSP phase II when the park warden met DURP to explain its concerns as far as the expansion of Nakuru town affected the ecology of the park. The passive manner of KWS participation, therefore, raises a number of concerns about the successful implementation of SSP policies and strategies, especially those regarding tourism and the natural environment relating to Lake Nakuru. For one, Lake Nakuru National Park covers an area of 188 km² while the management of the park is entrusted to KWS according to the National Parks Act. The park is also within the MCN jurisdiction and its planning, economic and social development are covered among others under the local Government Act and the Physical Planning Act. The LNNP tourism value and activities, as well as the ecology of the park all affect the town's physical growth, economy and health of the Nakuru residents. The absence of KWS's participation in Nakuru SSP and indeed the entire LA 21 programme is a major setback for the expected partnership formations in planning of urban/ecological sensitive environments such as Nakuru town and its metropolitan areas.

The church has also not been actively involved in the process of Local Agenda 21 in Nakuru. There were initial indications that the Catholic Diocese of Nakuru was involved, but because most of the areas of intervention are beyond the municipality, its continued involvement was not sustained. The majority of residents in Nakuru are religious and the church is a major agent for change within the town. Therefore, the church could have been used to disseminate the intentions of the LA 21 activities and proposals.

The informal sector is very important in Nakuru's economy and also in service provision. Studies carried out in Nakuru indicate that the informal sector is actively involved in solid waste management and recycling initiatives as well as water provision through water vendors²⁰. But the majority of informal sector organisations were not involved in the LA 21 process. It is imperative that future initiatives consider the role played by this sector and involve it in decision making. Although the *Jua Kali*²¹ Artisans Association was involved in the consultation process, this organisation is not representative of the entire informal sector.

Nature of relationships and decision-making in the LA 21 process

The relationships within the LA 21 process are both formal and informal. The urban pacts outline the functions and responsibilities of key actors and stakeholders. The parties involved in the implementation of the prioritised actions are: the Council's technical departments, the LA 21 committee (local team), the management team,

20 Our study on participation and Partnerships in Urban Environmental Management in Nakuru observed the critical role played by the informal sector in environmental management though the role is not officially recognised.

21 Swahili word for hot-sun. Commonly used to refer to informal sector.

local advisory board and project steering committee. The procedures followed in meetings in each group conform to existing council regulations in terms of reporting and conduct.

The process of coordinating all these actors has been a major challenge to the MCN. Administratively, the UNCHS initiated a decentralisation strategy from the beginning by locating the project coordinator at the MCN. A secretariat was set up linking directly with MCN activities, with the coordinator becoming a senior level member of the municipal council. To facilitate the activities and to strengthen capacity at MCN, UNCHS posted a junior project officer to assist in the day-to-day programme work, while an assistant physical planner was seconded from DURP to keep track of the research activities being undertaken by partners specifically for the SSP. The Physical Planning Department of the central government, charged with the legally approving the processes of the SSP, was represented in the project by the provincial physical planning officer, four assistant planners from the district neighbouring Nakuru. The current Director of Physical Planning from the Nairobi Headquarters provided key inputs to the process. The rest of the partners were called upon to undertake specific components of the terms of reference.

Different stakeholders have made commitments towards the implementation of the activities outlined during the consultation workshops and they are formalised through three urban pacts which are dynamic, result-oriented negotiated agreements between all responsible parties. These pacts form the guideline for monitoring the progress of implementation of LA 21 activities in the town. To date, there are some partners who have not honoured their commitments.

Coordination meetings of all partners are held on a quarterly basis, but the core planning teams meet more regularly to review progress and set methodologies for operation. The LA 21 project set-up therefore took the following format:

- a) **Management team:** This team is made up of all the heads of the technical departments of the MCN. The team resolves project management procedures, information flows, public awareness and ways of integrating other activities with LA 21 initiatives. The purpose of this team is to make policy decisions regarding the LA 21 project in Nakuru. Other functions include evaluating project progress reports and advising on alternative solutions to enhance the goals of the project which emanate from the lower committees and teams. The members include the MCN town clerk, two private sector representatives, chairpersons of Zonal Development Committees, the LA 21 coordinator, the chairperson of the DDC and the provincial physical planning officer, lands officer, two representatives from NGOs and CBOs, donor agencies and local advisors. The chairperson convenes meetings every two months and representatives of all stakeholders attend.
- b) **Core team:** This consists of medium level officers of the council. The team is responsible for project planning, implementation of day-to-day project activities, monitoring project progress and preparation of monthly project reports. This committee comprises representatives from the above three teams, the Ministry of Local Government, UNCHS, DURP, additional local advisers and opinion leaders, and other stakeholders. The committee provides policy advice regarding the project, evaluates progress in addition to advising on alternative solutions to enhance the goals of the project. The team has grassroots links with the community through representatives of CBOs.
- c) **Planning team:** This team is made up of the Director of Social Services of the MCN, the Municipal Architect, the LA21 co-coordinator, an assistant

Professional Officer from UNCHS, Assistant Planner from DURP, Programme Officer from WWF, and the Provincial and District Physical Planning Officers. The team is responsible for the preparation of the Strategic Structure Plan.

These teams have so far led the project quite successfully although within the council not all members fully understand the initiative and this makes the exercise quite a challenge.

Implementation mechanisms

It should be noted that the public participation phase of LA 21 represents only a part of the total process. Unless guidance is forthcoming about how to turn the rhetoric of LA 21 into practical action, then plans could become just another one of many tried, tested and failed approaches in local government. Implementation means carrying out or accomplishing actions arrived at as a result of action research and the planning process. Key decisions made in the course of implementation of actions include:

- need to adjust the mix of resources;
- need for additional resources and
- need for capacity building.

In the workshop on the views and experiences of different stakeholders, it was observed that there were several factors influencing the implementation of the LA 21 activities and programmes. Some of the key challenges facing the realisation of LA 21 objectives are summarised as follows:

- The LA 21 programme as summarised in the SSP, identifies long-term broad proposals, though it contains some specific short-term actions. Therefore there is a need to prepare area/thematic action plans based on actions that can be implemented. Since the approval of the SSP in April 2000, the Council has yet to formulated a clear implementation strategy for each council department. This is the first hurdle the council needs to address which will go along way in internalising both LA21 and SSP as a policy document within the Council rank and file. This will ensure that the role of coordinating the implementation is the responsibility of each council department before other actors become involved. Local authorities already possess important implementation tools as provided in the five year Local Authority Development Plans (LADP) and the three year Local Authority Service Delivery Action Plans (LASDAP) which were thematic and participatory. Therefore the proposals contained in SSP need to be translated into LASDAP. .
- Successful implementation of SSP will require the council to undertake the necessary structural institutional arrangement to see plan preparation and implementation as one of its key functions such as public health, education, engineering etc. It is ironic that these functions cannot operate outside the realm of planning despite the reality that almost all local authorities in Kenya apart from the town of Nairobi do not have a planner let alone a planning department. On the other hand as cited above, in the new Physical Planning Act No.6 of 1996, plan preparation is a function of the Director of Physical Planning whose office is part of the Ministry of Local Government. Although planning is a local function and the implementing agents of urban plans are the local authorities, the Act has failed to put the responsibility of plan preparation as key service supposed to be carried out by the local authorities. Failure to place planning where it belongs means poor planning decisions and weak implementation. Nakuru Municipal Council needs to

have full planning responsibility to be able to manage and guide LA21 ideas as identified in SSP.

- Nakuru Municipal Council needs to sustain and broaden the existing partnerships which emerged during the pilot process of the LA 21 project since the Council is the key co-ordinator. The Council also needs to promote trust and commitment to ensure continuity of such partnerships. This should be based on principles of genuine partnership of equity, transparency of operations and mutual benefits.
- Another criterion for success in the implementation of the LA21 programme is improved information sharing among all the partners. The current council system whereby decisions are made and passed through committee stages and full council resolutions negate the principle of participation. Instead, it perpetuates participation by representation. Thus the formation and institutionalising of Zonal Development Committees (ZDCs) as forums where CBOs and other citizens can share their views with the Council and other agencies, need to be formalised. Actions and communication with stakeholders as identified in the LA 21 and documented in the SSP strategy should be maintained. Currently though there are links between the council and grassroots communities, there is no clear policy to guide these partnerships. This will definitely pose a challenge to the implementation process.
- There lacks a clear mechanism to coordinate other development partners i.e. government departments, NGOs, CBOs and the organisations from the private sector. Currently there is a loose forum as provided for in the LA 21 project. To consolidate the gains of cooperative action, there is a need to develop such relationships by forming a coordinating body. Such a body also needs to be involved at a national level to guide the process.
- Another major challenge facing implementation of LA 21 as documented in SSP is the poor link between the plan proposals and the budgeting process. As cited above this can be addressed by linking SSP proposals to LADP and LASDAP.

The LA 21 project is being implemented through the combined efforts of all stakeholders. Coordination, as has been seen above, is by the local team. One of the major activities within the LA 21 process is the Strategic Structure Planning process which starts from existing realities, problems, assets and knowledge. It accepts incompleteness, deals with uncertainty, and focuses on strategic and structural choices to be made in periodic stages.

Various working groups within the framework of 'Local Agenda 21 project in Nakuru' are implementing the actions prioritised during the consultation workshops. Actions have been translated into different projects and are integrated into the Strategic Structure Planning process. The local team ensures that popular participation of the Nakuru community in the decision-making process is continuous. We however note that not all the prioritised actions are being implemented because of the challenges discussed above as well as the lack of an allocated budget to finance them.

Monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation are key inputs of the implementation process. Project data and records are kept according to the actions implemented. The key activities in monitoring and evaluation include: progress reports, liaison with all stakeholders and the development of performance indicators. Currently the beneficiaries have been monitoring the progress of the project through review meetings and workshops. The indicators that have been used to assess impacts include cleaner neighbourhoods; availability of clean water and reduced distances to the water points; completion of the Strategic Structure Plan and setting up the planning unit. Following group

discussions during the most recent workshop, we were able to identify some of the following as the outcomes of the LA 21 process in Nakuru.

Table 1.1. Some outcomes of LA 21 process in Nakuru

Situation before	Situation after (actual and proposed)
Conflicts over land use, uncoordinated planning and management practices, inadequate capacity of the MCN; conflicts between human activities and the protection of the park	Stakeholders' workshop to address conflicts of space use, preparation of the Strategic Structure Plan and the formation of a planning team as a precursor to the creation of a town planning unit
Inaccessibility of most low income areas resulting in inadequate municipal collection of solid waste and blocked drains causing environmental hazards	Formation of neighbourhood committees in charge of cleaning and linking up with the MCN; construction of refuse chambers to improve refuse collection; strengthened ties between communities and MCN
Inadequate communication between officers and councillors, inadequate awareness on environmental issues	Councillors' workshops: councillors as the guardian of the environment; elected leadership and increased awareness of the role of the councillors
Inadequate involvement of residents in planning issues and in the management of services	Stakeholders' workshops on different issues: creation of CBOs as action groups to implement action plans; creation of Zonal Development Committees to coordinate and integrate CBO activities; contribution of community members in technical meetings, especially during the preparation of the Strategic Structure Plan
Geological instability in the western part and sand quarrying as an income generating activity	Preparation of area based environmental action plans; formation of the CBOs; familiarising children through environmental school clubs and tree nurseries

Some critical remarks

The project in Nakuru appears to be successful and some elements that are likely to have contributed to this accomplishment include:

- i. The LA 21 project in Nakuru was allocated 100 per cent of the projected funding (there were budget cuts for the other project towns in Morocco and Vietnam)²²;
- ii. The demonstrative value of the project was higher due to the proximity of UNCHS headquarters. This was also a logistic advantage because it allowed the programme manager to follow-up the developments in Nakuru personally and more frequently.

²² The budget that was initially requested was reduced by 30%. A redistribution of resources involved a reduction of project activities in Essaouira and Vinh to 70% and 30% respectively. Only in Nakuru were project activities maintained as planned (Wandeler, et al. Forthcoming 2002. Unpublished evaluation report)

- iii. The long-standing relationship between key programme partners like UNCHS, PGCHS, and project partners such as the University of Nairobi and the national advisor contributed to a good understanding of the project objectives, smooth cooperation and a proportionate distribution of tasks and responsibilities.
- iv. Project partners in Nairobi and Nakuru agreed that the relationship between these core partners generated a tremendous potential to bring agencies together and generate synergy between parallel processes. We need however to mention that the availability of local stakeholders who were both competent and willing to join in helped the LA 21 process to realise that potential.

VII. LA 21 IN NAKURU AND TRANSITION TO URBAN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Although it is not the intention of this paper to undertake an exhaustive assessment of the LA 21 activities and their contribution to sustainable development, we found it imperative to use the information generated during the two-day workshops and the authors' prior research on the subject to examine how some issues could lead to sustainable development²³. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss extensively what is meant by sustainable development, but in this context, it is taken to mean development that ensures that environmental considerations are balanced with social and economic considerations. Our criteria for assessing contribution to sustainable development by the process, outcomes and the resulting policies of the LA 21 in Nakuru is based on the following approaches. We note that there is a wide body of literature focusing on different approaches that could lead to sustainable development. One branch of literature focuses primarily on environmental policy with an emphasis on greening (see, for example, Falloux & Talbot, 1993; Johnson, 1995; Dalal-Clayton, 1996). Another approach concentrates on how sustainable development could be achieved through institutional reform (Pugh, 1996). A third pathway is that of social mobilisation. Rather than relying on governments to take the lead, or to expect much from institutional change at the national level, advocates of social mobilisation put their faith in communities. As communities are closest to the action when it comes to putting sustainable development into practice, this approach can be seen as a more direct means of effecting real change (Bührs & Aplin, 1999). These three different approaches to sustainable development, according to Friedmann (1987) (quoted in Bührs & Aplin, 1999) are based on different rationales and foci: the first on the need for policy integration; the second on the idea that changing institutions may be a more effective way to influence behaviour, and the third on the belief in the power of the people and the importance of practice as a guide for policy.

These three approaches may be seen as complementary since it is unlikely that any of these on its own will achieve sustainable development. Green planning without supporting institutional reforms and practice amounts to nothing more than symbolic policy (Bührs and Aplin, 1999). Bührs and Aplin argue further that institutional reform does not automatically produce good policies or outcomes, in spite of claims to the

23 The author acknowledges the difficulties of such an assessment and the weakness of the data that is readily available. It is his hope that, though this is not an exhaustive assessment nor the criteria used fully developed, future assessments and evaluations of LA 21 initiatives should include a measurement of how far the initiatives: processes, outcomes and policies may lead to sustainable development.

contrary. Local and practical action, directed at achieving sustainable development may be frustrated or undone by institutional obstacles and conflicting policies. We will therefore assess the possible contributions of the LA initiatives to sustainable developing using the policy-type, process-type and outcome type indicators.

The products of LA 21 exercises are, in the main, still to emerge; and indeed, it was argued by many workshop participants²⁴ that the long-term perspective of the LA 21 process made it very difficult to demonstrate value added in the conventional sense. The main outputs of the process to date were estimated to be the LA 21 documents themselves, and the mechanisms and networks that had been constructed to support them. Less tangible but equally important were the changes in attitudes taking place (perhaps mostly amongst individual officers and councillors) and the ways in which environmental and sustainable development issues are being accepted by the residents (through participation in clean-up exercises). The Nakuru Strategic Structure Planning exercise has been completed and the document contains action plans and proposals for achieving sustainable development goals within the Municipality of Nakuru.

After six years²⁵ of the LA 21 process and the substantial amounts of resources pumped into it, it is necessary to evaluate the process and find the footing for the way forward. It is important to note that LA 21 is defined as a 'process of consultation' between the local authorities and their communities. Any assessment should therefore consider the nature and quality of consultation, the ideas and proposals that have resulted from it, and the ways in which these have brought about change.

Therefore, the central questions that any assessment should answer regard: -

Policies: Are the policies of the local authority changing as a result of the LA 21 process in ways that support moves towards sustainable development?

Process: has the process of consultation been designed to ensure that all stakeholders had a genuine opportunity to participate fully? Are there area-specific action plans?

Outcomes: Are things really happening in the locality as a result of the LA 21 process? What specific outputs can be attributed to LA 21 activities?

More specifically the following table summarises the issues that need to be considered in any assessment and the ones we have utilised in our analysis:

²⁴ Participants in the most recent two day workshop in Nakuru on experiences of different stakeholders on the LA 21 process, held immediately prior to the writing of this paper.

²⁵ From November 1995 to date.

Table 1.2. Issues considered and indicators for urban sustainable development

Issues considered	Indicators
Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Existence of goals and targets with measurable objectives - Adoption of the targets by the local authority to ensure the improvement of the environmental quality - Existence of an anti-poverty strategy - Presence of a department to ensure that the targets are met and funds are available.
Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Broader public involvement - Capacity building initiatives - Involvement of many actors and increase in the number of participants and organisations over time - Existence of political will - Existence of a conflict-resolution mechanism
Outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are there projects started and better coordinated - Are the initiatives financially viable - Are partnerships and relations legitimate both socially and legally - Do initiatives lead to a cleaner environment - Has awareness been created on environmental management among different actors

Policy-type indicators

We contend that LA 21 should include policies that support actions not only on the environmental issues but also on social equity and economic development issues. From the sectoral studies undertaken on population, economy, land tenure, settlement structure, structure of services, there are proposals to influence policies in these sectors. How these policies are incorporated and adopted by the MCN is not clear yet. However, the following are policies that are already in place within the MCN as a result of the LA 21 initiative.

Establishment of a town-planning unit: One of the major institutional reforms within the MCN as a result of the LA 21 process is the establishment of a Town Planning Unit. The Unit should be fully involved in the implementation of the SSP and the LA 21 proposals. However, operationalising this unit has been a formidable task in Nakuru as there have been several objections from the chief officers. The Town - Planning Unit would have been a separate department with the planner reporting to the town clerk. The current situation is that the town planner works under a town engineer.

Green accounting: Environmental audit reports and impact assessments/PRTR initiatives: Within the MCN it is mandatory that all industries submit to the Public health department environmental audit reports outlining the environmental impacts and measures taken to reduce the impacts. Within the LA 21 project phase, there have been a number of court cases against industries that were not conforming to this requirement.

Establishment of an environmental department: In September 2001 an environmental department was formed within MCN separating it from the Public

Health Department. Professional staff head this department and it is expected to be influential in the implementation of the SSP and the LA 21 proposals.

Revision of the public health by-laws and building by-laws: The MCN has revised both the public-health by-laws and the building by-laws which will assist the implementation of the LA 21 proposals and action plans.

Process-type indicators

Capacity Building: A significant output is the capacity building within Nakuru Municipality in terms of facilitating and strengthening human resource development, policy-development dialogue, social dialogue, societal awareness building and civic education. Capacity building activities have been in operation for three years. The involvement of researchers and students in the Strategic Structure Planning not only contributes to the collection of information and testing of ideas for the structure plan for Nakuru but has also exposed future planners to an innovative planning methodology. Several planning students involved in the LA 21 process produced useful dissertations and project reports. Several major workshops have been held with many participants drawn from institutions, agencies, CBOs and other actors in the urban arena to deliberate on one issue: the future of Nakuru as an eco-city. The councillors have also been trained as guardians of the environment and the training manual developed could have a direct impact on councillors who are, after all, people's representatives.

Involvement/exclusion of many actors: The consultation workshops that brought together stakeholders and sectors from the whole municipality and beyond yielded to three urban pacts where the vision of the town was articulated. This was successful because of the involvement of several interested groups and parties who have a stake in the development of the town and its future. Several partnerships have been forged with NGOs and CBOs. Currently ten CBOs dealing with solid waste management, sanitation, water supply and income generation have embraced the LA 21 process. The partnership between MCN and the town of Leuven, Belgium provided a major cultural exchange. This partnership has strengthened the interest of donors in the ongoing process and the Belgium team is committed to revitalising the council housing exercise²⁶.

Development of action plans: One of the main products of LA 21 has been the preparation of the Nakuru Strategic Structure Plan, the first to be approved by the Minister of Lands and Settlements. The Plan contains proposals and area-based action plans which aim at moving towards sustainable development. Different interest groups in Nakuru jointly developed these action plans and there were commitment documents for their implementation. As we have previously noted, these actions if implemented could harmonize economic, social and ecological spheres as they recognize the interconnectedness of these aspects.

Political will: The existence of political will is crucial for any intervention by a partnership arrangement. Although LA 21 has received political support from both the central and local governments, it is now becoming apparent that much more is required from the local politicians. The failure of LA 21 to yield physical outputs, for example, tarmac roads, has made the local politicians very apathetic and this will affect the implementation of the proposals. Current civic leaders do not support the

²⁶ This exercise has so far not been undertaken because the MCN has not finalised the signing of the protocol for Leuven to release the funds.

LA 21 activities as they are not fully aware of the process. Most of them indicated that they were not informed of the amount of money involved in the process and have said that most of the LA 21 activities were not passed in the full council meetings. The current mayor of Nakuru did indicate that there was a lot of secrecy in the way the funds for the pilot project were utilised giving another reason why the councillors developed a negative attitude towards the entire process. During our most recent two day workshop, the current LA 21 coordinator indicated that all the deliberations within the LA 21 process will now be going through the full council meetings. One of the important observations during the workshop was that if the LA 21 started at the ward²⁷ level and all actions were discussed within the wards, no councillor claiming to represent the ward could not support the activities and proposals. Moreover, no mayor of the town could oppose activities if they were ward-based²⁸.

Existence of conflict-resolution mechanisms: The LA 21 process in Nakuru supports the Municipal Council to develop a Strategic Structure Plan, to create a Planning Unit, to resolve space-use conflicts around the bus park and market area, to revitalise the Council's rental housing stock, to reinforce community participation in solid waste removal, and to provide training to civic leaders concerning their role as guardians of the environment. Within the entire process conflicts could not be avoided between the various participants. It is not clear however, whether there were conflict resolution mechanisms, this affects the long-term viability of the partnerships created. Some of the existing Memoranda of Understanding between partners highlighted how some conflicts could be resolved and managed but these have been difficult for the MCN to operationalise due to excessive red tape. However, in the three track approach to the preparation of the SSP, the final track includes some form of conflict resolution mechanism.

Outcome indicators

Improved coordination: Two urban pacts have been signed with various agencies, organisations and the MCN that demonstrate successful partnerships. A town-planning unit has been established to reinforce the council's planning capability and to coordinate implementation of the SSP and a town planner has been recruited and is currently involved in planning and land-use related issues within the municipality based on the structure and action plans²⁹. We can conclude that the partnerships formed within the LA 21 process will lead to improved coordination in the provision of basic services. The partnership approach has led to better coordination in the long term planning initiatives within the metropolitan area and the planning process involved many actors within the municipality.

Financial viability: Since the start of the LA 21 process in Nakuru in 1995, BADC has been providing financial support³⁰ for the pilot phase and the subsequent

27 A ward is represented by an elected councillor within the MCN.

28 Most of the area based action plans are being implemented by the CBOs in the low-income areas and it is only in two wards that the sitting councillors are supportive. Elsewhere, especially in the middle-income areas there are barely no CBOs and provision of some services is by the private sector. Councillors from these wards do not support the entire LA 21 process.

29 By the time we undertook this study, the office of the town planner was vacant as the first town planner had opted out to work for one of the partner organizations, the ITDG. This will affect the continuity of the implementation of the SSP and other LA 21 proposals.

30 See footnote no. 23

preparation of the Strategic Structure Plan. It was very hard to obtain actual figures of the amounts used or contributed by various actors in the LA 21 process since even the people implementing the L.A. 21 are not aware of the amounts involved. However the following contributions are known: -

UNCHS	Technical inputs (Networking)
BADC	Core funding of the project. The funds were channelled through UNCHS
Government of the Republic of Kenya (GOK)	Technical corporation inputs through availability of physical planners, surveyors and land officers during the mapping exercise and the preparation of the SSP
MCN	Financial and technical support that could not be quantified. Logistics Office accommodation, vehicle etc.

Other actors like WWF provided Kshs.1.4m during the mapping exercise. It also provided a planner for the exercise. The national coordinator of ITDG also participated throughout in the SSP process.

Most of the proposed activities to ensure sustainable development in Nakuru are to be implemented using the partnership principle. However, even the commitment documents do not indicate the amount of the financial inputs and other resources that are expected from different partners. It has been suggested that there is a need for financial estimates and sources for the proposed projects. In fact, one of the weaknesses of the SSP is that it did not include budgetary implications in the proposals. For the partnerships within the LA 21 to be effective and sustainable, detailed budgetary commitments need to be specified.

Legitimacy: The Physical Planning Act (1996) legally recognises the partnership activities within the LA 21 process. Section 25 outlines the contents of the development plans while Sections 26, 27 and 28 stipulate the preparation process, from consultation to approval. The Act calls for a comprehensive planning approach, stressing the need to involve all stakeholders including the general public. The partnerships within the LA 21 process in Nakuru are also socially accepted as indicated by the large number of CBOs involved in LA 21 activities. An issue of concern is that partners are not obliged by any existing legal framework to honour the commitments they make; this in turn makes the implementation of the proposal and the action plans doubtful.

Cleaner environment: With the support of the Green Towns Project of the Ministry of Local Government, efforts to green the town have ensured a lot of environmental awareness within communities and schools. This is also seen as significant LA21's environmental action involvement.

Awareness creation: In collaboration with WWF, local CBOs, several refuse transfer chambers have been built in low-income neighbourhoods. The LA 21 project has helped to rehabilitate three boreholes and also provide water troughs for livestock. It has assisted in the formation of CBOs in the Council estate of Lumumba to help improve and protect sanitation facilities there.

The partnership activities within the LA 21 process have led to *awareness creation* through community environmental health education. There have been several workshops and seminars for young people and CBOs on environmental health. This has led to a change in attitudes among residents (expressed by participants during

neighbourhood clean-up exercises). The improvement of community-managed water draw-off points from boreholes in peri-urban areas has directly benefited the whole community: three peri-urban communities now have access to cleaner and safer drinking water. However, it is difficult to measure the impact of these improvements on community health. The SSP proposes the expansion, maintenance and rehabilitation of existing health facilities rather than development of new ones. There is also a need to develop public health facilities in the newly-settled peri-urban and low-income areas. The plan also proposes the encouragement of private sector participation in health facility development and service provision.

In concluding this section, we observe that definitive judgements as to whether the LA 21 proposals in general, and the SSP in particular, will lead to urban sustainable development are premature at this stage. Discussions in our 2-day workshop revealed that, although LA 21 has very good intentions, there is need to allocate more resources to facilitate the implementation of the intended proposals. Although funds could be mobilised locally, there is need for more external support to kick-start some of the higher cost proposals.

VIII. ADDRESSING 'GREEN' AND 'BROWN' AGENDAS: EXAMPLES FROM SSP

The 'brown agenda' addresses issues that are more local and immediate, and which affect the poor. The 'green agenda' addresses issues that are more dispersed and delayed, and which affect future generations. Within the intended Spatial structure, the SSP addresses issues that need intervention within the following sectors: ecology, demography, social and cultural issues, land, infrastructure and service provision and management, transport and communication, housing and community facilities. Interventions and proposals directed at these sectors revolve around the 'green and brown agendas'. Although the proposals are more directed at solving immediate problems, there are those that are long-term and intended to ensure environmental conservation and protection in the future. The creation of a buffer zone between the lake and the town has long-term effects. Solid waste management interventions in the estates surrounding the lake will not only improve the environmental quality in these neighbourhoods but also will, in future ensure that no waste finds its way to the lake.

The Strategic Structure Plan emphasises improvements to the quality of life of the residents of Nakuru. However, it was the observation of many participants that, currently there are many more proposals aimed at economic development and promotion of tourism in the plan, than there are proposals aimed at improving the infrastructure and service provision. However, our field visits have revealed that many activities that are already in place concern improvements of infrastructure services in the low-income neighbourhoods.

As seen in a previous section, some of the programmes that are being implemented have more to do with the brown agenda with examples from solid waste management and water supply. The only ongoing green agenda activity is the establishment of a planning and environmental unit and the greening initiatives around the sewerage treatment plants.

IX. DISCUSSION ON OPPORTUNITIES, OBSTACLES AND CRITICAL ISSUES

During the recent workshop organised to discuss the views and experiences of different stakeholders on the process of LA 21 in Nakuru, it was possible to distil some opportunities and obstacles faced during the entire process. These opportunities and problems identified can have many, and sometimes-complex causes - economic or political demands, to the planning process itself, to contextual structures, or to special circumstances. Demands of the LA 21 process can be external or internal to the MCN. Contextual structures refer to the established organization and procedures of the planning process. We propose that opportunities and problems identified may be categorised mainly according to external or internal demands, organisation, procedure or special circumstances. We use these categories to present participants' thoughts on the opportunities and obstacles of the entire LA 21 process.

Many opportunities and problems can be related to the demands that emerge from the innovative activities studied in the LA 21 process itself. The impacts of the global economy and politics may be felt both nationally and locally and thus the internal demands of the planning process are strongly related to external factors. In this case, it is evident that the UN Agenda 21 mandate is the main reason for the internal demand for a Local Agenda 21 process in Nakuru, which in turn has opened the way for a range of initiatives.

Other opportunities and problems are related to the contextual structures of the planning process itself. There are those that are related to special circumstances, such as personalities of participants or similar. Those that are related to the roles of dedicated persons are of great importance here.

The most striking innovative feature of LA 21 process in Nakuru is the participatory decision making that was as a result of the consultative meetings. The consultative workshops and follow-up meetings departed from the traditional or mainstream planning process in Kenya and all the stakeholders in Nakuru were involved. A dialogue process was initiated and organised in sequential sessions of introduction, individual reflection, discussions in small groups, and full group discussions. This work process resulted in some commonly agreed priority and policy statements. The long-term vision was formulated:

"... to restore past glory of the town through integrated process as a regional service centre, prototype "eco-city", a centre for eco-tourism with regional, national and international railway and road networks and services"

The preparation of the Strategic Structure Plan was one of the activities that have been going on since 1997. As seen elsewhere, it is a multi-partner process, involving different stakeholders. On the local level, the project involved other key stakeholders such as the private sector, non-governmental organisations and CBOs. The plan carries out an analysis and interpretation of existing problems and challenges as well as potentials of Nakuru and this can be said to be an innovative activity. During 1999, the Plan was further modified and finalised. The finalisation of the Plan included the preparation of a package of minimum commitments to be followed up by the local authorities for implementation in the immediate term. This package was selected out of the various long-term strategies for the future development of Nakuru, called the

Intended Spatial Structure, which emerged out of the analysis of potentials and constraints of the Existing Spatial Structure of Nakuru. These strategies dealt with urban sustainable development of Nakuru, through achievement of equilibrium between the calls for protecting Nakuru's overwhelming ecological context and the demands of increasing urbanisation.

Some of the constraints that faced the preparation of the SSP have to do with the inadequate and poor existing spatial information. The last land-use master plans for Nakuru were undertaken in 1968, and basically covered built areas. The town since then has grown and has undergone several boundary changes. Obtaining spatial information like maps, geological analysis and industrial and commercial statistics was not possible initially. In a number of cases the information was outdated and poorly recorded. Poor recording systems in land registration and surveys made it difficult for the LA 21 to obtain the exact information about ownership and tenure (Mochache, 1998). Further, population statistics and projections were unreliable. The last census was in 1989 since when there have been major boundary changes and land subdivisions that are not properly recorded.

In our recent workshop conducted six years³¹ after the start of the LA21 process, only a few of the participants referred to the substantial issues originally highlighted in the consultation workshops. Those who commented that the original issues should remain at the top of the agenda were the officers involved in the preparation of the Strategic Structure Plan. It should be noted that one of the major challenges is the implementation of the proposed actions and plans both in the short- and long-term. This shows that the LA 21 is flexible and responds to issues in a dynamic way. . Initially most issues revolved around making the town an eco-city and restoring its past glory, but currently the focus is on cleaner neighbourhoods, better shelter and income generating activities.

The entire SSP process involved people outside the planning system who showed their willingness to participate in the discussion on long-term development issues. The process, through the inclusion of professionals, politicians and the civil society has actually shown that the gap between the planning system and society can be bridged and new social settings can be established. There are however observations that the community representatives were only passive participants in the entire SSP process.

The SSP is complete and was released for publicity and public participation in 1999 since when valuable feedback has been received. Lack of knowledge and lack of involvement by some sectors of the community, however, have made the dissemination and feedback of the SSP rather poor and slow. Another reason for this is that not all people fully understand the intended and proposed changes and there are still some stakeholders who insist that some proposals are not achievable. According to the former town planner involved in the exercise, about 1,000 responses were received from the public and their concerns were noted. This is quite a low response in a town of more than 360,000 inhabitants. Many residents were not aware that they were supposed to raise some objections and comments on the proposed interventions. All the plans and related documents were in English only although not all residents can read or understand the language, let alone speak it. It is recommended that, in future, plans are translated in a language that is commonly used in the town, in this case *swahili*.

³¹ Workshop was conducted immediately before the writing of this paper.

A more specific explanation for the effects for the organised activities of LA 21 is related to the process of leadership. Initially a particular deputy town clerk was a very able leader, facilitated most discussions during the consultation workshops. She was later transferred and this really affected the continuity of the consultation process. Councillors such as the then chairperson of the Finance Committee was very helpful. He was a retired civil servant and conversant with environmental issues³². The LA 21 coordinator was an influential figure and possessed unique leadership qualities. She managed to coordinate the activities of different actors and has been an inspiration to CBOs. Many participants that were involved in the LA 21 process talked of the negative implications of the deputy clerk's transfer and the resignation of the then town clerk and also changes within the leadership and composition of those in the town hall³³.

The process of Localising Agenda 21 in Nakuru is not proceeding without some substantial constraints. First there is the question of resources, both human and capital. The MCN has just added the LA 21 to the existing officers' duties with the exemption of the few UNCHS-paid programme officers, a Physical Planner and a few assistants. A key issue underlying the whole LA 21 is the scarcity of resources. It comes at a time when the local government is facing tight financial constraints. Consequently, lack of resources and over-stretched staff are likely to be a major constraining factor on both the MCN and other organizations involved in the process. There is no financial and only limited political support offered by the central government.

The lack of funds among CBOs together with the very low skills of women, and the general level of poverty of the majority of the residents makes the process of participation difficult. Involvement of community groups takes time, energy and resources but it is still regarded as worthwhile. There is evidence of misunderstanding among different community groups and manipulation by community leaders. Some participants in our recent workshop indicated that this resulted in frustration and mistrust and has slowed down the progress of work.

Local Agenda processes are inherently political. The three-tiered SSP approach followed in the LA 21 process knowingly engaged in a political process. One of the "strategic" goals of the vision and communication components was to avoid confrontation with local politics and to smooth the way for the action component, where proposals are checked for actual implementation. It is at this stage of implementation that personal gains, business interests, or political opportunism most vehemently come to confront "the public good". Unless supported by sufficient political goodwill, projected actions will be contested and stalled.

Several action plans in Nakuru have fallen victim to this situation. We observe that there are a number of possible causes, e.g.

- Related to the councillors: limited levels of education and exposure; two-yearly election of council; lengthy decision-making processes due to the committee system.

32 Former Councillor Odendo used to represent the Mayor of Nakuru in international meetings as he could effectively communicate in English. The majority of the councillors can only communicate in Swahili and other local languages.

33 Most of the councillors involved at the initial stages of the LA 21 process were voted out in 1997 and replaced by others who did not understand the process at all. There was also a new mayor and the town clerk's office has changed more than five times as a result of compulsory leaves, transfers, resignation and death.

- Related to the council administration: limited information-flow between councillors and their officers; limited cooperation between different departments; frequent turn over of key personnel.
- Related to the way LA 21 process perceived the MCN: underestimating the way council officers' initiatives remain limited by the system; underestimating the different ways in which technicians and politicians rationalise things; overestimating the dependability of political commitments.

The LA 21 process reports have a tendency to depict local politics as “a hindrance to the success of the programme”. In Nakuru, at least, the popular support which CBOs lent to the project should inspire a more confident attitude. With the imminent election of Zonal Development Committees it should also become possible for the CBOs to increase the pressure on local politicians to work for their constituencies.

Most of the options and obstacles related to the LA 21 process reflect different types of uncertainty. The uncertainty is due to lack of facts and knowledge. Many workshop participants stated the lack of knowledge as the main reason for passivity in the process.

The other problem is that, despite the clearly stated objective of the Rio's Agenda 21 to encourage excluded groups to participate in LA21 process, experience in Nakuru has shown that those groups who have traditionally participated continue to do so. Despite the best efforts of co-ordinators and their teams, problems of engaging ordinary people persisted: women, youth and the poor generally have been excluded in the process. This may be attributed to the limited resources available and the tradition of working only with the educated and articulate property-owning middle classes. This was very much in evidence during the preparation of the SSP. A team of high-level physical planners and some officers of the MCN prepared the Plan and final documentation relying heavily on consultants and excluding local people as described above. What is evident is that a significant gap exists between the rhetoric and the reality. This is unlikely to be reduced without significant central government political support and appropriate legislation.

While the concepts central to the LA 21 process, such as partnerships and participation, can be seen in operation and may have some impact in Nakuru, capacity building and empowerment remain ideals rather than reality (Mwangi, 2000). We can therefore conclude that without a strong political commitment at the national level, without the financial support to develop programmes, and without an appropriate legal framework, and the political strength to push them through, it is difficult to see how these concepts will be put into practice not only in Nakuru but also throughout the country.

Uncertainty within organisations also raises numerous concerns. It involves power relations and tensions that exist in any organisation, such as municipal authorities. The change from one mayor to another, sending the town clerk on compulsory leave, death of an acting town clerk and a senior education official, and transfers of the senior personnel have had negative impacts on the continuity of the process and implementation of issues highlighted in the process. The frequent tensions between the elected councillors and the chief officers within the MCN do not auger well for the intended dialogue and exchange of ideas. The LA 21 process in Nakuru has faced a lot of hostility from a group of councillors who have not understood the process from the outset. Most of them wanted some tangible outputs and physical activities that the process did not offer. The tensions between officials from different sectors of the administration can be explained by differences in status and authority, or access to

budget resources. Other explanations can be found in variations of professional backgrounds and culture.

It should be recognized that the political dimension is an integral part of formulating and implementing the LA 21 process at the municipal level. This can be handled in a constructive way by putting emphasis on familiarising newly-elected officials with the long-term objectives and actions already achieved while at the same time leaving enough room for the priorities of a new council to take shape. Political change has undoubtedly induced delays in implementing certain activities under the LA 21 framework, particularly as far as institutional change and municipal resources are concerned. A further difficulty has been securing effective consensus amongst such a large constituency of people. It has been easier to identify issues than to agree on workable solutions.

Institutional weaknesses mean that the change of council members (councillors) during elections in 1997 led to changes in policy and a slow down of activities. During the last national and local government elections, the council experienced a complete overhaul with only 4 out of 19 elected officials having served on former Councils. The new councillors had no knowledge of procedures, operations or functions of Council. However induction courses for councillors solved this problem.

In Kenya the Ministry of Local Government is in charge of recruiting and transferring technical officers. In Nakuru during the project period key personnel were haphazardly transferred to other local authorities, adversely affecting the smooth follow-up of activities. General laxity on the part of the council personnel also slowed down the implementation of activities. Delays with salary payments, inadequate transport and lethargy are some of the factors that affect the project work and spill over to the community initiatives.

Many participants in the workshop referred to the current economic crisis and unpredictable political situation as the major obstacle to further progress in the LA 21 process. Participants often referred to lack of knowledge and staff involvement as a major obstacle in integrating LA 21 into mainstream planning. Clarity of issues was similarly raised as a concern: some issues addressed in the action plan are not very clear and may therefore not be achieved within the specified period and areas. There was also the issue of lack of resources to support the actions that have been specified. Only proposals have been made but so far no commitments to offer the resources.

Finally, there has been lack of clear guidance from the central government about the relationship of Local Agenda 21 to other areas of activity of local government. This is a particular issue in relation to the statutory duties of the local government. There appears to be a vacuum surrounding Local Agenda 21, and in particular and perhaps of more consequence, the implementation of the LA 21 action plans.

Table 3: Classifications of opportunities (+) and problems (-) identified in the LA 21 process in Nakuru

Phenomena observed	Influence	Classification
1. national policy claims 2. economic pressure	(+) issues on the agenda (+) need for new thoughts	External demands
3. budgetary constraints	(-) lack of resources	Internal demands
4. re-organisation (exit of Town clerk, change in Mayors and frequent strikes) 5. sector boundaries 6. level of government 7. lack of guidance	(-) uncertainty (-) lack of communication (-) inactivity (+) allows individual initiative	Organisational
8. lack of knowledge 9. lack of involvement 10. Unclear mandate 11. Access to knowledge 12. Participation 13. Dialogue 14. new social settings 15. time for reflection	(-) dissemination impossible (-) hesitation and uncertainty (-) Scepticism (+) Planners and consultants made the process move faster (+) promotes commitment of those involved (+) promotes better understanding (+) promotes creativity (+) promotes informed actions	Procedure
16. dedicated persons 17. Changes in personnel/town clerk 18. Personal characters	(+) initiatives and responsibility (-) can cause passivity in others (-) reduced capacity (+) and (-) both options and obstacles	Special circumstances

As the foregoing demonstrates, there are opportunities and prospects for a successful LA 21 process and the implementation of the SSP, and there is a strong desire to continue with the process. Paying attention to the management of intra-organisational uncertainties must continue however, since new problems and obstacles will most certainly arise before the LA21 process and the resultant SSP have become an integral part of the ordinary planning and decision making process. The LA 21 project in Nakuru makes it clear that there are gaps to be filled - within the municipal planning system itself, between politicians and chief officers, and between officials across and within different sectors - if participatory decision-making is to be achieved. The management of intra-organisational uncertainties is an important aspect of this problem. Exclusion from participation, lack of knowledge, political

manipulation and interference and distorted dialogues increase intra-organizational uncertainties.

X. LESSONS LEARNT

LA 21 processes have to be firmly integrated into a national agenda. First and foremost, because the central government needs to deliver effective legal, budgetary and administrative measures that give local councils the legitimacy and the resources to implement their local agenda. Secondly, a lack of any inter-governmental structure for integrating those local agendas is likely to confuse and diffuse efforts. National authorities have been interested in the LA 21 process exercise in Nakuru because, if successful, it would give them an example to replicate throughout the country. In a sense, this has been unfortunate for the project, because there inherently was a time lag between what LA 21 process realised in Nakuru and what national administrations could accommodate for (the present situation means a 3-5 year time-lag may be expected to prepare local administrations nationwide to work with SSP). This limits the replicability of the Nakuru experience.

We present some lessons learnt first by highlighting those from the LA 21 process generally, and secondly those that address the Strategic Structure Planning process. that is the basis of all the proposals made in the entire process. Most of these lessons were highlighted during the recent 2-day workshop in Nakuru on the experiences of stakeholders in the LA 21 process.

- **Lessons learnt on the LA 21 process in Nakuru**
 - A national policy framework is important to guide the process. Although Kenya is a signatory to the Agenda 21 principles, there is very little action at the policy level in terms of strategies on implementation. This has hindered possible replication to other towns. Other countries (such as neighbouring Tanzania) have created units at the national level to guide local authorities on implementation of LA21.
 - Once the partners agree as to the course of action, a framework should be introduced in which the roles and responsibilities of each is spelt out. In other words the partners must come up with a commitment package. Within the LA 21 process, an “Urban pact” was the tool used to bind the partners to their commitments developed after every major decision was reached.
 - For the process to work, there should be a strong and distinct focal point to guide the other partners. In this case the local authorities are best placed to assume this role since they are representative and closest to communities.
 - The very low capacities of community groups, in terms of education and finances, has resulted in a lot of time being taken in mobilisation, training, consultations and negotiations before concrete actions can be realised. This represents a challenge both to the implementing agency and the donor.
 - There is need to publicise the LA 21 activities to all the residents so that everyone is aware of the interventions that are taking place in their town. In Nakuru, it is worrying that the LA 21 process is still invisible to a majority of the residents save for the few members of CBOs that have been actively involved. As much as it is highlighted in popular literature as ‘a people’s agenda’, the experience in Nakuru indicates that many people have no idea what the Local Agenda 21 process is all about.
 - Most local authorities are not concerned with issues around environmental planning, sustainable development, governance etc, rather, they have short-term concerns such as payment of salaries and political survival. This means

that a programme should have an inbuilt mechanism of tackling attitude changes through training, intensive lobbying etc

- The attitude of beneficiaries towards donor funded programmes makes it difficult for them to understand the content, context and concepts such as capacity building, partnerships etc.
- The council is unable to attract and fill important technical positions due to the fear of politics in local authorities and the bad publicity about their performance. This fact may affect the smooth implementation of otherwise good initiatives.
- Policy commitments are unclear which affect the implementation of initiatives that improve the well being of the residents.
- There is too much concentration on short- term actions which is detrimental to long term objectives (eg rationalisation of council revenues).
- The traditional role of local authorities as providers of services has been taken over by the harsh economic realities at the national and international level. The need to create wealth for development has been a challenge to local authorities.

a) **Lessons for practical urban planning capacity building in MCN:** Although the creation of a planning unit in MN was one of the primary objectives of Nakuru Strategic Structure Plan and indeed the LA 21 programme, this was established very late in the process when a planner was recruited by MCN. This was done in May 1999 when the planning process was coming to an end. While it was not too late to undertake other capacity building activities of the Strategic Structure Plan, this stifled the intention and even discouraged professional work. However, experience in Nakuru shows that the Ministry must be involved in the hiring of a planner which is a major constraint to capacity building programmes aimed at improving planning and management in local authorities.

b) **Lessons from Nakuru SSP as a model for other towns:** Different towns have different histories and traditions that create in civic leaders and residents different perceptions of the roles and importance of different towns at the national, regional and local urban development processes. Local institutions and urban development problems are specific to different towns; they influence the physical growth, economic development and environmental circumstances of each town. All towns in Kenya however, have common features such as an over-reliance on central government for policy guidance and financial support, a weak urban economic base, large percentage of informal activities and settlements occupying large proportions of town areas. The dominant features of most towns in Kenya is therefore the encroachment of built-up areas with concomitant inability of local authorities to provide or maintain key infrastructure and social services, together with a lack of qualified professionals to effectively guide and manage the urban development process. The result is haphazard physical development and a deteriorating ecological and human habitat, all of which exacerbate poverty, misery and environmental degradation.. The successes and setbacks experienced in the Nakuru Municipality's LA 21 programme generally and SSP in particular from 1995-99 presents basic challenges in building an urban planning model for other towns in Kenya.

A major challenge in the planning of many towns in Kenya is the lack of adequate and up-to-date data for planning purposes. Without these it is difficult to prepare or even guide stakeholders and partners in the preparation of SSPs that capture their perception and inspire their individual actions. Studies similar to those

undertaken by DURP in Phase I will be required for all towns for which SSPs are to be prepared in order to generate the vital planning data, develop relevant planning methodology and prepare preliminary plans. There are a number of planning consulting firms and planning schools that could do the work at affordable costs for most local authorities.. Secondly, such low cost student generated data can be used as a first stage in bringing out the challenges/issues that subsequent structure plan/work could address.

- c) ***Lessons from managing Strategic Structure Plan:*** Within the DURP, tasks were assigned and distributed in such a way that no member of staff would work alone. This approach was adopted with the expectation that as two members of staff worked together, one may carry out at least some of the work of the other during absences to ensure that the tasks was completed on schedule. However, it soon became clear that it was difficult for any two members of the team to work together in one sector primarily because of the different working paces. This difficulty was exacerbated by the fact that the Nakuru SSP phase II activity was not undertaken in a single office where the planning team could consult easily as the work progressed or as a full-time undertaking. Eventually, it also became clear that the whole SSP project lacked strong focussed and committed professional leadership. These issues were often sited as setbacks during DURP meetings. Although DURP tried to address this during a one-day workshop, this did not improve matters very much. At the same time, outputs by different members of the team deviated from those detailed in the work-plan. Comments by different partners on different members' contributions did not help as some were taken personally.

The involvement of Municipal council members in the planning team did not always result in objective discussions, as there was a tendency to play down issues which exposed council weaknesses.

Communication between partners did not improve productivity either, as most communication tended to be through formal letters. Moreover, this mode of communication was not sustained for long.

Either due to lack of ideological , conceptual or methodological clarity from the start, partners contributed less in the subject matter of work at hand; they lacked preparedness, while the late start of the Strategic Structure Planning phase 2 did not compensate for the time lost. All these contributed to slow progress of the project.

d) ***Proposals for future SSP projects***

- There is need for continuous interaction of key planning agents or those spearheading the process in order to narrow ideological gaps in planning and in order to build confidence and consensus among all participants. This is an important condition for the success of similar projects.
- Strong professional leadership that believes in the essence of planned urban development, has experience and the ability to keep other planning parties working together is essential. Such leadership must be able to recognise the political trends of the economy of the urban system of the town and be able to constantly anticipate the aspirations of local political leaders and local communities. They must be able also to include neighbourhood groups in order to be able to reconcile community vision, professional vision and the kind of plan programmes and projects engendered in strategies to be implemented.

- All issues involving the central government agents and local authorities, such as hiring a planner or creating a planning unit or similar department, should be sorted out and put in place before Strategic Structure Plan preparatory processes begin.

When officers of the council are given key responsibilities in the research and writing of the plan, they frequently suppress information contained in policy issues as they feel the council may not be comfortable with sharing information and they could risk losing their jobs. Officers in Nakuru were not able to distance themselves from their council positions and adopt an objective point of view as researchers.

XI. CONCLUSIONS

Localising Agenda 21 can be said to have introduced a different way in which interventions in development and environmental management could be approached. Many actors now realise that communities have the ability to mobilise their own resources to address the problems that affect them directly. This community has also learned that it has limitations and can succeed by working in partnership with CBOs, the municipal council, NGOs and the private sector.

The Local Agenda 21 programme is not just about products; it is also a multifaceted process that endeavours to involve as wide a spectrum of actors as possible in pursuit of urban sustainable development. A major characteristic of the process is the empowerment of partners and, particularly, the local level communities who, after the donor support ceases, need to become the ultimate owners of development process.

The process of preparing a Strategic Structure Plan for Nakuru was a good groundbreaking exercise in Local Agenda 21 in Kenya. Like all first efforts, it faced some difficulties. This paper has highlighted issues that were obstacles to the process and the possible options and lessons drawn which could assist other towns that are just about or are in the process of preparing local agenda 21s and subsequent Strategic Structure Plans.

The Strategic Structure Plan (1998-2015) has outlined how a Local Agenda 21 will be achieved in Nakuru. The municipal council of Nakuru will need to utilise and fully exploit the positive attributes of changes in planning and urban management legislation in Kenya. These regulations have decentralised the power to prepare plans, regulate land-use and coordinate the actions of the public and private sector in land development to local authorities. The greatest challenge is to connect the product of LA 21, the Nakuru SSP, to the mainstream decision-making processes of the council so that the LA 21 really impacts on peoples' lives. This could include eg, basing sustainability aims and appraisal criteria on the Local Agenda 21 vision; asking service committees to include relevant actions from the Agenda 21 strategy in their own departmental service plans and building community involvement process into formal planning processes.

There is also the need for the council officers to cultivate and nurture the culture that the programme has introduced - that of true partnership with the community. The issue of the coordination is critical, as there are a number of organisations beginning to show interest in Nakuru. A key issue facing the main stakeholders active in the Nakuru programme so far is whether the political will can be strengthened to support what is still seen as a quite new approach to development. The councillors are key to this. They need to see their roles quite differently and to influence the rest of the

council by demonstrating the benefits of working with the community. A priority is to dispel the fear of some council representatives that an empowered community will be a threat.

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List of papers presented during most recent Stakeholders Workshop in Nakuru

NG'AYU, M. W. (former coordinator, L.A.21 Nakuru) "Experiences with Local Agenda 21 in Nakuru: The process, potentials and constraints"

CHEGE, P. (Former town Planner, MCN) "The challenges of Implementing a Local Agenda 21 in Nakuru"

MUKUNA, E. (School teacher and a CBO leader) "CBO'S as partners in Localizing Agenda 21: Experiences and reflections"

MWANGI, S.W. (PhD Researcher, University of Amsterdam and workshop organizer) "Assessing Local Agenda 21 process in Nakuru: Questions that need to be answered"

KIARIE, S.C. (Department of the Environment, MCN) "Addressing Green Agenda Initiatives Within the LA 21 Process in Nakuru"

KIMANI, I.M. (Department of the Environment, MCN) "The Brown Agenda issues and Local Agenda 21: Implementation Challenges"

KARANJA MWANGI (UNCRD, African Regional office and formerly team leader, DURP's LA 21 team) and **NDEGWA, E.** (University of Nairobi, DURP) "Experiences of Research Institutions in the L.A 21 process in Nakuru- A new Research Agenda?"

ABONYO, E (University of Nairobi, Department of Architecture) "The impact of L.A 21 process in the housing sector - A new research Agenda in the building industry?"