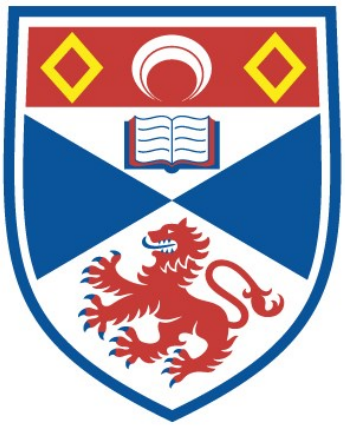
SLUM -UPGRADING
IN THE ACADEMIC AND WORLD BANK DISCOURSE
– A THEMATIC NETWORK ANALYSIS OF ACADEMIC ARTICLES AND WORLD BANK PUBLICATIONS ON SLUM-UPGRADING

Robert Brune

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil
at the
University of St Andrews



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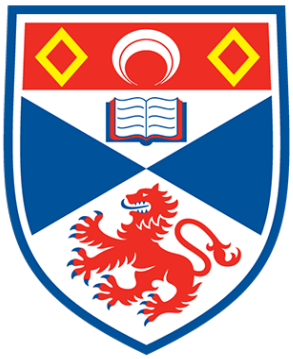

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Abstract

The World Bank's Open Knowledge Repository and the academic discourse provide two major sources of knowledge on slum-upgrading. As they have thus far remained separate entities, this project sets out to contrast and compare both discourses and to figure out what opportunities their synthesis would provide for policy, research, and practice. Using a thematic-network approach to analysis, this project examines focal themes in both discourses and compares themes across them. It finds that while academic and World Bank discourse share a significant number of themes, the perspective from which they investigate these themes differs strongly. The World Bank's discourse, thus, often focuses on the policy level and only looks toward slum communities top-down. The academic discourse on the other hand focuses predominantly on the grassroots level and is focally concerned with what impact slum-upgrading projects create for their beneficiaries. It concludes that while both discourses would offer significant opportunities for research, policy and practice to explore slum-upgrading from a holistic perspective, in practice, significant tensions between both discourses make a synthesis of academic and World Bank literature often difficult. It suggests that both discourses must expand their perspective toward each other to make synthesis more feasible.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Topic

Slum-upgrading is a strategy used by governments and development organizations alike to improve the lives of individuals in slums through housing and infrastructure improvements. Slum-upgrading has existed since the late 19th century (Harris, 2021). However, it has gained global attention because of its importance in achieving the United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and again through the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). For example, slum-upgrading was used as one tool to achieve UNMDG 7D that aimed at improving the lives of 100 million people living in slums (UN, 2022a) and UNSDG 11.2 that aimed to ensure access for all to adequate, safe, and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums by 2030 (UN, 2022b).

One of the large international development organizations financing and providing advice to governments implementing slum-upgrading projects is the World Bank. The World Bank's (afterwards also referred to as the Bank) influence on global slum-upgrading efforts is not only significant (Tomlinson, 2013) but the Bank also creates and hosts a plethora of research documents on slum-upgrading in its Open Knowledge Repository. In the context of slum-upgrading, this makes the World Bank a second important source of development, next to academic research.

Yet both bodies of research have remained separate entities, and there appears to be a lack of research that analyzes, contrasts, and compares them and the themes they cover. Given the importance of slum-upgrading for achieving the UN SDGs, this research project sets out to examine both discourses on slum-upgrading by answering the following two research questions:

- What are the differences and similarities between the academic discourse and the World Bank's discourse on slum-upgrading?
- What opportunities does a synthesis of the academic discourse and World Bank's discourse on slum upgrading offer for research, policy, and practice?

By answering these research questions, this dissertation sheds light on the role of the World Bank in slum-upgrading efforts, and it provides a comprehensive analysis and synthesis of academic and World Bank research on slum-upgrading. This has not done to the same extent before and this disseration's findings provide a basis for future research and opportunities to

address challenges in slum-upgrading. Moreover, they may help to practitioners, researchers and policymakers work towards achieving UNSDG 11.2

1.2 Research Motivation

About 1 billion people live in slums globally, and the contribution that slum-upgrading could make to improving the lives of those 1 billion people is potentially huge. Nevertheless, slum-upgrading is a complex undertaking: While the benefits from slum-upgrading can potentially be significant for slum settlers, they can also be disastrous if slum-upgrading is not carefully planned, designed, and executed (see Patel and Mandhyan, 2014). By analyzing, synthesizing, and contrasting World Bank and academic publications on slum-upgrading, the researcher set out to develop a more nuanced understanding of slum-upgrading. He was interested in finding out about and understanding the complex lives that slum-dwellers lead, the impact slum-upgrading has on slum-dwellers and what role economic factors play in slum-upgrading. He hopes that this dissertation highlights more nuances and facets of slum-upgrading and that these help practitioners, and policy-makers and researchers understand slum-upgrading better.

1.3 Research Aim and Objectives

To answer the research questions at hand, this research aimed to comprehensively analyze and synthesize academic research and World Bank publications on slum-upgrading. It set out to accomplish the following objectives:

1. Comprehensively search for and identify relevant and accessible academic publications on slum-upgrading.

2. Comprehensively search for and identify relevant and accessible World Bank publications on slum-upgrading.

3. Systematically analyze each set of publications in order to identify prevalent themes and discussions.

4. To compare and contrast these themes and focal discussions to identify similarities, differences and tensions and opportunities for synthesis across both discourses.

5. Highlight what insights a synthesized of both discourses offers for policy, practice and research would present

1.4 Structure of Thesis

The remainder of this thesis is made up of six chapters. Chapter 2 provides the necessary background and context for this research project. It covers slums, slum-upgrading and actors involved in slum-upgrading. It first discusses slums, why slums exist, their global prominence, and how living in them affects their inhabitants.

Then it examines slum-upgrading, its global prominence, how slum-upgrading has evolved, different approaches to slum-upgrading, the role of slum-upgrading in major national and global development policies and the dominant actors in slum-upgrading. The research then shifts to the World Bank. It discusses the World Bank's role as an actor in global slum-upgrading efforts and a producer of knowledge on slum-upgrading.

Chapter 3 presents the research methodology this project adopted. It starts by discussing why this project has adopted an interpretivist approach to research. Then it turns to the documentary research design this project has adopted. Afterwards, the Chapter discusses each step of the research process – from systematic search and review to the thematic analysis of both data sets. It ends by stating the limitation of the adopted methodology.

Following on from the Methodology, Chapters 4 and 5 present the findings from the thematic analysis of academic and World Bank documents on slum-upgrading, respectively. The fourth Chapter presents the findings from the analysis of the academic documents. It starts by discussing the documentary sample. Here, it pays attention to the characteristics of the sampled literature, such as their publication date, in which journal documents were published, and what geographical scope of slum-upgrading the sampled articles cover. It also pays a closer look at what countries publish research on slum-upgrading. Lastly, it examines the dominant approaches and research methods of the sampled academic literature. Then the Chapter turns to the thematic networks that make up the academic discourse. It pays attention to each thematic network and presents associated organizing and basic themes in detail. The fifth Chapter presents the findings from the thematic analysis of World Bank documents. Like Chapter 4, it also first presents the characteristics of the sampled documents before it turns to the individual thematic networks. It finds five thematic networks and discusses the global and organizing themes for each.

Chapter 6 cross-examines the identified themes and data sets. It starts by contrasting each data set's size, geographical coverage, the time-periods documents each data set covers, and lastly, dominating approaches to research of each data set. Then it examines the identified themes across both discourses. It highlights their similarities and differences and finds tensions and gaps between them and opportunities for synthesis across them. The Chapter concludes that significant differences in both discourses' perspectives on slum-upgrading exist. These cause tensions and make a synthesis of the discourses challenging.

The seventh Chapter concludes this dissertation. It restates the differences found between both discourses and reflects upon what these mean for the discourse and practice. As a starting point for a more holistic approach to slum-upgrading, it presents a future research agenda.

2.0 Mapping-Out Slum-Upgrading

2.1 Introduction

This chapter maps out slum-upgrading. It provides an overview of slums, slum-upgrading, and actors involved in global and national slum-upgrading efforts. This is done in four parts: The first part of this chapter focuses on slums. It discusses the global prominence of slums and why slums grow and proliferate. Then, it turns to the characteristics of slums and how living in them affects their residents. The second part of this chapter introduces slum-upgrading. First, it discusses what slum-upgrading is, how slum-upgrading has evolved and highlights disagreement on researchers and World Bank economists conceptualize slum-upgrading today. The third part of this chapter then turns to the policy and actor landscape of slum-upgrading. It discusses the role of slum-upgrading in several major global and national slum-upgrading policies and examines prominent development actors involved in slum-upgrading. This chapter's fourth and last part explores the World Bank in further detail. It covers the Bank's involvement in slum-upgrading as a development and knowledge Bank, and examines the research gap this project seeks to address.

2.2 Characteristics of Slums

Slums can be defined as residential areas that are characterized by inadequate housing - like self-made housing or housing that has become sub-standard over time. They range from formal settlements with poor or poorly maintained housing to (illegal) informal settlements where residents live without tenure or right to land and are under a constant threat of eviction to settlements (Majale, 2007; Minnery et al. 2013. Weiman and Oni, 2019). Slums are also often found in hazardous places like railways, steep hillsides, or flooding-prone areas (ibid.). Through their informal or dilapidated status, residents frequently lack access to basic services like clean and safe water and sanitation, proper (solid) waste management, electricity, proper roads, and at times schools and health clinics (MacPherson, 2014; Olthuis et al. 2015; Muchadenyika and Waisa, 2018). This makes slums to places that day-to-day pose significant challenges to those who live in them. The now following sections discuss slums and highlight why slum-upgrading interventions are needed.

2.2.1 Global Prominence of Slums

Globally more than 1 billion people live in slums today (UN-Habitat, 2022), and slums have reached the sizes of large cities (see Table 2.1). The proportion of the global urban population living in slums has been decreasing from 39,7 to 29,7 percent between 2000 and 2018, thus by about a quarter (see Table 2.2). However, this number belies the truth. Given the high population growth in developing countries where most of the slums are located (see Table 2.2) and trends such as rural-to-urban migration (Ezeh et al. 2017), today, 10% more people live in slums than at the start of the millennium (see Table 2.2). Today, thus, slums are larger than ever, and slums are predominantly, however, not exclusively located in the Global South (see Figure 2.1).

Name	Population	Location
Orangi Town	2,400,000	Karachi, Pakistan
Neza	1,200,000	Mexico
SoWeTo	1,200,000	Johannesburg, South Africa
Dharavi	1,000,000	Mumbai, India
Kibera	700,000	Nairobi, Kenya
Khayelitsha	400,000	Cape Town, South Africa

Table 2.1: The World's Five Biggest Slums (Source: Habitat for Humanity, 2021)

Region	Slum-population in 2000 (in million)	Slum-population 2018 (in million)	Share of Total Slum-Population in Urban Population (%), 2000	Share of Total Slum-Population in Urban Population (%), 2018	Change of Slum-Population (%, Δ%) 2000 – 2018	Abso. Change of Slum-Population (%, Δ%) 2014 - 2018
Eastern Asia and Pacific	312	364 (+52)	37,9	26,4	-30,3 (Δ - 11,5)	+2,3 (Δ - 0,64)
Sub-Saharan Africa	128	230 (+102)	61,8	53,6	13,2 (Δ - 9,2)	-2,3% (Δ -1,284)
South Asia	177	232 (+55)	45,4	37,7	-17 (Δ - 7,7)	+23,6 (Δ +7,197)
Latin America & the Caribbean	118	109 (-9)	30,1	20,8	-48,1 (Δ - 10)	0 (Δ 0)
Other	398	292 (-106)	29,1	23	-21 (Δ - 6,1)	-
World	1,133	1,226 (+97)	39,7	29,2	-26,4 (Δ - 10,5)	0 (Δ -0,4)

Table 2.2: Prominence and change of the global slum-population (Source for Data: World Bank, 2022a

2.2.2 Effect of Living in Slums on Residents

Agreement exists that living in slums poses significant health and impoverishment risks to slum-dwellers. (e.g. Marias and Cloete, 2014; Corburn and Svederslik, 2017; Weiman and Oni, 2019). Without proper sanitation and solid waste management, for example, slums offer breeding grounds for insects and bacteria (Bapat and Crook, 1989; Codburn and Sverdlink, 2017). These can make it more likely for diseases to break out and spread. It increases the chances for slum-dwellers to contract waterborne diseases such as diarrhoea (Butala et al. 2010). Moreover, as slum-settlers often live in crowded housing, diseases are more likely to spread (Corburn and Sverdlink, 2017; Weiman and Oni, 2019).

While the unsanitary conditions of living in slums increase the health threats for everyone, it makes the slum-environments particularly dangerous for children. For example, the WHO assumes that 320,000 deaths of children are linked to diarrhoea annually, and the slum-environment is often a breeding ground for e.coli bacteria that cause diarrhoea (Butala et al. 2010).

However, sicknesses are not the end of it. Next to the inherent health risks due to a lack of access to proper water and sanitation infrastructure, becoming sick can also increase slum-settlers' chances of becoming poor or of exacerbating their poverty (Hulme and Shepherd, 2003). If a family member becomes seriously ill, the costs of procuring medicine, medical procedures or even transport to hospitals can be very costly to the poorer slum-households. It might eat up all of their savings and can require a household to sell their few productive assets (Hulme and Shepherd, 2003; Banerjee and Duflo, 2010; Parikh et al. 2014). This might make it very difficult for a household to maintain their livelihoods, even after the household member recovers. Furthermore, if the family member does not recover, the family might lose their single-income earner and their only source of income. This makes households with a singular adult member especially vulnerable.

Overall, living in slums makes sickness and death more likely. It makes slum-dwellers more prone to risks of chronic and more extreme forms of poverty (Hulme and Shepherd, 2003). Hence, there is a dire need to improve the lives of those living in slums and addressing the improved physical environment of slums through slum-upgrading presents the first step

.

2.2.3 Slum Proliferation and Growth

Two theories exit that explain why slums grow and proliferate. The first theory views that slums form when formal housing markets fail to provide enough affordable (low-income) housing (Annez et al. 2010). This theory is also commonly supported in the reviewed World

Bank publications (e.g see World Bank, 2002; 2006b; 2008a). A second theory (Stokes, 1962) argues that slums form and proliferate because of an influx of rural migrants to cities when renting or buying formal housing is too expensive for said migrants. With no formal housing option available they consequently (initially) settle in slums.

In the first perspective, the demand of people looking for housing is largely in-elastic[1]. Thus, informal markets provide alternative affordable housing options for people that cannot find affordable formal housing. This means that slums will grow and proliferate for as long as the supply of affordable (low-income) housing options is below the housing demand. In the second perspective, slums grow and proliferate for as long as the demand of people looking for work exceed the job opportunities that cities can offer. When people who have moved to cities fail to acquire well paying jobs or barriers exists that prohibit them from accessing formal housing markets because of their ethnicity, race, religions orientation or case (Stokes, 1962), they will remain to live in slums and slums grow.

It is unclear which factor is more dominant – a lack of affordable low-income housing or an absence of well-paying jobs, and it may vary between countries and cities. Evidence exists to support either theory. When migrants arrive to cities, they can often not afford formal housing and need to resort to slums (Awumbila et al. 2014). Also, increasing renting and housing prices particularly in large metropolises like Mumbai and or Metro Manila are pushing middle-income earners, like lawyers, doctors, and middle-class professionals into slums (Burra et al. 2005; Lauer et al. 2021). This suggests that a lack of affordable housing in those cities really exists and supports the first perspective on slum-formation and growth. On the other hand, unemployment and poverty are high in slums and unemployed people and people living in extreme poverty will be unable to acquire or pay for low-income housing, even when its subsidized by the state. Therefore, addressing a lack of affordable housing alone will not end slum-proliferation and slum-dwellers must find access to jobs or income opportunities to be able to afford proper housing (hence supporting Stokes (1962)). In all, either a lack of adequate housing or a lack of well-paying work appears to cause the formation and proliferation of slums.

While these two theories explain why slum form, how to stop slum growth seems to be less clear. First of all, one major factor causing slum-growth is urban to rural migration (Ezeh et al. 2017). It unlikely that slums will cease to form in the future because people will likely not stop moving to cities. This is largely, because rural to urban migration occurs for several reasons

[1] For example, because of various push- and pull-factors that make people move from rural areas to cities (Ezeh et al. 2017; discussed in the next paragraphs)

that either push or pull individuals to migrate to urban areas (Ezeh et al. 2017) and are not likely to go away. Pull factors, for instance, include (the at times unrealistic) expectation of thriving urban economies, the expectation to earn more money in cities, the altruistic desire to make reparations to families living in the countryside, but also a sense of adventure and the desire to escape the monotony of the urban countryside (ibid.). Push factor, on the other hand, can be famine, ethic violence, displacements (e.g from development projects) or a lack of income earning opportunities (ibid.). As these push and pull factors demonstrate, for many individuals moving to cities and hoping for a better life is the only option. Thus, despite knowing that they will have to live in slums, many still migrate and are forced to migrate to urban centers to live in slums.

However, although many like the World Bank, the UN and academic researchers (including this author) pay attention to questions around how to stop slums from growing and proliferating, evidence suggests that maintaining slums has intrinsic value for its residents. The trust and willingness amongst members of slum-communities is very high compared to other living arrangements (Assefa-Taferi and Newman, 2017, 2018) and the community, social structures and informal networks of slums are perceived by its residents as valuable (Kornienko, 2016). Consequently, the question must be asks whether to stop slums is the right end goal and what approaches to improving the living conditions of slum-dwellers are viable. The thematic analysis of academic and World Bank documents, and the discussion of the analysis in Chapter 6 will often touch upon these questions. These chapters show shows that these questions deserve a lot of attention.

2.3 Slum-Upgrading – Evolution, Policies and Actors

Slum-upgrading is a strategy to improve the physical environments of slums by improving or providing slums with access to basic services, and at times, by providing slum-dwellers with adequate housing. Slum-upgrading projects can take place at different scales, they can range from local interventions that upgrade less than 1,000 individuals (Coit, 1998) up to large-scale nationwide programs like the Kampung Improvement Program in Indonesia that upgrade millions of people (Werlin, 1999). While it is not clear how many slum-upgrading projects have been implemented globally, this research project could identify 217 slum-upgrading projects from a review of the sampled literature, stretching from the 19th century (Harris, 2021) till today, showing, thus, that slum-upgrading has historically been an important tool for pro-poor city planning. Figures 2.1 – 2.4 (on p. 22) provide some information about where and when the slum-upgrading happened and how many people slum-upgrading projects

FIGURE 2.1: SLUM UPGRADING PROJECTS ACROSS THE WORLD

N = 117

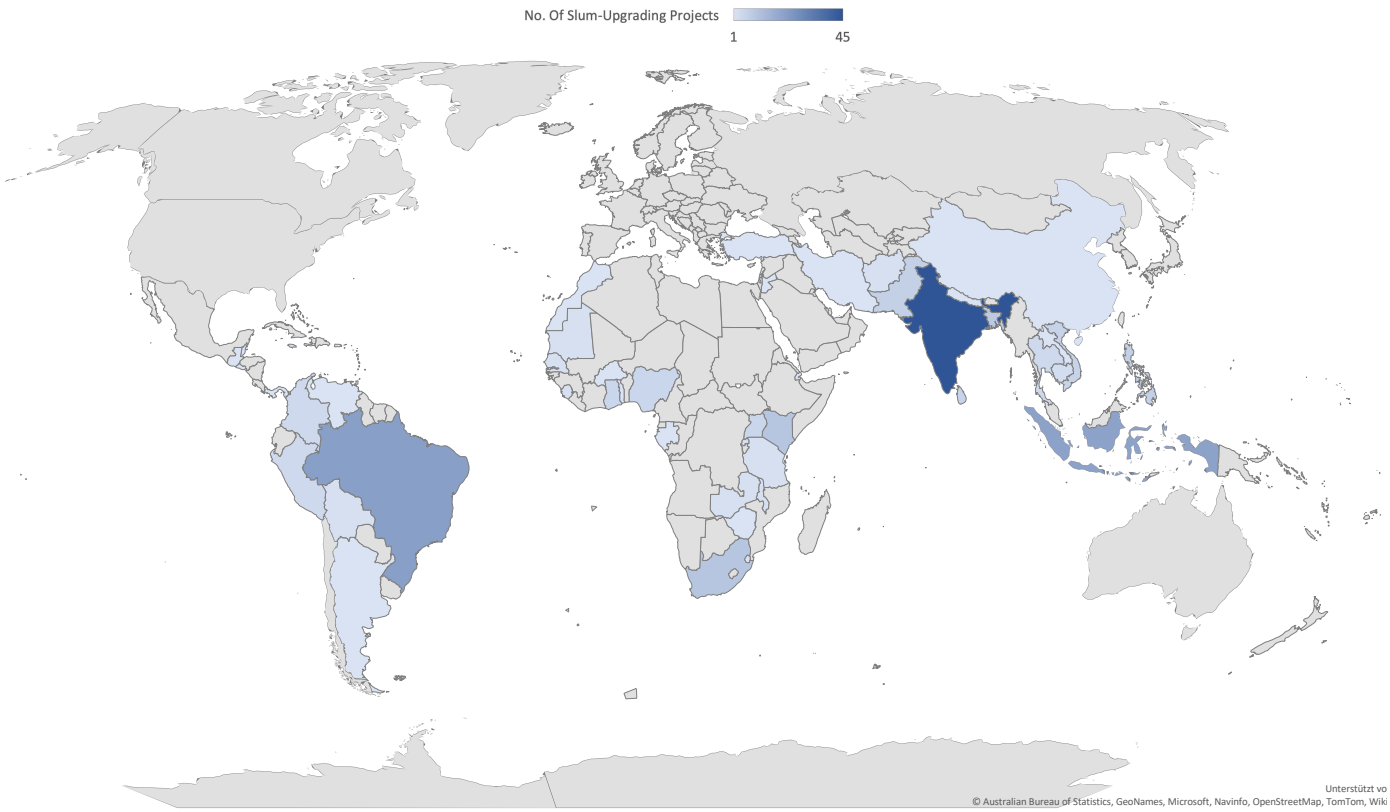


FIGURE 2.2: SLUM-UPGRADING PER DECADE AND WORLD BANK REGION

N=168

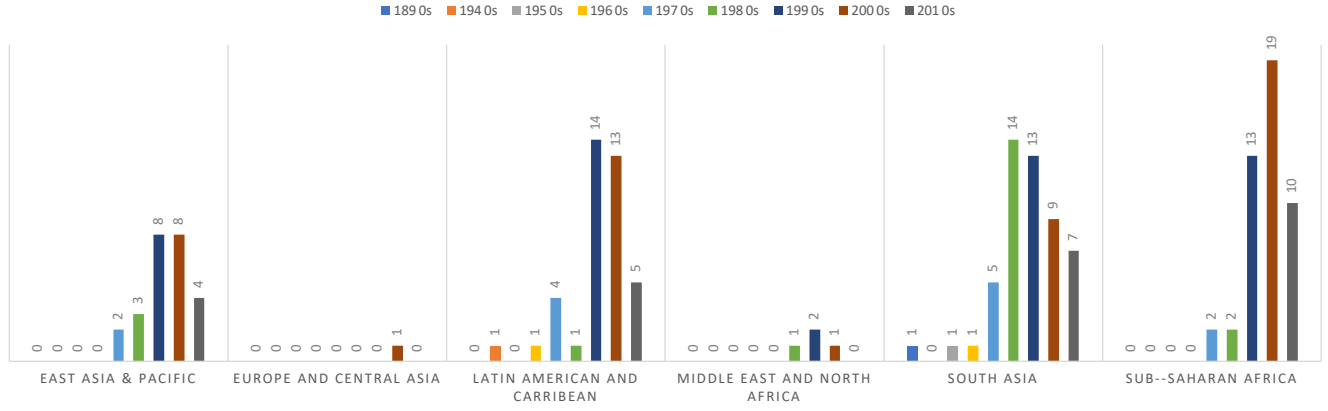


FIGURE 2.3: NO. OF UPGRADING PROJECTS / DECADE

N= 168

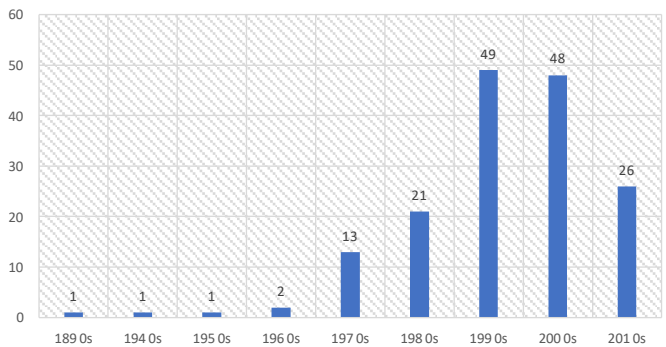
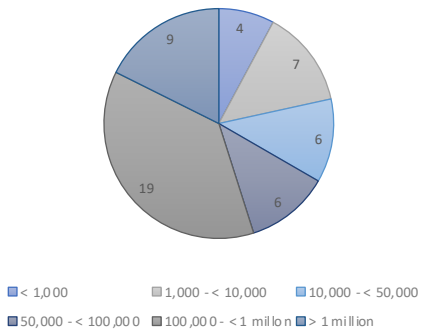


FIGURE 2.4: NO. OF SLUM-UPGRADING BY PROJECTS NO. OF PEOPLE IMPACTED

N =51



have impacted.[2]. The now following part of this chapter takes a closer look at the evolution of slum-upgrading and explores current approaches to slum-upgrading.

2.3.1 Evolution of Slum-Upgrading and Its Relevance Today

It is not clear when the first slum-upgrading projects were implemented. Harris (2020), for example, claims that the first proper slum-upgrading projects were implemented in 1897 in Calcutta, India. Yet, there is more consensus that slum-upgrading started in the middle of the 20th century during large scale slum-clearances (Mukhija; 2002; Sitechiping, 2007; Adama, 2020) or the English Town Planning movement (Adam, 2020), in an effort to build clean cities or to access urban real-estate (Mukhija; 2002; Adama, 2020).

During this time, the government's dominant approach to slum-upgrading was to clear slums and resettle slum-dwellers into government-built low-income housing. However, this approach was of little success as governments failed to provide the necessary quantity of low-income housing to satisfy the demand of slum-dwellers without housing (Sietechiping, 2007). These early approaches to slum-upgrading were criticized by (amongst others) John Turner (1968), who proposed that the poor should build low-income housing themselves.

Visiting Peru and other Latin American countries Turner (1967) found that the poor consciously improved their housing in a self-help manner. Thus, he proposed that slum-dwellers and slum communities could more efficiently manage the housing provision themselves and should replace the government as the principal actors in the low-income housing provision (Turner, 1967). He argued that instead, governments should focus on clearing slums of their waste and improving their environment and infrastructure because this would stimulate the upgrading efforts of the slum-dwellers (ibid.).

Taking on Turner's criticism and adapting his approach to housing improvements in slums, the World Bank's launched its *sites and services* schemes in the 1970s. The scheme

[2] It needs to be acknowledged that to have an idea about the prominence of slum-upgrading projects globally, this project synthesized information from the sampled documents (see section 3.4 for description of the method of document sampling). However, this approach has limits. While publications on slum-upgrading shed light on when and where particular slum-upgrading projects happen, they often missed crucial details like when a slum-upgrading project is started, or how many people it impacted. Whilst the number of slum-upgrading interventions this approach could identify goes beyond of other articles (for example Olthuis et al. 2015), for some slum-upgrading projects, some important information is missing. Thus, when slum-upgrading projects were initiated could be identified only for about 75 percent of all identified projects, and information on the scale of slum-upgrading project could only be found for 25 percent of them.

advocated the clearance of centrally located slums and their relocation to newly provided plots often in the urban periphery of cities (Kaufman and Quigles, 1987; Pugh, 1989). These programs aimed to make slum-upgrading more affordable for governments. To lower costs, they often involved the poor as a labourer building their own houses. While this saved the government resources (ibid.), it put additional strain on the poor and captured a lot of time in the build process that they could have otherwise used for income-earning activities.

The lack of slum-dwellers' formal rights to housing became a central issue in the 1980s (Gruffyd Jones, 2012). Hernando DeSoto (2000) argued that the Global North flourishes through property ownership whereas, in the Global South, many of the poor have houses but do not own their land. Reasoning that a lack of property ownership explained the differences in wealth between the Global North and the Global South, De Soto proposed that the poor should be granted ownership rights to their house and land so that it would allow them to get access to loans to improve their wealth (DeSoto, 2000; Adusei et al, 2018). The provision of tenure to informal settlers, thus, became an important element of slum-upgrading during the 1980s, for example in the World Bank's sites and services approach to slum-upgrading (Werlin, 1999).

While the sites and services approach to slum-upgrading dominated global slum-upgrading efforts during the 1970s and remained popular during the 1980s, they were of limited success, largely because slum-upgrading only reached a relatively small number of slum-dwellers and because it did not prevent the building of future slums (ibid.). Moreover, during this time, slum-upgrading projects were often criticized for demolishing shags and evicting slum-dwellers (Sietechiping, 2007) - in some instances, slum settlers were left in limbo without alternative housing and land arrangements or compensation (ibid.). The positive, however, is that slum-upgrading projects during the 1970s and 1980s often involved the community as stakeholders (Gulyani and Basset, 2007).

It is unclear how slum-upgrading evolved after the 1980s. However, the UN claims that slum-upgrading during the 1990s was shaped by the lessons learned from the 1970s and 1980s and evolved to become a participatory project with the community and to be integrated into with city level and country-level policies to address poverty, vulnerability, and economic growth (UNHabitat, 2014). As the following chapters will show, if this is how slum-upgrading projects are practised today is debatable. Moreover, today it appears that less agreement exists about what exactly defines slum-upgrading. This is discussed in the following section.

2.3.2 Different Approaches to Slum-Upgrading

Reviewing the literature on slum-upgrading highlights three approaches through which projects provide infrastructure upgrades, housing improvements and tenure security to their beneficiaries. Patel et al. (2011, pp.47-49) provide a useful description for each:

1) **In-situ Upgrading**: The focus of in-situ upgrading is the provision of basic services such as water supply, sanitation, electricity, and sewage. To enable this, houses are sometimes realigned to create space for accommodating infrastructure and community facilities; however, in-situ slum-upgrading aims to keep the displacement at a minimum. It is hoped that after the initial improvement, slum dwellers themselves will rapidly improve their houses incrementally.

2) **In-situ Redevelopment:** The entire slum is cleared, usually, step by step and over time, and then permanent, high-density housing is built in the commercially least attractive land portion to accommodate slum-dwellers. Finally, the commercially most attractive land portion is developed or sold to cross-subsidize the high-density housing for the slum community.

3) **Relocation**: The community is shifted to another site serviced with basic infrastructure and services. In the new location, complete housing solutions may be provided to the community; alternatively, the slum-dwellers move into core homes that are incrementally extendable.

Although Patel et al. (2011) provide some useful categorization of approaches to slum-upgrading, there appears to be no univocal definition of what is slum-upgrading. Within the academic literature and reviewed World Bank documents the approaches differ regarding their extent, goal, and implementation process.

Firstly, there appears to be disagreement about whether relocation is also a part of slum-upgrading. On the one hand, authors and World Bank documents explicitly distinguish slum-upgrading from relocation and in-situ redevelopment projects (e.g. academic authors: Ragheb et al. 2016; Doshi, 2018; Sarkar and Badhan, 2020; World Bank document/ authors: World Bank 2002; Dasgupta and Lall, 2006; Metha, B., Dastur A. 2008; Roquet et al. 2017), and on the other hand, several other academic and World Bank authors/ documents (e.g. academic authors: Porio and Cirsol, 2004; Cherunya et al. 2020; Sibyan, 2020; Denaldi and Cardoso 2021; World Bank authors/ documents: Imparato, I., Ruster, J. 2003) view redevelopment and relocation as approaches included in slum-upgrading. Thus, there is no clear agreement if and which of these three approaches counts as slum-upgrading.

Secondly, there appears to be disagreement about the extent of improvements in particular in-situ slum-upgrading projects provide to their beneficiaries. Whereas the academic literature agrees that slum-upgrading interventions usually aim at improving the access of slums to basic services, through installing or improving all or any of a variety of infrastructures such as sewage, drainage, water taps, solid waste disposal, and providing or upgrading housing (e.g. Minnery et al. 2014; Olthuis et al. 2015), some World Bank documents (e.g. World Bank, 2002; Dasgupta and Lall, 2006) view slum-upgrading as only targeting the provision of basic services and infrastructure upgrades. Housing improvements, instead, are perceived as the responsibility of the residents (World Bank, 2002)[1].

Thirdly, the World Bank documents' definitions of slum-upgrading do only reflect the physical transformation of slums. Yet there is a great deal of academic literature that discusses and differentiates slum-upgrading based on who initiates upgrading projects (e.g. Boonyabanch, 2005; Archer, 2012a, b; MacPherson et al. 2014). These authors categorize slum-upgrading into top-down and involuntary, bottom-up community-led or participatory approaches, thus adding to the lack of clary on what slum-upgrading is.

It is difficult to assess why this rift within the discourse exists. One possible explanation for why authors disagree about whether relocation and redevelopment approaches are part of slum-upgrading could be that they often serve neo-liberal city development strategies (Sarkar and Badhan, 2020). While this may be correct, it is sometimes inevitable to relocate individuals, for example, when they live in hazard-prone locations (Lauer et al. 2020; Nunez Collado and Wang, 2020). This makes it important for slum-upgrading projects to consider how relocating and redeveloping slums affects their residents and it should be part of the debate around slum-upgrading slum-upgrading. Similarly, while many slum-upgrading projects and also sites and services projects aim to enable slum-dwellers to improve their housing, the review will show that letting slum-dwellers improve their housing is often not feasible or not wanted as slum-upgrading projects frequently relocate slum-dwellers to (high-rise apartment) housing. Thus, ambiguity about what constitutes slum-upgrading remains.

That no clear definition of slum-upgrading projects exists has implications for this research project. For example, how it defines slum-upgrading determines the search for and inclusion of relevant academic publications and World Bank documents (more on this in Section 3.4.1). Thus, it requires the project to adopt its own definition of slum-upgrading. As this project is exploratory in nature, this research adopted a broad definition of slum-upgrading to not limit its scope apriori. Hence, it defined slum-upgrading as a strategy that can be carried out through the community, through external organizations, or in a participatory manner, that

aims to improve the physical environment in which slum-settlers live by either improving their infrastructure, access to basic services, and housing in-situ, or by in-situ redeveloping their slums or relocating them. The next section discusses slum-upgrading in the contexts of national and global development polices.

2.4 Actor Landscape of Slum-Upgrading

Slum-upgrading happens at a local or city-wide scale (Olthuis et al. 2015) and slum-upgrading projects are frequently carried out in the context of large-scale slum-upgrading agendas or even international slum-upgrading policies. The first part of this section explores prominent global and large-scale national slum-upgrading policies. It finds that slum-upgrading is an important strategy to achieve UN Millennium Development Goal 7 and UN Sustainable Development Goal 11. It also highlights that slum-upgrading has become part of policies in several countries, including India, Indonesia, Brazil, Thailand, and Kenya. Actors facilitating global slum-upgrading efforts include a variety of private, public, international, national and local actors that operate at different policy levels and at the grassroots level. These are explored in the second part of this section.

2.4.1 Actors in Supranational and National in Slum-Upgrading Policies

2.4.1.1 The UN

At the supranational level, slum-upgrading policies are developed and supported by the United Nations (UN). The UN supports global slum-upgrading efforts through policies and by supporting governments with resources and advice when they seek to upgrade slums.

In 2000, the United Nations Millennium Development Summit established Goal 7, which, in response to the global prevalence of slums, aimed at improving the lives of at least 100 million slum-dwellers by 2020 (Chaudhuri and Amin, 2006). Since 2015, as has been discussed in section 1.1, “to-upgrade slums” is part of the UN’s SDGs 11 to build “sustainable, and inclusive cities”.

UN has also made slum-upgrading a central element in the UN’s Habitat III New Urban Agenda. The New Urban Agenda proposes slum upgrading as a strategy for sustainable urban planning and development that in turn aims to manage city extension and prevent uncontrolled urban sprawl by allocating specific serviced areas for rural migrants and slum settlers to settle

on (Birch, 2021). To support governments with upgrading slums, the UN's habitat division has launched the Participatory Slum-Upgrading Program (PSUP) through which they support governments with guidance, research, and advice. According to the UN, since its inception in 2008, more than 40 countries and 190 cities have adopted the PSUP, making the UN an important and influential global actor.

UN MDG 7 has been met early, as in 2010 already more than 227 million slum-dwellers moved out of poverty (van der Molen, 2015). Yet, attaining UNSDG 11.2 appears to be a challenge. As section 2.2.1 discussed, slums continue growing due to rural-to urban migration. Besides, the COVID-19 pandemic increased global poverty and worsened the lives of slum-dwellers (UN, 2022b). This makes it likely that slum-upgrading will continue to be important and that it will take more time to reach the goals of the UNSDGs.

2.4.1.2 National Governments

Nationally, governments have been implementing their own large-scale slum-upgrading policies since the 1970s. Prominent examples of past national slum-upgrading projects include

- the Kampung Improvement Program (KIP) in Indonesia in 1969,
- the Bustee Improvement Program (BIP) in India in the 1980s,
- the Favela Barrio Program in Brazil in 1995,
- and more recently, the Baan Mankong Program in Thailand in 2003,
- the Kenya-Slum-Upgrading Program launched in Kenya in 2004,
- the Minah Casa, Minha Vida (MCMV) program in the Brazil in 2009,
- the Basic services for the Urban Poor and Jawajarial Nehru National Urban Renewal Program India has launched in 2005

Of these programs 5 were financed by the World Bank. This indicates the Bank's important historic and ongoing role in global slum-upgrading efforts. On the next page Table 2.3 presents an overview of large-scale slum-upgrading national slum-upgrading policies. The number of large-scale national slum-upgrading projects may have increased since the implementation of the MDGs, however, it needs to be acknowledged that there is not one database for all slum-upgrading projects, and it is difficult to estimate if the UN MDGs and SDGs have inspired governments to start more large-scale slum-upgrading project. All that can been seen in the reviewed articles is that most of these large-scale nation slum-upgrading projects have been implement past the year 2000. However, this conclusion may require further research. As the government continue to implement slum-upgrading projects today, slum-upgrading remains a relevant tool.

Upgrading Project	Country	Year	No. of People Impacted	Involvement of the World Bank
Favela-Barrio Project	Brazil	1995	75,796 families	Yes
Programa de Aceleração do Crescimento (Growth Acceleration Program, PAC)	Brazil	2007	(no information found)	Yes
Minah Casa, Minha Vida (MCMV) My House, My Life	Brazil	2009	4,000,000 households	Yes
Bustee Improvement Program (BIP	India	1980s	3,000,000 people	Yes
Prime Minister Grant Project	India	1985	75,000 families	No
Indore Habitat Project	India	1987	450,000 people	No
Slum Redevelopment Program	India	1990	> 3,000,000 people	No
Dharavi Redevelopment Project	India	1995	18,000 households	No
Slum-Networking Project	India	2000	45.000 people	No
Resettlement Project for Mumbai Transportation	India	2005	315,000 people	Yes
Basic Services for the Urban Poor	India	2005	> 700,000 people	No
Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)	India	2010	Not yet known	No
Kampung Improvement Program (KIP)	Indonesia	1969	7,000,000	Yes
CKIP	Indonesia	1992	(no information found)	Yes
P2KP (Urban Poverty Alleviation Program)	Indonesia	2000s	(no information found)	No
Mahare 4A Program	Kenya	1990	25,000 people	No
Kenya Slum Upgrading Program (KENSUP)	Kenya	2004	5,300,000 people	Yes
Kenya Informal Settlement Improvement Program	Kenya	2011	Not yet known	No
UCDO and CODI community development upgrading program (later developed into the Baan Mankong project)	Thailand	1992	280,000 people	No
Baan Mankong	Thailand	2003	1,000,000 people	No

Table 2.3: Prominent National Slum-Upgrading Policies

2.4.2.1 Actors Financially Supporting National and International Slum-Upgrading

The World Bank is an international financial organization that provides low-interest loans to developing countries. In contrast to the UN, the World Bank has no defined agenda that makes slum-upgrading a priority. Nevertheless, the World Bank's involvement in slum-upgrading is significant. Thus, the World Bank is one of the predominant organizations supporting and financing slum-upgrading projects globally. While no exact number exists on how many slum-upgrading projects the World Bank has supported, and how much money the bank provided, searching the World Bank's project database for projects that aimed at improving urban services and housing for the poor lists more than 840 entries with a total commitment of exceeding USD 18bn (World Bank, 2022b). Moreover, as Figure 2.5 (previous page) shows has the World Bank been involved in large-scale slum-upgrading since the 1970s and continues to be involved in slum-upgrading today. Taken all of this together, thus, the Bank's involvement in slum-upgrading seems significant.

Another actor financially supporting slum-upgrading is Cities Alliance. Initially, Cities Alliance was founded by the World Bank and the UN. Today, however, it is made up of Governments (incl. the UK and Germany), local authorities, NGOs, international organizations, private sector organizations, and universities and research centres (Cities Alliance, 2021a). Like the UN and the World Bank, Cities Alliances consult governments and helps them finance slum-upgrading projects. Its vision is to improve the lives of 60 million urban poor across 200 cities in 20 countries by 2030 (ibid.). Slum-upgrading is one tool Cities Alliances uses to improve the lives of the urban poor. In 2020, almost 300,000 beneficiaries benefited from Cities Alliance's investments in infrastructure projects (Cities Alliances, 2021b). Recent examples of Cities Alliance's slum-upgrading activities include the installation of pro-poor land information management systems in Kenya and Uganda - helping slum communities and governments to develop land records and security of tenure (Cities Alliance, 2022); and improving the access to clean water by the installation of 58 community water kiosk in Liberia (Cities Alliance, 2021b).

National organizations supporting the slum-upgrading agenda usually aid funds from donor countries that help to finance slum-upgrading projects or support the implementation slum-upgrading projects with knowledge and advice. While mentioned less frequently across the documents reviewed, most notably is the engagement of the Australian, US-American, and British aid agencies and the German development bank, respectively AUSAID, USAID, UKAID and the KfW (Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau).

2.4.2.2 Non-Governmental and Civil-Society Organizations Supporting Slum-Upgrading

A multitude of non-governmental organizations support slum-upgrading. This section focuses on Slum / Shackdwellers International (SDI), probably the internationally most renowned supporting slum-upgrading projects. It has gained particular recognition for its approach and support of community-led slum-upgrading initiatives for slum-dwellers (SDI, 2013b). At the grassroots level, SDI focuses on enhancing the local capability of slum communities. For example, SDI helps communities to set up savings groups, and they facilitate, help and train communities to negotiate with (local) governments, for instance, to gain their support for local community-led slum-upgrading initiatives. This gives slum-dwellers a voice and increases their bargaining power (D'Cruz and Mudimu, 2013). Above the grassroots level, SDI connects different savings groups to form settlement-wide, city-wide, and nationwide savings federations (SDI, 2013a). Until now, SDI's network has connected community-based savings organizations across 32 countries and hundreds of cities. Thus, Slum/ Shack-dwellers International might be the most influential NGO supporting the global slum-upgrading agenda.

At the proverbial "grassroots level", are civil society organizations (CSOs). Across the reviewed literature, however, CSOs are more frequently referred to as community-based organizations (CBOs), or when directly involved in slum-upgrading, as community-development-committee (CDDs). These organizations are often created to represent the community in the slum-upgrading process. Thus, amongst everyone living in slums, they have the most influence on what outcomes slum-upgrading projects produce. However, next to their representative function, community organizations are also set up to organize community savings and disburse them, for example, to finance slum-upgrading projects. Organized in nationwide community-saving networks (see the section on SDI above), CBOs have initiated large-scale slum-upgrading projects (Boonyabancha, 2009; French et al. 2018). This next section explores the research gap this project addressed. For this purpose, it takes a closer look at the World Bank.

2.5 The Role of the World Bank and Definition of Research Gap

This section takes a more detailed look at the World Bank and its influence on global slum-upgrading efforts. Founded in 1944, the World Bank Group, more commonly and hereinafter only referred to as the World Bank, is one of the largest development organizations

in the world. The Bank's mission is to end extreme poverty by reducing the share of the global population that lives in extreme poverty to 3 percent by 2030 and to promote prosperity by increasing the incomes of the poorest 40 percent of people in every country (World Bank, 2021b). In aid of this mission, the Bank offers a variety of different financial and technical services to low- and middle-income country governments through each of its five World Bank organizations:

- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development lends to middle and credit-worthy low-income countries.
- The International Development Association provides interest-free loans and grants to the government of the poorest countries.
- The International Finance Corporation is focused on the private sector and supports developing countries achieve sustainable growth by financing, and mobilizing capital in international financial markets and by providing advisory services to governments.
- To help stimulate international private sector investments in low- and middle-income countries, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency helps offers political risk insurance (guarantees) to investors and lenders.
- Lastly, the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes provides facilities for dispute conciliation and arbitration in this context (World Bank, 2021).

Yet, the World Bank's scope of operations extends beyond country assistance and lending operations. Since 1996, the World Bank has undertaken significant efforts to present itself also as a "Knowledge Bank" (Zapp, 2016) by publishing knowledge products such as policy working papers, practitioners' guides, knowledge notes, books, and economic sector reports. Today, the World Bank self-proclaims, to be "one of the world's largest sources of funding and knowledge for developing countries" (World Bank, 2021b[RB1]). This, however, has not been received without criticism. Researchers (Tomlinson, 2013; Tichenor et al. 2021) have argued that the Bank's influence as a knowledge producer has had a significant influence on global developments efforts and best practices, for example, in areas like global health, but also slum-upgrading. This may be problematic as it also crowds out an alternative source of knowledge for best practice and policy (ibid.).

That the World Bank publishes extensive sets of documents on global development topics and has a significant influence on academic research on slum-upgrading. Out of all documents reviewed for this project more than half mentioned the World Bank as being involved in slum-upgrading. This number increases to almost 100 % when the reference lists

of these documents are reviewed. As an overreliance on the World Bank's guidance and best practices could indicate a decline in critical thinking on development efforts (Tomlinson, 2013), a corroboration of World Bank documents through other possibly conflicting perspectives is needed.

The large field of academic literature on slum-upgrading might therefore challenge the World Bank's best practices and guidance for slum-upgrading but their synthesis might also provide valuable insights and opportunities for research, policy and practice. Such a synthesis remains largely unexplored in both bodies of knowledge. Thus, this research project set out to examine all freely accessible World Bank publications on slum-upgrading and compare them to academic research articles on the same topic. It, therefore, asks the following research questions:

- What are the differences and similarities between the academic discourse and the World Bank's discourse on slum-upgrading?
- What opportunities does a synthesis of the academic discourse and the World Bank's discourse on slum upgrading offer for research, policy, and practice?

Given the World Bank's significant influence on slum-upgrading, these present two significant research gaps, this research project addresses. As discussed above, publications by the World Bank play an important role in academic research on slum-upgrading. Thus, almost all sampled academic publications include at least one reference to World Bank documents. Moreover about half of the sampled articles mentioned the World Bank explicitly in the text as being involved in slum-upgrading. Yet, an in-depth exploration of the World Bank's involvement in slum-upgrading or a synthesis of World Bank publications on slum-upgrading are missing.

2.6 Summary of Chapter

This Chapter presented the background and context of slum-upgrading. It showed that slum-upgrading is a response anchored in global sustainable development agendas and national development agendas and is carried out and supported by a variety of prominent organizations like the UN, Cities Alliances, SDI, but also the World Bank. Individually or together, these actors work on slum-upgrading at supra-national, national and local/ grassroots levels (see Figure 2.5). The Chapter further discussed that slum-upgrading is needed because slums expose slum settlers to significant health and impoverishment risks. However, given the size and scale

of slums and their continuing proliferation, this seems to be a daunting challenge. The questions remain if and through what approach slum-upgrading can or should stop the proliferation of slums. It then turned to the World Bank. It discussed that World Bank knowledge products have a significant influence on global development discourse, best practices in fields such as slum-upgrading, and academic research. To corroborate the World Bank publications on slum-upgrading this research project sets out to compare all freely available World Bank publications on slum-upgrading to the corresponding academic literature. By doing so, it set out to sharpen slum-upgrading and identify similarities and differences between both discourses and if a synthesized discourse offers opportunities for policy, research and practice.

The next Chapter turns to the methodology this project adopted to fulfil the task at hand.

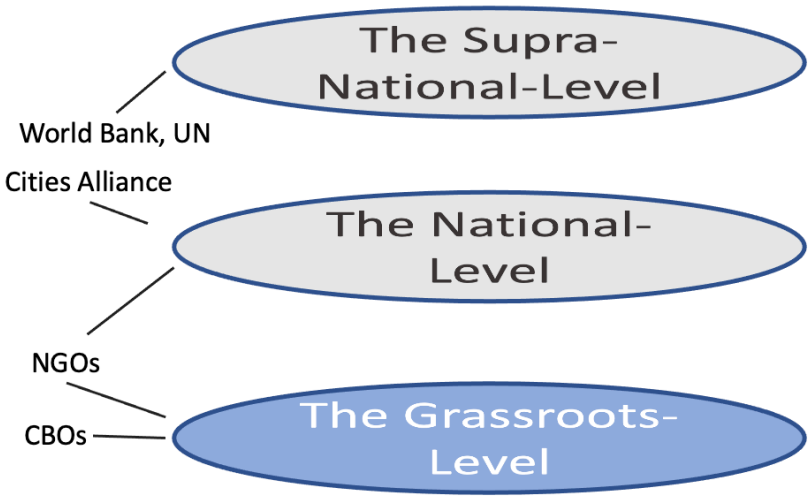


Figure 2.5: Actor's involvement at grassroots, national- and international policy levels.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

To investigate the research problem at hand, this project adopted a two-staged documentary research design. In its first stage, the research design used a systematic search and review process to identify relevant academic and World Bank publications on slum-upgrading. In the second stage, it used a thematic-network analyses to identify prevailing themes across both discourses. This approach was guided by an interpretivist approach to research. This Chapter discusses the adopted research methodology in detail. It proceeds as follows. First, it discusses interpretivism, then, it explains the research design in detail. Afterwards, sections 3.4 and 3.5 provided detailed descriptions of the data collection and analysis process.

3.2 Research Philosophy in This Project

Research philosophy is a belief set that underpins every research project. It fundamentally provides an answer to the questions of what scientific knowledge is, how (scientific) knowledge ought to be generated, and also the reality is (that we want to obtain information about and deduce knowledge from; (Potter, 2017). Respectively, answers to these questions define the epistemological, methodological, and ontological positions underpinning a research project (Saunders et al. 2019).

Two dominant approaches to research philosophy exist in the social sciences. These are positivism and interpretivism.

Positivism is a philosophical paradigm that seeks to develop knowledge through the application of natural science methods. Ontologically, positivism takes the stance that reality exits externally from individuals, and epistemologically it strives for objectivism, thus for objective and highly generalizable results. Thereby it aims to create objective results, with possibly no interference from the researcher at all (Potter, 2017). In aid of that, positivists use experimental research designs and statistics as analytical tools to observe and generate knowledge about phenomena in the social world (Saunders, et al. 2019).

The interpretivist philosophical paradigm, on the other hand, is concerned with the meaning that social actors attribute to certain (social) events, phenomena, or interactions (Potter, 2017). On a spectrum, interpretivism sits opposed to positivism. Interpretivism purports the view that reality is made up of individuals. For interpretivists, knowledge about reality can only be generated subjectively by individuals that are taking part in it. Thus, interpretivist

research's focal aim is not generalizability, but to understand the meaning of particular events and phenomena (Potter, 2017). Interpretivist researchers are therefore interested in developing an account of reality by asking social individuals about it. The data they gather is qualitative, and the analysis of the data happens again, subjectively through the researcher, who acts as an interpreter.

In the social sciences, answers to ontological, epistemological and methodical questions appear opaque (Potter, 2017). For instance, what is reality? Does society really exist independent of people's minds as a positivist would argue or is society constructed subjectively in people's minds as an interpretivist would argue? Also, what is knowledge? If reality exists only in people's minds, then is knowledge really objective? And lastly, what does that mean for the research process? If reality exists only in people's minds, can they be studied in isolation in a lab or are natural science methods not appropriate? On the other hand, if social science phenomena cannot be isolated from their context, can we ever truly know about the nature of the studied phenomenon? It is difficult to answer all of these questions conclusively and hence, whether an interpretivist or a positivist research philosophy presents the better approach to social science is debated (Potter, 2017).

Moreover, criticism of both research philosophies exists. For example, critics of positivism argue that social phenomena are too complex to be measured. They argue that measures and models of positivists might capture social phenomena imperfectly, but what positivist claim influences a phenomenon might be in actuality be influenced by a variety of different unknown variables (Poter, 2017). On the other hand, critics of interpretivism argue that interpretivist approach research lack generalizability because it only describes one particular perspective of a specific group of actors on one single event and is interpreted by one unique researcher. Thus, every researcher has to decide what they believe is the best approach to a given research project.

Both interpretivism and positivism underpin research on slum-upgrading. Yet, an interpretivist research philosophy allows the researcher to explore the meaning of the sampled documents in front of his experiences, research interests and academic background. This makes an interpretivist approach to research well suited to answer the research questions at hand and was the approach adopted for this research project.

Following this interpretive understanding of research, this project aims to create meaning and advance our understanding of slum-upgrading by synthesizing and analyzing World Bank and academic publications on slum-upgrading. Moreover, interpretivism is also

well suited to documentary research design (see Tight, 2019) and to the thematic-network data analysis approach this project adopted. (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun and Clarke, 2006).

3.3 Research Design

This research project adopted a two-staged documentary research design that combines a systematic search and review approach to identify academic publications and World Bank documents (Booth and Grant, 2009) with a thematic network-analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001, see Figure 3.1). This part of the chapter discusses and justifies this project's design choices. Afterwards, sections 3.4 and 3.5 explain how the systematic search and review and thematic-network analysis were carried out in detail. Figure 3.1 presents the adopted two-staged research design.

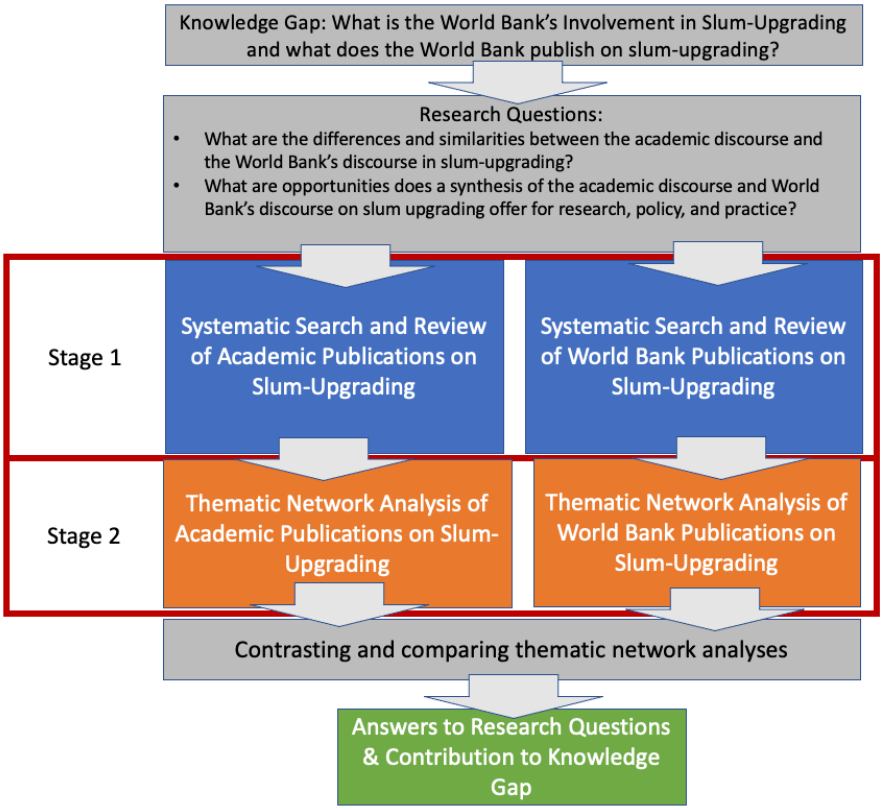


Figure 3.1 Two-Staged Documentary Research Design Adopted in this research project (Source: Author, 2021)

3.3.1 Use of Documents as Data Sources

Documentary research is a "procedure for the systematic review and evaluation of documents" (Bowens, 2009; p.27). It requires examining and interpreting documents in order to understand their meaning, gain an understanding of the data and develop knowledge from

analyzing the data. (ibid.). Documentary research plays a central role in research on slum-upgrading. Project documents or field reports and evaluations (incl. from the World Bank), for example, have frequently been used by researchers to gain knowledge about a focal slum or slum-upgrading project (e.g. see Antonilhao and Van Hoeren, 2005; Das and Takahashi, 2009; Meredith and MacDonald, 2017; Tomlinson, 2017). This makes documentary research often part of the research processes on slum-upgrading. Research that exclusively draws on documents is few, unless the few existing literature reviews evaluating the impact of slum-upgrading on health are counted (e.g. Brakarz and Jaitman, 2013; Turley et al. 2013; Weiman and Oni, 2019; Henson et al. 2020). Thus, by using a documentary research design this project adds to the few reviews

There are several reasons that documentary research is a favoured approach over other empirical methods in the context of this project. Firstly, documentary research allowed the researcher to investigate and evaluate the World Bank's function as the "largest single source of development knowledge" (World Bank, 2021c) and directly compare findings from the World Bank's publications to findings from the academic discourse. Secondly, academic databases and the World Bank host a plethora of freely available and accessible documents on slum-upgrading. Using a documentary research design offered a very good method to explore them. And thirdly, documentary research allowed the researcher to view slum-upgrading more holistically. This is to some extent novel, as the few studies that have synthesized across research on slum-upgrading set limits around the focus or geographical scope of their research project (e.g. Brakarz and Jaitman, 2013; Turley et al. 2013; Weiman and Oni, 2019; Henson et al. 2020). Adopting a very open documentary research design allowed this research project to explore the rich sets of publications on slum-upgrading by the World Bank and academic research ,while it allowed the projects to go beyond the scope of previous literature reviews.

Lastly, documentary research allowed the researcher to assess and address any ethical issues in advance of the data selection process. Ethics in documentary research concern the data maintained in the documents gathered and subjected to analysis by the researcher (Tight, 2019). Ethical issues arise when the researcher does not have full access rights or privileges to the data individuals provided in the sampled documents and where s/he cannot be sure that analyzing these documents will cause distress or harm to those individuals (ibid.). Different categories of documents are associated with different ethical risks that need to be considered. The least likelihood of encountering ethical issues in documentary research exists when the researcher focuses on open or archival documents in the private and public domain that were created by research institutions, publishers, or large organizations (Tight, 2019). Usually, these have been

checked by lawyers for ethical concerns before their publication (Tight, 2019). Thus, when analyzing published books, articles, and reports, ethics of how the data was obtained will not be of concern. This research project relied on only peer-reviewed, published research articles and openly accessible World Bank publications, it can therefore be expected that all documents in this project's data set were scrutinized to adhere to ethical standards by the respective institutions publishing them. While some concerns may remain about the rigour of these ethical examinations, these remain very low and are not testable. Hence, it shall be assumed that no ethical risks need to be mitigated.

3.3.2 Systematic Search and Review

This project adopted a systematic search and review approach (Grant and Booth, 2009). The systematic search and review process combines the critical review with a systematic search process (ibid.). This can have advantages for a research project because it can incorporate more study designs than a traditional systematic review. While it critically evaluates all articles, it still draws all knowledge together. Thus, a systematic search and review go beyond the stocktaking of what is valuable literature of a critical review (Grant and Booth, 2019).

For a systematic search and review approach meant that stringent inclusion and exclusion criteria need to be defined to search for relevant World Bank documents and academic research articles on slum-upgrading more efficient, precise, and replicable. The critical review component of this approach was used to examine the documents of their quality and relevance afterwards critically to slum-upgrading. Following this procedure could ensure that the final set of documents included in both data sets was the most relevant to this research project and (within the limits of the selected databanks) that existing academic articles and

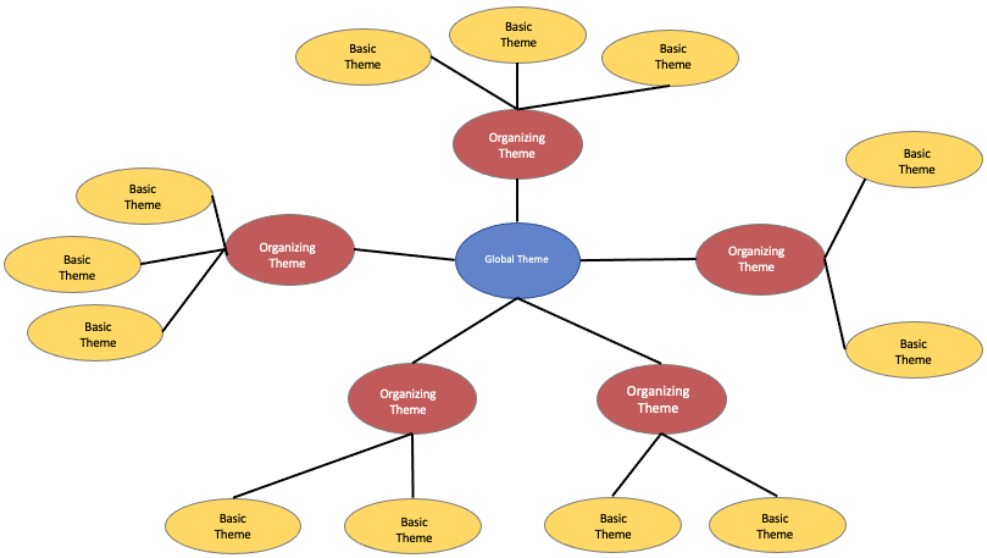
	Systematic Review	Systematic Search and Review	Critical Review
Description	Seeks to systematically search for, apprise and synthesize all research evidence on a particular topic.	Allows broad scope of the search in the limits of yet stringently defined search parameters because each article is reviewed individually for quality	Aims to demonstarete that the write has extensively researched the literature and evaluated its quality. Includes a degree of analysis and conceptual innovation.
Strength	Draws together all known knowledge from a study area.	Can incorporate a variety of study designs, thus provides a much more complete picture than a systematic review, the critical review component allows for an evaluation of the articles	The cirtical component is where its value is at. A critical review allows to tack stock and evaluate what is of value from a body of literature.
Weaknesses	Does not follow rigorous evaluation criteria which can limit its scope.	As articles are reviewed without explicit inclusion or exclusion criteria, the result might be a subjective.	Does not require a systematic or structured approach to literature. It's emphasis is one the conceptual contribution of quality zo item included in the literature.

World Bank documents on slum-upgrading were survey comprehensively. Table 3.1 compares the systematic search and review to the critical review, and the systematic review.

Table 3.1: Comparison of Systematic Review, Critical Review and Systematic Search and Review (Adopted from Grant and Booth, 2009, pp.93-97; 102)

3.3.3 Thematic Network Analysis

The second stage of the research design was the thematic networks analysis. The thematic network analysis is a three-staged approach that develops thematic networks by assembling low-level basic themes into more abstracted, mid-level organizing themes and clusters these organizing themes together to form a global, top-level theme (Attride-Stirling, 2001, see Figure 3.2).



- **Global Themes** are super-ordinate themes that encompass the principal metaphors in the data as a whole. They are macro themes that summarize and make sense of clusters of lower-order themes abstracted from and supported by the data.
- **Organizing Themes** are a middle-order theme that organizes the Basic Themes into clusters of similar issues. They simultaneously group the main ideas proposed by several Basic Themes, and dissect the main assumptions underlying a broader theme that is especially significant in the texts as a whole. In this way, a group of Organizing Themes constitute a Global Theme.
- **Basic Themes** are the most basic or lowest-order theme that is derived from the textual data. They are simple premises characteristic of the data, and on their own they say very little about the text or group of texts as a whole. In order for a Basic Theme to make sense beyond is immediate meaning it needs to be read within the context of other Basic Themes. Together, they represent an Organizing Theme.

Figure 3.2: Example of a Thematic Network with Definitions for Basic, Organizing and Global Theme (Adapted from Attride-Stirling, 2001, pp. 388)

The thematic network analysis, like other approaches to a thematic analysis (TA), aims at identifying patterns of meaning (themes) across the data set by moving beyond the explicit meanings of words in texts and focusing on explicit and implicit ideas in the data (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun and Clarke, 2006; Guest et al. 2012). The thematic network-analyses' staged approach distinguishes it from other prominent approaches to TA, for example, by Braun and Clark (i.e. 2006; 2012) or Guest et al. (2012). While these alternatives equally offer a systematic approach to reducing identified themes, the final output is a set of several central themes and sub-themes. This research project examined more than 270 documents ranging between 5 and 500 pages. To maintain the complexity and detail of the themes they cover, building a thematic network seemed particularly advantageous. Table 3.2 presents and compares the approaches to the TA by Attride-Stirling (2001) Braun and Clarke (2006; 2012), and Guest et al. (2012).

When following Attride-Stirling's (2001) approach stringently, thematic networks usually stay apart. However, slum-upgrading is a complex topic and many of the themes identified are linked to other themes at the top/global, mid-/organizing, or low-basic/level of other thematic networks and the researcher allowed for these connections. This should not be interpreted as a weakness of his approach to TA. By allowing for these connections, the thematic network analysis offers different perspectives on a similar issue across different thematic networks. This can help highlight possible tensions within the discourse, but also in possible insights for practice, policy, and research. This makes it a strength of this analysis. The limitations of the thematic network analysis will be discussed in more detail in section 3.7.

	Braun and Clarke, 2006, 2012	Attridge-Striling, 2001	Guest et al. 2012
Name	Thematic Analysis	Thematic-Network Approach	Applied Thematic Analysis
Philosophical Underpinnings	Constructivist, Interpretivist	Interpretivist	Interpretivism/ Positivism
Approach	Inductive or Deductive	Inductive or Deductive	Inductive
Definition of Theme	Patters across data relevant to answering a particular research question	Distinction between basic, organizing, and global theme	Frequently appearing implicit and explicit ideas with the data.
Aim:	To offer a flexible, yet systematic approach to organizing and identifying central themes across qualitative data	Systematic Approach to organizing qualitative data, graphical representation of thematic networks	To Enhance the Reliability and Validity of the approach to TA
Limitations?	May miss nuances of data, might get confusing at large data sets	How thematic networks are organized can be ambiguous	May miss nuances of data

Table 3.2: Comparison of Thematic Analyses by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012) Attride-Striling (2001), Guest et al. (2012).

3.4 Data Collection

This section covers the data collection process for academic and World Bank publications. In its search process for World Bank documents, it aimed to implement the same stringent set of search criteria that were used to search for relevant academic documents on slum-upgrading. However, this was not always possible because of the different markups of academic databases and the World Bank's Open Knowledge Repository (OKR). More on that is covered in the next setcion. In total, the search-process identified 223 relevant academic publications and 55 relevant World Bank publications. The following two sections discuss the data collection process for each dataset in detail. The thereinafter following third part assesses the quality of the sampled documents (Scott, 1990) across both datasets.

3.4.1 Data Collection and Selection Process for Academic Publication on Slum-Upgrading

The data collection process for academic literature involved two decisions – the choice of the source/databases to include in the search and the choice of the search terms and search parameters. In terms of their size and coverage of citations, Web of Science, Scopus, and

Google Scholar offers the most comprehensive databases of academic citations (Mongeon and Paul-Hus, 2016; Martins-Martins et al. 2018). Yet, whether to include Google Scholar is debated (see Mongeon and Paul-Hus, 2016; Martins-Martins et al. 2018). While Google Scholar exceeds the coverage of Web of Science and Scopus, researchers have raised questions about its data quality (Mongeon and Paul-Hus, 2016; Martins-Martins et al. 2018). As Web of Science and Scopus offers a large comprehensive, and complementary coverage of academic citations, this research project has excluded Google Scholar. To substitute for Google Scholar, this project also searched ProQuest and Academic Search Complete/ EBSCO Host. Thus, articles in Scopus, Web of Science, EBESCO Host, and ProQuest were searched.

Before searching for publications on slum-upgrading across these four databases, a stringent set of search criteria were defined. First, to minimize the likelihood of including low-quality publications in the dataset, only peer-reviewed articles were included. Then, the search's scope was limited to only academic articles written in English. Thirdly, to ensure that searching the databases would return the most relevant articles on slum-upgrading, the keyword search was restricted to only searching the article's title, abstract and keywords. Finally, no date range was added to allow the search to also return older results.

To also allow for variations of the searched terms, synonyms for slum-upgrading, and relocation projects (see Figure, 3.4) all search terms were reduced to word-root and were provided with an "*". In-situ slum upgrading, participatory slum-upgrading and community-led slum-upgrading were not needed to be explicitly included as separate search terms because they would be included in the search results for "slum upgrad*". Figure 3.3 displays the used search terms and criteria. The search for academic literature on slum-upgrading took place between August and September 2021. Applying these search criteria across the four databases returned 664 articles (263 articles in Scopus, 233 articles in Web of Science, 129 articles in EBESCO Host, and 39 articles in ProQuest).

Search Terms:	"slum upgrad*" OR "slum improve*" OR "slum refurbish*" OR "slum relocat*" OR "slum resettle*" OR "slum redevelop*", for each title, abstract and keywords
Language	English
Type of publication:	Academic Journal (hence, excluding books and book-reviews)
Peer reviewed:	Yes

Table 3.3: Search Terms and Limitations for Academic Research on Slum-Upgrading

Then, each identified article was downloaded. Most articles could be accessed through links on their respective database's website when the full text was available or by searching for a freely available version online using Google and Google Scholar. However, 58 articles remained inaccessible despite these efforts and had to be excluded from the sample (32 articles in Scopus, 19 in Web of Science, three in EBSCO Host and four in ProQuest could not be accessed). All remaining articles were downloaded and referenced using a "year_author_year_title" format (to put the year first was later used to review the articles chronologically). Labelling them helped identify articles that were downloaded more than once. From this exercise, a further 302 duplicate articles were excluded, leaving the total no. of articles at 304.

After this initial sample was downloaded, each article was reviewed in detail and its overall relevance to slum-upgrading was evaluated. Articles were excluded when they did not focus on the planning, implementation, and impact of slum-upgrading. To illustrate why such an article would be discarded, Appendix I presents an example of Berner's (2001) article "Learning from informal markets: Innovative Approaches to Land and Housing Provision". 81 articles were discarded because they lacked relevance to slum-upgrading, leaving the final sample of articles at 223. Table 3.4 provides an overview and breakdown of the search and selection process. The next section discusses the data collection process for World Bank documents on slum-upgrading.

Name of Database	**ProQuest**	**Scopus**	**Web Of Science**	**EBESCO Host**
No. of Initial Search Results	39	263	233	129
Inaccessible	4	32	19	3
No. of articles found in more than one data base	302			
No. of articles discarded after review	81			
No. of articles in final sample.	223			

Table 3.4: Breakdown of selection process by Database for Academic Literature (Source, Author, 2021)

3.4.2 Data Collection and Selection Process for World Bank Publication on Slum-Upgrading

The World Bank hosts two data banks containing knowledge on slum-upgrading - the Open Knowledge Repository (OKR) and the Project Database (PD).

The World Bank's PD allows users to look at the projects the World Bank has funded. It provides information about these projects, for instance, on whether these are active, have been closed (and when) or have been dropped. The database can be searched by country, World Bank sector and theme. For each project, a range of project-related documents are accessible. These can include financing agreements, auditing documents, project evaluations and many more.

The World Bank's Open Knowledge Repository (OKR), on the other hand, is the World Bank's "official open access repository for its research outputs and knowledge products "(World Bank, 2021c). The OKR encompasses a wide variety of knowledge products such as the Economic Sector Work of the World Bank, Policy Working Papers, Learning Notes and Country Reports and Strategies. This makes the OKR a rich resource that caters to a wide variety of practice, strategic, developmental or policy interests. As the Open Knowledge Repository is where the World Bank presents most of its freely accessible research and knowledge outputs, it provides the more relevant data source for this research project. It, therefore, was selected as the source for the data collection process.

Searching the Open Knowledge Repository is less convenient, compared to searching the previously discussed academic databases. The OKR's advanced search function, for example, allows users to search for Author, Publication Data, Topic, Key Word, World Bank Regions, Country, Document Type, Entry ID and Focus.

However, it does not allow the users to scan for search terms in the documents' abstracts. Moreover, while the OKR offers these filter functions, they appear to be either too imprecise or too specific.

Reviewing the filter "topic" for the topic "poverty" listed 28 results that all started with "poverty reduction". Slum-upgrading only appeared in the filter "Key Word". Searching the OKR for "slum-upgrading" using the Key Word filter returned 97 results.

However, at this stage, the World Bank's definition of slum-upgrading was not clear, and it could not be ensured that it would also include relocation and redevelopment (see section 2.2.2), the research opted to not use any of the offered filter functions. Instead, he used the search terms defined in the previous section, which returned 152 results. Of those, all but 2 results could be downloaded.

When cursory reviewing the documents, a further 11 were discarded; 9 because they were duplicates; and two because they were mere summaries of other studies and they were presented in a way that it was difficult to establish their meaning. This left an initial sample of 139 documents.

Next, all documents were reviewed in detail for their relevance to slum-upgrading. This was quite challenging as not all documents focused solely on the topics and sometimes how they liked to slum-upgrading could only be inferred. Overall, documents appeared to be falling into one of four categories:

- The first category comprised 26 documents that focused explicitly on slum-upgrading. Documents included learning notes and guides for practice on slum-upgrading (e.g. World Bank 2011a; 2015a), and economic sector reports (e.g. World Bank 2015b).

- A second category, comprising 35 documents, with an implicit link to slum-upgrading. Documents often did not mention slum-upgrading explicitly in their text, yet their topic's focus related very strongly to slum-upgrading. Documents clustered under this category included consulting reports focusing on extending infrastructure to the poor (e.g. World Bank, 2007b); documents focusing on low-income housing (e.g. Annez et al. 2010), or documents of city development strategies focusing on reducing poverty (e.g. World Bank, 2000).

- A third category comprised 58 documents whose link to slum-upgrading was even more implicit. While slum-upgrading was not the focal issue discussed in them, their review helped to understand the issues in the development of cities or infrastructure and housing. For instance, several documents focused on the existence and fostering of agglomeration economies in cities in developing countries (e.g. Glaeser and Joshi- Ghani, 2013; Goswani and Lall, 2015; 2016).

- Lastly, a fourth category (comprising 20 documents) had no relevance to the research project at all. Documents in this category focused for instance on rural development (e.g., World Bank, 2011e) or on vehicle emissions in cities (e.g. Greening, 2011).

That the link to slum-upgrading varied across the sampled publications presented a challenge because it made it difficult to find the right set of inclusion and exclusion criteria.

On the one hand, limiting the data selection to only include documents from category 1 might have set this project's focus too narrow, and, hence, would have likely left out relevant information that placed slum-upgrading into the wider development context of the World Bank.

On the other hand, including documents of category 2 or even 3 would set the scope too broad and findings from the data analysis could likely include many irrelevant documents.
To overcome these challenges and to find the right scope for this dissertation, the project searched retrieved 139 documents manually for the search terms. Documents were included when they mentioned search terms more than ones. This resulted in a final data set of 58 documents.

One interesting finding from reviewing the World Bank documents was that three articles (Abiko et al. 2007; Takeuschi et al. 2007, Park et al. 2017) are found amongst both the World Bank and the academic dataset.

This is likely because these were first published as a World Bank Policy Working Paper and later in an academic journal. As the project aimed to synthesize all available knowledge across each body of knowledge, and these documents were accessible in both databanks, they were left and analyzed in both samples. Table 3.5 provides an overview and breakdown of the search and selection process. The hereinafter following section discusses how this process could assure the quality of the selected publications.

Name of Database	Open Knowledge Repository
No. of initial search results:	152
No. of documents inaccessible	1
No. of documents disregarded because of their quality	3
No. of duplicate documents:	9
No. of documents excluded as not relevant:	81
No. of articles in final sample:	58

Table 3.5: Breakdown of selection process by Database for World Bank documents

3.4.3 Ensuring the Quality of Documents

One challenge of using documents in research projects is ensuring their quality (e.g. Scott, 1990; Tight, 2019). Several approaches exist to evaluate the quality of documents (e.g.

Scott, 1990; McCulloch and Richardson, 2000; Fitzgerald, 2007; Saunders et al. 2019; see Table 3.6). However, the oldest and one of the most often used approaches is by Scott (1990). Scott asks researchers to judge the quality of a document based on their authenticity (are they written by whom they were written), their credibility (i.e. does the document accurately and sincerely state the account or phenomena at hand or has it been distorted through the author) and their meaning (i.e. can the document be interpreted in the correct way), and by their "representativeness" compared to "the totality of relevant documents" (Scott, 1990, p.24).

Sequence	Fitzgerald (2007)	Scott (1990)	McCulloch and Richardson (2000)	Saunders et al. (2019)
1.				Does the data contained in the document help to answer your research question / objectives?
2.	Who wrote the document? What is known about the person and professional biography of the author?	Authenticity Criteria: Authorship / Soundness?	Maybe: Issues relating to the author…	
3.	When was the document written? What other events were occurring during that time?	Meaning Criteria: Helps understand the literal and interpretive meaning of the text	Maybe: Issues relating to the context	
4.	What prompted the writing of this document? What were the social, political, economic or historical reasins that may have influenced the writer and content?	Meaning Criteria: Helps understand the literal and interpretive meaning of the text. Also, Credibility: Distortion? Sincerity and Accuracy of the account?	Maybe: Issues relating to the process involved in its production…	
5.	What are the contents, the language and terms used and the message? What is the ideological position of the author?	Meaning Criteria: Helps understand the literal and interpretive meaning of the text. Also Credibility: Distortion? Sincerity and Accuracy of the account?	Maybe: Issues relation to the text?	
6.	What are the omissions? Was this deliberate? How do you know?	Credibility: Distortion? Sincerity and Accuracy of the account?	Maybe: Issues relating to the process involved in its production…	
7.	Are there any sources that can be used in comparison?	Representativeness		
8.	Is this document reliable?	Representativeness? Authenticity.		
9.			What is the influence of this work?	

Table 3.6: Different Approaches to assessing the quality of documents by Scott (1990), McCullocan and Richardson (2000), Fitzgerald (2007) and Saunders et al. (2019)

Establishing the authenticity of most academic articles was not an issue as their published version could be downloaded directly from the respective databases. Yet for a few articles, only their final drafts or accepted manuscripts, thus pre-published versions, were available. There is a qualitative difference between a final draft and an accepted manuscript because the final draft has not been peer-reviewed and revised (e.g. Sage Journals, 2021). As an unpublished article could differ from its published version, the researcher set out to find the

articles' published versions. This was not successful in all cases, as for two articles (i.e. Kita, 2017; Salmi, 2019) only accepted manuals could be found. Hence, some concerns about their authenticity remain. No similar issues existed with all documents downloaded from the OKR.

To minimize issues with the credibility of the sampled academic articles the document search in academic databases was limited to only include peer-reviewed articles. Yet, it needs to be acknowledged that the researcher does not have any control over the peer-review process each article underwent or it's standard. Consequently, some concerns remain about the sampled articles' credibility (as was discussed in section 3.3.1). Even less transparent is the review process of the World Bank documents. While the World Bank claims that its policy papers are of high quality, it is unclear if and how the Bank peer-reviewed its documents internally or externally before they are published in the OKR. While some argue that large businesses and institutions undergo a rigorous review of their publications before submitting them into the public discourse (Saunders et al. 2019), this is not testable in the context of this research, and some reservations about the credibility of the sampled World Bank documents remain.

By searching four instead of the two recommended academic databases (Martins-Martins, 2018) this project aimed for representative selection of academic publications on slum-upgrading. However, some limitations exist regarding the representativeness of both datasets. The search, for example, excluded non-English language articles and Google Scholar. Therefore, it cannot be assured that the sampled academic documents represent the whole discourse. Similar limitations exist in the dataset of World Bank documents. As the systematic search for World Bank publications on slum-upgrading was limited to the freely accessible documents published in the OKR, the retrieved and analyzed sample of World Bank documents can only be representative of what is available in the OKR. Unclear is, however, if and what World Bank documents exist outside the OKR. This, therefore, limits the representativeness of this research process.

It is unlikely, however, that the data sets' mentioned limitations have a significant impact on this research project: Even if the underlying research data may not be complete, the adopted search process still covered a significant proportion of all available academic and World Bank publications on the topic. As this research project wanted to examine the role of the World Bank on global knowledge production on slum-upgrading, searching the OKR was a conscious choice as it presents the World Bank's "official open access repository for its research outputs and knowledge products" (World Bank, 2022c). Given this aim, allowing for these limitations seems necessary.

Documents	Authenticity?	Credibility?	Representativeness?	Meaning?
Academic Documents	Ensured for all but two documents.	Not fully assessable as some reservations about the peer review process remain	Limited to English literature and the chosen academic citation databanks.	Improved understanding through getting familiar with the documents before analysis
World Bank Documents	Yes, ensured through access	Not fully assessable as some reservations about the peer review process remain	Limited to the OKR. However, it is unclear how many other documents exist outside the public access.	Improved understanding through getting familiar with the documents before analysis

Table 3.7: Quality Assessment by Scott (1990) and steps taken to ensure high quality documents (Source: Author, 2022).

Lastly, it is difficult to assess whether the meaning of the documents could be correctly assessed. However, one recommendation to improve the researcher's understanding of the meaning of documents is o read them in the context of other similar documents (Tight, 2019). To develop a good understanding of the documents, the researcher read through the sampled document repeatitly before he conducted the analysis. Nevertheless, the researcher's understanding of the documents' meaning is limited by his understanding of the context which is then again is determined by his personal experiences and research background. This creates limitations to the analysis. What this means will be explored in more detail in section 3.7 – Limitations. Table 3.7 provides an overview of the assessment and steps undertaken to ensure that all documents included for the analysis were of high quality.

3.5 Data Analysis

This section discusses the data analysis procedure. It first discusses the approach taken to the thematic-network analysis, and then in 3.5.2, it describes the data analysis procedure this project uses conceptually, followed by its concrete steps in 3.5.3.

3.5.1 Approach to Data Analysis

A thematic analysis can be conducted deductively (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun and Clark, 2012; Tight, 2019). Here the authors start the analysis from a predetermined set of constructs, codes and themes and searches for them within and across the data. In opposition

there to a thematic analysis can also be conducted inductively. Here, no themes, codes or themes are predefined (Joffe, 2012; Terry et al. 2017), and reviewing the text's data identifies patterns of meaning that are subsequently developed into themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun and Clarke, 2012; Terry et al. 2017). In aid of comprehensively analysing the World Bank's and academic discourse on slum-upgrading, this research project followed an inductive approach to a thematic analysis. It started from a blank slate of paper and identified themes from identified patterns of meaning within and across the text.

3.5.2 Data Analysis Procedure

How a thematic analysis is conducted depends on the approach and aim of the analysis. There are different steps that researchers recommend (see Table 3.8). This research project combined and exchanged elements of Attride-Stirling's and Braun and Clarke's (2012) approach to do a thematic analysis (TA).

Given its inductive approach to a thematic analysis, this project started from a blank slate and did not use a coding framework. In step 1 "Familiarizing yourself with the data", the project followed by Braun and Clarke (2012). Then, continuing the approach by Braun and Clark (2012), initial codes were generated from text. When the researcher turned to "Identifying Themes" (Step 2 in the Attride-Stirling approach to TA, Step 3 in this project's approach to TA), he found that "Identifying Themes" was a lot more iterative than a step-by-step process described by Attride-Stirling (2001) describes. Thus, the author first explored, interpreted, and summarized arrangements of basic themes and organizing themes in an iterative process before he deduced global themes. Adopting a mix of both approaches allowed this project to maintain the flexible approach to the TA that Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012) propose while preserving the details of the discourse through building thematic networks (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

The next part of this section discusses how each step was carried out during the analysis. As the thematic analysis followed the same steps for analyzing the World Bank documents and academic documents, they will be discussed in tandem.

Six steps in a TA as according to Braun and Clarke, 2012	Six steps in a thematic-network analysis according to Attride-Stirling (2001)	Five Steps Approach Taken by this Research Project
1. Familiarizing yourself with the data	-	1. Familiarizing yourself with the data
2. Generating Initial Codes	1. Code Material a) Devising a Coding Framework b) Dissect text into text segments using coding framework	2. Generating Initial Codes and Dissecting text into text segments
3. Searching for / Identifying Themes	2. Identify Themes a) Abstract Themes form coded text segments b) Refine themes	3. Identify (Initial) Themes a) Abstract Themes form coded text segments
4. Reviewing Potential Themes Networks	3. Construct Thematic Networks a) Arrange Themes b) Select Basic Themes c) Rearrange into Organizing Themes d) Deduce Global Themes e) Illustrate Thematic Networks f) Verify and refine the networks	4. Construct Thematic Networks a) Arrange Themes b) Refine themes c) Select Basic Themes d) Rearrange into Organizing Themes e) Describe and organizing Networks f) Interpret Patterns g) Summarize Thematic Networks h) Deduce Global Themes i) Verify and refine the networks j) Illustrate Thematic Networks
	4. Describe and explore the thematic Networks	
	5.Summarize Thematic Networks	
	6. Interpret Patterns	
5.Defining and Naming Themes		
6.Producing the Report of the Thematic Analysis	(Producing Report)	5. Producing the Report of the Thematic Analysis

Table 3.8: Approach to Thematic Analysis (adopted from Braun and Clarke (2012, pp.60-69), Attride-Stirling, 2001, pp.390-394).

3.5.3 Steps in the Data Analysis

Step 1: Becoming Familiar with the data: To become familiar with the data was a particular challenge, given that this project reviewed 278 documents ranging from 4 to 500 pages. However, at the beginning of the project, the researcher took some time to set an appropriate scope for this research and find and get a good understanding of the analysis

technique. As this was an iterative process, the researcher could familiarize himself with the data sets in chunks step by step while the scope of the project expanded and became more focused. This meant that he could develop a good understanding of the literature and prevalent topics (Braun and Clarke, 2006) before the coding began even though the final dataset was quite substantial.

Step 2: Generating Initial Codes. While it is not uncommon to use software such as NVIVO to assist in the thematic analysis (e.g. Joffe, 2012), some authors find the manual coding process more useful (Welsch, 2002; Davis and Meyer, 2009). Siding with this group of scholars, the study opted against using NVIVO to analyze the data set. Instead, the study used Microsoft World because most functions that are useful for a thematic analysis could be easily recreated using Microsoft Word, and Microsoft World provided more flexibility to adopt an analysis process as needed. Hence, the coding proceeded as follows.

Following a purely inductive approach to the thematic analysis, the research started with no code book (Terry et al. 2017) on blank Word Documents. The purpose of this coding exercise was to identify relevant (to the research questions, see Braun and Clark, 2012) and meaningful segments and phrases within the documentary data. Following Brown and Clarke (2006), codes were used to identify an interesting feature of data. At this stage, the nuances of the codes were not important and so any labelling of codes was ok as long as it summarized the text extracted from the documents. Codes given to text segments ranged from being very broad and abstract such as “CBO” or “cost of slum-upgrading” to being very specific such as “Cleanliness and well-functioning infrastructure affect health more positively than the provision of infrastructure alone”. Each text segment was copied into a separate World Documents and was marked with code and its respective reference (author, date), and each code/ label was formatted as a “Heading 3”. This was later needed to be able to structure the codes in thematic networks. Giving the page number of this extract was not relevant at this point, as Apple’s generic “cmd + space” search function can locate extracts in texts, and page numbers could thus easily be retrieved. Figure 3.3 shows two code examples extracted from Bapat and Crook (1989) and Das and Takeushi (2009). Overall, ca. 1,230 coded text segments were extracted from academic documents and ca. 830 coded text segments from World Bank documents.

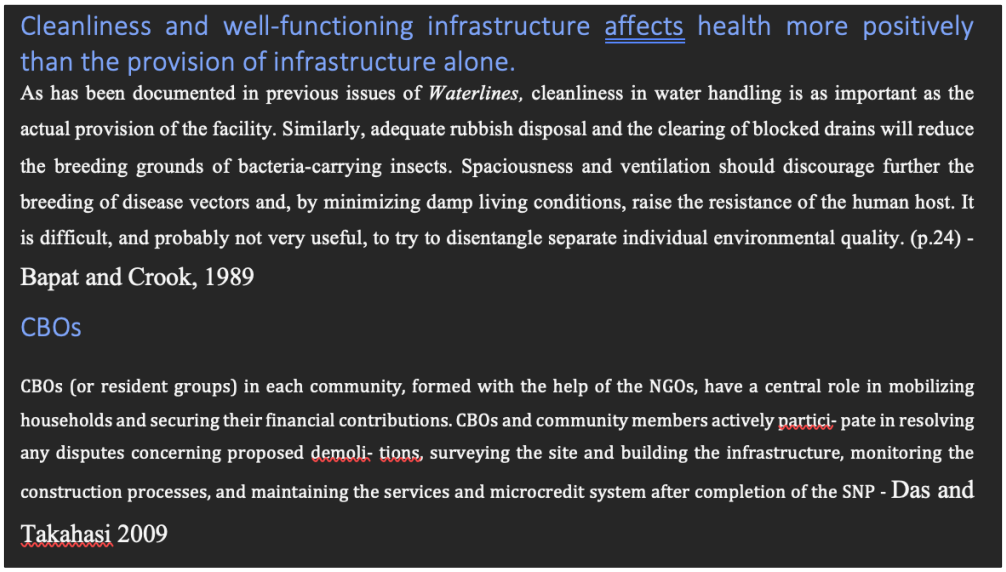


Figure 3.3 – Two text extracts coded from Bapat and Crook (1989) and Takeushi (2009)

Step 3: Identifying Themes. After extracting all relevant text elements, the next step was searching for similar or related codes to generate initial themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001). This step involved finding similar codes, grouping them and then abstracting themes from them (ibid.). Using the "Table of Contents" function in Word, a list of all codes was generated and exported as a PDF. Then, by going through the codes manually, several salient themes were identified that summarized and provided collections for multiple coded text elements. To keep track of all themes, a separate Word document was created, and all themes were saved there for future reference. Then, in another Microsoft Word document, all coded text extracts were grouped according to their respective first themes, and the names of the themes were formatted to "Heading 2". As this step in the data analysis did not require themes to be of a particular basic, organizing, or global theme order, again, no particular rules were applied to how to label or name these first sets of themes. Again, themes ranged from being relatively explicit like "letting the community participate [in slum-upgrading projects] produces better outcomes" to more abstract themes such as "Affordability". Figures 3.4 and 3.5 present examples of themes with codes and the text extracted by the theme. This resulted in 103 theme codes for the World Bank documents and 119 theme codes across the academic literature.

Figure 3.4: Selection of codes World Bank documents.

Figure 3.5: Example of Text Extract Coded Grouped under Theme – World Bank Document

Step 4: Constructing Thematic Networks. Next, all themes were broken up and reorganized into their respective thematic networks. It started off by copying all initial themes (with the respective coded text extracts) onto a separate Word document (Attride-Striling, 2001). Then the researcher worked through the coded text elements and themes to build basic themes from initial themes and coded text elements. This was an iterative process. At times it required to break up some initial (usually more abstract) themes into more nuanced smaller themes, and it also required to integrate very detailed initial themes into to less detailed themes. After basic themes were defined, they were integrated bottom-up into larger organizing themes. Defining global themes was quite challenging as deducing global themes required a lot of rearranging and redefining of organizing themes so that they represented something of significance about a given aspect of reality about slum-upgrading or issue (Attride-Stirling,

2001). During this iterative theme finding and network developing process, Word's heading function and navigator window were again very helpful to not lose overview. Using "heading" varying from "Heading 1" (global-theme) across "Heading 2" (organizing theme), "Heading 3" (basic theme) till "Heading 4" (lower level themes that describe a similar group of coded texts that supporting the basic theme) and "Heading 5" (the coded text extract) allowed to keep track of the hierarchies within the thematic networks, while the navigator function allowed to track and graphicly represent different names and hierarchy levels of a thematic network. Figure 3.6 presents a navigator and table of contents view of an extract of the thematic network "Stopping the Proliferation of Slums" defined in Word. *Step six*: *the presentation and report of the thematic analysis* will be presented in Chapter 4 for the academic discourse and in Chapter 5 for the World Bank discourse

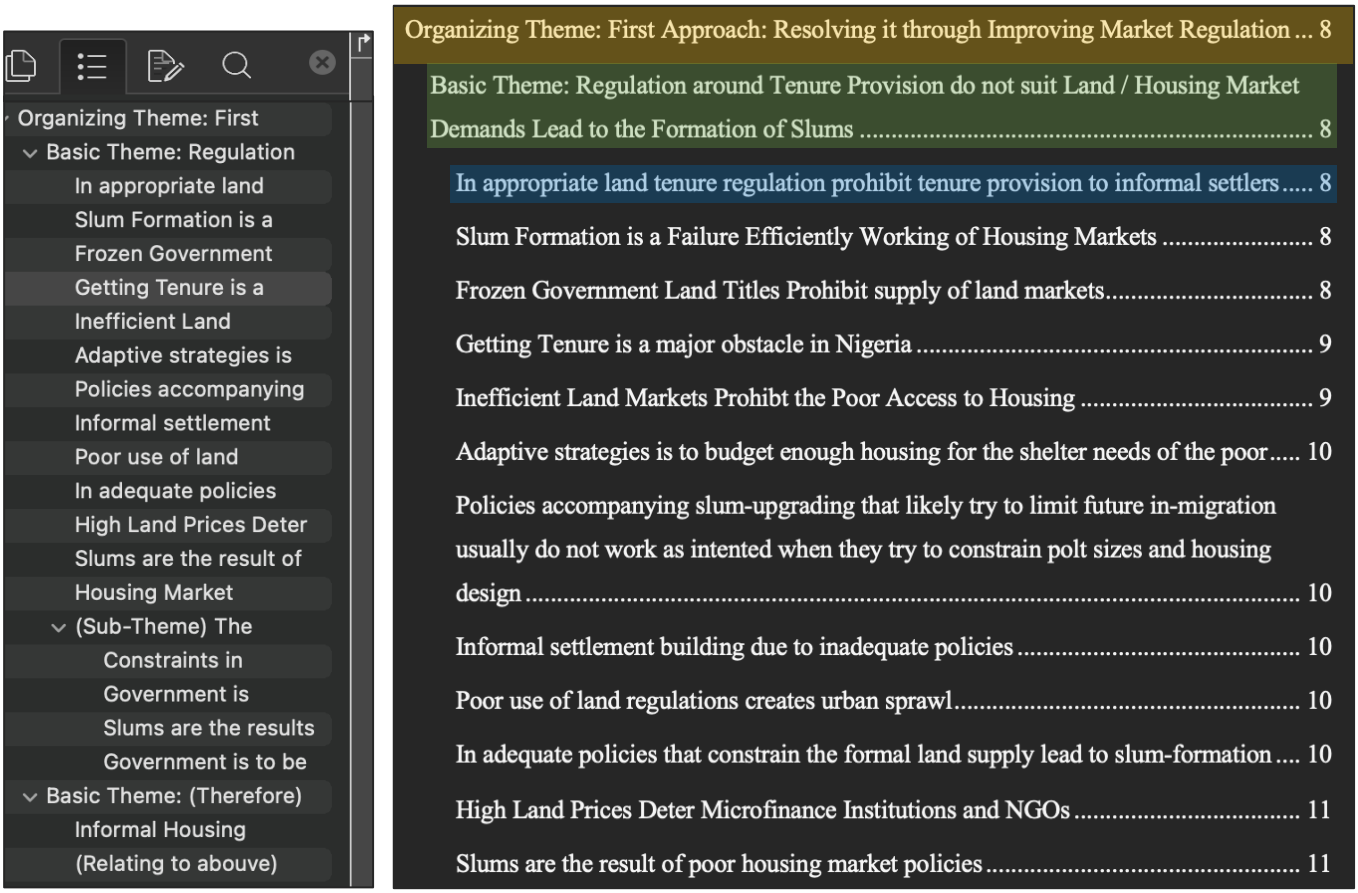


Figure 3.6: Navigator and Table of Content View for "Stopping the proliferation of slums"

3.7 Limitations

The adopted research methodology created some limits to this research project. Firstly, this project's focus on only English-language publications presents a limitation. Thus, while this research project has comprehensively searched for, reviewed and synthesized academic publications in English, slum-upgrading takes place predominantly in the global south in non-English speaking countries. Moreover, as section 4.2.3 will show significant academic interest in slum-upgrading exists outside of English-speaking countries. Therefore, expanding the scope of study to other languages can present an interesting opportunity for future research

Secondly, while this research project used a broad set of search terms and synonym search terms for slum-upgrading to find as many relevant publications on slum-upgrading as possible, reviewing the literature showed that the search terms used were not exhaustive. Next to "slum-improvement" and "slum-refurbishment", the researcher came across other alternative terms to "slum-upgrading", such as "slum-rebuilding". However, this term was only found in one study and, thus, should not affect the validity of the systematic search process. Nevertheless, this presents a second limitation and could be expanded.

Thirdly, "Urban Upgrading" is a term the World Bank documents often use to describe the process of improving the infrastructure in cities. However, it was not conceptually clear if urban upgrading and slum-upgrading overlap, and if they do, to what extent. Research that aims to distinctly separate these terms could help nuance the discourse further.

Lastly, inherently, interpretivist research approaches are highly subjective. While the systematic search and review tried to minimize any selection bias by the researcher, it is very difficult to prevent the researcher's background, academic training, and interests from influencing the data analysis. Therefore, his interpretive frame needs to be highlighted, and other frames for potential future research need to be presented. The analytical angle adopted in this project looks at slum-upgrading from an economic, development, a wellbeing point of view that the researcher understands well. Yet, several other possible angles to study slum-upgrading could be identified. These include gender (e.g. D'Cruz and Mudimu, 2013; Parikh et al. 2014; Williams et al. 2018; Bardhan et al. 2019), post-colonialism (e.g. Balaton-Chrimes, 2017; Adama, 2020), and power (e.g. Nuijten and Koster, 2012; Waheed, 2021). This presents a third limitation to this research project. It would be interesting to see future research that looks at central issues in slum-upgrading from any of these perspectives.

3.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the project's research methodology. It has discussed its approach to searching for and reviewing World Bank and academic publications on slum-upgrading and the data analysis. While there are some possible limitations around the sample of academic and World Bank publications in their scope, overall this methodology has helped comprehensively review and analyze a representative share of academic and World Bank publications on slum-upgrading. Following on from the methodology sections, the next two Chapters will present the findings of the thematic network analysis of the academic and World Bank publications on slum-upgrading, respectively.

Chapter 4: Findings from the Analysis of Academic Documents

4.1 Introduction

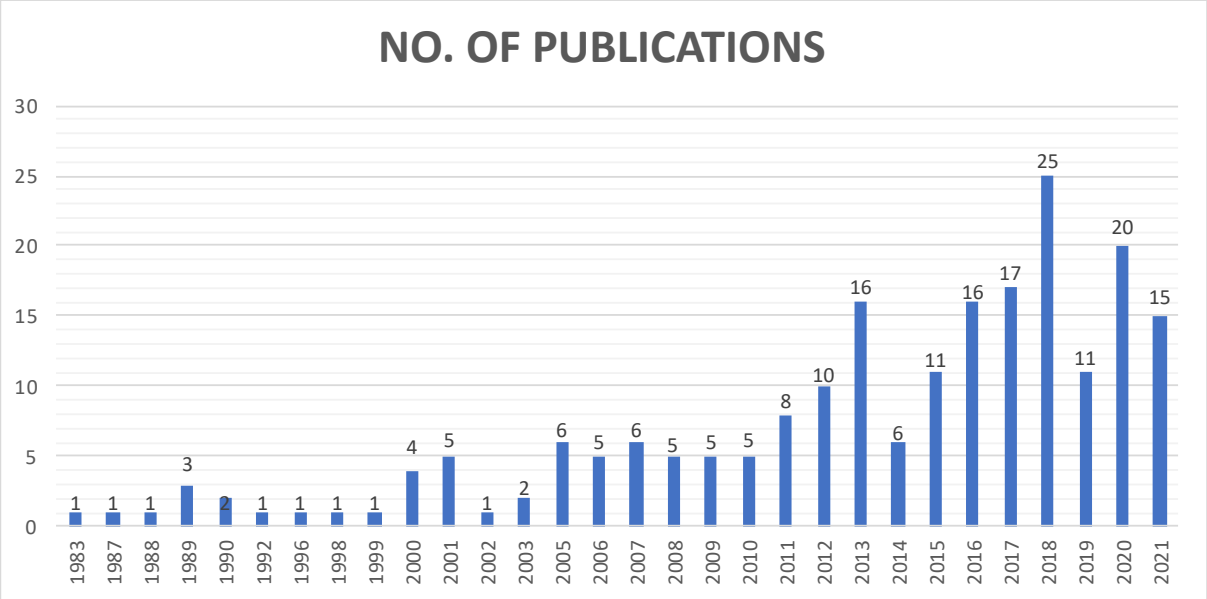
This chapter presents an analysis of the total available academic literature on slum-upgrading within the limits set out in Chapter 3. It documents the state of the discourse on slum upgrading and presents systematic documentation of the topics discussed in the academic literature until 2021. The first part of this chapter discusses the characteristics of the sampled academic documents. Then, it subsequently presents the findings from the thematic network analysis. Based on the described network approach to thematic analysis, five overarching global themes were identified. These are explored in detail in separate sections.

4.2 Review of Sampled Academic Publications

This first part of the chapter focuses on and discusses the sample of academic publications on slum-upgrading. It finds the following about the dataset:

- Most publications in the dataset have been published recently between 2013 and 2021,
- Slum-upgrading is published in a multitude of journals but particularly often in Habitat International,
- Slum-upgrading research often focuses on India, Brazil and Indonesia,
- A balance between research produced in the Global North and the Global South,
- And lastly, most academic research is empirical and often studies slum-upgrading projects through a single or multiple-case study design.

4.2.1 Prominence of Slum-Upgrading in Academic Discourse



Graphic 4.1: No of Publications in Sample Per Year (Author, 2021)

Increasingly more research is published on slum-upgrading. During the 1980s and 1990s, publications on slum-upgrading appear to have been scarce. The sampled literature includes only 12 articles published between these two decades (see Figure 4.1). Between the 2000s and 2010, publications on slum-upgrading increased to an average of 5 articles per year, indicating the growing interest of the academic community in slum-upgrading. The number of publications on slum-upgrading in the data sample leaps from only 5 in 2010 to 16 between 2011 to 2013, indicating that slum-upgrading becomes a topic of high academic interest. From 2013 onwards, 15 articles are included in the sample for every year after 2012. Overall this analysis shows that academic interest in slum-upgrading has increased steadily since the 1980s and remained high after the 2010s.

Several reasons could help explain the increasing interest of scholars in slum-upgrading since the 2000s. Firstly, more scholars could have become interested in slum-upgrading after the UN MGDs and UN SDGs were launched in 2000 and 2015, respectively. Both policies include the improvement of slums as one development target, and they call on the use of slum-upgrading to improve the lives of slum-dwellers (see again Section 2.4.1.1). However, most literature on slum-upgrading published in the 2000s still focuses on large-scale slum-upgrading projects implemented during the late 1980s and 1990s, for example, launched by governments in India, Kenya and Thailand (see Table 4.1). Thus, the prevalence of interesting large-scale slum-upgrading projects could be a second explanation for their increasing interest in slum-

upgrading. As governments continued to launch large-scale slum-upgrading projects during the 2000s and 2010s (see Table 4.2), and even after 2010 (see Table 4.3) it is likely that scholarly interest increased with the prevalence of more slum-upgrading projects globally and was also additionally fueled through the introduction of the UN's MDGs and SDGs agendas. Overall it seems that the prominence of slum-upgrading in the academic discourse and academic research interest in slum-upgrading are grounded in prevailing global development policies and national slum-upgrading policies and efforts.

Upgrading Project	Country	Year	No. of People Impacted
Prime Minister Grant Project	India	1985	75,000 families
Indore Habitat Project	India	1987	450,000 people
Slum Redevelopment Program	India	1990	> 3,000,000 people
Dharavi Redevelopment Project	India	1995	18,000 households
Mahare 4A Program	Kenya	1990	25,000 people
UCDO and CODI community development upgrading program (later developed into the Baan Mankong project)	Thailand	1992	280,000 people

Table 4.1. Large Scale Slum-Upgrading Projects Implemented in the 1980s and 1990s (Source: Author, 2021 – from data analysis discussed in Chapter 2.2.1)

Upgrading Project	Country	Year	No. of People Impacted
Slum-Networking Project	India	2000	45.000 people
Resettlement Project for Mumbai Transportation	India	2005	315,000 people
Basic Services for the Urban Poor	India	2005	> 700,000 people
Kenya Slum Upgrading Program (KENSUP)	Kenya	2004	5,300,000 people
Baan Mankong	Thailand	2003	1,000,000 people

Table 4.2. Large Scale Slum-Upgrading Projects Implemented in the 2000s (Source: Author, 2021 – from data analysis discussed in Chapter 2.2.1)

Upgrading Project	Country	Year	No. of People Impacted
Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY)	India	2010	Not yet known

Journal	No. Of Articles
Ambiente and Society	1
Annual New York Academy of Science	1
Antipode	3
Applied Energy	1
Applied Geomatics	1
Area	1
Berkley Planning Journal	1
Buildings	1
Cities	14
City	1
City and Society	1
Cochrane Library	2
Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance	1
Community Development Journal	2
Convergence	1
Critiques of Antropologies	1
Development and Change	1
Development and Practive	1
Development Policy Review	1
Development Southern Africa	1
Economy and Space	1
Energy Research and Social Science	1
Environment and Planning	3
Environment and Urbanization	14
Environment Research and Public Health	2
Environmental Development Sustainability	1
Environmental Hazards	1
Environmental Impact Assessment Review	1
Environmental Research and Public Health	1
Evidence Based Medicine	1
Fronitiers in Sustainable Cities	1
Frontoers of Architectureal Research	1
Future Internet	1
International Journal of Urban Science	2
International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development	7
International Journal of Water Resources Develppment	1
Journal of Asian And African Studies	1
Journal of Cleaner Production	1
Journal of Development Economics	1
Journal of Housing and Buit Environments	1
Journal of Planning Education	2
Journal of Planning Education and Research	1
Journal of Refugee Studies	1
Journal of regional and City Planning	1
Journal of Settlement and Spatial Planning	2
Journal of Studies and Research in Human Geography	1
Journal of Urban Affairs	1
Journal of Urban Design	1
Journal of Urban Economics	3
Journal of Urban Health	1
Land Economics	1
Landscape Research	1
Les cahiers d'Afrique	1
Malaysian Journal of Society and Space	1
ODA Workshop on urbanization and British aid	1
Original Research	1
Planning Perspectives	1
Planning Theory	2
Postcolonial Studies	1
Procedia - Social and Behaviroual Science216	4
Procedia Environmental Science	1
Proceedings of the Institute of Civil Engineering	1
Public Health	1
Remote Sensing	1
Social Change	1
Social Science	1

Table 4.4: Journal that have published research on slum-upgrading

Gobal Environmental Change	1
Habitat International	39
Housing Finanace International	1
Housing Microfinance for Slum Upgraiding	1
Housing Policy Debate	1
Housing Studies	7
International Development Planning Review	1
International Health and Human Rights	1
International Journal for Housing Science	1
International Journal of Applied Earth Observation Geoinformatiom	1
International Journal of Cartography	1
International Journal of Development Planning	1
International Journal of Disaster Management	1
International Journal of Disater Risk Reduction	3
International Journal of Health Geography	1
International Journal of Housing Policy	1
International Journal of Housing Science	1
International Journal of Urban and Regional Research	2
Sustainability	4
Sustainable Cities and Society	1
Sustainable Development	1
The European Journal of Disaster Research	1
The Indian Journal of Social Work	1
The Review of Regional Studies	1
Third World Planning Review	1
Third World Quaterly	1
Transportation Research Procedia	1
Tropical Geography	1
Urban Design and Planning	1
Urban Formum	1
Urban Forum	1
Urban Planning	1
Urban Science	1
Urban Studies	4
Voluntas	1
Waterlines	1
WIT Transactions on Ecology and the nvirobment	1
World Development	2

Table 4.6: Academic Publications by Journal

4.2.3 Geographical Focus and Production of Slum-Upgrading Research

Research on slum-upgrading is produced globally, with authors from 47 countries have published research documents in the sample. The production of knowledge was somewhat balanced between the Global North and Global South (institutions from the global north contributed to about 55% of all publications). The USA (48 publications) and the UK (34 publications) produce the most research on slum-upgrading overall. Amongst countries in the Global South, in particular in India (24 publications), Australia (13 publications), and South Africa (11 publications) (see Figure 4.3). The geographical focus of slum-upgrading research is also disbursed. Publications covered 39 countries in the global South and only France in the global north, where research focused on Roma settlements (Chaudhuri, 2017). The geographic focus of articles in the sample overlaps with the geographical areas where most slums are concentrated (see UNStats, 2021).

While the geographical focus of slum-upgrading is disbursed, in particular India (54 articles), Brazil (22 articles), Kenya (17 articles) and Indonesia (15 articles) stand out as having received the most scholarly attention (see Figure 4.10). From the outset, it is not clear why scholars have frequently focused on these countries. One possible explanation for why these countries have gathers so much more scholarly attention than all other countries is that they all have launched at least one large-scale slum-upgrading project (see Figures 4.2, 4.3 and Figure 4.5 in the previous section) over the last 50 years. An additional explanation is that these countries have been producers as well as the destination of research. Thus:

- 25 out of 54 articles focusing on India have been published by researchers based in India,
- 6 out of 22 articles on Brazil have been published by researchers based in Brazil,
- and 5 out of 15 articles on Indonesian have been published by researchers based in Indonesia.

As researchers from the Global South often research slum-upgrading in their own countries, many articles are produced by researchers of countries where slum-upgrading is particularly prevalent.

However, next to these three “firm” explanations several other linkages could provide reasons. These have to do with the proximity of the research publishing countries to India, Brazil, Kenya and Indonesia and potentially with preexisting historical ties. Table 4.5 presents India, Brazil, Kenya and Indonesia with information who the dominant research producers in

each country and possible explanations for why they may often my publish research in said countries. They show that historical ties and proximity to other countries with a slum-upgrading project may also explain why certain countries focus particularly often on specific countries when they publish research on slum-upgrading. These explanations are tentative, however, and would need further investigation.

Research Destination	**Dominant Research Producer**	**Hypothesis**
India (54 articles)	India (25 publications*)	Focus on self
	USA (13 publications*)	Unknown
	UK (9 publications*)	Historical Ties
	Australia (6 publications*)	Proximity
Brazil (22 articles)	Brazil (6 publications*)	Focus on self
	USA (5 publications*)	Proximity
	UK (5 publications*)	Unknown
	Netherlands (publications*)	Unknown
Kenya (17 articles)	UK (5 publications*)	Historical Ties
	USA (3 publications*)	Unknown
	South Africa (2 publications*)	Proximity
Indonesia (15 articles)	Indonesia (5 publications*)	Focus on self
	Australia (4 publications*)	Proximity

Table 4.5: Possible Explanation for geographical foci prominent research producing countries (* indicates that these numbers include publications that have been published by more than one author from a different country)

Figure 4.1: Geographic Focus of Academic Documents

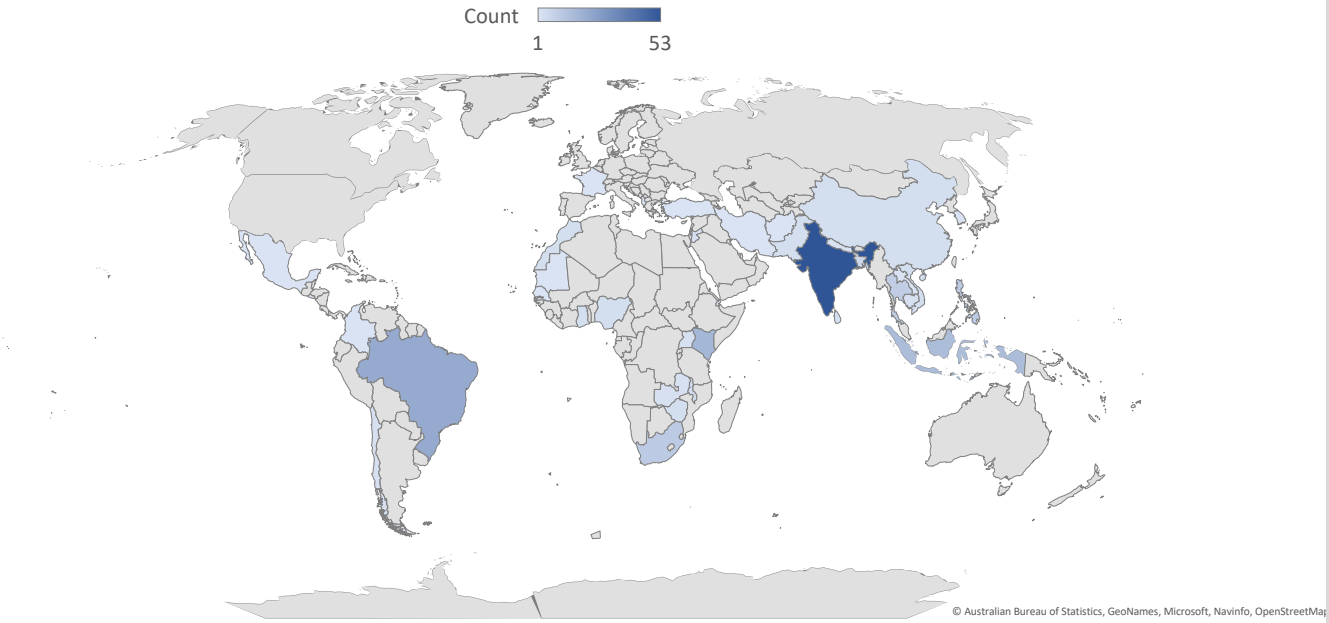


Figure 4.2: Concentration of Research Producers vs Destinations

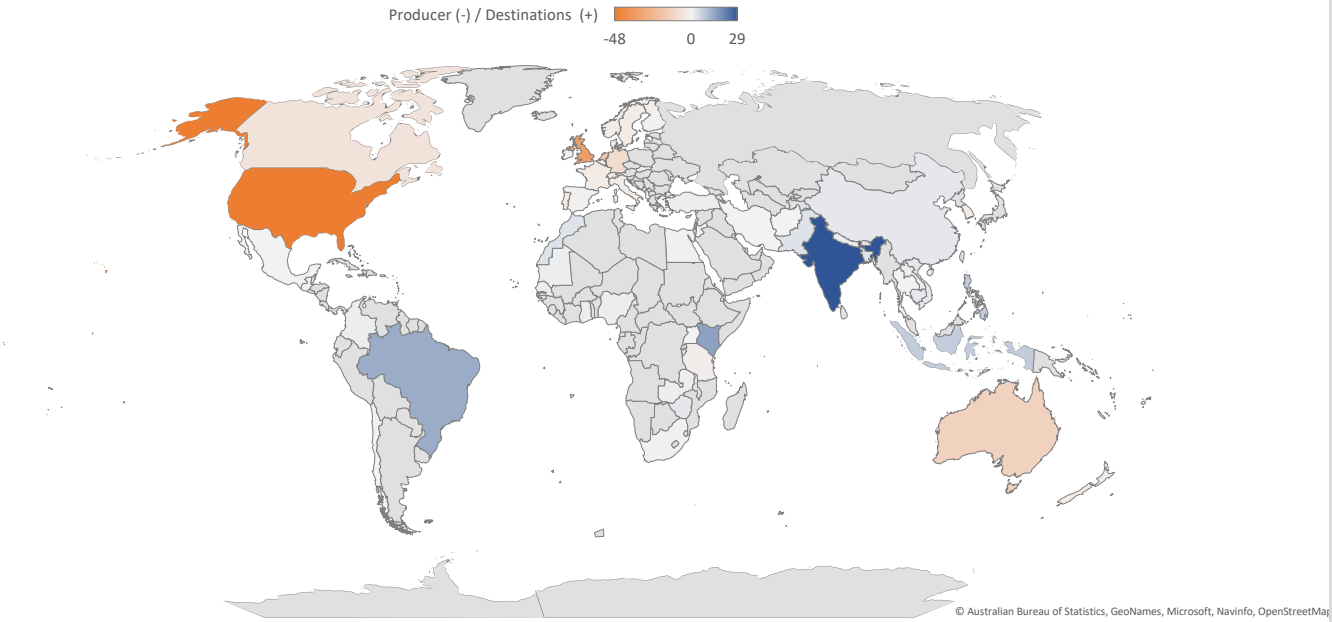
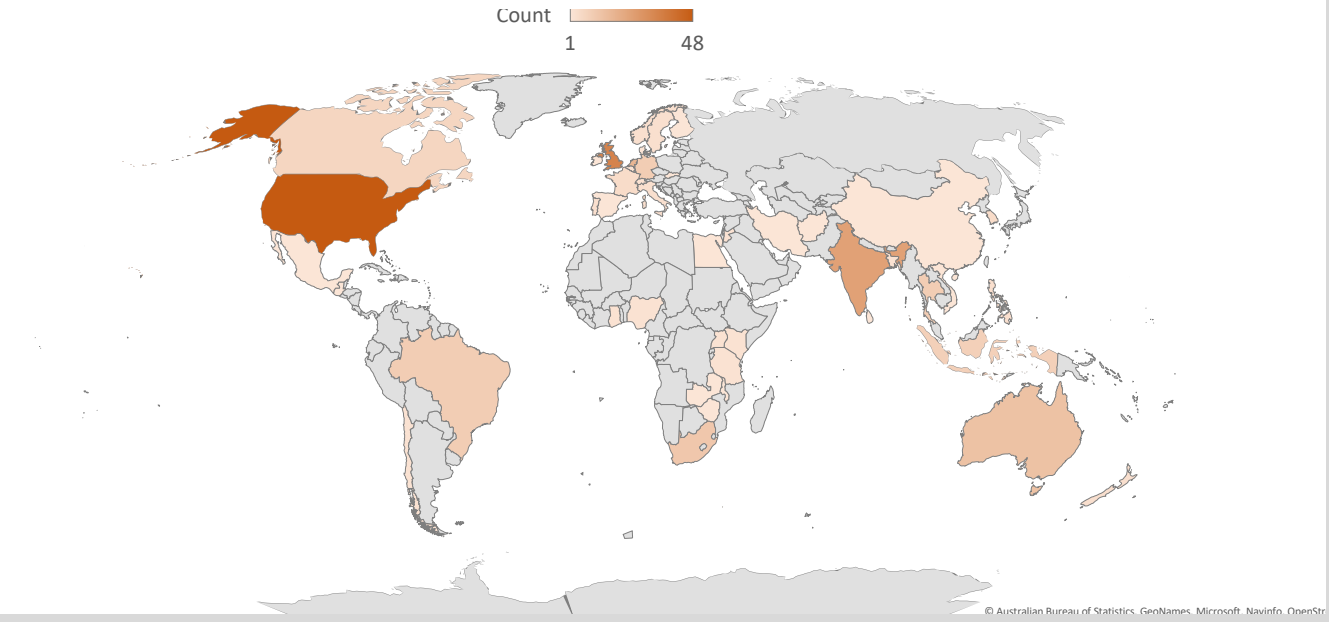


Figure 4.3: Concentration of Research Producers



4.2.4 Dominant Approaches to Research Slum-Upgrading

Across the sampled documents case studies (incl. multiple case studies) made up about 80% of all articles that investigated slum-upgrading empirically (see Table 4.6, next page). Other less frequently used approaches to empirical research were regression analyses (6 articles), surveys (5 articles) and ethnographies (5 articles). Scholars used regression analyses to analyze the impact of particular slum-upgrading programs (like the sites and services program) or to find out how tenure impacts housing values (Kaufman and Quigley, 1987; Nakamura, 2017, Kim et al. 2019) or to assess the overall impact of slum-upgrading projects (Takeushi et al. 2007). They used surveys to study the perception of slum-dwellers towards tenure (Shirgaokar and Rumbach, 2018); the safe use of community toilets (Chaudhuri, 2018); and how relocation projects change how slum-dwellers perceive their social environment after being upgraded (Assefa-Taferia and Newman, 2018). Lastly, researchers used ethnographies to intensively engage with the communities and slum environment and their slum-upgrading experience (Salmi, 2019; Bose, 2021).

In total, 162 research studies investigated slum-upgrading empirically. Far fewer articles (61) used non-empirical methods. Of those, articles most often investigated slum-upgrading conceptually (36). Secondary data analyses (used by 11 articles), literature reviews (used by 4 articles) and policy analyses (used by 4 articles) were other non-empirical research designs used across the sample.

Conceptual research focused on housing tenure (e.g. Sygga, 2011), methodologies to research slum-upgrading (e.g., Turely et al. 2016), approaches to financing slum-upgrading (Campa Sole and Moser, 2006; Nilsson, 2008), and specific slum-upgrading programs (for instance, the World Bank's sites and services program – e.g. Werlin, 1999; or the Baan Mankong program – e.g. Boonybancha, 2009).

Secondary data was used to explore concepts like diversity and health in already published data sets (Bapat and Crook, 1987; Yehoba et al. 2021). Literature reviews synthesized the impact of slum-upgrading interventions on health (Truley et al. 2013; Weiman and Oni, 2019; Henson et al. 2020). Policy research investigated different slum-upgrading policies that governments implemented (for instance in South Africa – Huchzermeyer, 2006; Ziblim and Sumeghy, 2013). Articles that synthesize and compare research on slum-upgrading holistically were lacking in the sample, indicating that this research might be the first of its kind.

Approach/Method	No. Of Articles
Empirical	**162**
Case-Study	90
Multiple Case Studies	38
Regression	6
Ethnogarphy	5
Survey	5
Cross-Sectional	4
Interviews	4
Quasi-experimental	3
Experimental	2
Fuzzy Logic Models	2
Focus Groups	1
Photovoice	1
Longitudinal	1
Non-Emperical	**61**
Conceptual	36
Secondary-Data Analysis	11
Literature Review	4
Policy Analysis	4
Historical	2
Meta-Analysis	2
Discourse Analysis	1
Documentary Research	1
Total	**223**

Table 4.6: Primary method and approaches taken by reviewed articles

4.3 Overview of Identified Thematic Networks

This part of the chapter presents the findings of the thematic network analysis for the sampled academic document. The thematic network analysis of the sampled academic documents generated five global themes. On the next page, Table 4.7 presents an overview of the global and organizing themes that make up the academic discourse on slum upgrading. They are ranked by their prominence (across how many of the reviewed articles they appeared in). The number behind each global and organizing theme indicates in how many articles instances of these themes were found. As multiple themes were found across articles, the number of organizing themes often does not add up to the number of articles a global theme spans. Following this section, the thematic network surrounding each global theme is reviewed. It starts with the actors in slum-upgrading.

Theme	No. of articles
Scale	**82**
- Cost and Financing of Slum-Upgrading	36
- Tenure	35
- Standardized vs Location Sensitive Approaches to Slum-Upgrading	33
- Scale and Compatibility with Sustainability	6
Impact of Slum-Upgrading Projects	**75**
- Impact of Relocation and Redevelopment Projects	37
- Impact of Physical Improvements	20
- Impact of Slum-Upgrading on Employment and Income	17
Approaches to Slum-Upgrading	**59**
- Top-Down City Development Approaches	28
- Participatory Approaches to Slum-Upgrading	24
- Community-Led Approaches	14
Long-term Sustainability of Slum-Upgrading	**50**
- Affordability of Interventions	20
- Issues in Maintenance	20
- Responses to Natural Disasters	11
Actors	**49**
- Community-Based Organizations (CBOs)	17
- The Government	15
- Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)	12
- The Private Sector	12
- Saving Groups/ Federations	5

Table 4.7: Overview of Global and Organizing Themes by prominence

4.3.1 Actors

This thematic network explores the function of actors in slum-upgrading. Prominent actors in the academic discourse on slum-upgrading include the government (found in 15 articles), NGOs (found in 12 articles), community organizations (found in 17 articles), community-saving groups (found in 5 articles), and the private sector (found in 12 articles). Figure 4.4 presents the thematic network for the global theme actor.

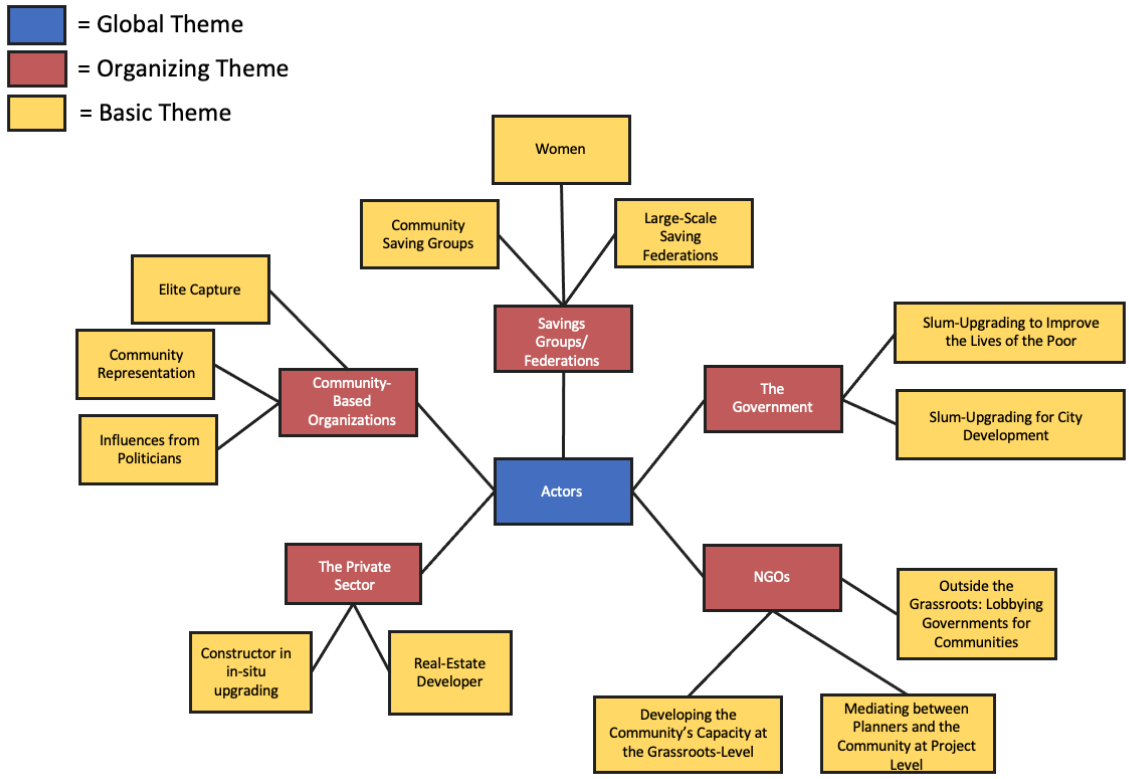


Figure 4.4: Thematic Network Actors

4.3.1.1 The Government

This thematic network "The Government" consists of two basic themes that discuss why governments seek to upgrade slums: - to improve the lives of the slum-dwellers or to use slum-upgrading for city development (e.g. see figure 4.5).

Articles in the literature sample pay a lot of attention to how governments perceive slums. They highlight that governments have different points of view on slums (e.g. Majale, 2008; Gasparre, 2011; Koster and Nujiten, 2012; Nuijten et al. 2012; Marias and Ntema, 2013; Patel, S. 2013; Purawanto et al. 2017; Sibyan, 2020; Yehoba et al. 2021). Namely, governments either view slum-dwellers as part of cities or they view them as separate or even threats to the

formal city environment. How governments perceive slums within the context of cities ultimately mediates how they use of slum-upgrading:

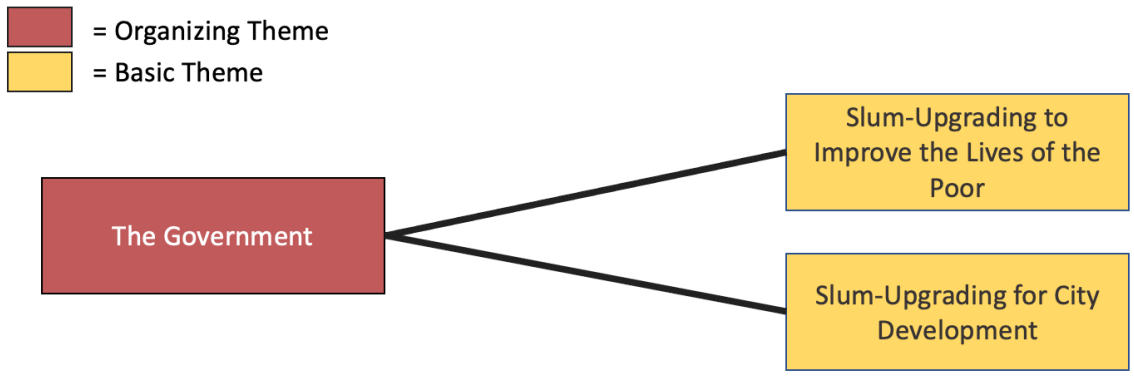


Figure 4.5: Basic themes for organizing theme Government's attitude towards slum-upgrading

When governments view slums as part of cities, they develop pro-poor approaches to slum-upgrading (i.e. approaches to slum-upgrading that include the community as stakeholders), whereas when governments do not view slums as part of cities, they use slum-upgrading to formalize slum communities or remove them from the inner city (e.g. Sibyan, 2020).

Most articles clustered under this organizing theme (e.g. Majale, 2008; Gasparre, 2011; Koster and Nujiten, 2012; Nuijten et al. 2012; Marias and Ntema, 2013; Patel, S. 2013; Purawanto et al. 2017) criticize governments' approaches to upgrade slums for city development. Only articles by Boonyabanchan (2005); Gasparre (2011), Sibyan (2020); Yehoba (2021) explicitly discuss governments that had a positive attitude toward slum-dwellers. They focus on slum-upgrading projects like the Kampung Improvement Project (KIP) in Indonesia or the Baan Mangkong project in Thailand. However, the prevalence of literature criticizing how governments use slum-upgrading indicates that in practice slum-upgrading projects are often used to formalize slums. This can have very negative consequences for slum-dwellers as it, for example, threatens their livelihoods. For example, Zimbabwe's Operation Murambatsvina or ''Drive Out Trash'' destroyed the informal settlements of 2 million inhabitants (Gasparre, 2011). Moreover, slums can become subjects to clearances, removals, relocation or redevelopment when space is needed to build prestigious projects for cities (Nuijten, 2013; De Vries, 2016; Becerelli, 2017; Comelli et al. 2018). This theme will be discussed again in more detail in Section 4.3.2.1 of this chapter.

4.3.1.2 CBOs

This organizing theme on CBOs is made up of three basic themes: CBOs for community-representation; CBOs are prone to elite capture and CBOs are prone to the influences of politicians. Figure 4.6 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

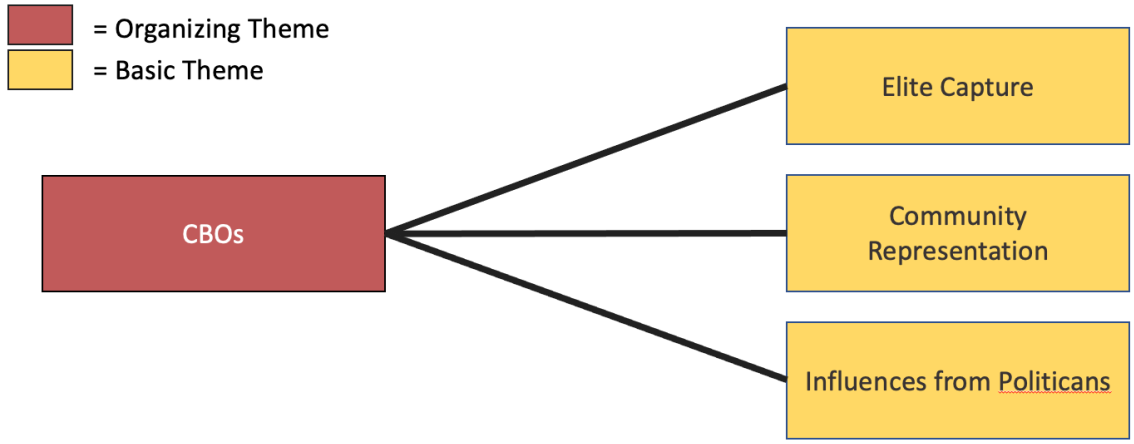


Figure 4.6: Basic themes for organizing theme CBOs.

Community-based organizations often represent slum communities (e.g. Das and Takahashi, 2009; Patel et al. 2011; Minnery et al. 2013; French et al. 2018). Across the literature, CBOs have often been studied for their productive role in representing the community in slum-upgrading projects (e.g. Das and Takahashi, 2009; Patel et al. 2011; Minnery et al. 2013) and also as a driver of community-led slum-upgrading initiatives (e.g. French et al. 2018). However, some of these investigations have highlighted that members of CBOs are prone to abuse their power and that CBOs are made up of elites (e.g. Patel and Mandhyan, 2014; Patel, 2016; Choplin and Dessie, 2017; Doe et al. 2020). Examples of both can be found in several articles (Bapat and Crook, 1989; Huchzermeyer, 2009; Al-Nammari, 2013; Patel and Mandhyan, 2014; Patel, K. 2016; Choplin and Dessie, 2017; Cherunya et al. 2020; Hossain and Rahman, 2020). Elites that take over CBOs are local landlords (e.g. Huchzermeyer, 2009; Patel and Mandhyan, 2014), but also individuals with ties to ruling political parties (e.g Ghafur, 2000; Al-Nammari, 2013; Patel and Mandhyan, 2014; Patel et al. 2015; Patel, K, 2016; Hossain and Rahman, 2020).

Elite capture within CBOs can have severe negative consequences for the success of slum-upgrading projects, and they benefit the communities. Articles have found that when politicians influence CBOs, CBOs favour distributing the benefits that slum-upgrading projects provide to slum-dwellers with strong political ties and the right party membership (Patel, 2019).

"Who has the right political ties" can be a deciding factor when new housing slum-upgrading projects are allocated (ibid.). Moreover, the dominance of particular ethnic and cultural groups in CBOs has led to the exclusion of minorities from being involved in the CBO (Patel and Mandhyan, 2014; Patel. 2016). Both have significant implications for how successful participatory processes in slum-upgrading projects can be. Dominating elites can make the planning stage of upgrading projects less inclusive and the outcomes of slum-upgrading less equitable.

4.3.1.3 Saving Groups /Federations

Saving groups take on a central function in community-led slum-upgrading projects (discussed in Section 4.5.3). They have therefore received significant attention across the literature (e.g. Thudiprara, 1992; Yap and De Wendeler, 2010; Minnery et al. 2013; Refistie and Millenstein, 2019; Celentano et al. 2020). Three basic themes make up this organizing theme on Saving Groups: Community-Saving Groups, Saving-Federations, and Women. Figure 4.7 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

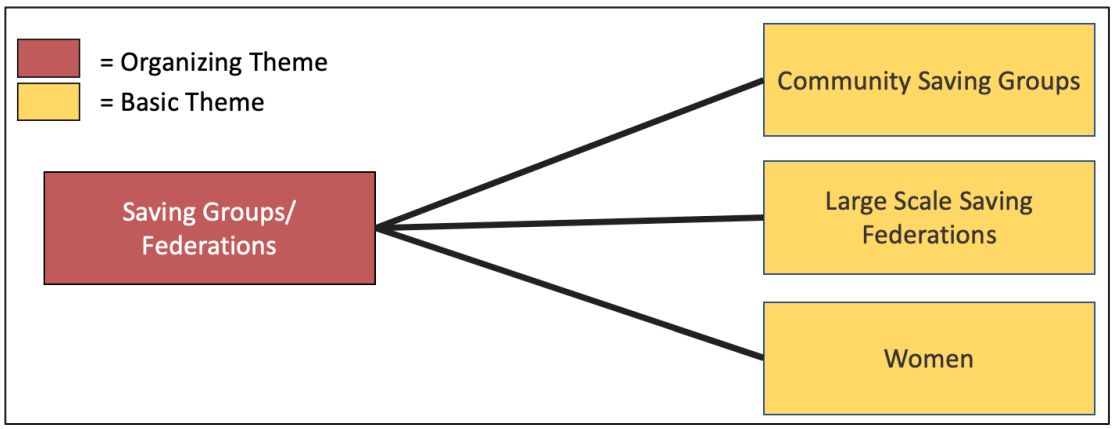


Figure 4.7: Basic themes for organizing theme Savings Groups / Federations

At the grassroots level, community savings groups collect and manage funds of communities or groups within communities. These community funds are used to finance infrastructure or housing improvements and other local development efforts in local communities (e.g. Thudiprara, 1992). Saving federations span and organize savings groups at a community, city or national level into larger savings organizations. They can help slum communities undertake large-scale community-driven slum-upgrading projects (Boonyabancha, 2005; D'Cruz and Mudium, 2013; Schermbrucker et al. 2018; Refietie and Millenstein, 2019). Moreover, they increase the bargaining power of slum communities. As

savings federations, slum communities can lobby governments, for example, for land to settle on, for financial and political support for their slum-upgrading projects (Yap and De Wendeler, 2010; Minnery et al. 2013) or apply for loans (e.g. Boonyabancha, 2009).

Women are central to saving groups. They are often those initiating and operating the savings group (e.g. Anonlihao and van Horen, 2005; D'Cruz and Mudium, 2013). This can be a very empowering experience for some (D'Cruz and Mudimu, 2013) as savings groups allow women to connect and have their own space (ibid.). Large-scale saving federations are often formed and organized through NGOs like SDI or the Asian Coalition for Community Action (ACCA).

4.3.1.4 NGOs

Across the reviewed literature, NGOs play the role of an intermediary, negotiating between the community, the government and other project stakeholders, and as a facilitator helping communities to set up slum-upgrading projects and bargain with governments for support of community-led slum-upgrading projects. This is also shown in the three basic themes that reflect the role of NGOs at the grassroots level, at the project level and outside the grassroots level (see Figure 4.8).

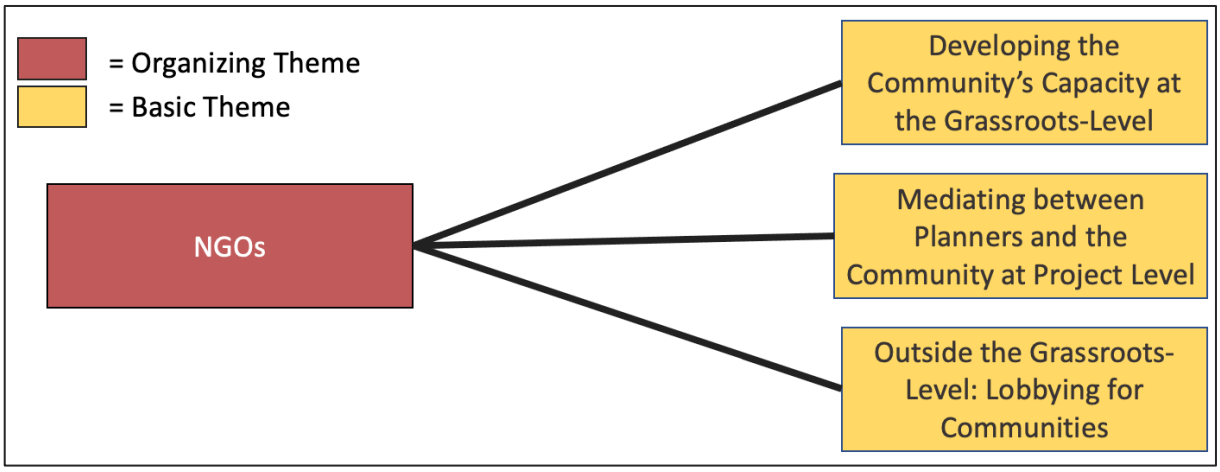


Figure 4.8: Basic themes for organizing theme NGOs

As NGOs often help to facilitate slum-upgrading projects, their role is quite central in slum-upgrading. For example, they arrange saving groups and help communities organize saving federations and other community organizations. To achieve these ends, NGOs also train the communities to have the necessary organizational, financial, and technical skills to lead and organize CBOs and saving groups (Amis, 2001; Cronin and Gutherie, 2011; Dubson, 2017). This is very important as such training opportunities provide communities with the necessary

skills, financial means, and capabilities to organize community-wide or even city-wide slum-upgrading projects (Shelby, 2020). At times, NGOs even provide some (initial) funding to community-led slum-upgrading projects (e.g. Archer, 2012a; Schermbrucker et al. 2016) which makes them the initator and supporter of community-led slum-upgrading projects.

NGOs can also help communities negotiate with governments. For example, they can support communities lobbying governments for land to settle upon legally, and they have helped slum communities change the government's mind towards a particular slum-upgrading project (e.g. Cronin and Gutherie, 2011; Gasparre, 2011; Muchadnyika, 2015; Grassini, 2017; Rocha-Formiki, 2019). This can improve what impact slum-upgrading projects create or minimize potential negative consequences for communities from slum-upgrading. For example, Cronin and Gutherie (2011) describe that an NGO in Pune, India pursued a government to relocate a slum community as a response to flooding instead of trying less save in-situ upgrading to protect them from floods. When communities might not have enough bargaining power to be heard or to negotiate with city governments, NGOs can help facilitate this process.

NGOs can also help balance out power inequalities within slum-upgrading projects. Several articles (e.g. Nuijten et al. 2012; Adama, 2020; Kiefer and Ranganathan, 2020) find that tensions between communities and community planners exit, for example, in what each prioritizes as important project outcomes (Nuijten et al. 2012; Kiefer and Ranganathan, 2020; Beier, 2021). Here NGOs can help mediate conflicts in participatory processes (Adamis, 2001, Sabyal and Mukhija, 2001; Kiefer and Ranganathan, 2020). While NGOs have not always played a prominent role throughout the data set, this thematic network highlights the importance of NGOs in enabling community-led slum-upgrading and the significant advantage that can be gained from involving NGOs in slum-upgrading projects.

4.3.1.5 The Private Sector

Across the sample, articles highlight the private sector's contribution to housing production in slum in-situ redevelopment and relocation projects. Here the private sector's role is primarily that of a real estate developer (e.g. Mukhija, 2000; Amis, 2001; Ha, 2001; Yap and De Wendeler, 2010; Doshi, 2012; Nuijten et al. 2012; Jones, 2017). One article also discusses the role of the private sector as a constructor in in-situ slum-upgrading programs (Celentano et al. 2020). Figure 4.9 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

Most of the academic discourse surrounding the private sector concerns land-sharing agreements and transfer of development rights (TDR) (e.g. Yan and De Wendeler, 2010;

Ragheb et al. 2016; Doshi, 2018; Debnath et al. 2019). These relate to the financing of slum-upgrading projects and will be discussed subsequently in section 4.9.3, however.

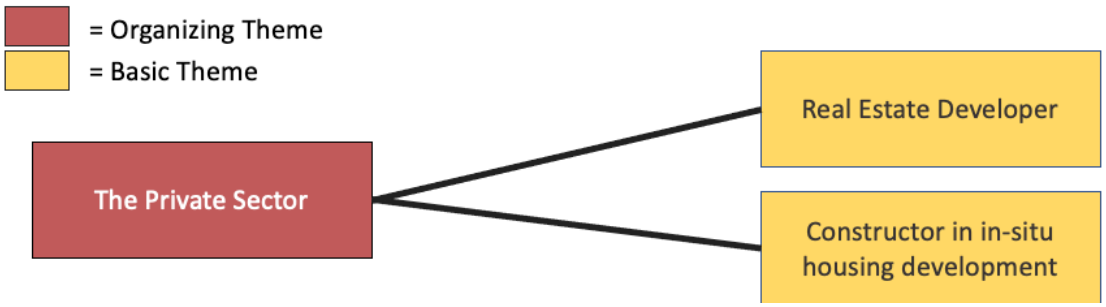


Figure 4.9: Basic themes for organizing theme the Private Sector

4.3.2 Approaches to Slum-Upgrading

After exploring the actors, this thematic network explores different approaches to slum-upgrading. It is comprised of three organizing themes: top-down city development approaches to slum-upgrading (covered in 28 articles), participatory approaches to slum-upgrading (covered in 24 articles), and incremental, community-led approaches to slum-upgrading (covered in 8 articles, see Figure 4.10).

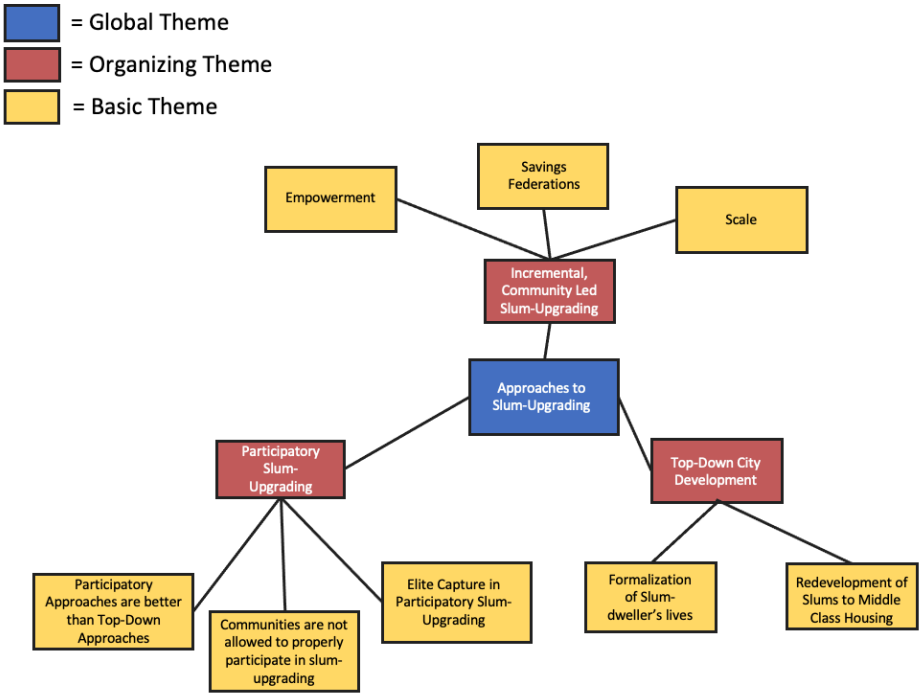


Figure 4.10: Thematic Network Approaches to Slum-Upgrading

4.3.2.1 Top-Down City Development Approaches to Slum-upgrading

This organizing theme appeared across a set of 28 articles. It is made up of two basic themes – "Redevelopment of Slums to Middle-Class Housing", and "Slum-Clearance, demolition, relocation, and redevelopment". Figure 4.11 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

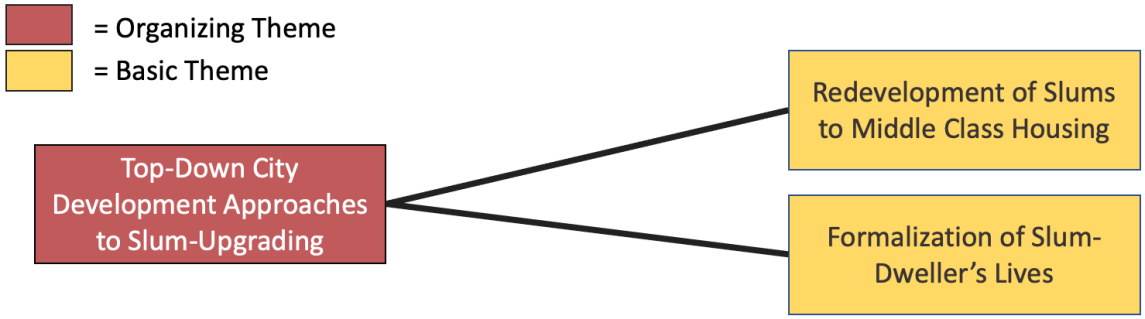


Figure 4.11: Basic themes for organizing theme Top-down City Development Approaches to Slum-Upgrading

City development efforts aspire to turn large developing country cities into "World Class Cities" (e.g. Salmi, 2019; Adama, 2020; Shepard, 2020). With World-Class City aspirations governments strive to make their cities more modern and competitive with other cities, for example, in the west (Jones, 2017; Adama, 2020). Consequences of city development efforts are that governments try to make slums more attractive looking (i.e. to beautify them), to formalize slums, or otherwise to clear and relocate slums to build prestigious projects (Nuijten, 2013; De Vries, 2016; Becerelli, 2017; Comelli et al. 2018)[3]. The literature criticizes that governments prioritize city development goals over the well-being of the slum-dwellers (Majale, 2008; Gasparre, 2011; Koster and Nujiten, 2012; Nuijten et al. 2012; Marias and Ntema, 2013; Patel, S. 2013; Purawanto et al. 2017).

This all has severe consequences for slum-dwellers. Redevelopment or "slum-beautification" can mean that governments try to turn a slum settlement into a settlement with a middle-income aesthetic. To beautify slums, slums might be redeveloped into high-rise apartment buildings (e.g. Hwang and Feng, 2020). This can make it impossible for slum-dwellers to carry out their livelihood activities (Koster and Nuijtem, 2012; Hwang and Feng, 2020). Slum-dwellers are often micro-entrepreneurs operating home-based enterprises like food

[3] Examples of these prestigious projects are the World Cup and Olympic Games in Brazil (Nuijten, 2013; De Vries, 2016).

stalls and restaurants. When slum-upgrading relocates them to live in apartment buildings, the lack of outside areas for (e.g.) cattle and other livestock and the inability of doing business out of the apartment housing can make the operation of home-based enterprises impossible (Koster and Nuijten, 2012). World Class City development efforts have hence been frequently criticized in the sampled academic discourse (e.g. Koster and Nuijten, 2012; Nuijten, 2013; Balaton-Chrimes, 2017; Jones, 2017; Hwang and Feng, 2020; Yehoba, 2021).

In addition to changing the physical living spaces of slum-dwellers, slum-upgrading projects might also go along with formalization projects aimed at transforming the lives of the poor lead (Nuijten, 2013, de Vries, 2016; Sibyan, 2020). These social programs are aimed at making slum-dwellers undergo a formal reeducation process. They learn, for example, how to maintain their new house, how to take care of the environment and trees, how to separate their garbage, how they were supposed raising their children, and what they should do to improve their lives (Nuijten, 2013, p.16). Top-down approaches to slum-upgrading were therefore criticized throughout my literature sample (e.g. MacPherson, 2013).

4.3.2.2 Incremental, community-led approaches at the grassroots level

The academic discourse on incremental-community-led approaches to slum-upgrading is tightly interwoven with the discourse on savings groups, discussed in section 4.4.3 and on NGOs, discussed in 4.4.4. It is made up of here themes - community-driven incremental development at scale, savings federations, and empowerment. Figure 4.12 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

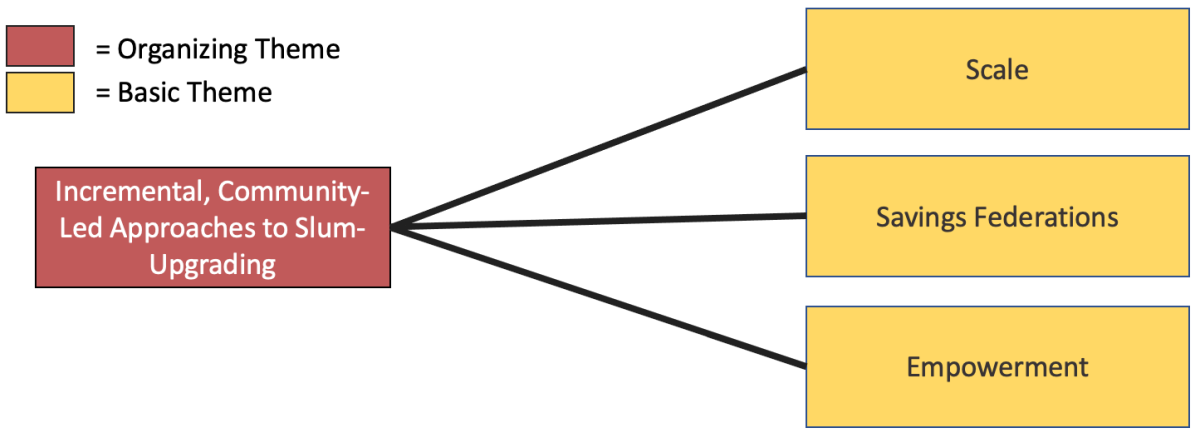


Figure 4.12: Basic themes for organizing theme Incremental, Community-Led Approaches to Slum-Upgrading

Community-led slum-upgrading interventions have received significant attention across the sampled literature because of what scale some have achieved. (Boonyabancha, 2005, 2009; Archer, 2012; Dobson, 2017; French et al. 2020). For example, savings groups in Thailand

helped to improve and build more than 300,000 housing units during the Baan Mankong slum-upgrading project (Boonyabancha, 2005, 2009; Yap and De Wendeler, 2010; Archer, 2012). This makes the Baan Mangkong one of the largest (by scale) slum-upgrading projects identified in the sampled literature.

Community groups start incremental community-led approaches to slum-upgrading at the grassroots level (French et al. 2018). They are often savings groups started by women (D'Cruz and Mudimu, 2013). To upgrade slums at scale, community groups at the grassroots level form savings federations (Boonyabancha, 2005; Dobson, 2017; Shelby, 2020; discussed in section 4.4.3). These federations help individual saving groups to form networks and share resources and knowledge (Boonyabancha, 2005; Shelby, 2020). They collectively organize and finance slum-upgrading projects (ibid.).

One frequently cited the outcome of incremental community-led slum-upgrading projects is community empowerment (e.g. Das, 2006; Archer, 2012; C'Cruz and Mudimu, 2013; Degert et al. 2016). Empowerment is the "expansion of assets and capabilities of poor people to participate in, negotiate with, influence and control and hold accountable institutions that affect their lives" (Narayan, 2002, p.xviii). Community-led upgrading can provide individuals with skills that will remain valuable to them beyond the physical upgrading projects. Women, often taking the central roles in slum-community groups (D'Cruz and Mudimu, 2013; French et al. 2018), may learn valuable leadership skills that can help them manage the community post the physical upgrading project.

The literature shows that community-led slum-upgrading projects need political support that connects grassroots-level upgrading efforts with the government's financial resources to achieve scale (Boonyabancha, 2005; 2009; French et al. 2020; Shelby, 2020). This has implications. Even when governments provide communities with the necessary financial resources, they might still require them to finance their slum-upgrading efforts through individual or community loans (e.g. Boonyabancha, 2005; Shelby, 2020). This creates some reservations and critique about community-led slum-upgrading as it might unaffordable for the poorest slum-dwellers (e.g. Yap and Wendler, 2010; Gruffyd-Jones, 2012). In all, while community-led slum-upgrading efforts have been praised, some questions remain about its ability to improve the lives of all slum-dwellers.

4.3.2.3 Participatory Approaches

Participatory approaches to slum-upgrading projects were covered across 24 articles. They cover the three basic themes: a comparison of participatory approaches to slum-upgrading and top-down approaches, elite capture in participatory slum-upgrading, and communities are not properly allowed to participate. Figure 4.13 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

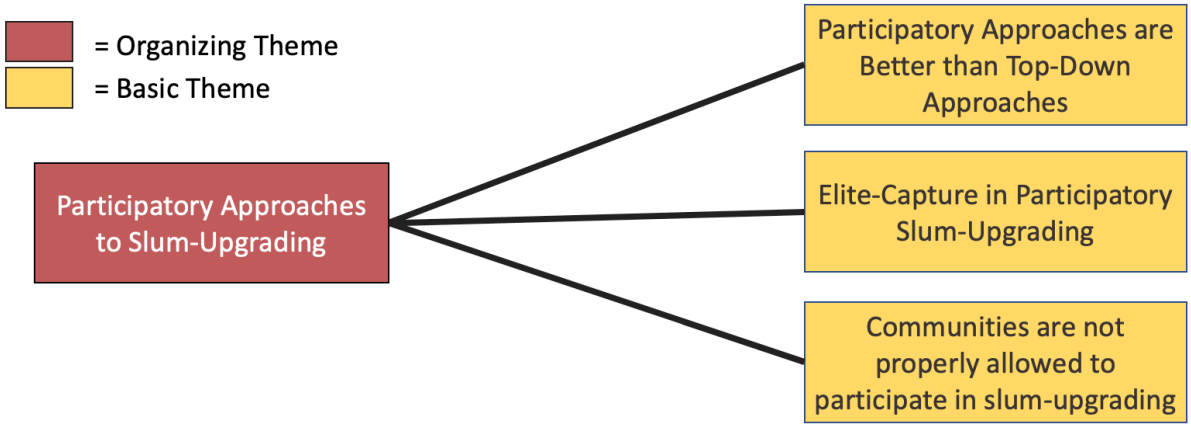


Figure 4.13: Basic themes for organizing theme Participatory Approaches to Slum-Upgrading

Across the sample, articles widely acknowledge that the participation of local communities drastically improves the project's outcomes. During the planning stage, for example, communities' local knowledge can help to identify environmental hazards in the community's environment that otherwise might not be discovered (Ahmed, 2016). This can help upgrade projects to better respond to the needs of communities for infrastructure and improvements (Werlin, 1999; Chaudhuri and Amin, 2006; Archer, 2012b; Ahmed, 2016). In relocation projects, community participation can increase the acceptance and ownership of communities for the relocation projects (e.g. Cronin and Guthrie, 2011; Kita et al. 2017). Moreover, using community labour during the implementation phase can reduce the costs of slum-upgrading projects for the community and the project (Majale, 2008; Adusei et al. 2018). For the community being part of the planning of slum-upgrading projects can mean that they can shape the development of their community themselves (Archer, 2012b) and that the improvements slum-upgrading projects provided will suit their needs better (Ahmed, 2016; Adusei et al. 2018). Thus, the consensus of the sampled academic literature is that participatory approaches to slum-upgrading are better than top-down approaches and should therefore be the best practice (Majale, 2008; Archer 2012b; Arandel and Wattenberg, 2013; MacPherson, 2014; Abebe and Hesslberg, 2015; Herath et al. 2016; Bardhan et al. 2019).

However, several articles point out projects where the community was not allowed to participate in slum-upgrading their community (Koster and Nuijten, 2012; Arandel and Watterberg, 2013; Patel, S. 2013; Nuijten, 2013; Abebe and Hesselberg, 2015; Patel, 2016; Choplin and Dessie, 2017; Park et al. 2018; Talocci and Biano, 2018; Wiliams et al. 2018; De Geest and De Nys-Ketels, 2019; Cherunya et al. 2020). These articles find that slum-planners and governments limit the participation of communities in slum-upgrading projects purposefully (Koster and Nuijten, 2012; Patel, S. 2013; Nuijten, 2013; Park et al. 2018; De Geest and De Nys-Ketels, 2019; Cherunya et al. 2020). This appears to be particularly often the case in relocation projects (Arandel and Watterberg, 2013; Abebe and Hesselberg, 2015; Talocci and Biano, 2018 Wiliams et al. 2018).

To not letting the community participate in slum-upgrading can have severe implications. Without proper attention to community needs and wants, slum-upgrading may address the wrong problems or problems only paritially, and it may result in outcomes that are not suited to the lifestyles of the poor (Hwang and Feng, 2020; see section 4.3.2.1). Moreover, after all, basic services like water and electricity are often not free and without paying attention to what communities can afford to pay for improvements slum-upgrading projects can quickly become unaffordable to the poor (e.g. Cherunya et al. 2020, discussed in section 4.3.4.2). Furthermore, is feared in the academic literature that not including slum communities in the planning of slum-upgrading projects may ultimately exacerbate their poverty (Patel and Mandhyan, 2014). What impact different improvements that slum-upgrading projects install provide will be discussed in the next section. The review shows that participatory slum-upgrading is not only considered to be the best current approach to slum-upgrading, but that there is a dire need for slum-upgrading projects to pay attention to and maintain participatory processes throughout the upgrading projects. Otherwise the cost of slum-upgrading can may be severed to its intended beneficiaries.

4.3.3 Impact of slum-upgrading on slum-dwellers

This thematic network explores themes associated with the impact of slum-upgrading on individuals and slum communities. It is made up of three organizing themes: the impact of physical improvements (covered in 20 articles), the impact of redeveloping and relocation projects (covered in 37 articles), and the impact of slum-upgrading projects on employment (covered in 17 articles). Figure 4.14 presents the thematic network for the impact of slum-upgrading on slum-dwellers.

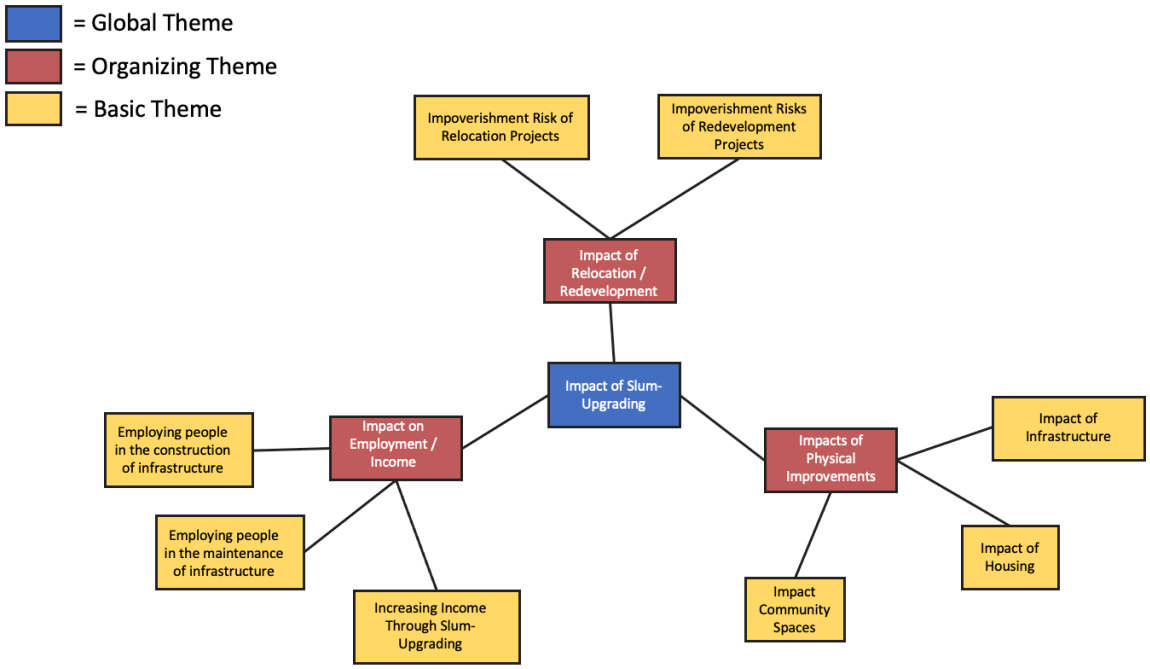


Figure 4.14: Thematic Network Impact of Slum-Upgrading

4.3.3.1 Impact of Physical Improvements

This organizing theme discusses the impact of physical improvements provided to communities in slum-upgrading projects. It covers three basic themes – the impact of housing, the impact of infrastructure (in particular sanitation infrastructure, water infrastructure, sewerage) and the impact of community spaces. Figure 4.15 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

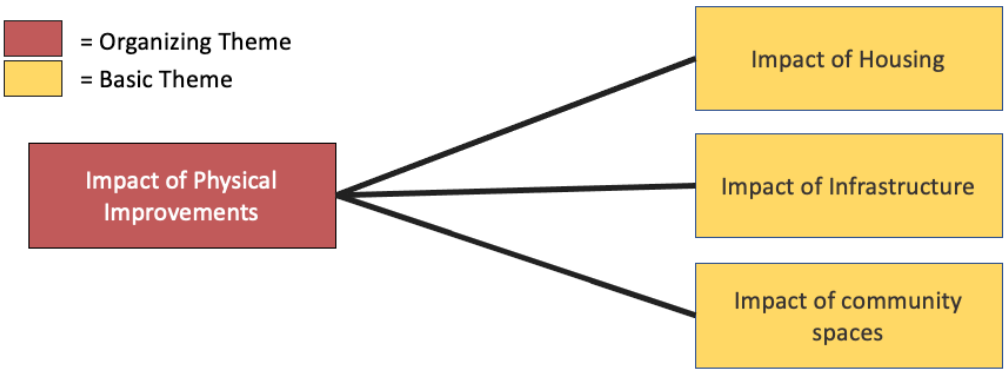


Figure 4.15: Basic themes for organizing theme Impact of Physical Improvements

Frequently, academic articles associated physical improvements with particular impact dimensions for beneficiaries, such as health, security or safety.

Housing and infrastructure improvements, for example, were linked to a reduction of health risks like spreading diseases (Nuijten, 2013; Weiman and Oni, 2019); transportation was linked to improved connectivity and access (Amis, 2001; Turley, 2013). Community spaces often linked to protecting communities from crime and natural hazards such as flooding (Chaterjee, 2015; Hwang and Feng, 2020; Nunez Collado and Wang, 2020; Nath and Karutz, 2021). Figure 4.16 presents an overview of the physical improvements and their impacts as presented in the sampled literature.

While some evidence exists that housing and infrastructure improve health (e.g. Butala et al. 2010; Truley et al. 2013; Henson et al. 2020), not every link between physical improvements and expected outcomes is supported with equal evidence across the sampled literature. For example, it often not clear what underlying factors influence how specific physical improvements impact slum-dwellers. One factor that is known to be important but has received only very little attention in research is how (different) housing designs affect the outcomes of slum-upgrading projects (Nuijten, 2013, Brown-Luthango, 2017; Doe et al. 2020). How the physical architecture of slum-upgrading projects affects the outcomes of the projects presents an interesting yet largely unexplored avenue of research (see Bardhan, 2018; Nutkiewicz et al. 2018, discussed in section 4.9.3)

Overall, given the dominance of case study research in the sampled literature, research exploring and measuring the effects of slum-upgrading interventions remains scarce. Here, research could be helpful that produces a more nuanced investigation of the impact of particular physical interventions. This can also offer valuable insights into practice. For example, in-situ slum-upgrading projects might build infrastructure improvements such as water and sanitation on a communal level or a household level (e.g. Doe et al. 2020). Yet, if different levels of access to basic services produce different effects for beneficiaries remains unexplored. Investigating this, however, could provide significant insights for policy and practice. Figure 4.16, next page, presents an overview of physical improvements and their impact as covered in the literature.

Physical Improvement	Impact Dimension	Direction of Impact (+/-)	Reference
Community Spaces	*Crime*	*- Increased Crime after Improvement*	*Hawng and Feng, 2020*
Community Spaces	*Crime*	*+ Reduced Crime*	*Nunez Colado and Wang, 2020*
Community Spaces	*Resilience*	*+ Improved Resilience because of + Protection from Floods*	*Nunez Colado and Wang, 2020*
Community Spaces	*Community Cohesion*	*+ Improved community cohesion*	*Nunez Colado and Wang, 2020; Nath and Karutz, 2021*
Community Spaces	*Development of Children*	*+ Community spaces can help children develop a positive identity*	*Chatterjee, 2015*
Housing	*Health*	*+ Improved health when bigger and cleaner after upgrading*	*Weiman and Oni, 2019*
Housing	*Health*	*+ Improved health through more hygiene and protection form animals*	*Nuijten, 2013*
Housing	*Health of Children*	*+ Fewer respiratory and diarrhea episodes in children*	*Henson et al. 2020*
Housing	*Health (Generally)*	*+ Improved health one month after improvement, no significant difference after 6 months*	*Henson et al. 2020*
Housing	*Mental Health and Wellbeing*	*+ Improved Sleep Quality, and improved psychological wellbeing*	*Henson et al. 2020*
Housing	*Safety*	*- Less Safety due to open space design*	*Nuijten, 2013*
Housing	*Crime*	*Unclear, the perceived crime goes down while the overall assessment finds that crime shifts to different places*	*Brown-Luthango et al. 2017*
Improved Water and Sanitation Access	*Health*	*+ Less waterborne diseases*	*Bapat and Crook, 1989; Gulyani and Basset, 2007; Truley et al. 2013; Marias and Cliente; Pharik et al. 2014; Weiman and Oni, 2019*
Electricity	*Health*	*+ Less burning injuries when used as substitute to petrol and other burning substance for cooking*	*Dobson, 2017; Henson et al. 2020*
Roads and Transportation	*Access*	*+ Better Access to places inside and outside slums*	*Amis, 2001; Nunez Collado and Wang, 2020*
Roads and Transportation	*Health*	*/ No Impact on Communal Diseases*	*Turley et al. 2013*
Roads and Transportation	*Poverty*	*/ No Impact on Financial Poverty and Unemployment*	*Turley et al. 2013*
Roads and Transportation	*Education*	*/ No Impact on Education*	*Turley et al. 2013*
Roads and Transportation	*Crime and Violence*	*/ No Impact on Crime and Violence*	*Turley et al. 2013*
Street Lighting	*Crime*	*/ Less Crime because of Street Lighting*	*Gulyani and Basset, 2007*

Figure 4.16: Overview of Physical Improvements and their respective impacts.

4.3.3.2 Impacts of Relocation and Redevelopment Projects

This thematic network explores the impact of relocation and redevelopment projects on slum-dwellers. It covers three basic themes - the impoverishment risk of relocation projects and impoverishment risks of redevelopment projects, and the gentrification of slums. Figure 4.17 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

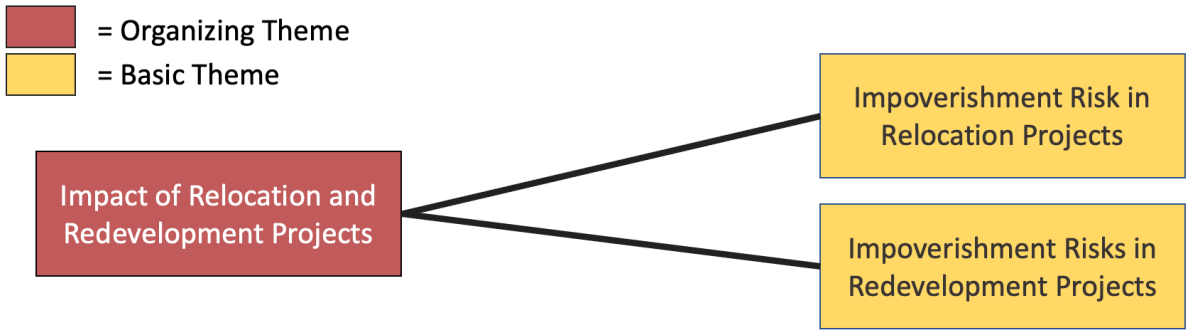


Figure 4.17: Basic themes for organizing theme Impact of Relocation and Redevelopment Projects

Most articles in this sample focused on the impact of relocation projects after individuals have moved into their new housing (e.g. Amis, 2001; Takeushi, 2007; Koster and Nuijten, 2012; Patel and Mandhyan, 2014; Kita, 2017; Mitra et al. 2017; Cherunya et al. 2020; Nunez-Collado and Wang, 2020; Lauer et al. 2020; Sibyan 2020). One focal theme in these discussions is that relocation programs make slum-dwellers worse off. This is first because relocation projects increase the risk of impoverishment when they relocate individuals too far away from their work (Amis, 2001; Patel and Mandhyan, 2014; Kita, 2017; Cherunya et al. 2020; Lauer et al. 2020). Secondly, impoverishment risks increase also because relocation projects break up communities, therefore, destroying important communities and social networks (Koster and Nuijten, 2012; Patel and Mandhyan, 2014; Mitra et al. 2017; Cherunya et al. 2020). Consequently, it also affects the health and well-being of slum-dwellers. This can lead to higher incidents of alcoholism induced by the stress and anxiety caused during and after the relocation process (Mandhyan and Patel, 2014).

The relocation process itself also holds significant risks of impoverishment for the slum-dwellers. At times there may be a significant time gap between individuals' eviction from their houses and their relocation (Patel and Mandhyan, 2014). During this time slum-dwellers need to find another housing to stay which means they must find a place that is affordable enough for them and suitable for their livelihood activities.

While some government programs compensate slum-dwellers during the time the new relocation housing is built (ibid.), the relocation process can take at times three years (ibid.). Unfortunately, this has a consequence that once slum-dwellers have to move their home again to their relocation site, they lose social networks and other important assets (ibid.).

Slum-redevelopment projects differ from relocation projects because they might not require slum settlers to relocate. Yet they pose similar impoverishment risks for slum-dwellers. Often, redevelopment projects convert vertical slum communities into high-rise buildings where individuals live in confined apartments instead of open spaces. As was touched upon in section 4.3.2.1, this can prohibit slum-dwellers from carrying out home-based enterprises and can increase their risks of impoverishing (e.g. Sabyal and Mukhija, 2001; Herath et al. 2016; Jones, 2017; Hwang and Feng 2020; Yehoba et al. 2021). Moreover, apartment buildings also confine individuals into closed spaces and they provide fewer spaces for individuals to interact. When slum-dwellers are resettled into a high-rise apartment building that offers not enough space to socialize they lose their social networks (e.g. Patel and Mandhyan, 2014; Hwang and Feng 2020). This can lead to their marginalization and social isolation (e.g. Patel and Mandhayan, 2014; Debnath et al. 2019).

4.3.3.3 Impact of Slum-Upgrading on Employment Opportunities

This organizing theme explores the impact of slum-upgrading projects on employment and income. It is comprised of three basic themes: employment creation during the slum-upgrading project; employment creation after slum-upgrading projects have concluded, and the impact of slum-upgrading projects on income. Figure 4.18 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

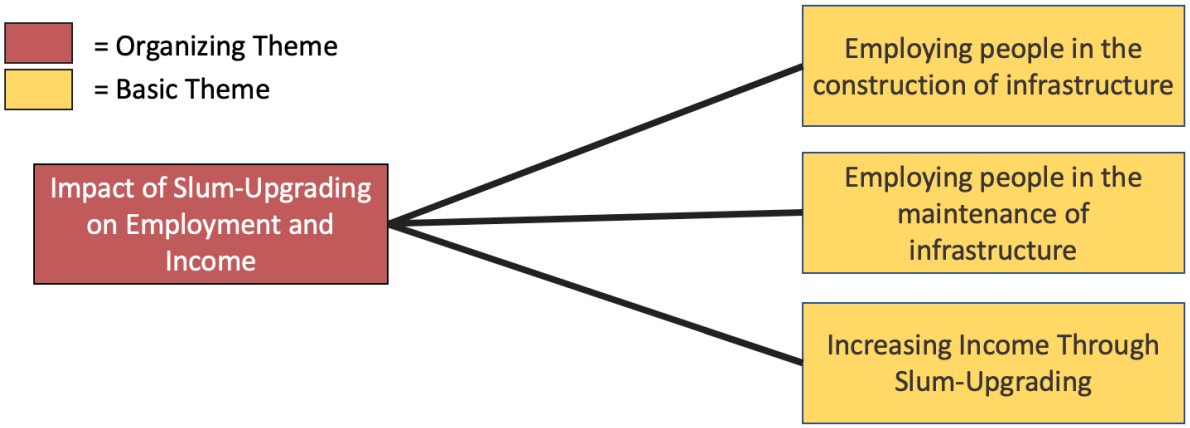


Figure 4.18: Basic themes for organizing theme Impact on Employment Opportunities

There are good reasons to assume that slum-upgrading projects could improve the economic situation of individuals. Improved access to basic services reduces health risks which leads to fewer working days lost because of sicknesses and reduces what slum-dwellers need to spend on medical bills (e.g. Pharik et al. 2014; discussed in section 4.6.1). Moreover, not being sick can also help free up more time to be used for other productive activities (Parkih et al. 2014). Then, there are opportunities for slum-upgrading projects to create employment by creating jobs related to the maintenance of slum infrastructure or opportunities for short-term construction work while the physical improvements are built (e.g. Majale, 2008 Cronin and Guthrie, 2011; Mesple-Somps et al. 2020). Yet, if slum-upgrading projects create employment is highly debated.

While, on the one hand, articles show that opportunities exist for slum-upgrading projects to directly create jobs by employing slum-dwellers in the construction of basic services and in the maintenance of infrastructure services, these appear to be limited to in-situ upgrading projects (e.g. Majale, 2008; Cronin and Guthrie, 2011; Mitra et al. 2017; Adusei et al. 2018; Mesple-Somps et al. 2020; Nunez-Collado and Wang, 2020). Similar employment opportunities do not seem to be possible or common in relocation projects (e.g. Mukhija, 2000; Doshi, 2012).

The empirical evidence of the impact of slum-upgrading on the actual incomes of their beneficiaries finds mixed results. While six articles (Minnery et al. 2013; Parikh et al. 2013; Turley et al. 2013; Parikh et al. 2014; French et al. 2018) examine the impact of slum-upgrading on income, two articles by Minnery et al. (2013) and Truley et al. (2013) find that slum-upgrading has did not affect the income of beneficiaries. Across all five articles some concerns about the validity and the representativeness of their approach remain. For example, to what extent the gentrification of slums creates opportunities for slum settlers to move out of slums (due to increasing real estate prices, covered in the next section) and for more affluent middle-class individuals to move in (see section 4.3.3.2) is often unclear. This may lead research to report increased incomes of slum-dwellers although they have moved out.

Other articles discuss alternative underlying factors that could explain why the impact of slum-upgrading may vary. Thus, individuals might have been relocated from job opportunities (Patel and Mandhyan, 2014; covered in section 4.6.3), or they might be unable to find employment because of a general lack of jobs (Mesple-Somps et al. 2020). This is particularly likely in countries where economic growth is weak and the overall economic outlook is poor (e.g. Mesple-Somps et al. 2020). Moreover, some slum-upgrading projects may have been paired with social programs that help communities find job opportunities (see

Brown-Luthango et al. 2017 Mitra et al. 2017; Mesple-Somp et al., 2020). Thus, it is unclear if slum-upgrading projects truly affect the income of their beneficiaries and what affects them. If slum-upgrading projects affect the incomes of slum-upgrading projects depends on several other factors like the prevalence of social programs, most likely, and the economy and local environment of cities, countries, or regions. Thus, both require close attention.

4.3.4 Long-Term Sustainability of Slum-Upgrading Interventions

This thematic network explores the long-term sustainability of slum-upgrading interventions. It is made up of three organizing themes: Maintenance (found across 20 articles), affordability (found across 21 articles) and resilience to natural disasters (found across 11 articles, see Figure 4.19). It finds that ensuring the long-term effect of slum-upgrading projects poses significant challenges. The now-following exploration of these themes highlights opportunities for practice to address and find solutions to these challenges.

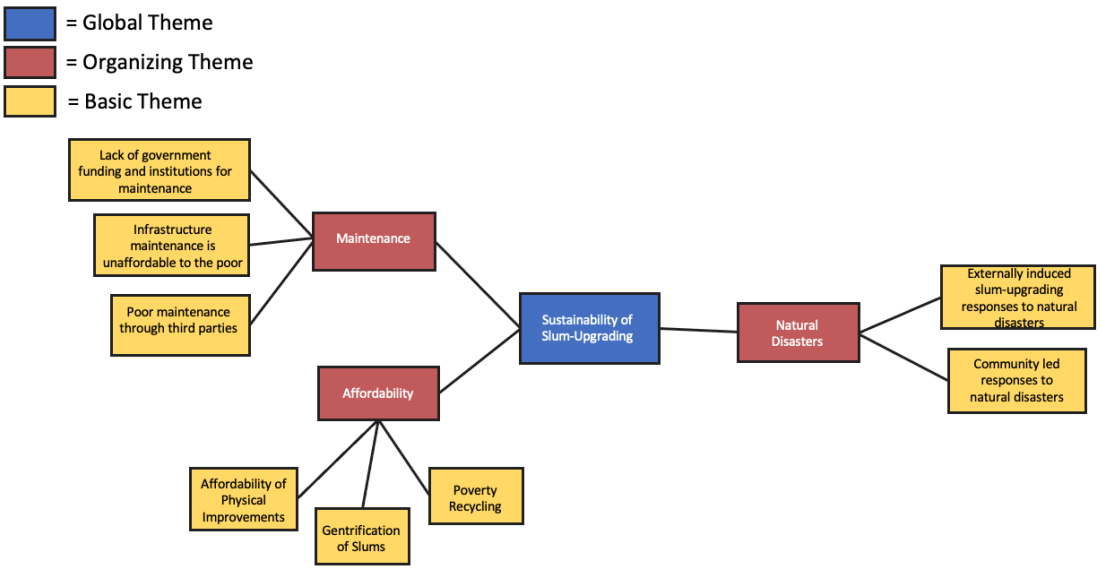


Figure 4.19: Thematic Network Sustainability of Slum-Upgrading Interventions

4.3.4.1 Issues in Maintenance

This organizing theme was developed from four basic themes that appear across 20 articles – poor maintenance because of a lack of government and institutional funding, poor maintenance of infrastructure services through third parties, and infrastructure maintenance being

unaffordable to the poor. Figure 4.29 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

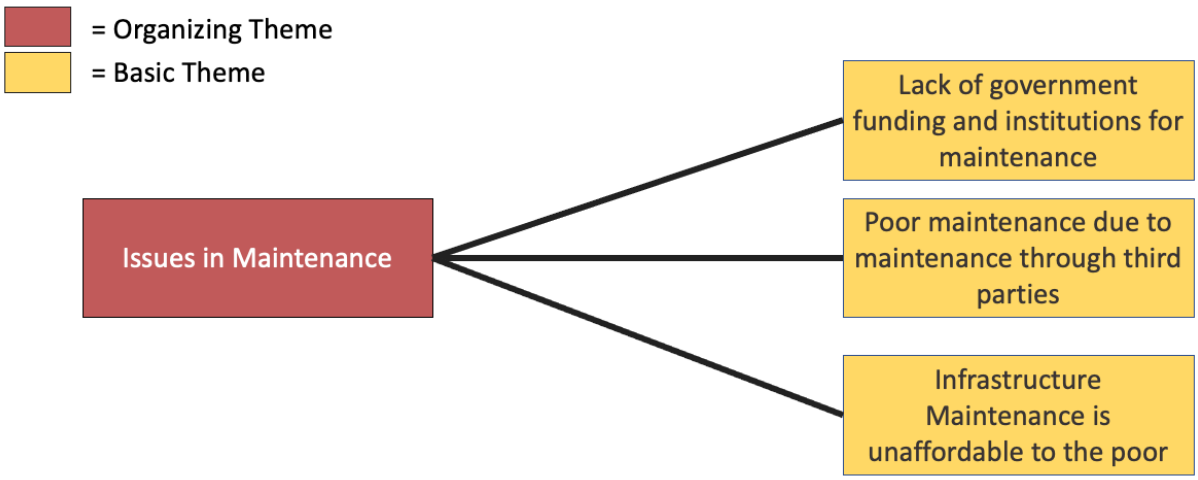


Figure 4.20: Basic themes for organizing theme Issues in Maintenance

The maintenance of slum-upgrading projects is the probably most important aspect to ensure that after the physical upgrading project concludes, upgraded settlements do not revert to their slum state (e.g. Cotton and Skinner, 1990; Nyametso, 2012). That it is difficult to maintain slum upgrades after the physical project has concluded, is a cited problem across several articles (e.g. Cotton and Skinner, 1990; Abelson, 1996; Antonilhao and van Horen, 2005; Marias and Ntema, 2013; Nyametso, 2012; de Camargo Cabalheiro and Abiko, 2015; Degert et al. 2016; Bercelli, 2017; Chaudhuri, 2017). When not maintained properly, sewerage, for example, can release foul odours and can become breeding grounds for bacteria that can, in return, cause diseases and sicknesses (Bapat and Crook, 1989; Verma, 2000).

The discourse around issues in the maintenance of slum-upgrading highlights several reasons. For in-situ upgrading projects, various authors find that governments and municipalities frequently fail to develop sufficient institutions or to allocate sufficient budgets to allow the maintenance of slum infrastructure (e.g. Abelson, 1996; Antonilhao and van Horen, 2005; Marias and Ntema, 2013; Degert et al. 2016; Bercelli, 2017; Chaudhuri, 2017; Muchendyika and Waiswa, 2018). For the maintenance of high-rise buildings, authors (e.g. de Camargo Cabalheiro and Abiko, 2015; Herath et al. 2016) find that similarly, public services responsible for paying for the maintenance lack funding or are reluctant to pay for maintenance. However, it seems that private firms outsource the maintenance to private businesses that charge slum-dwellers for the maintenance of their apartments (de Camargo Cabalheiro and Abiko, 2015; Dupont and Shankare Gowda, 2019). Then maintenance service will not be provided when slum-dwellers are unable to pay for them (Dupont and Shankare Gowda, 2019).

In response to these shortcomings, authors call for more attention to maintenance in upgrading projects (Cotton and Skinner, 1990; Minnery et al. 2014; Vaid, 2021).

Given that it is difficult to maintain infrastructure and housing improvements, a small sample of articles pay attention to and called for an investigation of community-led maintenance approaches in in-situ upgrading projects (Cotton and Skinner, 1990; Majale, 2007). They argue that with sufficient training (ibid.) community can take on the maintenance of infrastructure. This presents an interesting approach worth further exploration in practice.

4.3.4.2 Affordability

This organizing theme explores concerns about the affordability of slum-upgrading improvements. When slum-upgrading make it too expensive for beneficiaries to afford the improvements, slum-upgrading can cause poverty recycling. Poverty recycling is when slum settlers move back to informal slums despite slum-upgrading interventions. This may cause gentrification. Figure 4.21 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

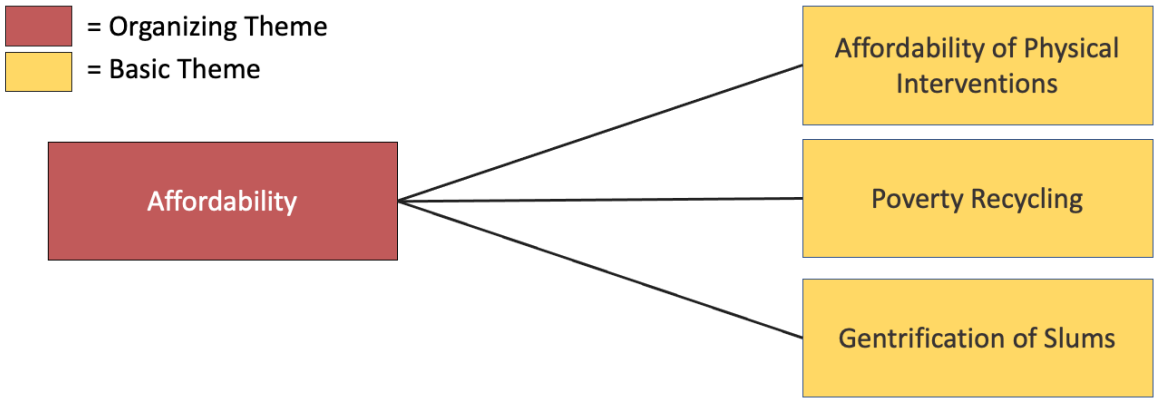


Figure 4.21: Basic themes for organizing theme Affordability

That living in slums becomes too expensive for many of the beneficiaries of the slum-upgrading project was a theme that occurred across several articles (e.g. Antonilhao and van Horen, 2005; Burra, 2005; Das, 2006; Koster and Nuijtem. 2012 de Bercegol and Monstadt, 2018; Sholihah and Shaojun, 2018; Cherunya et al. 2020). Slum-upgrading leads to the formalization of infrastructure access and can provide beneficiaries with land ownership. Consequences thereof are that slum-dwellers will need to pay for utilities their maintenance and that their land gets taxed (Antonilhao and van Horen, 2005; Burra, 2005; Dupont and Shankare Gowda, 2019; Cherunya et al. 2020). Paying for utility bills and taxes and paying maintenance

can present a major barrier and shock for the poor (Burra, 2005) who often accessed these basic services illegally, therefore either free or through a fixed pricing model (flat rate).

Increasing living costs due slum-upgrading can make it too expensive for many, especially the poorest slum-dwellers, to afford housing after the slum-upgrading (Joshi and Khan, 2010; Yap and De Wendeler, 2010). They might, therefore, never move into their housing, sublet, divide their housing, or sell their housing (Antonilhao and van Horen, 2005; Das, 2006; Koster and Nuijtem. 2012). When slum-dwellers sell or rent out their housing, it can cause poverty recycling, thus slum-dwellers move back into informal settlements, effectively rendering slum-upgrading interventions unsuccessful (Gulyani and Basset, 2007; Boonyabancha, 2009; Archer, 2012; Mitra et al. 2017; Lauer et al. 2020). This makes it critical to understand how these extra "costs of formalization" affect slum-dwellers. This is an element that needs to be given more consideration in the planning and implementation of in-situ and redevelopment/relocation slum-upgrading projects.

However, poverty recycling is only one consequence of unaffordable slum-upgrading projects. Frequently articles mention that following the installation of upgrades, rent prices increased by so much that slum-dwellers had to move out or that the value of their dwelling increased by so much that it was more attractive for slum-dwellers to sell their housing and move back into slums (Payne, 2005; Das, 2006; Boonybancha, 2009; Archer, 2012; Mitra et al. 2017). This is because upgraded slums are often located in prime locations of growing cities and as cities grow, housing shortages are not uncommon (Burra, 2006; Lauer et al. 2020). When slum-upgrading improves housing and infrastructure access, this slum housing becomes more attractive to better-earning individuals who can pay higher rents and housing prices. If more affluent individuals move into slums, then slum-upgrading may aid gentrification (e.g. Das, 2006; Bonnyabancha, 2009; Archer, 2012; Mitra et al. 2017; Comelli et al. 2018; Sarrafi and Mohammadi, 2018). Increasing housing and land prices present a theme found across many reviewed articles. Yet, how slum-upgrading impacts formal and informal housing markets are not fully explored. The World Bank discourse finds a similar relationship and explores these further (discussed in section 5.9.1). There is a need for more research on how slum-upgrading projects affect informal and formal housing markets.

4.3.4.3 Responses to Natural Disasters

This last organizing theme explores the compatibility of slum-upbraiding interventions with sustainability. It was developed from two themes: community-led responses to natural disasters and externally induced slum-upgrading as a response to natural disasters. However, it

also discusses calls to policymakers and practitioners to pay more attention to slums in national responses to a natural disasters because these hit frail slum communities often the hardest. Figure 4.22 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

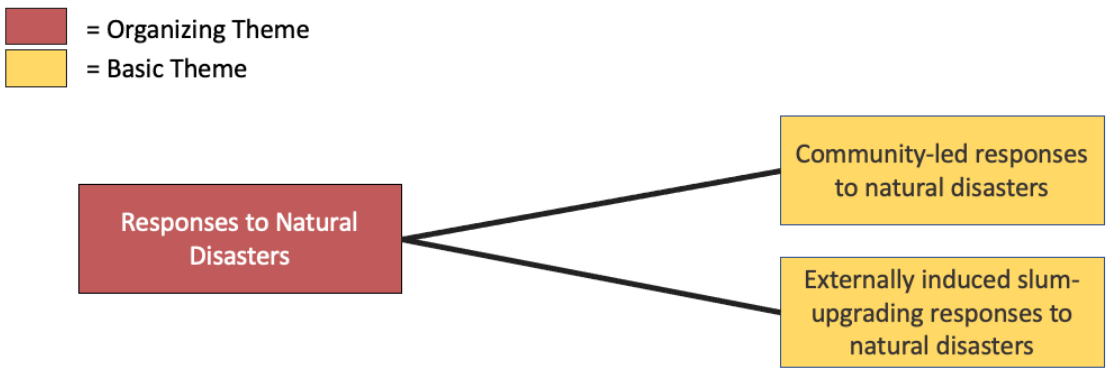


Figure 4.22: Basic themes for organizing theme Impact on Employment Opportunities

Informal slum settlements are often prone to be destroyed by natural disasters such as floods or monsoons (e.g. Rashid, 2009; Ahmed, 2016; Yu et al. 2016; Lauer et al. 2020). As section 2.2 discusses are slums often located in hazardous locations like steep hillsides and flood-prone areas (e.g. Abiko et al. 2007; Ahmed, 2016; Lauer et al. 2020). As climate change makes the occurrence of extreme weather events and natural disasters more likely, governments need to pay more consideration to how they can use slum-upgrading to also improve the resilience of slum communities towards naturally occurring disasters.

The reviewed discourse highlights two approaches to reducing disaster risk through slum-upgrading: community-led slum-upgrading (e.g. Thorn et al. 2015; Yu et al. 2016; Archer et al. 2020), and externally induced in-situ slum-upgrading (e.g. Du and Greiving, 2020) or the relocation/ resettle of entire slum communities (Lauer et al. 2020; Nunez Collado and Wang, 2020).

Community-led responses include the strengthening of housing and community infrastructure (Thorn et al. 2015; Yu et al. 2016) and they utilize non-physical resources like the community's social capital. Articles highlight that communities have used strategies like community mapping to identify and inform the community members about hazardous areas, for example, flood-prone areas within the community, that are most likely affected by natural disasters (Thorn et al. 2015). They also form savings groups to restore the community post-

disaster (Thorn et al. 2015). Communities have also relocated themselves to friends in other communities after a natural disaster occurred (Archer et al. 2020) and have protected their assets by moving them to friends and family (e.g. Thorn et al. 2015).
Slum-upgrading approaches can improve the resilience of communities as well (Kita, 2017; Du and Greiving, 20202; Lauer et al. 2020; Nunez-Collado and Wang, 2020). However, it has one advantage for communities because it saves the community's scarce resources.

The sampled articles highlight that there is not yet enough attention paid to what slum-upgrading could do to reduce the effect that natural disasters have on slum communities. Thus, several authors call for more research and attention to improve the slums to be more resilient to natural disasters (Olthuis et al. 2014; Nunez-Collado and Wang, 2020). They debate whether relocating slum-communities despite all its negative consequences (see 4.3.3) can be an appropriate way to protect slum communities from natural disasters (Kita et al. 2017; Du and Greiving, 2020; Lauer et al. 2020; Nunez Collado and Wang, 2020).
This debate emphasizes that communities must be involved in the relocation process to mitigate impoverishment risks (e.g. Lauer et al. 2020).

There is also a need to better incorporate slum communities into national responses to disasters. Several articles find governments overlook slum settlements in disaster responses (Olthuis et al. 2013; Thorn et al. 2015; Yu et al. 2016; Kita et al. 2017) or only by react evacuating them, thus not addressing the problem ahead of its occurrence or producing a sustainable response to natural disasters (Thorn et al. 2015). Incorporating slums into national or city-wide disaster responses, hence, requires attention from policy, too.

4.3.5 Scale

This thematic network explores themes connected to how slum-upgrading can be scaled. It is made up of four organizing themes:

Standardized vs. location sensitive approaches to scale (found across 33 articles),

- Tenure (found across 35 articles),
- Cost and approaches to finance slum-upgrading (found across 36 articles)
- and scale of slum-upgrading and compatibility with environmental sustainability (found across 6 articles).

Figure 4.23 presents the global theme scale.

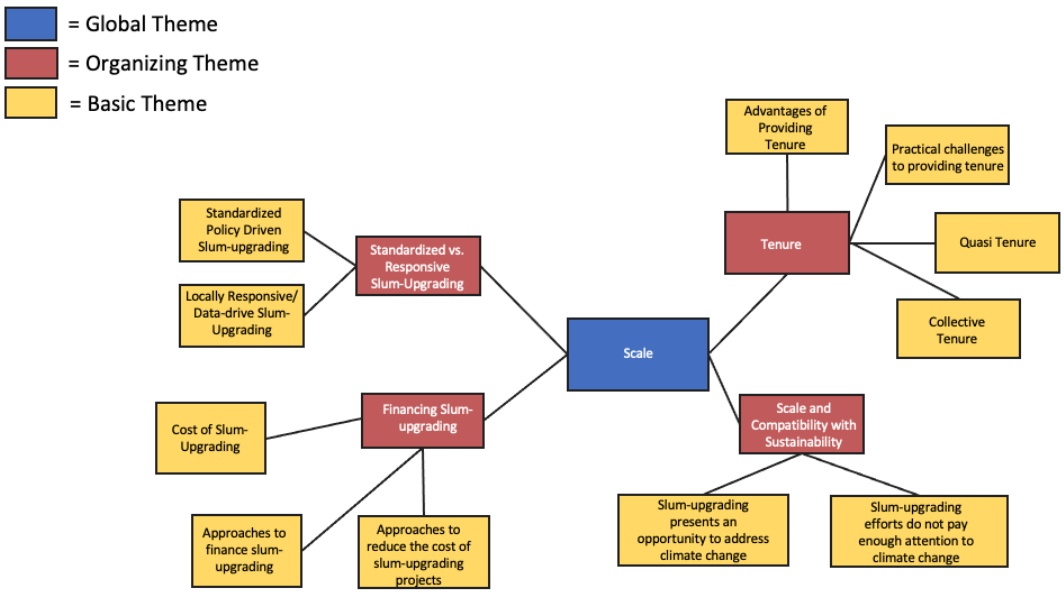


Figure 4.23: Thematic Network Sustainability of Scale

4.3.5.1 Standardized vs. Location-Sensitive Slum-Upgrading

This organizing theme discusses how to scale should be achieved. It is made up of two organizing themes: scaling slum-upgrading by integrating it into city-wide or national policies (e.g Gulyani and Basset, 2007) and less programmatic location-sensitive approaches to slum-upgrading projects (e.g. Olthuis et al. 2015). Figure 4.24 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

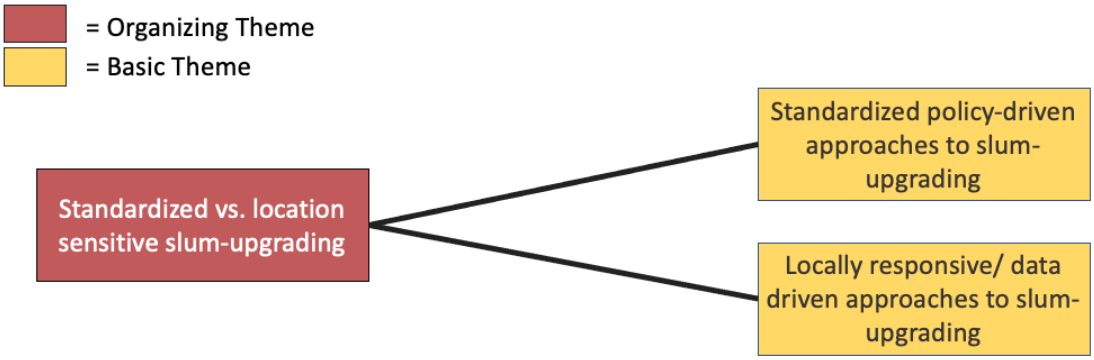


Figure 4.24: Basic themes for organizing theme Standardized vs Location Sensitive Approaches to Slum-Upgrading

The academic discourse finds several advantages in policy-driven standardized approaches to scaling up slum-upgrading. Governments can use national policies to establish a framework that clarifies several important issues to the scaling of slum-upgrading such as the roles that it and municipal governments play in the financing of upgrading projects (Denaldi and Cardoso 2021), and also how slum infrastructure improvements should be incorporated into the city's existing infrastructure (Gulyani and Basset, 2007). One advantage of a top-down policy approach to slum-upgrading is that once the national slum-upgrading policies are in place, they can make slum-upgrading projects easily replicable (Kaufman and Quigley, 1984).

However, several authors find that slum-upgrading projects often miss out on opportunities to properly incorporate the housing or infrastructure needs of the community because they follow a programmatic and standardized approach to upgrading (Yehoba et al. 2021). A more location-sensitive approach could help produce more bespoke approaches to the slum community's needs. They might, for example, take into account the environmental risks the slum might be exposed to (Olthuis et al. 2015; discussed in section 4.7.3) and could create upgrading solutions that are more affordable to their beneficiaries (Kim et al. 2019; discusses in section 4.7.2). Therefore, authors have been pointing out and criticized slum-upgrading interventions for not considering the diverse needs of slum communities as a more location-sensitive approach to could do (Thomson, 1989; Puranwanto et al. 2017; Kiefer and Ranganathan, 2020; Yehoba et al. 2021). They call for the inclusion of youth and children who are often not represented in slum-upgrading projects (Harris, 2018; Chatterjee, 2015) or to pay more attention to the incomes of slum-dwellers.

4.3.5.2 Tenure

This organizing theme explores tenure. Tenure links to the global theme of "scale" because whether to provide tenure to slum-dwellers or not is ultimately a policy decision. This organizing theme is made up of two basic themes: advantages of providing tenure, and practical challenges to formal tenure. In response to these challenges, the academic literature discussed quasi- and collective tenure systems. While the debate over their usefulness is not fully

resolved, these discourses provide opportunities for practice to explore these systems. Figure 4.25 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

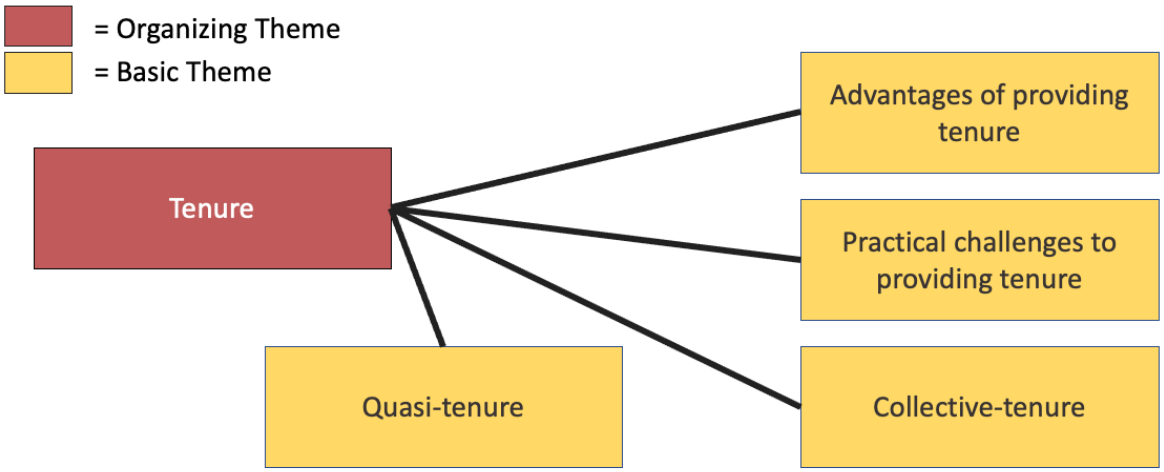


Figure 4.25: Basic themes and opportunities for practice in the organizing theme Tenure

To provide slum settlers with tenure became a focal debate in the 1980s when De Soto (2000) argued that providing tenure could enable slum settlers to get access to finical products, like bank loans, that in return could help them to develop their assets and escape poverty (see Chapter, 2.2.2). However, the current discourse seems to be critical of the need to provide tenure in slum-upgrading projects.

Several articles argue that tenure is not necessary because individuals start improving their housing when they perceived their housing to be secure in terms of ownership (Mukjia, 2001; Bento et al. 2018; Vaid, 2021), and only the perceived security of tenure needs to be improved. Moreover, they challenge that individuals need to be provided with full tenure when financial institutions are absent that can help individuals capitalize on their housing improvements (e.g. Bento et al. 2018).

Providing tenure can also fail because of practical problems. Also, the administrative process of acquiring tenure might be too complex or too costly (e.g. Werlin, 1999; Boonybancha, 2009; Handzic, 2010; Sygga, 2011; Archer, 2012; Minnery et al. 2013). Where housing and land markets are constrained, finding sufficient land for formal tenure might be present additional challenge (e.g. Das and Takahashi, 2009; Muchadeyika and Waisa, 2018). Lastly, an informal subdivision of housing and informal rental arrangements may make it difficult for the formal tenure system to keep up with who is a house's right-full occupant (Antolihao and van Horen, 2005; Herath et al. 2016; Choplin and Dessie, 2017). All of this can

make the provision of tenure too complex and difficult to formally grant tenure to slum settlers throughout a slum-upgrading project (Sygga, 2011).

In response to the challenges, the academic discourse explores quasi-formal tenure and collective tenure arrangements as solutions.

Quasi-tenure rights are granted to slum-dwellers through tenure regularization instead of tenure legalization (Sygga, 2011). Hence, despite having no legal tenure rights slum settlers are tolerated on the land they have settled and are protected from eviction (Handzic 2010; Mitra et al. 2017). In a collective tenure system, the community instead of the individual are granted legalized tenure (Boonybancha, 2005).

Articles highlight the challenges of implementing either. Discussions around quasi-tenure (Sygga, 2011; Mitra et al. 2017) raise concerns that it only covers a certain period, and governments must renew them. This has implications: Firstly, it creates substantial uncertainty for slum-dwellers (Mitra et al. 2017). Secondly, it might also limit their willingness to fully invest in their housing, therefore limiting what improvements the slum-dwellers are willing to make themselves (Archer, 2012). Overall, it does not fully alleviate the threat of eviction and, as was discussed at the beginning of this section, it also needs a willing government to grant illegal-slum-settlements quasi-tenure rights.

One very insightful article by Basset (2005) finds a collective tenure system requires a complex institutional framework to be in place to support collective-tenure systems. This, however, can provide a significant challenge at the institutional level (ibid.). In all, it appears that the discussion around tenure is not fully resolved and requires further investigation.

4.3.5.3 Cost and Approaches to Financing Slum-Upgrading At Scale

This organizing theme is made up of three themes – the cost of slum-upgrading, financing slum-upgrading, and reducing the cost of slum-upgrading projects. Figure 4.26 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

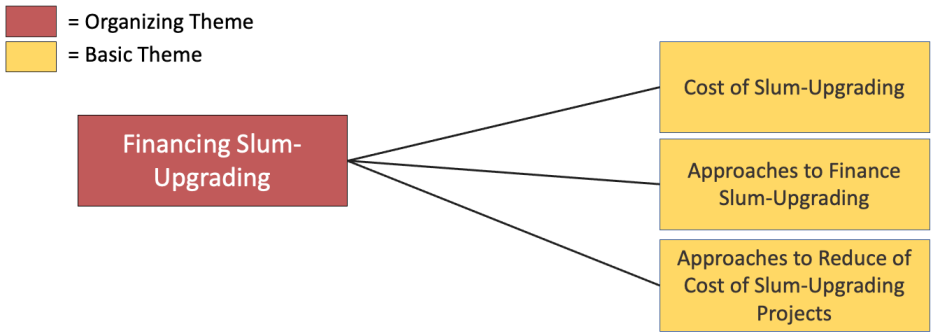


Figure 4.26: Basic themes and opportunities for practice in the organizing theme Financing Slum-Upgrading

There can be significant costs associated with upgrading slums that often also depend on the scale of the slum-upgrading project. This is why this organizing theme is discussed in the context of scale and not as a stand-alone theme. For the Baan Mangkong upgrading projects in Thailand, for instance, the cost per household was USD 6,682. For a slum-upgrading project in Brazil (Atuesta and Soares, 2018) costs ranged from USD 2,752 to 4,060. Although these costs might be considered relatively inexpensive per household (at least by western standards), aggregated large-scale slum-upgrading projects can cost countries or cities with millions of informal households billions of dollars.

But it's not only the scale that makes the significant differences in the cost of slum-upgrading (as the example above shows). The costs of upgrading slums are predominatly influenced by the location of a slum and its layout (Abiko et al. 2007). If a slum is located at a difficult-to-access location, for example, a steep hillside, the costs of upgrading its housing or installing physical infrastructure increase (Abiko et al. 2007). Lastly, the type of infrastructure that is implemented also makes a difference. An overview of these costs is provided in Table 4.8.

Physical Improvement	**Cost (USD p. household) or Share on Cost (%)**	**Reference**
Water Infrastructure	4,1 – 11 % of all infrastructure costs*	Abiko et al. 2007
Sewerage	20- 20,2 % of all infrastructure costs*	Abiko et al. 2007
Drainage	10 - 16,5% of all infrastructure costs*	Abiko et al. 2007
Paving	47 - 47,1 % of all infrastructure cost*	Abiko et al. 2007
Electricity and Lighting	12 - 12,1 % of all infrastructure costs*	Abiko et al. 2007
Housing Improvements (India)	1,080	Cronin and Gutherie, 2011
Whole Project (Brazil)	2,752 – 4,050*	Atuesta and Soares, 2018
Whole Project (Brazil)	740 – 5559,81*	Abiko et al. 2007

Table 4.8: Overview of the costs of upgrading slums, * indicates a range between different locations

When the costs of large-scale slum-upgrading projects can become huge, the financing of large-scale slum-upgrading projects becomes a challenge. Apart from the government's finance which itself uses different sources of funding (e.g. for example from the World Bank), a significant number of articles have paid attention to financing slum-upgrading through slum-settlers themselves (e.g Werlin, 1999; Boonyabancha, S. 2005; Campa Sole et al. 2006; Cronin and Guthrie, 2011; Gruffydd Jones, 2012; Astuti and Prasetyo, 2014; Cherunya et al. 2020),

private real-estate and building companies (e.g. Mukjia, 2001; Burra, 2005; Yap and De Wendeler, 2010; Ragheb et al. 2016; Nath and Karutz – 2021), also savings groups (e.g. Basset, 2005; Kiefer and Ranganathan, 2020). Also, labour contributions through the community (e.g. Boonyabancha, 2005), seem to be a common way to finance slum-upgrading. While a few articles mention contributions of donor organizations such as UN-Habitat (Ghafur, 2000) it appears that large-scale donor-funded-upgrading projects are scarce.

To make individuals and communities finance slum-upgrading, governments issue low-interest loans (e.g Boonyabancha, 2005) and long-term mortgage plans (e.g. Cherunya et al. 2020). These approaches have been criticized (Gruffyd-Jones, 2012) because they need to rely on global financial markets for loans and link slum-upgrading to the international financial markets (Yap and Wender, 2010). They turn slum-upgrading projects into investment opportunities where the financial return is derived from the repayments by slum-dwellers (Gruffyd-Jones, 2012).

Approaches to finance slum-upgrading through the private sector usually include Land-Sharing and Transfer of Development Rights schemes. Land Sharing Agreements (LSA) provide the private developer with the right to develop a share of the slum-occupied land in exchange for redeveloping the other share of the land for the slum-dwellers. As an LSA reduces the available space for slum redevelopment, slum communities are usually redeveloped into high-rise apartments (Talocci and Biano, 2018).

Transferable Development Rights (TDRs) work similarly. TDRs provide private developers with the rights to build in the slum location in exchange for building resettlement housing for slum-dwellers somewhere else, often at the urban periphery (Doshi, 2018). What makes TDRs attractive for private companies is that TDRs allow the developers to gain access to the attractive property in city centres where slums are located (ibid.)

Critiques point out that TDRs only works when the demand for housing and land is high, and land and housing are valuable (Dupont and Shankare Gowda, 2019; Beier, 2021). They fail, however, when slums are located in unattractive places for real estate development (ibid.). Moreover, as was discussed in sections 4.5.1 (Top-down city development approaches to slum-upgrading) and 4.6.2 (Impact of Relocation and Redevelopment projects) there are serious concerns that redevelopment and relocation project aid their beneficiaries' poverty.

When the costs of large-scale cost recovery projects are significant, how to save on costs or recover costs is a factor to consider. There is not a lot of literature that discusses how to save costs in slum-upgrading projects, however, two exceptions are articles by Werlin (1999) and Guliyani and Basset (2007).

They argue that high standards of infrastructure provided in slum-upgrading projects are not economically feasible for many developing countries and Werlin (1999) argues that "to keep slum-upgrading costs down, development agencies often propose lower standards of infrastructure" (p.1528).

There is a lot of evidence across the literature that slum-upgrading projects have been building housing with poor building materials (e.g. Kaufman and Quigley, 1987; Patel, S., 2013; Kita, 2017) or have not provided services of a sufficient quality level (e.g. Chaudhuri, 2017). This may indicate that cost-saving through lower quality standards is a (common) practice.

4.3.5.4 Scale and Compatibility with Environmentally Sustainable Development

Discussions of slum-upgrading projects also touch on environmental sustainability. This organizing theme explores discussions of environmental sustainability across the discourse. It is made up of two basic themes: slum-upgrading presents an opportunity to address climate change and slum-upgrading efforts do not pay enough attention to climate change issues. Figure 4.36 depicts the organizing and basic themes and research gaps covered in this section.

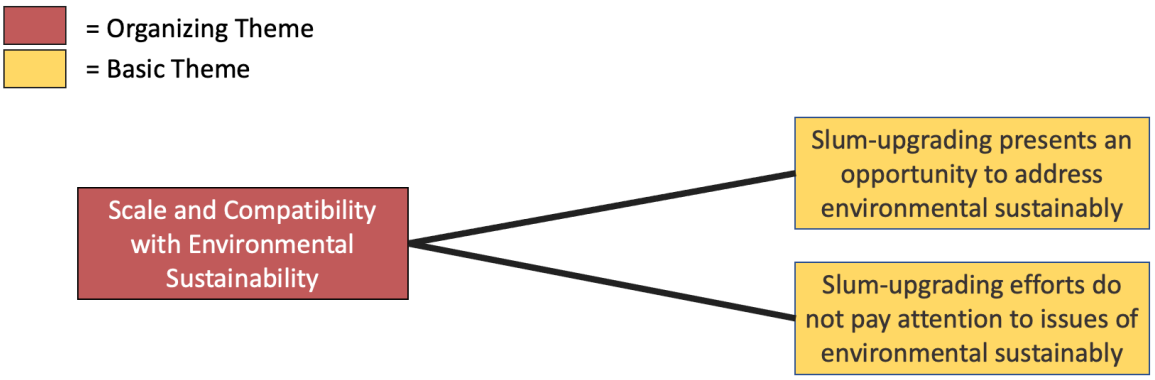


Figure 4.27: Basic themes and opportunities for practice in the organizing theme Scale and Compatibility with Environmental Sustainability

The reviewed articles offer two perspectives on the compatibility of slum-upgrading and sustainability: The first perspectives present slum-upgrading as an opportunity to contribute to climate change goals such as the Paris Agreement (Assefa-Teferi and Newman, 2018; Nunez-Collado and Wang, 2020). They cite those innovative solutions such as decentralized electricity solutions using solar panels (Assefa-Teferi and Newman, 2018) that can help make the increasing electricity consumption of slum-consumers sustainable. The second perspective, however, shows that sustainability might not often be a crucial element in slum-upgrading

projects: while few across the sample, only two articles (Nutkiwicz et al. 2018; Debnath et al. 2019) cover the designs of high-rise apartments in a slum-upgrading project in Mumbai, India, in respect to their thermal comfort for their residents. They find non-optimal designs in high-rise building structures that lead to their occupants' discomfort because of too-high room temperatures. These have health implications (i.e. residents are exposed to too much heat in their apartments, see Nutkiwicz et al. 2018; Debnath et al. 2019), but they also increase the resident's energy consumption and hence also their carbon footprints. Yet, their studies offer several approaches that could reduce the in-room temperature by changing the layouts and high of high-rise apartment blocks, indicating there is room to improve the sustainability of (at least) high-rise redevelopment slum-upgrading interventions. Overall, there is a lack of articles that investigates slum-upgrading in the context of climate change. Being a major issue in the public discussed for years, this finding is quite surprising. It should be a major issue for research in the near future since the impact of 1 billion people living consuming more water and electricity in slums cannot be ignored.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter presents the findings from the thematic analysis of academic publications on slum-upgrading. The themes covered across the discourse show that the academic discourse focuses mostly on the grassroots level and is concerned with different approaches and actors in slum-upgrading and how they impact the benefitting community and the individual. The discourse offers opportunities for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers to explore how particular approaches to slum-upgrading and physical slum improvements impact slum-dwellers. At times it highlights what can be done better to ensure that slum-upgrading projects can produce better outcomes. Yet, the thematic analysis highlights several issues that require further investigation such as the architecture of slum-housing, the effect of slum-upgrading interventions on land and housing markets, or climate change.

Chapter 5: Findings of The Analysis of World Bank Documents

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the thematic networks of the World Bank's discourse on slum-upgrading. Using Attride-Stirling's (2001) network approach to the thematic analysis, five overarching "global" themes were identified. They focus on actors, approaches to reducing slum settlements, the implementation of slum-upgrading projects on the grassroots level, costs and financing of slum-upgrading and city-wide development strategies. This chapter proceeds as follows. First, it presents an overview of the documentary materials used for the thematic analysis then it presents each global theme and thematic network.

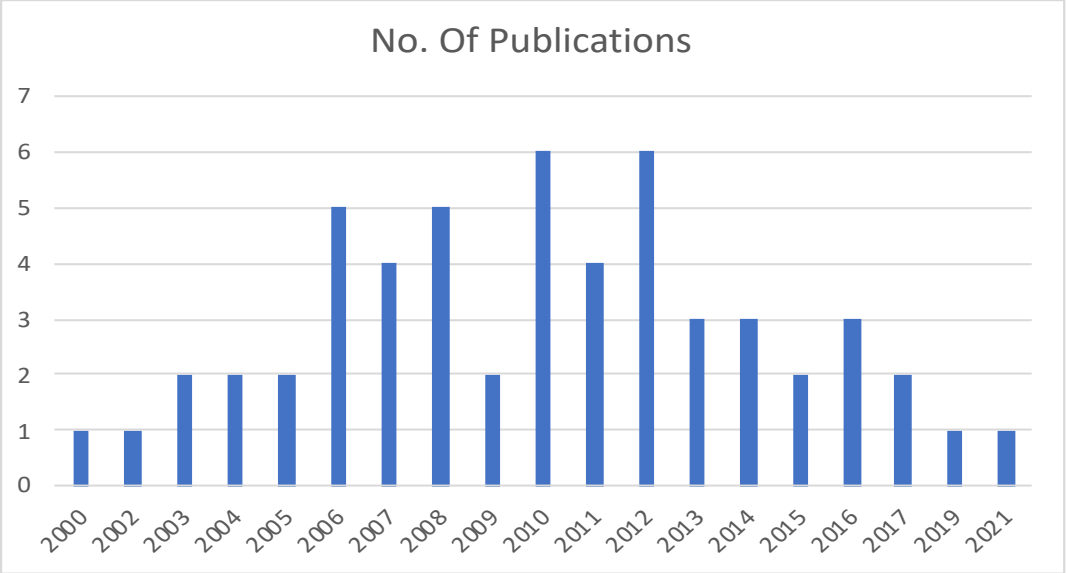
5.2 The Characteristics of the Sampled World Bank Publications: Prominence, Geographical Focus

This part of the chapter sampled documents retrieved from the OKR. It finds that OKR contains publications till the year 2021, most documents on slum-upgrading are dated - They were published between 2006 and 2012. Geographically, the World Bank publications focus on fewer countries than the academic discourse but are equally dispersed. Like the academic discourse, the World Bank publications on slum-upgrading focused on India and Brazil. The documentary sample was largely made up of economic sector work publications and policy working papers made.

5.2.1 Prominence of Slum-Upgrading in World Bank Discourse

Most of the World Bank publications (35) were published between 2006 and 2013. Only 11 publications, about a sixth of the sample, were published in the last five years. One could speculate that fewer recent publications could indicate a declining interest in slum-upgrading by the World Bank but it could also be that not all documents the World Bank publishes are freely accessible in the Open Knowledge Repository (yet). The second explanation appears to be more likely because neither has the World Bank's policy focus and mission shifted, nor has the proliferation of slums become less of a problem. Figure 5.1 shows that most publications included in the World Bank document data set were published between 2006 and 2012.

Graphic 5.1: Number of World Bank Publications in Sample Per Year



5.2.2 Types of Publication

Documents in the dataset were published across a variety of World Bank collections as Table 5.1 shows. Most documents were Economic and Sectoral Work and Working Papers. According to the World Bank's Open Knowledge Repository, Economic Sectoral Work are reports intended to influence the programs and policies of client countries. Economic and Sectoral Work publications in the data set include reports on land and housing markets, city development strategies, and to a lesser extent publications on infrastructure. Documents the World Bank categorizes as working papers include a series of high-profile documents of mixed content and themes and were created for discussion purposes.

Most documents clustered under Working Papers in this data set are policy research working papers. These documents are submitted from World Bank units for internal review. Most policy research working papers included in this sample present analyses of urban formal and informal land markets (e.g. Takeushi et al. 2006; Gulyani and Talukdar, 2008; Annez et al. 2010, 2012).

Across the data set many documents investigate the the liberalization of housing and land markets to increase the housing supply in cities (e.g World Bank, 2002; 2008b, 2015b). Accordingly, there seems to be an implicit link between the World Bank's policy research and

the recommendation it makes to client governments. This is also reflected in the findings of the thematic analysis.

Type of Publication	No.
Economic and Sector Work (ESW) s	19
Working Papers	19
Books	6
Knowledge Notes	4
Journals, external	3
Annural Reports & Independant Eva	2
Policy Research Working Papers	1
Technical Paper	1
Total	**55**

Table 5.1: World Bank documents in dataset by type of publication (Source: Author, 2021)

5.2.3 Geographical focus of World Bank Publications

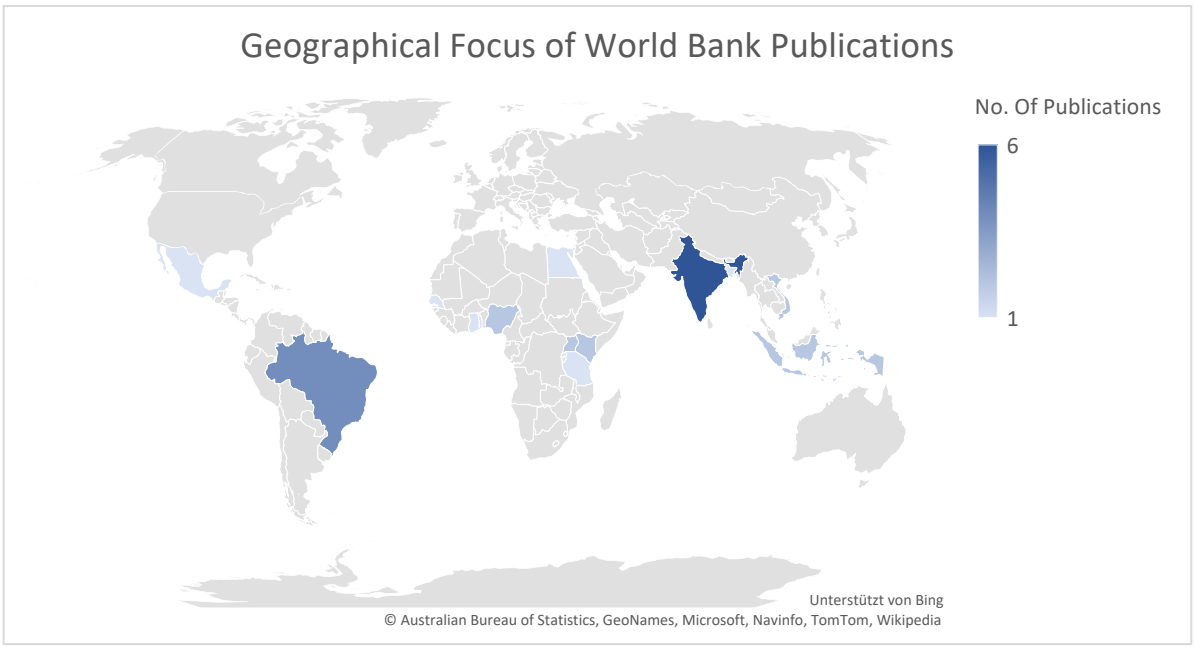


Figure 5.1: Geographical focus of World Bank document (Source: Author[4], 2021)

Because of the relatively smaller number of World Bank documents in this sample (55) compared to the academic document sample (223), it is not surprising that analyzed documents encompass fewer countries (see Figure 5.1). While documents focusing on India, Brazil, and Indonesia are prominent in both datasets, many World Bank documents also focus on Nigeria.

[4] This graphic was developed using a standard chart tool provided in a standard version of Microsoft Excel that all students of the Univeristy of St Andrews can freely download. The copyright of the Australian Bureau of Statistics, Geonames, Microsoft, Nacinfo, TomTom, Wikipedia that is marked in the graphic was automatically generated. However, the graphic can be shared by developer or use of the data.

That the World Bank discourse converges on a few countries could be explained by the large population size of these countries, as well as the high proportion of slums and the comparatively high number of World Bank projects in those countries[5]. After all, Nigeria, India, Indonesia, and Brazil are all large developing economies. However, it also means that World Bank knowledge products are often produced on countries where the World Bank is particularly active, and reports on other countries might be scarce. This narrows the coverage of the OKR and has implications for the World Bank‘s claim to be a global source of development sources.

5.3 Overview of Identified Thematic Network

The World Bank documents on slum-upgrading pay attention to a wide spectrum of themes. The five thematic networks now discussed reflect this wide spectrum. Table 5.2 presents an overview of the global and organizing themes that make up the World Bank discourse on slum upgrading. Again, the number behind each global and organizing theme indicates in how many documents instances of these themes were found. As multiple themes could be found across documents, the number of organizing themes often does not add up to the number of articles a global theme spans. Following this section, the thematic network surrounding each global theme is reviewed.

[5] World Bank’s Project Registry shows 912 projects in India, 517 in Brazil, 647 in Indonesia and 286 in Nigeria. Apart from Nigeria, these countries have attracted the most World Bank projects in their regions. Thus, about 30% of projects in South Asia were implemented in India, about 15% of projects in Latin America and the Caribbean were implemented in Brazil, and about 20% of all projects in the East Asia Pacific Region were implemented in Indonesia. Only below 10% in West Africa were implemented in Nigeria.

Theme	No. of articles
Actors	**29**
- Private Sector	15
- NGOs and CBOs	13
- The Central Government	10
- Municipalities / Local Governments	7
Stopping the Proliferation of Slums	**29**
- Adaptive Interventionist Approaches	17
- Causes of Slum-Formation	17
- Proactive and Adaptive, Market Based Approaches	16
Project Implementation at the Grassroots Level	**22**
- Fostering Community Participation	12
- Improving the Community's Capacity for Project Participation	9
- Inclusion of Vulnerable Groups	8
Cost and Financing Slum-Upgrading Projects	**27**
- Financing Slum-Upgrading	17
- Cost of Slum-Upgrading	11
- Reducing Costs	4
City-Wide Development	**17**
-City Development Goals	13
- Decentralization	6

Table 5.2: No. of Articles in Thematic Network (Source: Author, 2022).

5.3.1 Actors

This thematic network explores "actor" across the World Bank literature. Similar to their prominence in the academic discourse, actors played a central role in the sampled World Bank documents. The main actors mentioned in the World Bank document sample are

- the central government (found across 10 articles),
- the municipal governments (found across 7 documents),
- CBOs and NGOs (found across 13 documents),
- and the private sector (found across 15 documents).

Figure 5.2 displays the thematic network for "actors".

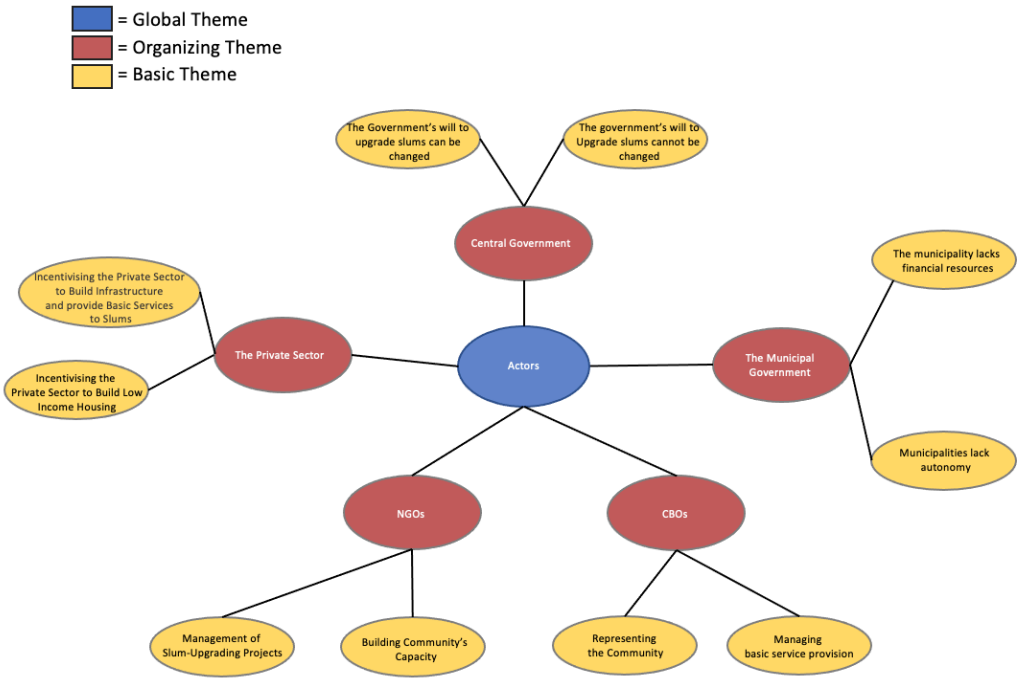


Figure 5.2: Thematic Network "Actors"

5.3.1.1 The Central Government

This first organizing theme explores the will of central governments to implement slum-upgrading projects. The government's attitude and will to implement slum-upgrading have played a significant role throughout the World Bank's documents. Its will determines, for instance, if, where, and at what scale city development strategies and slum-upgrading projects are implemented (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2009b; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2016). But the documents show also for what reason slum-upgrading projects are

implemented – i.e. the development of middle-income aesthetics in cities (e.g. Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2016); or for accessing valuable land for prestigious projects (e.g. World Bank, 2015b).

This thematic network reflects the discussion of the government's attitude towards slum-upgrading in two different directions: the government's will to upgrade slums cannot be changed, and the government's will to upgrade slums can be changed. Figure 5.3 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

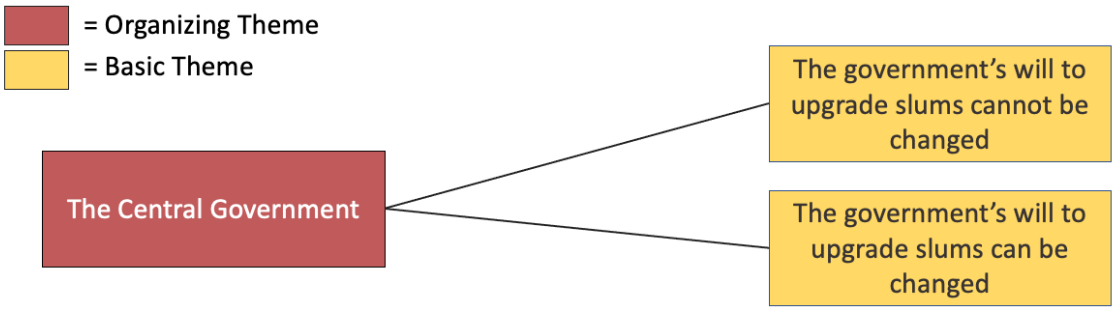


Figure 5.3: Basic themes for organizing theme Central Government

From the review of the World Bank discourse, it is unclear how the World Bank positions itself regarding whether the political will can be stimulated, and whether attitudes of the government can be changed. World Bank documents provide findings that support either. On the one hand, they promote the view that when the political leadership in a country changes and the new government does not view slum-upgrading as a priority, changing the attitude of this government might lie outside the scope of slum-upgrading projects (World Bank, 2015a). Corruption among politicians might also influence the political will for slum-upgrading on a large scale. For example, the study by Gulyani and Talukdar (2008) on Kenya's informal rental market shows that of all surveyed landlords, 16% were politicians, and 41% were government officers. In such constellations, politicians might have few incentives to change regulations constraining landownership or to give informal tenants more rights.

On the other hand, there might be some opportunities to change the government's will and attitude towards slum-upgrading. For instance, Kapoor et al. (2004) argue that when project planners promote to governments that slum-upgrading projects produce positive externalities for cities (e.g., it increases the land and housing values of slum adjacent neighbourhoods, as discussed in Kapoor et al. 2004), it may help to nudge them towards supporting slum-upgrading. Political patrons might also incentivize politicians to upgrade slums (Imparato and Ruster, 2003) because politicians' careers often are built on the support and votes of the poor.

Both need to be viewed with caution, however, as they may exclude parts of the slum-community based on which party they support (see section 4.3.2.1).

5.3.1.2 Municipalities and Local Governments

This second organizing theme revolves around discussions in the World Bank documents on helping municipalities and local governments implement slum-upgrading projects. It was deduced from two basic themes "municipalities lack autonomy", and "municipalities lack financial resources". Figure 5.4 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

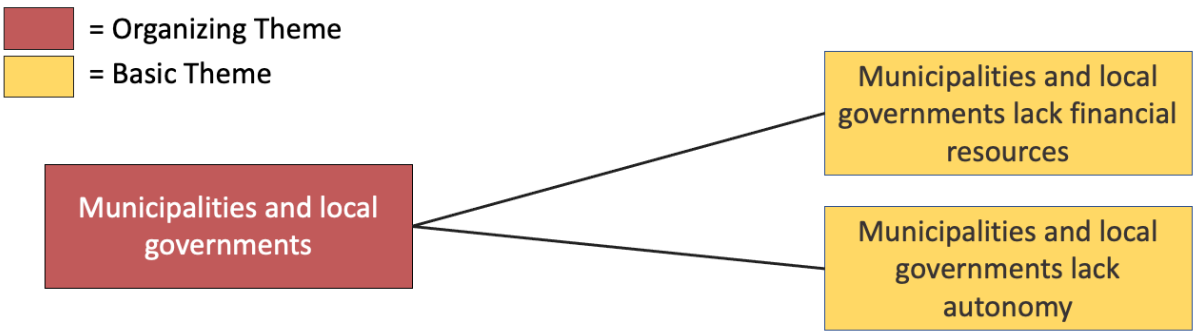


Figure 5.4: Basic themes for organizing theme for Municipalities Lack Capacity for Slum-Upgrading

Municipalities and local governments are critical actors in slum-upgrading. They are responsible for the implementating slum-upgrading projects at the city scale and are the closest contact point between the slum settlers and the government (e.g. Imperati and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2008b). Moreover, they are often responsible for providing basic services to slums (Hawkins et al. 2013; World Bank, 2016). However, World Bank documents highlight that municipalities and local governments often do not have the financial or administrative responsibility to initiate slum-upgrading or to support slum-upgrading projects. This makes them often depend on external funding, incl. the central government but also from the private sector.

Across the discourse, sample World Bank documents call for providing municipalities and local governments with more administrative power (e.g. World Bank, 2002; Annez and Linn, 2010; World Bank, 2015a) and for less resource diversion / more resource allocation at the municipal or local level (World Bank, 2000, 2002; Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2008b). More financially and administratively independent municipalities and local governments seem better equipped for slum-upgrading. Giving them more autonomy and

independance could also make the financing of upgrading projects more robust and may help maintain the project's improvements even after it has concluded (World Bank, 2002; World Bank, 2008b). However, often municipalities and local governments appear to be missing capabilities to collect and use data that could help inform the planning of slum-upgrading processes (e.g. World Bank 2013, 2015b). To enhance the success of municipality and local governments in implemented slum-upgrading projects, it would require strengthening their information management capabilities.

5.3.1.3 The Private Sector

This organizing theme is made up of two basic themes that frequently appeared across the World Bank discourse in relation to the private sector – using the private sector to extend infrastructure and provide basic services to the poor and incentivizing the private sector to provide basic services to the poor. Figure 5.5 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

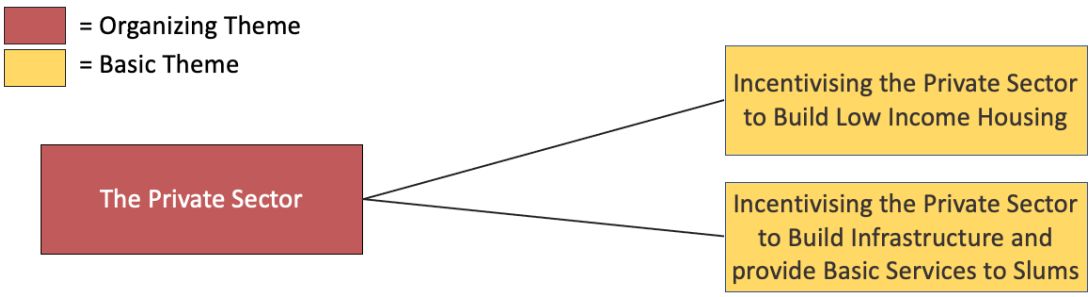


Figure 5.5: Basic themes for organizing theme for Private Sector

As in Chapter 4, the World Bank discusses and proposes the use of TDRs and LDRs to incentivize the private sector to housing in relocation and development slum-upgrading projects (World Bank, 2011a). However, the World Bank documents are not critical of how these projects impact the community but argue that TDRs and LDRs can create a win-win solution for governments and the private sector. For the governments, TDRs and LDRs have the advantage that they do not have to finance the upgrading slums, and TDRs and LDRs offer the private sector a cheap and effective means to develop valuable urban land (World Bank, 2011a; Dharmavaram, 2013).

Several World Bank documents (e.g. World Bank, 2002; Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2006, 2008b, 2009b) also propose outsourcing the responsibility of building slum infrastructure and basic services to the private sector. The reasons the World Bank documents discuss for this are multifold: Firstly, national governments and municipalities often lack the financial or practical capacity to supply slums (and other urban areas) at scale with basic services, particularly, when cities are growing (e.g. Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2016). And secondly, outsourcing the service to the private sector can provide a way to transfer the financial risk from the public to the private sector (Samand, 2012). Thus, outsourcing the provision of basic services to the private sector can provide the government with an economically feasible yet low-risk way to provide services and allows it to conserve its potentially scarce financial resources.

Assuming the private sector is paid by slum-dwellers for certain services directly, the affordability of said service for the poor can be questioned (see section 4.3.4.2). To incentivize the private sector to extend basic services to the poor at affordable prices, the World Bank discourse suggested using subsidies (e.g. World Bank, 2002; 2006, 2008b, 2009b). Subsidies can help bridge the gap between the actual cost of providing housing or basic services to the poor and ability of slum-dwellers to pay for said services (World Bank, 2006). To ensure that services are provided to the poor most of the World Bank discourse discusses output-based subsidies (e.g. World Bank, 2006c, 2009b, Baker, 2010; Velez et al. 2010; World Bank, 2011a; Ahmed and Menzies, 2012; Samand, 2012). Output-based subsidies are results-based subsidies. Opposed to input-based subsidies that provide financing for investment expenditures, output-based subsidies only reimburst or subsidize companies after the investment projects (e.g. the service plant or infrastructure) are built or they delivered the outcomes (i.e. the cubic meters of water provided to slum communities Velez et al. 2010). As only outputs are financed, subsidies become performance-based. This increases the transparency of the quantities of services provided to slum-dwellers while at the same time making it less vulnerable to be exploited by private providers.

Output-based subsidies may help ensure that private sector firms provide services to slums and that infrastructure is built. As output-based subsidies cover the differences between what slum-dwellers afford and what businesses need to earn they can help maintain the provision of basic services affordable (Valez and Tierney, 2010; Ahmed and Menzies, 2012).

5.3.1.4 CBOs and NGOs

This last organizing theme focuses on discourses surrounding CBOs and NGOs. It was developed from two separate basic themes –NGOs can take on the management of slum-upgrading projects, and CBOs can manage the supply of basic services. Figure 5.6 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

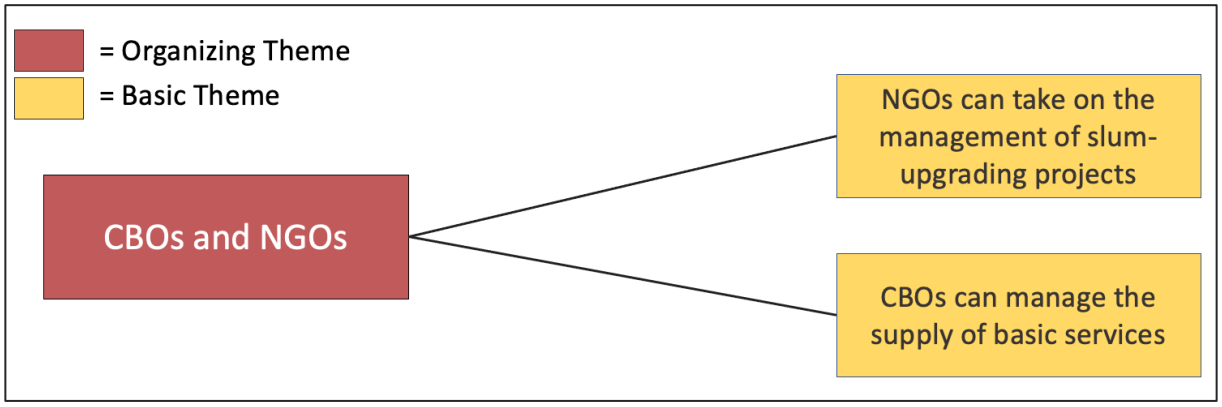


Figure 5.6: Basic themes for organizing theme for CBOs and NGOs

The World Bank's discourse on NGOs and CBOs overlaps with the academic discourse to a large degree. It focuses on the ability of NGOs to support slum-upgrading projects (for instance, with the enumeration of slum households), train and educate communities, help communities establish saving groups and to facilitate discussions between communities and the government (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2014a). CBOs can represent communities in the slum-upgrading process (Imparato and Ruster, 2003).

New in this context is that the World Bank documents also discuss giving the central project management to NGOs and CBOs. NGOs, for example, can take on central project management responsibilities when municipalities are lacking the required managerial capacity (Imparato and Ruster, 2003; Cities Alliances, 2010). World Bank documents also debate giving CBOs the responsibility to manage the supply of basic services to the communities (World Bank, 2009) or giving CBOs the responsibility for maintenance of the upgrades slum-upgrading provided (World Bank, 2016). Both provide opportunities to explore in practice.

When CBOs manage a community's supply and maintenance of basic services, they relieve municipalities from their responsibilities at the settlement level. This brings central government capabilities to the local communities and might enhance the service provision and maintenance in slum communities. To ensure that CBOs can take on the maintenance and management of service provision for slums, they need to be legally registered as organizations, so that private businesses work with them (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2016).

Moreover, World Bank highlights that training may be needed to ensure they have the necessary capacity to take on these central responsibilities (e.g, Imparato and Ruster, 2003). As maintenance is the main issue that appears to often reduce the long-term impact of slum-upgrading projects (see section 4.3.4.1), giving CBOs the responsibility to maintain slum infrastructure and manage the provision of basic services could present a solution to the problem.

The World Bank discourse does not go into more detail about what problems giving the central project capabilities to NGOs may solve other than that it relieves municipalities when they might lack the needed project-management capabilities (Imparato and Ruster, 2003). Yet, when NGOs take on central project management capabilities, they may add to the overall project costs (Cities Alliance, 2010) and affect the project's economic viability. How much the participation of NGOs costs and what cost components it affects is discussed in detail in section 5.3.4.1. Overall, this discourse shows that NGOs and CBOs can fill in gaps when municipalities are missing the central capabilities necessary to implement slum-upgrading projects. They could also present a potential substitute in a context where municipalities lack capacity.

5.3.2 Stopping the Proliferation of Slums

This thematic network explores what causes the proliferation of slums and what approaches World Bank documents to discuss to stop the proliferation of slums. It covers four organizing themes (see Figure 5.7): Formal and Informal Land and Housing Markets (found across 17 documents); Proactive and Adaptive Market-Based Approaches to Stopping the Proliferation of Slums (found across 17 documents); and Adaptive, Intervention-Based Approaches to Stopping the Proliferation of Slums (found across 16 documents). Figure 5.7 displays the thematic network for stopping the proliferation of slums.

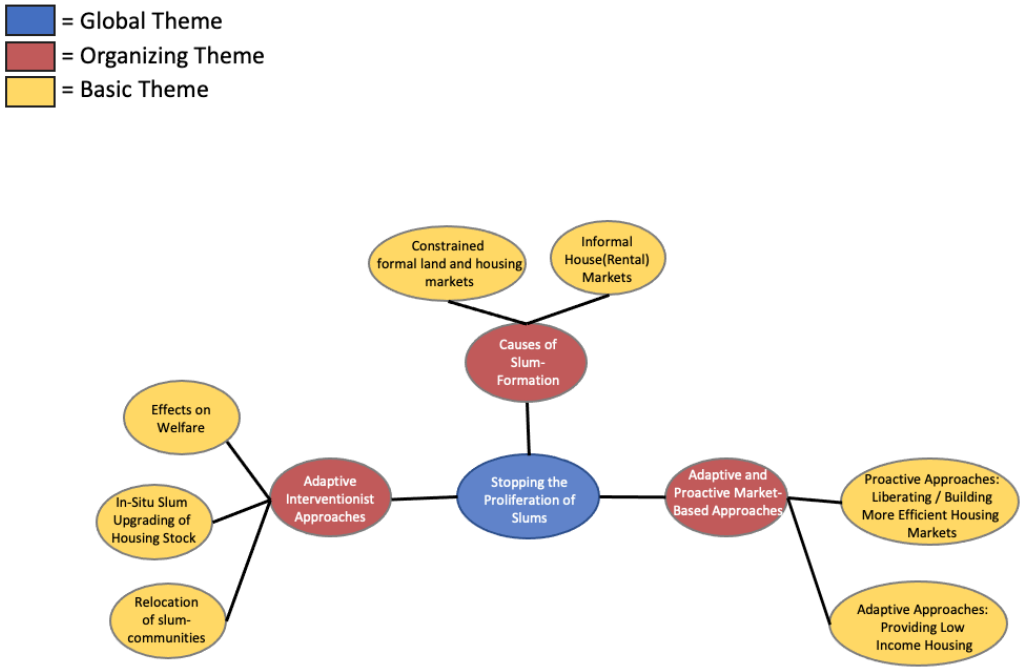


Figure 5.7: Thematic Network "Stopping the Proliferation of Slums"

5.3.2.1 Causes of Slum Formation

World Bank articles have paid significant attention to why slums form, their land and housing market structures and why they proliferate. These discussions help build the foundations of the Bank's policy for addressing the proliferation of slums (explored in the hereinafter following sections). This organizing theme explores what causes the proliferation of slums. It conists of two basic themes: Constrained housing markets to cause the formation of slums, and informal housing markets substitute for constrained formal housing markets. Figure 5.8 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

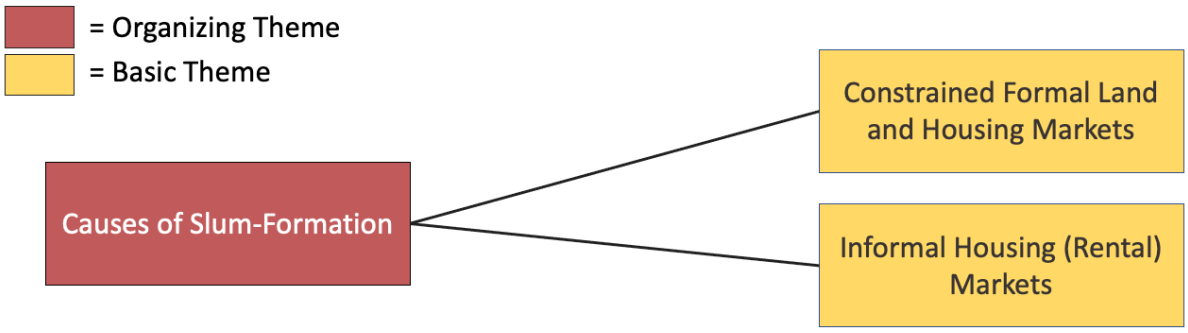


Figure 5.8: Basic themes for organizing theme for Causes of Slum Formation

In many developing countries with high slum populations, the markets for available land and housing seem to be constrained. In India, for example, a lot of primary urban land is owned by the government. Strict regulations prohibit the development of land by the government or the private sector (Annez et al. 2010). This means that due to continuing rural-to-urban migration and urbanization urban housing markets are put under pressure. When land remains inaccessible for development, but demand for land and housing in urban centres increases, land and housing prices increase too. Many who cannot find affordable housing will need to move into slums, and slums grow consequently (e.g. World Bank, 2007b; Gulyani and Talukdar, 2008; Annze et al. 2010; World Bank, 2010). To address the problem of slum growth, the World Bank discourse argues that governments should alleviate regulations and restrictions that make it difficult to develop land growth (e.g. World Bank, 2007b, Gulyani and Talukdar, 2008; World Bank, 2008a; Annez et al. 2010; World Bank, 2015b). Increasing the land supply can thus help satisfy the demand for housing of rapid urbanization and population and can fill the void in the formal housing markets that otherwise get filled by informal (slum) housing substitutes.

In reality, however, the size of these informal housing markets can be quite significant - in Egypt, for example, a World Bank report (World Bank, 2008b) finds that 45 % of the housing stock is provided by informal markets; in Mumbai in India, informal markets produced up to 55% of housing stock (in 2001, Annez et al. 2010). The transition between formal and informal markets can often be flowing (see Graphic 5.2 in section 5.3.2.2) as informal housing can cost as much as formal housing). As the overall proportion of the informal housing market to the overall housing market is significant, understanding how they work can help define policy recommendations. A set of four articles in the World Bank dataset explore informal housing markets (Gulyani and Talukdar, 2008; Annez et al. 2010, 2012; Panman and Garcia, 2021). They find that a significant proportion of all households in slums live in informal rental arrangements (e.g. Gulyani and Talukard, 2008; Panman and Garcia, 2021). These range from 47 % in Tanzania (Panman and Garcia, 2021) 81% in Nigeria (World Bank, 2015b) and 82% in Kenya (Gulyani and Talukdar 2008). Thus, to a large extent, all housing in slums will be owned by a few landlords.

Gulyani and Talukdar (2008) and Panman and Garcia (2021) find also that slum housing markets work very similarly to how formal markets work. For example, the price of housing is depended on the following four characteristics:

- of the unit (its size and also the quality of the building materials),
- the degree of access to basic infrastructure in the housing unit (water taps, electricity etc.),

- the provided infrastructure in its neighbourhood (working streetlights, but also such amenities such as schools),
- and the overall location within the city - for example, a slum-dwelling's proximity to job opportunities (Gulyani and Talukdar, 2008; Panman and Garcia, 2021).

These findings have considerable implications for slum-upgrading. When slum-upgrading improves the physical characteristics of slum-housing it effectively improves the house's value. This could make it too expensive for many slum-dwellers to afford their dwellings after the project has concluded, and it could make it more likely that slum landlords will increase the rent prices after the upgrades have been installed. Given most of an informal market is controlled by a few landlords, slum-upgrading can mean potentially significant gains for the landlords, whilst it may crowd out some of the intended beneficiaries of the upgrading project. How slum-upgrading impacts informal rental markets remain largely under-explored across both datasets. Exploring how slum-upgrading affects informal housing markets presents a significant opportunity for more research.

5.3.2.2 Proactive and Adaptive Market Based Approaches to Stop Slum-Proliferation

This organizing theme is comprised of two basic themes that each describe a distinct response to stopping the proliferation of slums: deregulating housing markets and building low-income housing. Figure 5.9 depicts organizing and basic themes.

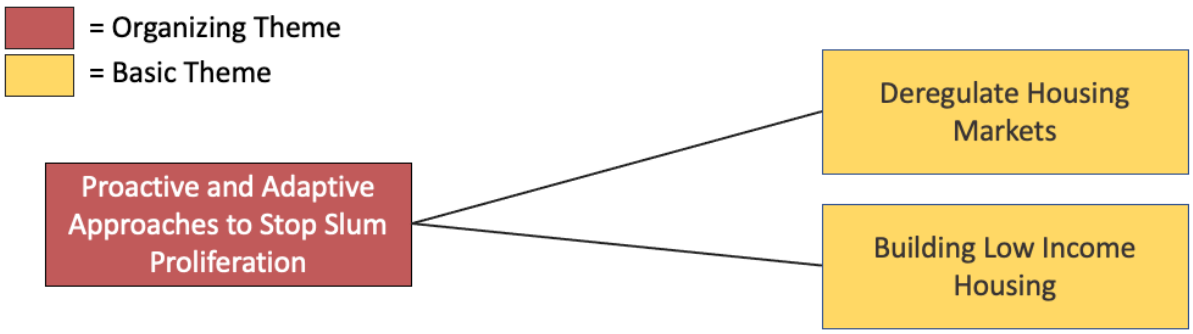


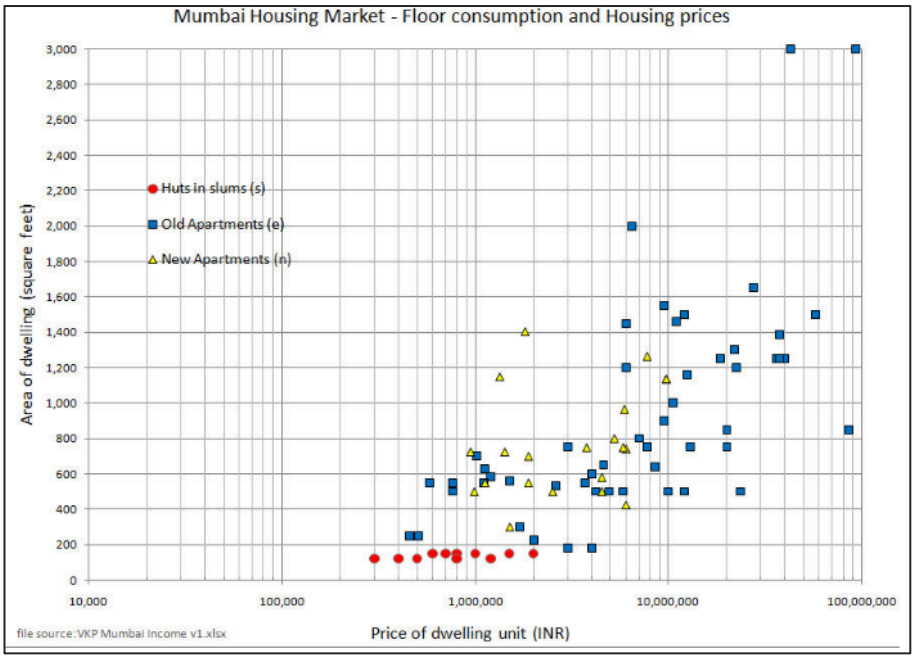
Figure 5.9: Basic themes for organizing theme Proactive and Adaptive Approaches to Stop Slum-Proliferation

- **Deregulating Housing Markets:** This approach recommends deregulating/liberalising the housing markets to address the lack of affordable formal and adequate housing that otherwise results in the formation of slums. It responds to the problems that constrained land and housing markets to cause for cities, discussed in the previous section. The basic argument behind deregulating housing markets is that a liberalized housing market will address its own existing inefficiencies. Thus, a liberalized housing market will provide sufficient low-income houses when they are lacking. Deregulation of housing markets and building working housing markets was suggested across eight documents in the sample (e.g. Annez et al. 2010; World Bank, 2002, 2015b).

- **Building Low-Income Housing:** As a second approach to reducing the formation of slums is to actively build low-income housing for slum settlers. Here the central government or municipalities, instead of the market, are the initiators building the low-income housing. This approach argues that freeing land and housing markets alone does not stop people from living in slums. Instead, a lack of affordable housing outside of the slums appears to be the main constraint and these need to be built or created (Laal et al. 2005; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2016). To incentivize slum-dwellers to move out of slums, several World Bank documents (Annez et al. 2010a, b; World Bank, 2007a; 2014b; Panman and Garcia.2021) propose rental housing schemes and subsidies mortgage schemes that make formal housing affordable to the poor.

There appears some disagreement around whether either approach works on its own or if they need to be used in tandem. To demonstrate this Graphic 5.2 presents a reproduction from Annez et al. (2010a, p. 39, next page) who study the extremely constrained land markets in Mumbai. The graphic shows the distribution of new apartments, old apartments, and huts in slums in Mumbai per area of the dwelling and the price of the dwelling unit. It reemphasizes the seamless transition from formal to informal housing (based on its price). It further shows that at times informal settlements are more expensive than formal apartments (when they are located closer to the city centre, see Annetz et al. 2010b, pp.40). The graphic highlights that rental housing markets alone may not suffice to solve the proliferation of slums: Although they increase the affordability of the existing housing stock, they do not stimulate the housing supply (Annez et al. 2010). Hence, with no additional supply of formal housing, rental and subsidies that help the demand side, a more liberalized housing market will not stop the proliferation of slums.

This raises the question of whether liberalization of the housing markets alone can suffice to reduce the slum formation or whether it needs to be combined with policies and projects that aim to improve the supply side of formal housing, for example by incentivizing private sector firms to build housing. Moreover, the basic argument conveyed across these documents is that by deregulating housing markets inefficiencies can be corrected (e.g. Annez et al. 2010b). However, it is likely that better or more efficient housing markets also help cities become more efficient and competitive. Hence they also support the existence of agglomeration economics in cities (World Bank, 2002; World Bank, 2015b). Consequently, it could be suspected that the liberalization of housing markets is not only introduced to help the poor but also to make cities more attractive to foreign companies and for business in real estate (World Bank, 2002).



Graphic 5.2: Mumbai Housing Market – Floor consumption and housing price (Source: Annez et al. 2010b p. 39).

5.3.2.3 Adaptive, Interventionist Approaches to Stop Slum-Proliferation

This last organizing theme consists of three basic themes: in-situ upgrading to improve the existing slum-housing stock, relocation of slum communities and impact of in-situ-upgrading and relocation projects on the welfare of their beneficiaries. Figure 5.10 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

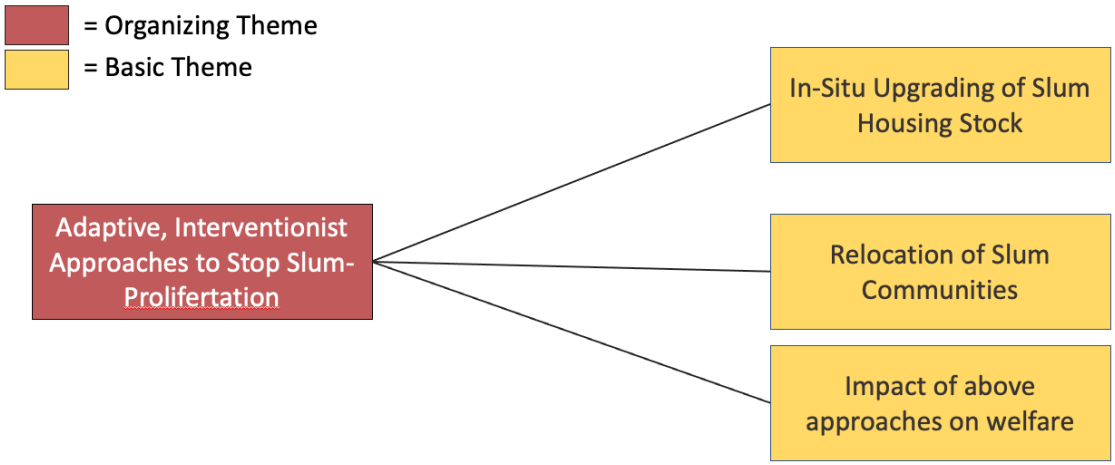


Figure 5.10: Basic themes for organizing theme Adaptive, Interventionist Approaches to Stop Slum-Proliferation

World Bank documents propose the use of in-situ upgrading projects when regulations constrain the existing land and housing markets or when the housing supply cannot keep up with the urban growth and demand for formal housing (World Bank, 2008a; Annez et al. 2012; World Bank, 2014b). One advantage of upgrading slums in-situ is that it makes use of the existing informal housing stock (World Bank, 2008a; Annez et al. 2012). This also means that in-situ upgrading projects are often a less expensive alternative to the other approaches because it does not require the building of houses (e.g. World Bank, 2007a; 2009a).

Next to in-situ slum-upgrading, a relocation approach to slum-upgrading is also proposed as a response to stop the proliferation of slums.

Sometimes, relocating some households is inevitable in situ-slum-upgrading projects, too. For instance, when households need to be moved to make space to build new infrastructure in-situ-slum-upgrading projects (e.g. Annez et al. 2012) or when space is needed to build community spaces (e.g. World Bank, 2012a, 2015b, 2016). Moreover, relocation as a response to natural hazards threatening slums was mentioned by Annez et al. (2012) and Dharmavara (2013). Yet, several other documents highlight that relocation approaches are motivated by alternative city-development motives. For example, slums are relocated when larger infrastructure needs to be installed or extended (for instance highways or for the extension of city-wide water supply, Roquet et al. 2017). Similar to what the academic discourse criticizes, this begs the question of whether relocation projects can be justified for city development.

While the World Bank documents discuss how different approaches to slum-upgrading cost or that relocation of slums may be needed to achieve larger city development goals, how different approaches to slum-upgrading affect the welfare of their beneficiaries is often not a

focal topic. Only, a set of eight articles (Kapoor et al. 2004; Baker, 2006; Buckley et al. 2006; Dasgupta and Lall, 2006; Takeushi et al. 2006; World Bank, 2007a Annez et al. 2010; Roquet et al. 2017) consider what welfare effects in-situ and relocation projects create. The consensus amongst them is that in-situ upgrading projects usually enhance the welfare of communities because of the infrastructure they provide and because they do not affect the social cohesion of slum communities (e.g. Kapoor et al. 2004; Takeushi et al. 2007).

However, the discussion around the impact of relocating slums is not yet conclusive. There is certainly agreement that redevelopment projects disrupt the community's social networks and that relocation projects may increase the cost of transportation for some individuals to their jobs (all of this is effectively decreasing the welfare of the slum communities, see Kapoor et al. 2004; Takeushi et al. 2007; World Bank, 2007a). Yet some authors also argue that relocation projects could theoretically also enhance their beneficiaries' welfare when they relocate them closer to their jobs (Takeushi et al. 2007). However, it needs to be acknowledged that this is under the assumption that not all jobs for individuals living in slums are located in the city centre, and that relocation projects could bring slum settlers closer to jobs or job opportunities. Nevertheless, it begs an interesting avenue for more research or consideration in policy and practice.

While some project reports mention that World Bank-financed projects compensate beneficiaries for their relocation[6], it is not clear how much attention the World Bank pays to how different approaches to slum-upgrading affect their beneficiaries' welfare. While cash or potential housing compensations are better than nothing, it remains questionable if money can truly compensate for the loss of livelihood and social uprooting. Section 5.7.1 will discuss this issue further.

5.3.3 Project Implementation at The Grassroots Level

This global theme explores the challenges of implementing slum-upgrading projects at the grassroots level (see Figure 5.11). It is made up of three organizing themes:

- Fostering the community's participation in slum-upgrading projects (found across 12 articles),
- Determining the community's level of participation (found across 9 articles),
- and including vulnerable groups in upgrading projects (found across 8 articles).

[6] This is in alignment with the World Bank's Involuntary Resettlement Policy (called Operations Policy 4.12) (e.g. see World Bank 2015b).

This thematic network moves the discussion from the policy level to the grassroots level. Overall, 22 articles contributed to this thematic network.

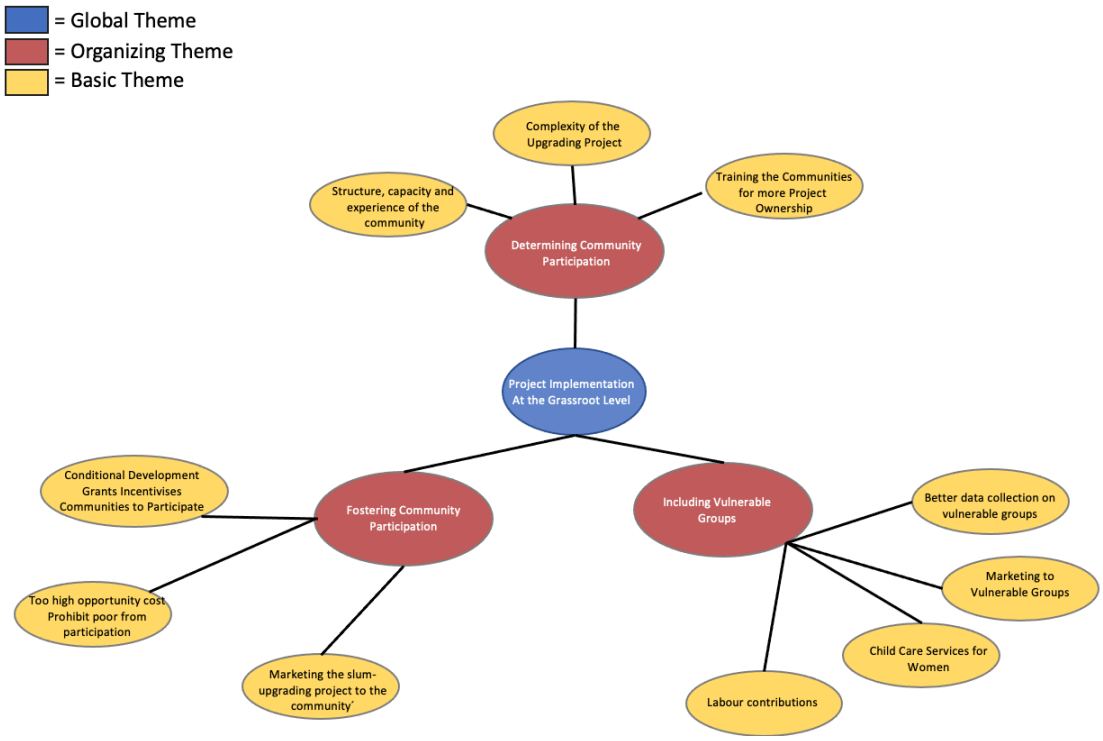


Figure 5.11: Thematic Network "Project Implementation at the Grassroots Level"

5.3.3.1 Fostering the Community's Participation

This organizing theme was developed from three basic themes:

- the opportunity cost of participation is too high, and the community is therefore not willing to participate in upgrading projects,
- conditional community grants can enable community participation,
- and marketing slum-upgrading can increase the community's
- participation.

Figure 5.12 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

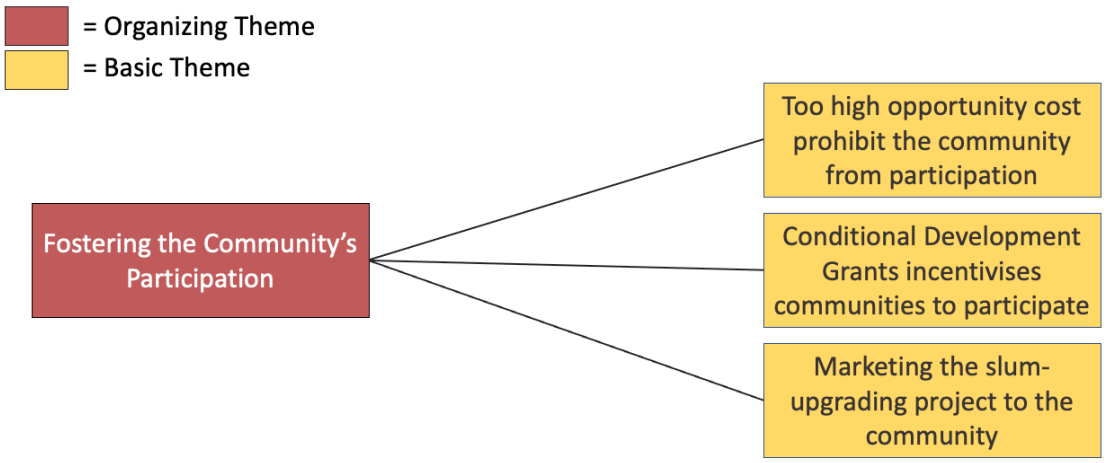


Figure 5.12: Basic themes for organizing theme Fostering the Community's Participation

The participation of the benefiting communities in slum-upgrading projects is a central objective in the World Bank's slum-upgrading projects (e.g., Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2006c, 2015a). Nevertheless, the World Bank discourse finds that fostering the participation of the community can be difficult (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; Cities Alliances, 2010; World Bank, 2011d, 2012a, 2015a, 2016). High-opportunity costs, for example, can disincentivize slum residents from participating in upgrading projects. These are created because participating in slum-upgrading projects is time-intensive, and people have to trade project work with time to actually go after income-earning opportunities (World Bank, 2016). This excludes in particularly often women from taking part in the participatory planning process (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003), who, besides taking care of their children, are often the only income earners in households (ibid.). High opportunity costs can also exclude the poorest members of a slum community who are most desperately need to find opportunities to earn some income (ibid.). When only those community members with time like retirees or the unemployed or (wealthier) landlords (World Bank, 2012a) participate in upgrading projects, projects are likely to not be representative (an issue that will be discussed further in Section 5.6.3).

To foster communities to participate in slum-upgrading, World Bank literature explores different approaches to motivate the community:

- The first approach discussed in World Bank documents is **marketing** (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2011d, 2012a; Roquet et al. 2017). Marketing the slum-upgrading project in communities can help make slum-dwellers aware of the project and

opportunities to participate in it (Imparato and Ruster, 2003). Such communication strategies also can help reach the poorest of the poor who may otherwise be difficult to involve in the slum-upgrading process (ibid.). Moreover, marking the slum-upgrading project to communities may also involve social campaigns that inform and educate the community about good practices when using the provided infrastructure (for example, how to safely and sanitary use of water taps) and promote change the behaviour (Imparato and Ruster, 2003).

- **Conditional community development grants** (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; Baker, 2006; World Bank, 2009b) tie the participation of communities to the provision of funding or grants for development projects (Imparato and Ruster, 2003). Thus, these get only dispersed when the community (but also other stakeholders) participate in the projects.

A debate that the World Bank discourse does not resolve is whether community organizers - the people most frequently taking part in the project discussion - should be paid (Imparato and Ruster, 2013). On the one hand, the document (Imparato and Ruster, 2013) finds that next to the obvious remuneration for the time worked, it can help reduce corruption in the project. On the other hand, community members argue that it could constrain community members in their role by the government or development agencies who paid them (ibid.). Given the high opportunity costs that participating in slum-upgrading projects may create, how remunerating community organizers affects the community's willingness to participate in slum-upgrading projects and if the project's outcomes are affected presents an opportunity for future research.

One interesting finding in the discourse around fostering the community's participation in slum-upgrading was that prevailing rental market structures can provide an obstacle to fostering the landlord or tenants to participate in upgrading projects. Thus, Imparato and Ruster (2003) find that while landlords look for slum-upgrading projects to provide them with tenure, they see improvements in infrastructure as unnecessary when they add more costs. Secondly, Imparato and Ruster (2003) find that tenants may often be unwilling to participate in slum-upgrading projects because they are not stable urban dwellers, meaning they move from location to location and only look for the cheapest accommodation. This has interesting implications: Firstly contradicts that slum settlers may always want to improve their housing (Tuner, 1967) and secondly, given a high proportion of rental arrangements that characterize

informal housing markets, this could limit the participation of a significant number of landlords and tenants in slum-upgrading projects. Both present interesting opportunities for more exploration.

5.3.3.2 Determining the Community's Participation

This organizing theme discusses the World Bank's approach to determining the level of community participation in slum-upgrading projects. It is made up of three basic themes – the structure and capacity of communities determine the community's level of participation, the complexity of slum-upgrading projects determines the community's level of participation, and training communities for more project ownership. Figure 5.13 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

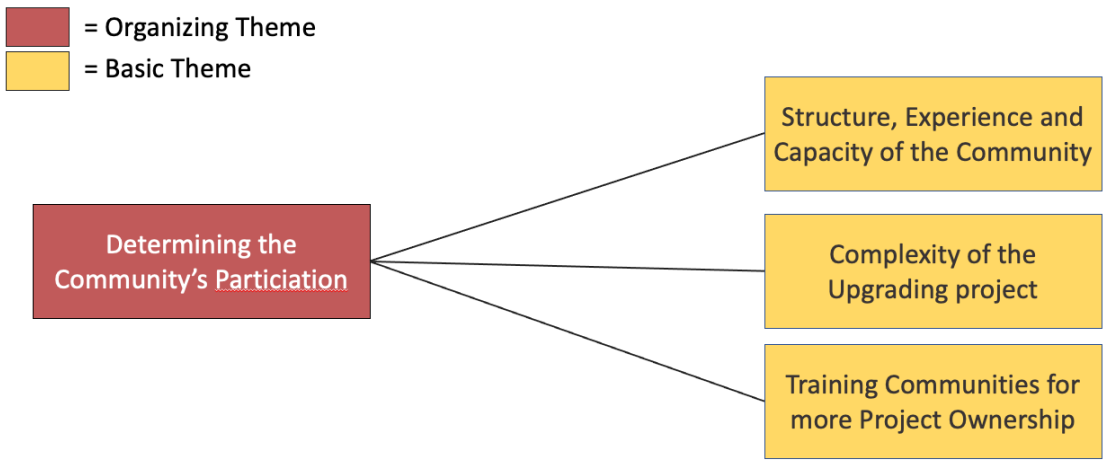


Figure 5.13: Basic themes for organizing theme Determining the Community Participation

There are several factors discussed in the World Bank documents that influence the capacity of a slum community to be involved in the management and ownership of slum-upgrading projects. These have to do with

- the internal structure of the community (i.e. its wealth, size, access to education, prevailing social capital and existence of skilled personnel (Imparato and Ruster, 2003);
- previous experiences with participation of development projects (ibid.);
- the existence of CBOs and other community organizations (ibid.);
- but also, the complexity of the upgrading project and the complexity of the slum environment (World Bank, 2015a).

Across the World Bank documents, these factors influence the level to which a community can participate and take on functions in slum-upgrading projects (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2015a). Figure 5.14 (next page) presents an overview of the different levels of participation the World Bank proposes. It shows the differing levels of community participation in slum-upgrading projects as a continuum.

Given that high levels of community participation are viewed as ideal (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003), training communities is discussed across several World Bank documents (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2012a, 2015a; Park et al. 2018). Community training programs aim to either enhance a community's managerial capability so that they can take on more project functions (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2016) or they aim to train communities in specific functions related to the infrastructure improvements provided in upgrading programs (for instance, waste management or maintenance practices; e.g. World Bank, 2012a). Often, communities require specific technical assistance to help them develop the necessary technical skills to obtain more project ownership or project management capacities (Imparato and Ruster, 2003). Here, NGOs can assist with training community members in these responsibilities (ibid.)

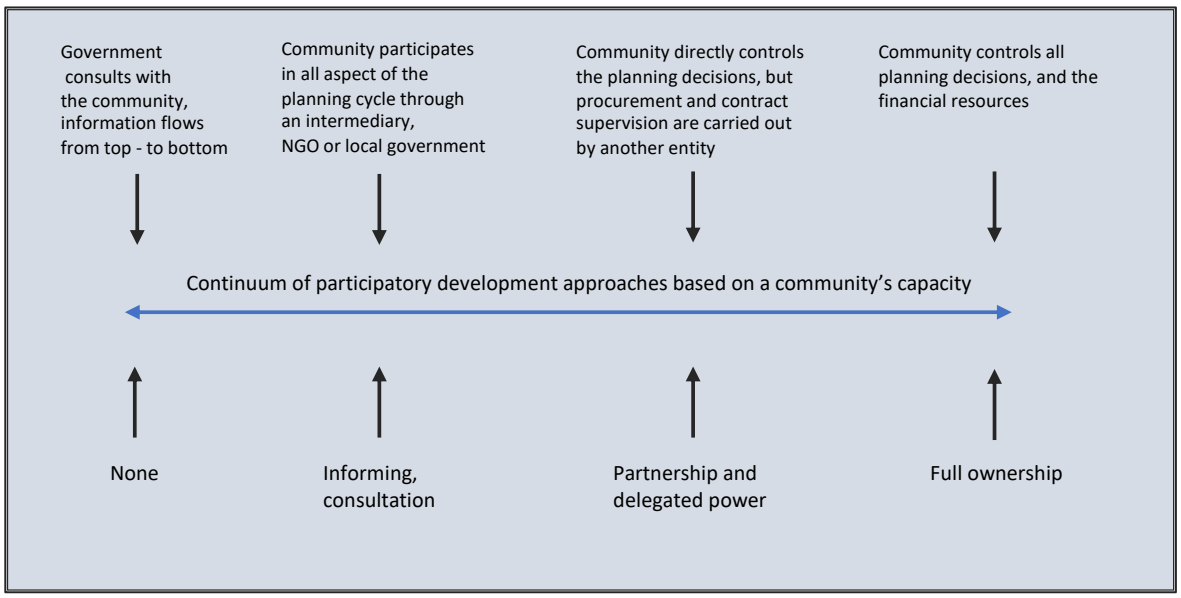


Figure 5.14: Continuum of Participatory Approaches in Urban Areas (Adapted from: World Bank, 2015a, p.14).

The World Bank's discussion around letting or limiting the participation of slum communities in slum-upgrading projects is very different to the academic discourse. Whereas the academic discourse views full community participation as central to participatory approaches (see section 4.3.2.3), the World Bank discourse views participatory approaches to slum-upgrading as a continuum (see Figure 5.14). Full community participation is therefore not

an expectation. Moreover, the World Bank proposes that the project implementer should evaluate and determine the level of a community's participation, and to what extent a community participates in slum-upgrading as a decisions are made top-down. This stands in tension with the understanding academic literature promotes participatory approaches to slum-upgrading, namely one that views slum-community as equal stakeholders to all other project participants.

5.3.3.3 Including Vulnerable Groups in Slum-Upgrading Projects

This last organizing theme explores the inclusion of vulnerable groups in slum-upgrading projects. It is made up of four basic themes: it discusses marketing, labour contributions, childcare services for women, and better data collection on the poor. Figure 5.21 depicts the organizing and basic themes covered in this section.

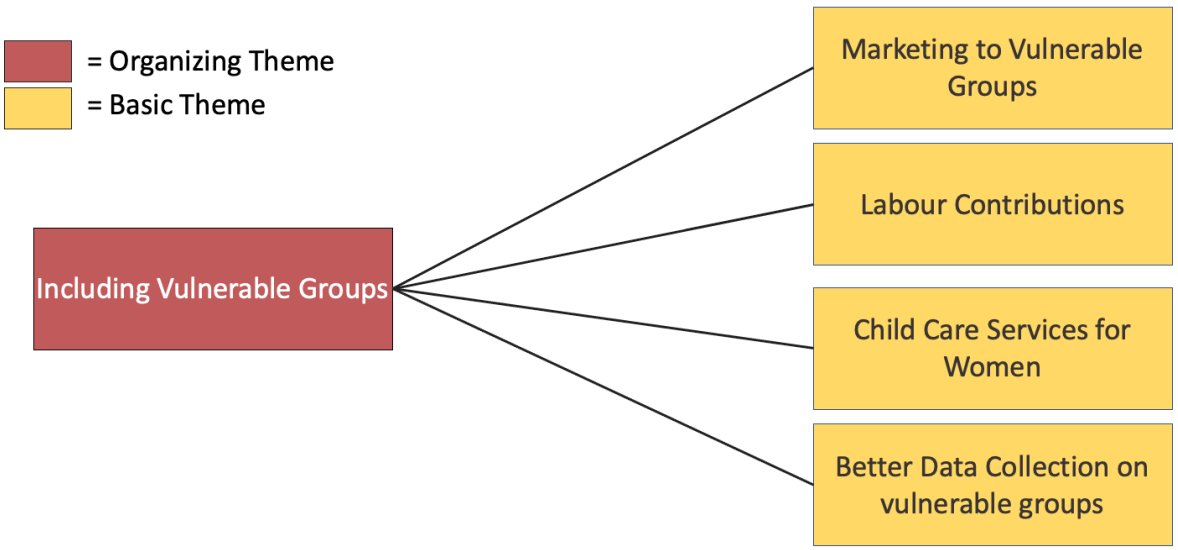


Figure 5.15: Basic themes for organizing theme Including Vulnerable Groups in Slum-Upgrading Projects

Several groups are likely to be overlooked or excluded from participating in slum-upgrading projects. These include marginalized and vulnerable groups incl. women, the very poor, unemployed youth or youth working in the low-productivity sector, working children and adolescents, people with handicaps and illnesses, and elderly people (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; Cities Alliances, 2010; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2016). However, these groups will likely profit the most from the provision of infrastructure and therefore should be given special consideration in slum-upgrading projects. For example, as women are (still) often responsible for collecting water, having access to water taps at a community or household level, and not

having to walk several miles to the nearest water tap, may women save time daily. Moreover, it may reduce their and their family's health risks. Access to properly working sanitation may also reduce the risk of violence (Imparato and Ruster, 2003, World Bank, 2009b, 2015a, 2016). For extremely poor slum-dwellers, public infrastructure services can be the only access to water and sanitation (e.g. World Bank, 2015a). Thus, there is an urgent need to include these groups in slum-upgrading projects (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2016).

World Bank documents discuss several methods that can help include vulnerable groups in slum-upgrading projects:

- Because the poorest are more difficult to reach than other slum settlers, there is a need for attracting their awareness and information. **Marketing and communication** strategies can be used as one approach to make them aware of slum-upgrading projects (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003).

- A second strategy that is discussed in the documents is allowing the poor to contribute with labour instead of loans. **Labour contributions** can be used instead of payments or loans to finance housing upgrades for the poorest slum-dwellers. Contributing labour hours may only be interesting for the poor and unemployed because the opportunity cost vis-à-vis work would deter other more affluent and working parts of the community (e.g., Imparato and Rust, 2003).

- Thirdly, to enable the participation of women, World Bank articles discuss **childcare programs** while slum-upgrading projects are implemented (e.g. World Bank, 2002). These may reduce the opportunity costs of participating in slum-upgrading projects for women and may reduce their workload overall.

- The last strategy that is often mentioned but appears to be unexplored in practice is the **collection of data** on the socio-economic characteristics of slum-dwellers. These can help make slum-upgrading projects more inclusive because using the information on the poor can improve the planning process of the slum-upgrading projects. In return, this may create slum-upgrading projects that are better suited to meet the needs of their beneficiaries' needs (e.g., Imparato and Ruster, 2003; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2016).

Exploring any or all of these may present opportunities to make slum-upgrading projects more inclusive.

5.3.4 Cost and Financing Slum-Upgrading Projects

This thematic network explores the costs of slum-upgrading projects and reflects on and discusses approaches to financing slum-upgrading (see Figure 5.16). Considering the cost and financing of slum-upgrading is quite important, as dependent on the different project's components and designs the cost of slum-upgrading vary. On a large scale, this can determine which project components can get implemented. Equally important is the financing of slum-upgrading projects, because how a slum-upgrading project is financed ultimately determines if the project is financially viable. This might be of the great influence which projects the World Bank supports (e.g., Gilbert, 2003, xxvii). This global theme spans three organizing themes:

- the overall costs and costs of individual slum-upgrading components (found across 11 articles),
- the financing of slum-upgrading projects (found across 17 articles),
- and approaches to reducing costs (found across 4 articles).

Figure 5.16: Thematic Network "Cost and Financing of Slum-Upgrading" (Source: Author, 2022).

5.3.4.1 Cost of Slum-Upgrading Projects

This organizing theme explores the costs of upgrading slums. It is made up of three basic themes - the costs of physical improvements, the cost of community participation and

community capacity development, and the cost and compensation for relocating slum-dwellers. Figure 5.17 depicts organizing and basic themes, plus insights for practice, and research covered in this section.

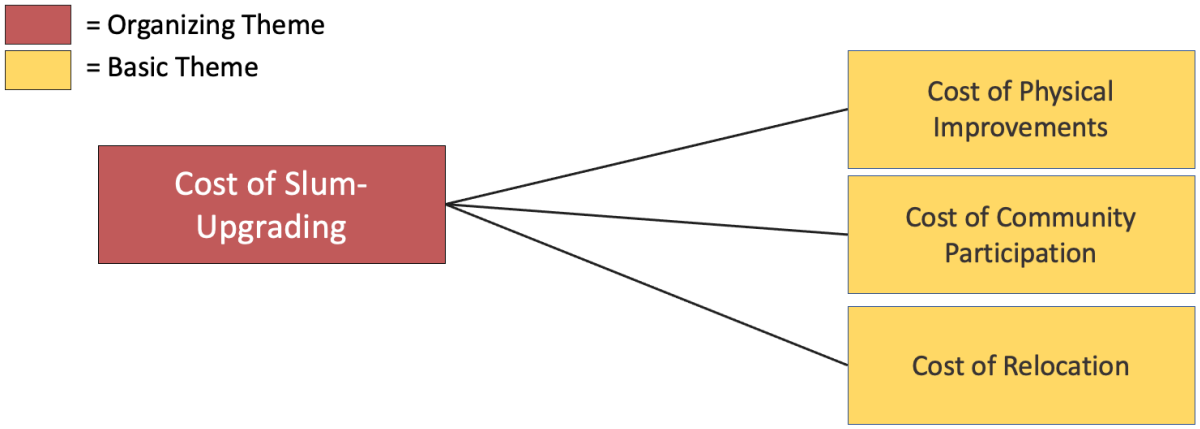


Figure 5.17: Basic themes, insights for practice and knowledge gap for organizing theme cost of slum-upgrading

How much slum-upgrading projects and individual components cost has repeatedly been a theme across World Bank documents. The extent and detail in which these themes are covered in the analyzed documents vary from only mentioning the costs of a specific physical intervention (e.g. Baker, 2006; Abiko et al. 2007, see Appendix 9.2 for a full breakdown of their costs) to a breakdown of the cost of relocating slum-dwellers (World Bank, 2015b) and of letting the community participate in slum-upgrading projects (Cities Alliance).

The first new finding in the cost breakdown is provided in Cities Alliance (2010). Cities Alliance (2010) shows how much community participation and empowering communities cost (see Table 5.3). This indicates that empowerment goals are design choices made ahead of slum-upgrading projects and thus need to be anticipated in the project's budget. This makes the participation of communities not only dependent on their capacity but also to what extent the project has enough financial resources. This adds costs vs available resources as one determining the fact that may limit the degree of participation communities are allowed in a slum-upgrading project or how much training they are provided with to improve their project management capabilities (both is discussed in section 5.3.3.2). Moreover, the breakdown in Table 5.4 also shows that SDI received a significant slum (595,000 USD) totalling more than 12% of the total costs of the participatory component for training the community and enumerating slum households. This is a second new finding that has beforehand not received much attention in either discourse. Thus far, how much the participation of NGOs in slum-

upgrading costs has not been explored. It is unclear if these costs were overall significant for the project and if these amounts are usual in slum-upgrading projects. This requires further investigation.

The cost breakdown of letting a community participate in a slum-upgrading project and empowering them could only be found for one project (Cities Alliance, 2010). Here the total cost comes to USD 86,65 per person or USD 4,766,000 overall (see Table 5.6). As the project's total costs are missing (Cities Alliance, 2010, does not provide the costs of physical improvements) it remains unclear, however, what the share of participatory and empowerment costs are of the overall project's costs. Nevertheless, these cost breakdowns are immensely insightful to the discourse on slum-upgrading. It expands the discourse on the cost of slum-upgrading beyond focusing only on the physical improvements and it asks raises questions about how much social and other project components like the participation of the community in slum-upgrading projects and their empowerment cost. Figures 5.23 – 5.26 in the Appendix present an overview of the breakdown of specific project costs across different slum-upgrading projects discussed in Baker (2006), Abiko et al. (2007) and Cities Alliances (2010).

How much the relocation of slum communities costs is only found in Abiko et al. (2007). They find that cost of relocating slum-dwellers lies between USD 2,183 and 2480.64 per household or between 28.4 - 49.54 % of the overall project costs. The World Bank's Involuntary Policy (OP 4.12, World Bank, 2015b) requires that individuals who resettled involuntary get compensated. Table 5.26 presents the actual cash compensations for tenants and structure owners (landlords) that were resettled during the LMDGP in Nigeria in 2013 and 2022 USD and USD by 2013[7] and 2022 PPP. It shows that tenants receive about 1151 USD in compensation whereas structure owners receive between 2155 and 3950 USD in compensation (see Table 5.4). It remains unclear, however, whether this compensation is adequate as the Nigerian Government shorten by 28% from the initially determined compensation payments (World Bank, 2015b). Nevertheless, according to the World Bank (2015b), these compensations are perceived as appropriate for tenants and structure owners.

Project Component	**Cost in USD (2010)**	**Cost in USD (2022)**	**Cost per Slum-Settler in**	**Cost per Slum-Settler in**	**Share on Total Project Cost**

[7] The date when the compensation payments was agreed.

			USD (2010)	**USD (2022)**	
Cost of Whole Project	**-**		**-**	**-**	**-**
Participatory and Social Component	**4,766,000**	**6,148,140**	**86.65**	**111,87**	**100%**
Setting-Up the Project	195,500	252,000	3.91	5,04	4.3%
Activities Related Community Empowerment	1,825,000	2,354,250	5	6,45	40.5%
- Expanding SDI's Training Approach	*25,000*	*32,250*	*0.45*	*0,58*	*0.6%*
- Formation of local community saving groups through SDI	*110,000*	*141,900*	*2*	*2.58*	*2,4%*
- Formation and capacity Building of Settlement Level Poor Organizations through SDI	*110,000*	*141,900*	*2*	*2.58*	*2.4%*
- Registration and survey of all households through SDI	*350,000*	*451,500*	*6.36*	*8.20*	*7.8%*
- Establish Community Upgrading Funds (for small scale projects)	*1,140,000*	*1,470,600*	*20.73*	*26.74*	*25.3%*
- Participatory Research into issues that affect access to land and tenure	*90,000*	*116,100*	*1.63*	*2.10*	*2%*
Activities Related to Enhance Municipal Capacity	2,941,000	3,793,890	53,47	68.98	64.4%
- Municipal Development Forum	*81,000*	*104,500*	*1.47*	*1.90*	*1.8%*
- Register Households and Collect Community Data	*350,000*	*451,500*	*6.36*	*8.20*	*7.8%*
- Develop Municipal Development Strategies and Plans	*2,150,000*	*2,773,500*	*39.09*	*50.34*	*47.7%*
- Develop a detailed slum-upgrading plan	*180,000*	*232,200*	*3,27*	*4.22*	*3.8%*
- Improve Municipal Management and Planning Systems	*180,000*	*232,200*	*3,27*	*4.22*	*3.8%*

Table 5.3: Breakdown of the cost of a participatory and empowerment component in a slum-upgraidng project in Uganda (adopted from Cities Alliance, 2010, pp.19 – 26)

Compensated Party	Compensation for involuntary resettlement (2015 USD)	Compensation for involuntary resettlement (2022 USD)	Compensation for involuntary resettlement (2015 USD, PPP)		Compensation for involuntary resettlement (2022 USD, PPP)
Tenants	542,40	645.46	967.82		1,151.71
Small structure owners	1,030.32	1,226.08	1,811.30		2,155.45
Medium structure owners	1,492.44		1,776.00	2,664.00	3,170.16
Large structure owners	1,859.68		2,213.02	3,319.52	3,950.23

Table 5.4: Compensation of tenants and structure owners for involuntary resettlement during the LMDGP (adopted from World Bank, 2015b, p.18).

5.4.4.2 Financing Slum-Upgrading Projects

This organizing theme explores different approaches to finance slum-upgrading. It is made up of five basic themes that each present one approach to finance slum-upgrading: - LDRs and TDRs, charging for basic services, community loans, property tax and donor funding (see Figure 5.18).

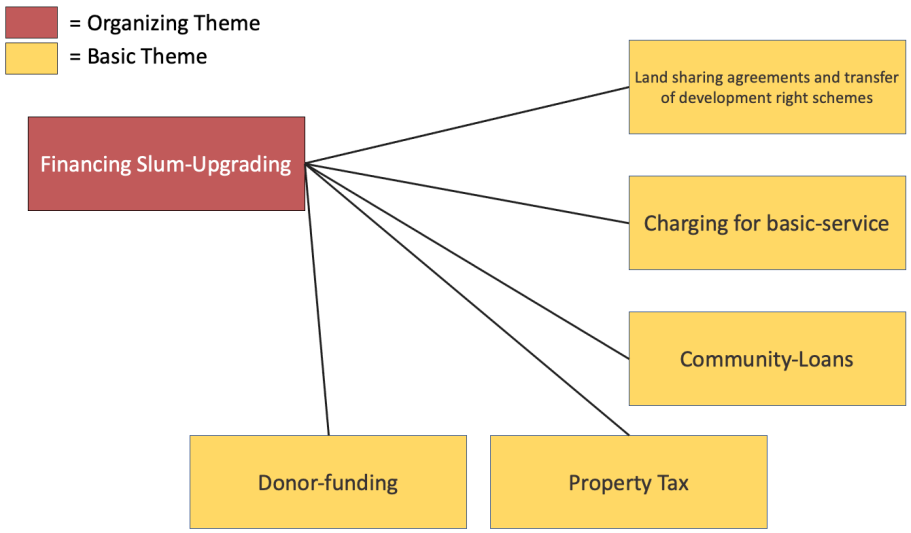


Figure 5.18: Basic themes, for organizing theme financing of slum-upgrading

Cost recovery and economic viability are two issues that play a crucial role across the sampled World Bank documents. The World Bank evaluates its lending portfolio's

performance by the economic viability of the projects it supports. For example, one criterion the World Bank uses to measure the success of a project's investment is "the extent to which a project achieved or is expected to achieve, a return higher than the opportunity cost of capital and benefits at least cost compared with alternatives" (Gilbert, 2003, xxvii). Thus, without a viable financial strategy, it could be assumed that projects would not receive funding or would be abandoned. This would also mean projects need to ensure efficient refinancing and cost-recovery mechanisms to be considered ahead of securing the World Bank's funding.

The World Bank discourse covers several different approaches to financing slum-upgrading projects including financing the project through donors[8] (e.g. Cities Alliances, 2010), the private sector (e.g Keith, 2014; Dharamavaram), but also by the community, example, through community loans (e.g.World Bank, 2007a; 2014a,b). How the private sector is involved in the financing of slum-upgrading projects has already been discussed in section 5.3.1.3 and this section will explore the World Bank's discourse around community-finance slum-upgrading projects and around cost recovery through property tax.

Compared to the academic literature, fewer World Bank documents criticize using communities to finance slum-upgrading projects. Instead, communities play a critical part in the cost recovery and funding strategies World Bank documents propose to finance slum-upgrading (Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2011d; 2016). Instead, the documents argue that communities are willing to pay taxes, contribute to the projects and pay for basic services because these improve their lives (e.g.Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2009b). Moreover, they argue that when the communities rely only on external funding for their development projects, they become too dependent on external help (Park et al. 2018).

That communities might find it difficult to pay for services (as reported frequently across the academic discourse) is not reflected in the World Bank literature. This ties community payment to Turner's theory of stimulating asset improvements through slum-upgrading projects.

The World Bank document (2011d) provides an interesting insight that could explain why slum-dweller might find it difficult to be charged for basic services, such as electricity. It finds the informal service provider charges households fixed sums per period specific to the devices that were provided with electricity (i.e. light bulbs, refrigerators) independent of their usage. In contrast, formal service providers generally charge slum-dwellers based on their usage of electricity.

[8] Donors can include other national development agencies and funds discussed in Chapter 3.

When slum-upgrading projects swapped the electricity providers from an informal to a formal supplier, how slum-dwellers were billed changed. Whereas they were beforehand paying for each appliance, the new service providers charged them for their electricity consumption per hour. This has likely increased how much they need to pay for electricity even though their consumption patterns remain the same. When slum-dwellers complain about rising electricity prices, these differences in how they were billed could explain. This finding is interesting because educating slum-dwellers about the differences between possible informal and formal pricing models could be one approach to resolving the tension across the World Bank and academic discourse and could present an opportunity for further exploration.

5.3.4.3 Reducing Costs

This organizing theme explores different approaches to reducing the costs of slum-upgrading and low-income housing provision. It encompasses two basic themes – standardizing housing (e.g. World Bank, 2009a), and lowering/ relaxing building standards and regulations (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; Gulyani and Talukdar, 2008). Figure 5.19 depicts organizing and basic themes.

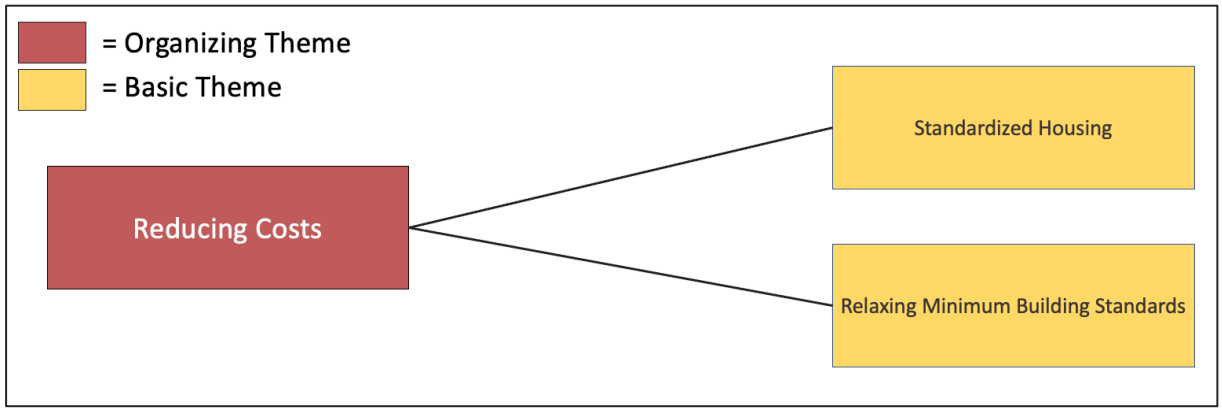


Figure 5.19: Basic themes, for organizing theme Reducing Costs

Why standardized housing, for example, in form of high-rise apartment buildings (World Bank, 2006b, 2014b, 2015b), can reduce cost is evident - it reduces complexity and allows for economies of scale. Yet, several World Bank documents call on governments to also reduce existing building standards and minimal building requirements. They argue that the minimum building standards and regulations on lot size and housing structure go beyond what the poor can afford and prevent low-income housing strategies from cost-effectively addressing the slum formation (e.g. World Bank, 2002, 2006c; Hawkins et al. 2014). Moreover, they argue it is unrealistic to achieve high building standards cannot be through upgrading slums in-situ,

which means that existing slum housing must be cleared and completely re-developed (Imparato and Ruster, 2003; Annez et al. 2012).

The World Bank discourse does not clarify what lower building standards mean. However, several academic articles critique slum-upgrading projects with too minimal building standards as being poorly constructed and not sustainable (e.g. Kaufman and Quigley, 1987; Patel, S., 2013; Kita, 2017).

As no article or World Bank documents specify what they mean are minimum building standards, this raises some serious concerns about what impact a reduction of building standards can have for slum-upgrading. While affordability of the slum-upgrading and low-income housing options are critical to ensure the economic viability of slum-upgrading from slum-dwellers, too low building standards can potentially not improve the poor's living standard. They can help that crowded living arrangements or poor infrastructure access are maintained. Hence, how building standards impact the slum-dwellers requires closer examination.

5.3.5 City-Wide Development

This thematic network was developed from discussion in 17 World Bank documents. It is made up of three organizing themes: City Development-Goals (found in 13 articles), and Decentralization (found in 5 articles). Figure 4.20 displays the thematic network for city-wide development.

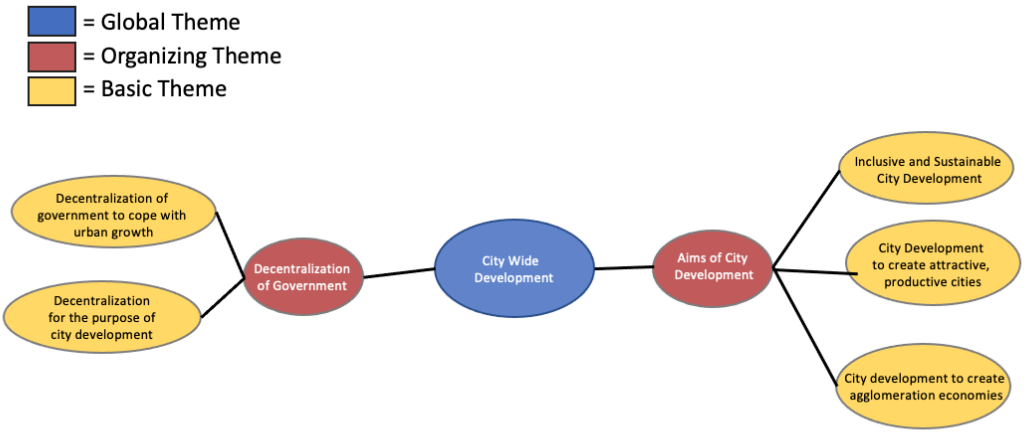


Figure 5.20: Thematic Network "City Wide Strategies / City Development" (Source: Author, 2022).

5.3.5.1 City Development Strategies

This thematic network explores the goals of the World Bank's City-Wide Development Agenda. It encompasses three basic themes: City Development to create inclusive and sustainable, and livable cities (e.g. World Bank, 2000; World Bank, 2015b), City Development to create attractive, productive, and competitive cities (World Bank, 2000; 2002; Gilbert, 2003), and City Development to Create Agglomeration Economics. Figure 5.21 depicts organizing and basic themes.

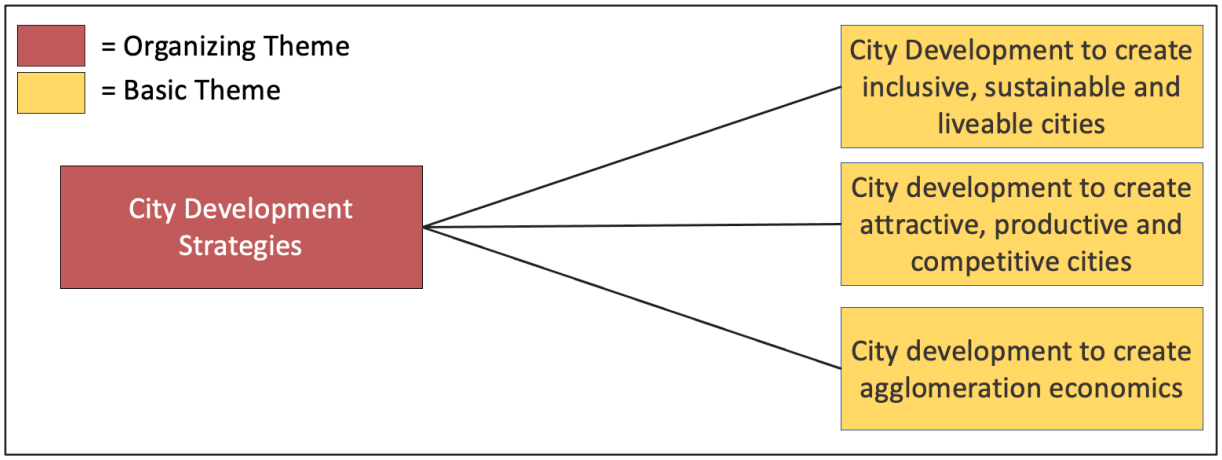


Figure 5.21: Basic themes, for organizing theme City Development Strategies

The World Bank's City Development Strategies provide a set of recommendations to governments that can help them address poverty in the context of cities (World Bank, 2000; 2002). Three strategic development aims appeared throughout economic sector reports:

- "Building inclusive, sustainable, and livable cities" describes the outcomes or goals of city strategies. It aims to improve equity of opportunities and the living conditions of cities by providing sustainable livelihoods, safe and secure living conditions, and better quality of life for the poor (World Bank, 2000; 2002).

- "Creating attractive, productive, and competitive cities" describes a set of goals to improve the global competitiveness of cities (World Bank, 2002; Gilbert, 2003). World Bank (2002) and Gilbert (2003) define the competitiveness and attractiveness of a city by the competitiveness of its markets (output markets of final goods; and input markets, i.e. land, capital, primary, and intermediate goods) and by the ability of cities to attract or retain investments (World Bank, 2002).

- Lastly, strengthening agglomeration economics in cities through large-scale infrastructure, and well-working liberated housing markets is the third recommendation the World Bank makes (e.g., World Bank, 2002; 2008b; Annez et al. 2010; World Bank, 2015b; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2016). Agglomeration economies are a theory that explores the advantages of urban agglomerations for firms and individuals in cities (Kahn, 2010). Whereas building infrastructure can help cities to become more productive and promote agglomeration economies, congestion cost, for example, due to poor transportation (for instance, within cities across labour markets, Annez et al. 2010), or pollution reduce a cities' agglomeration economics (e.g. World Bank, 2002; Hawkin et al. 2013). The World Bank's city development aims at improving city efficiency while reducing its agglomeration costs (World Bank, 2000).

The World Bank's City Development Strategy (CDS) is the Bank's top-level guidance or recommendation to governments and clients. Hence, it can be assumed that all other city development activities and all World Bank recommendations that aid city development, poverty reduction, and slum-upgrading will likely relate to these core themes that run through city development efforts. While slum-upgrading is explicitly mentioned as part of the World Bank's City Development Agenda (e.g. World Bank, 2000), it is unclear how the World Bank's theoretical and practical approach to city development relates to slum-upgrading.
Questions remain, for example, how agglomeration economics and slum-upgrading are linked and how the World Bank's CDS and agglomeration economics impact slums. Given that World Bank explores slum-upgrading in the context of city development, open questions point to significant gaps in the World Bank's discourse, in particular, because of the negative impact that city development efforts seem to have on slum-dwellers (see section 4.3.2.1). These gaps should be urgently exanimated.

5.3.5.2 Decentralization

To support the aims of city development the World Bank recommends a decentralization of the government body, which is the second organizing theme this thematic network explores. It is made up of two basic themes: decentralization to cope with urban growth, and decentralization for city development. However, it also links to the organizing theme "Municipalities" (section 5.3.1.2) and shows additional aspects of why decentralization is important to slum-upgrading. Figure 5.22 depicts organizing and basic themes.

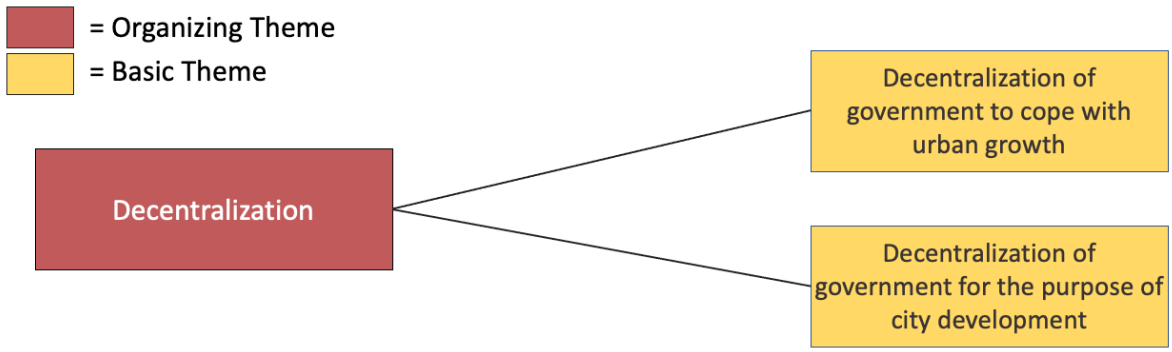


Figure 5.22: Basic themes, for organizing theme Decentralization

Decentralization refers to the transfer of resources and managerial responsibilities away from the central government and towards lower levels of government such as municipalities or city-level governments.

Within World Bank's City Development Framework, decentralization is viewed as an enabling condition to manage urban growth and slum-upgrading (World Bank, 2000, 2002; World Bank, 2008b; World Bank, 2015b).

As decentralization provides city and municipal governments with more authority to implement city development strategies (World Bank, 2000; 2002), it also presents an enabling condition to achieve the city development goals discussed in the previous section (5.3.1.2). This makes decentralization also important for slum-upgrading. As municipalities are more aware of local slum-structure and communities than central governments, a decentralized approach with more authority at the municipal level may enable more locally responsive approaches to slum-upgrading (Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2015b). The World Bank's discourse on decentralization presents an opportunity for policymakers to investigate decentralized approaches for government and to slum-upgrading.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings of the thematic analysis of World Bank documents. The covered themes show that the World Bank's discourse is predominantly oriented towards the policy level, except for the global theme "implementing slum-upgrading at the grassroots level". This is quite different to the academic discourse that primarily focuses on the grassroots level and only scarcely on the policy-making level.

The World Bank's document offers opportunities to policymakers, researchers, and practitioners to view slum-upgrading in larger, city-wide development contexts and, thus, expands the discourse beyond the grassroots level.

There are also significant similarities to the themes covered in the academic discourse on slum-upgrading. Thus, actors, approaches to slum-upgrading, their impact, cost, and financing slum-upgrading were found across both discourses. The next Chapter will contrast and compare the findings of the thematic analysis of World Bank documents with the thematic analysis of academic documents.

Chapter 6: Cross-Sample Analysis and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

Following on from the thematic analysis of the sampled academic and World Bank documents, this sixth chapter compares them to each other to answer the research questions at hand. This is done in three steps. Firstly, the next part of the chapter compares the characteristics of both datasets. Similarly to the foregone chapters, it pays attention to the recency and time period each data set covers, their geographical coverage, and the type of publications each documentary data set contains. The question it answers is hereby what differences between both discourses mean for their current use and what opportunities would their synthesis offer to researchers, policymakers and practitioners. The second part of this chapter examines and compares the found themes across both discourses. It points outs their similarities and differences. Building on the comparison of the themes, the third part of the chapter develops these similarities and differences into positions that reflect the respective perspectives on slum-upgrading by each discourse.

Using these positions, the conclusion chapter discusses how the contrast between World Bank and academic publications on slum-upgrading help identify a more nuanced picture of slum-upgrading and what a synthesis of World Bank and academic discourse would offer to researchers, practitioners, and policymakers.

6.2 Similarities and Differences Between Both Data Sets

Academic research and the World Bank's OKR offered a substantial, yet in their sizes, geographical and temporal coverage, varying set of documents on slum-upgrading. That both bodies of knowledge have limitations has implications as there might be limits to what users can find out about slum-upgrading using each resource.

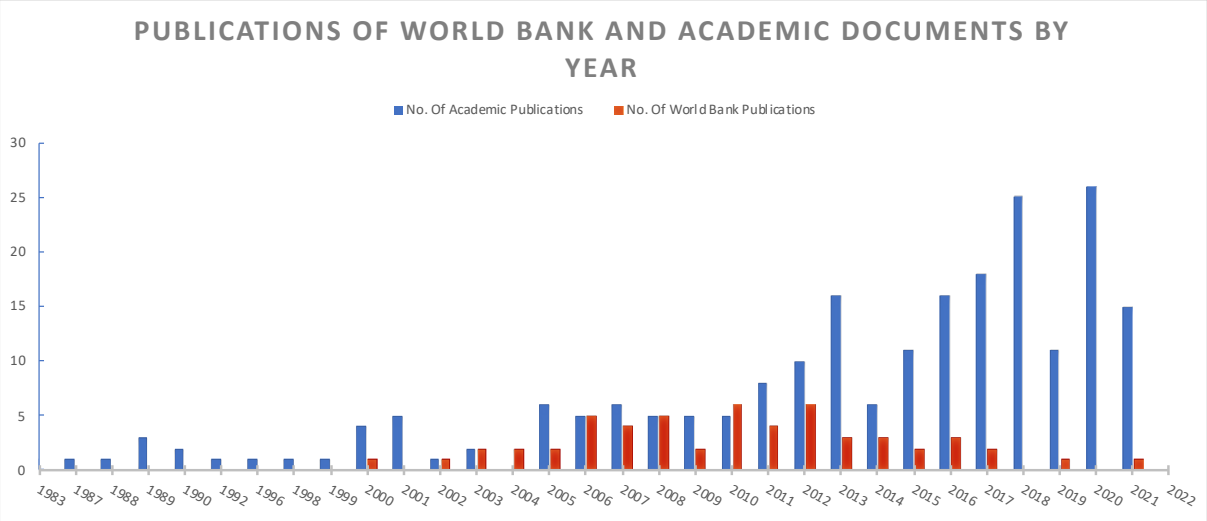
To show and contrasts the limits of each dataset, this section compares their geographical scope, the periods they covered and what types and approaches to research are most often found across each dataset. This exercise finds significant differences in the period covered and what approaches to research each body of literature uses, and an overlapping geographical focus. These similarities do not mean that both datasets are equally sources of knowledge for slum-upgrading. Instead, it appears that the OKR is narrower in its focus,

documents are on average older, and they are foremost useful for practitioners and policymakers. On the other hand, the academic discourse's focus is broad, most publications have been published recently within the last seven years, and documents are most often published for researchers.

6.2.1 Recency and Time Period Covered

The recency and period covered across both datasets indicate to what extent each resource covers the development of slum-upgrading over time. While both datasets contain documents up to 2021 (see Figure 6.2), there are significant differences between the periods they cover and their recency. The academic publications date back to 1983, whereas the World Bank dataset starts significantly later, only in the year 2000 (see Figure 6.2). Moreover, whereas more than 50 percent of all academic articles were published after 2013, a significant two-thirds of all World Bank publications were published between 2006 and 2013. While the World Bank data set also includes seven documents that have been published after 2013, these are only relatively few. Overall, it seems newer publications on the slum-upgrading are missing from the World Bank data set. This shows a significant difference between both data sets. The academic publications cover a far longer time period, and they are also on average more recent. On the other hand are World Bank documents published after 2000, and on average older. Considering that the World Bank's sites and services approach dominated the 1970s (see Chapter 2.2.2) this gap seems quite significant and surprising.

That the OKR's temporal coverage of slum-upgrading is small compared to the academic discourse creates some concerns about the currency of publications on slum-upgrading and may present limits to its usefulness to some. The OKR is thus not a good resource for users seeking to read up on current critical themes and discussions in slum-upgrading (e.g. on climate change or the housing design of slum-dwellers). While searching the OKR can offer a secondary resource on slum-upgrading projects, policies makers, practitioners, and researchers should look to the academic discourse for more recent research on slum-upgrading. Figure 6.2 contrasts the sampled academic and World Bank publications by year.



Graphic 6.1: World Bank documents and academic articles by year of publication

6.2.2 Geographical Coverage

There is also a significant overlap between the geographical focus of the World Bank and academic documents. Thus, India, Brazil, Indonesia, Kenya, Ghana, Tanzania, Mexico, Senegal and Vietnam are prominent in both discourses (see Figure 6.1). Yet, the academic discourse's geographical coverage exceeds that of the World Bank.

Academic documents covered 39 countries whereas World Bank publications only cover 14 countries. Of those, only Tanzania and Egypt (covered in World Bank, 2008a and Panman and Garcia, 2021), lie outside the scope of academic research.

Together both discourses slum-upgrading activities in 41 countries. However, significant gaps in the geographical coverage of both discourses remain. Firstly, significant geographical gaps exist in Africa, Latin America and to a lesser extent Southeast Asia and the Pacific across both datasets (see Figure 6.2). This raises the question what these gaps mean: Do they mean that no slum-upgrading took place in these countries, or have they simply not gathered the attention of academic researchers or the World Bank? The documents sampled do not provide a clear to this question. Moreover, the World Bank documents only cover a fraction of the countries in which the World Bank operates and implements infrastructure projects that provide basic services and housing to the poor (see Figure 6.2, next page). This raises questions about why the OKR does not cover more of the World Bank's global slum-upgrading activities.

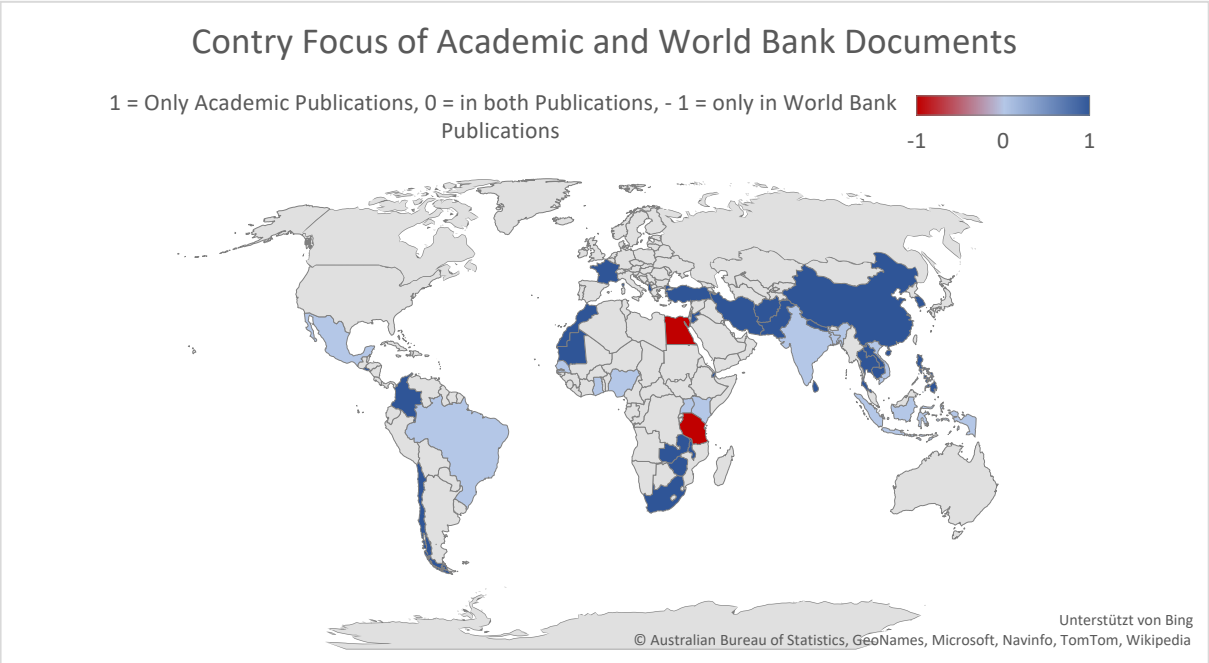


Figure 6.1 Country foci of World Bank documents (red), academic discourse (dark blue) and where they overlap (mild blue)

The narrow geographical focus of the OKR presents a limitation. The survey literature did not help understand what approaches to slum-upgrading World Bank documents usually implement and how they may differ between countries. For example, finding more project reviews like Cities Alliances (2010) or World Bank (2013) would have been helpful in this regard. While significant limitations exist in the geographical coverage of the sampled academic research on slum-upgrading, too, its overall coverage of slum-upgrading is quite substantial which makes it easier to identify similarities and differences across different contexts and learn more about the global practices in slum-upgrading.

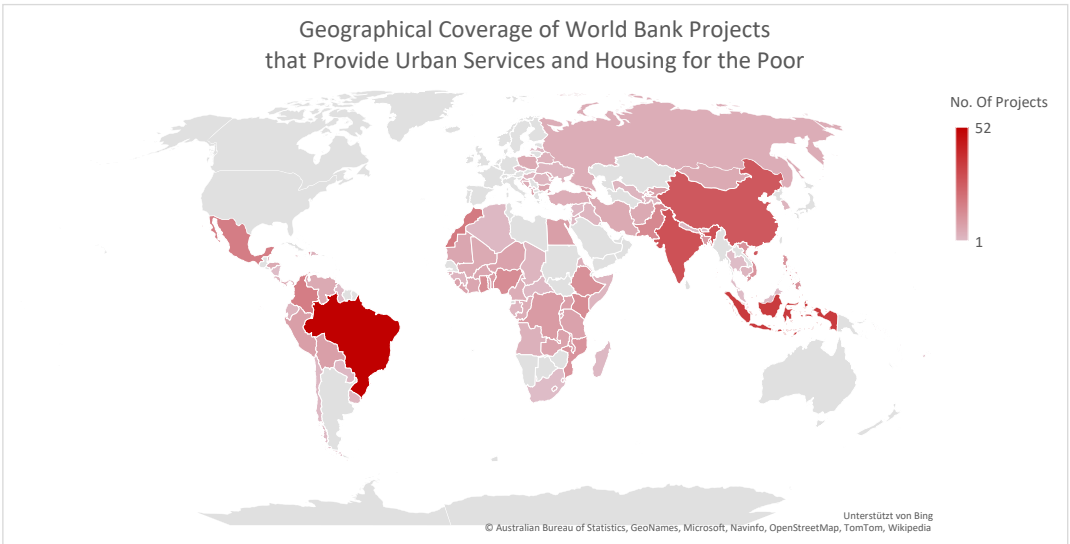


Figure 6.2 Geographical Coverage of World Bank Projects that Provide Urban Services to the Poor (World Bank, 2022b)

6.2.3 Types of Publications

Both bodies of knowledge differ significantly in what types of publications they publish on slum-upgrading. Most of the sampled World Bank documents are Economic Sector Works, Knowledge Notes, Practitioners' Guides, and Policy Research Working Papers. These publications are oriented towards practitioners or policymakers. Documents in the academic dataset were purposefully limited to include only research articles. Yet articles publishing policy research or research for practice are scarce. This indicates that academic research is created for other researchs/ an academic audience. It also shows a significant difference between the targeted audience of each discourse. This highlights gaps in both discourses. Different target audiences may also present one possible explanation for why both discourses have previously remained separate.

Nevertheless, while policy research or research for practice is very scarce in academic research, 14 World Bank documents presented research similar to academic research publications. These offer some opportunities to investigate the approach to research the World Bank takes (in the context of slum upgrading). Similar across these documents is that they also mostly use a case study research design to investigate slum-upgrading and that they are often a particular city or slum context. Yet, the common research approach was positivist across the World Bank documents, most notably aiming at defining models that reflect the reality of slum-upgrading that beneficiaries are experiencing (e.g. Lall et al. 2005; Dasgupta and Lall, 2006; Takeushi et al. 2007; Panman et al. 2021). Only Annez and Lall (2010), who conducted a literature review, investigated slum-upgrading non-empirically. This is very different to the academic research that studies slum-upgrading often through interpretivist research lenses. Consequently, there are distinct differences between what both **discourses research focus on:**

- The academic research aims in its majority at understanding slum-upgrading interventions in different settings to highlight what qualitative outcomes they produce for the poor, whereas

- The World Bank policy papers try to map phenomena on models (for example on the impact of different approaches to slum-upgrading, (e.g. Kapoor et al. 2004; Dasgupta and Lall, 2006)). Those are used to help policymakers to decide and World Bank economists to design policy by quantifying relationship within their models.

This highlights that the World Bank documents investigate slum-upgrading more from a top-level/policy-level perspective whereas academic research investigates and reports on slum-upgrading from a grass-level perspective.

6.3 Discussion of Themes

There is a significant overlap between what themes both sampled discourses discuss and these overlaps will now be looked at in close detail. The now following sections cross-examine the themes. They explore their similarities and differences and discuss how these reflect on the different perspectives from which each discourse approaches slum-upgrading.

6.3.1 Actors

The first shared global theme is “actors”. Discussions in both discourses revolved around the focal actors who help implement slum-upgrading projects. Not surprisingly, both data sets covered the government, the private sector, CBOs, and NGOs. Yet, the academic discourse also paid attention to savings groups whereas municipalities were considered a focal actor in the World Bank documents but not in the academic research (see Figure 6.4).

There are also significant differences in how each discourse views some actors. While both discourses view governments, NGOs and CBOs similarly, their attitude towards the private sector differs. While the academic discourse is critical of the involvement of private companies in slum-upgrading projects (e.g. Yan and Wendeler, 2010; Ragheb et al. 2016; Doshi, 2018; Debnath et al. 2019), several World Bank documents encourage governments to let the private sector play a more prominent if not focal role in slum-upgrading efforts. For example, advicate several World Bank documents the expansion of infrastructure services to slums or building of low-income housing through private setctor firms (e.g. World Bank, 2002; Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2008; Velez and Tierney, 2010; Dharmavaram, 2013; World Bank, 2012c, 2014b). This creates tensions between both discourses. The following sections explore each actor in detail.

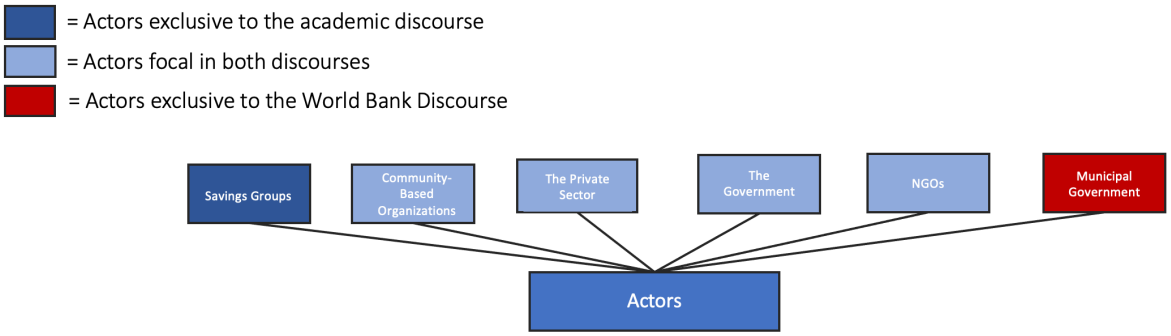


Figure 6.3: Actors across both discourses

6.3.1.1 The Government

This section takes a closer look into both discourses' discussions around the government as an actor in slum-upgrading. The government plays a central position in both discourses. Both discourses raise concerns about the attitude that governments have towards slums. They agree that the government's will influences what slum-upgrading projects governments implement and at what scale (this is reflected in the thematic network on actors in sections 4.3.1.1 and 5.1.1.1 in both discourses). Yet, the viewpoint towards governments differs in both discourses. The World Bank discourse highlights potential ways in which the government's attitude could be changed. In contrast, the academic discourse highlights the consequences for slum-dwellers.

These different viewpoints of governments towards slums may be explained by the different audiences that each discourse address. Inherently, the government is often the primary audience for World Bank documents, in particular in economic sector reports. Thus, several of the sampled World Bank documents are created for governments, for example, the Mexican government (e.g. World Bank, 2002), the Nigerian government (World Bank, 2015) or the Vietnamese government (World Bank, 2006). This makes the communication between the World Bank and these governments at least on eye level. The academic discourse, on the other hand, does not exclusively publish for a government readership. This means that although some articles might call on the government to pay more attention to the needs of slum-dwellers, they are not written to address the government directly.

This has as a consequence that while the academic discourse might look up-towards the government from the slum-upgrading projects they study, the government as an audience remains out of the academic discourse's reach. The World Bank, on the other hand, often advises governments directly. Based on what policy recommendations the World Bank makes

to governments, this can have implications and potentially influence the global slum-upgrading practice and outcomes, as Tomlinson (2013), Zapp (2016) and Tichenor et al. (2020) have already pointed out.

6.3.1.2 The Private Sector

Both discourses investigate the private sector as a key actor in slum-upgrading (see sections 4.3.1.5 and 5.3.1.3). The attitudes that both discourses have towards involving the private sector in slum-upgrading differ significantly. The World Bank views the private sector as an enabler of development and, thus, also slum-upgrading. Several reviewed documents pay attention and make recommendations about what roles the private sector can fill to address infrastructure or housing needs in developing countries (e.g. World Bank, 2002; 2008a;2012c). The academic discourse, however, criticizes involving private sector firms in slum-upgrading. They are particularly critical of the incentivizes provided to private companies through TDRs and LDRs to develop slum housing. As section 4.3.3.2 shows, can they impact slum-dwellers quite negatively. Consequently, there are significant tensions between them.

Moreover, due to these differences, there are also significant gaps in what themes each discourse covers on the private sector. While the World Bank discourse investigates and presents governments with the necessary tools, like output-bases subsides (Ahmed and Menzies, 2012) to make the provision of basic services by the private sector feasible, critical impact evaluation studies are missing in the OKR. Many articles in discourse explore and criticize the impact that involving the private sector has on slum-upgrading projects (e.g. Yan and Wendeler, 2010; Ragheb et al. 2016; Doshi, 2018; Debnath et al. 2019). However, while they are concerned with evaluating the impact of private sector involvement in slum-upgrading, the academic discourse misses out on exploring what opportunities involving the private sector can offer. This highlights significant gaps between both discourses.

6.3.1.3 CBOs and NGOs

Discussions on CBOs and NGOs in both discourses were similar to some extent. Firstly, both discourses focused on what roles CBOs and NGOs take on in slum-upgrading projects. Yet, some academic articles critically explored elite capture, and political-patronship in CBOs, and what impact these can have on slum-upgrading (e.g., (Bapat and Crook, 1989; Huchzermeyer, 2009; Al-Nammari, 2013; Patel and Mandhyan, 2014; Patel, K. 2016; Choplin and Dessie, 2017; Cherunya et al. 2020; Hossain and Rahman, 2020; see section 4.3.1.2). Only one World Bank document addresses a similar topic, however (Imparato and Ruster, 2003).

Secondly, several academic articles also pay specific attention to how the NGO SDI worked with communities to upgrade their some (e.g. D'Cruz and Mudimu; Schermbrucker, et al. 2016) whereas only one World Bank document (World Bank, 2014) explicitly focuses on the works of NGOs.

World Bank (2014) focuses on the Asian Coalition for Community Action (ACCA). ACCA similarly to SDI, funds community-led slum-upgrading projects and helps communities set up-saving groups. While this may suggest that the academic discourse is more focally concerned about CBOs and NGOs, the themes and perspectives of discourses on NGOs and CBOs are, however, to a large extent similar.

6.3.1.4 Municipalities and Savings Groups/ Federations

Municipalities only played a focal role in the World Bank data set whereas savings groups/ federations only played a focal role in the academic data set. While it cannot be comprehensively concluded why savings groups were not a focal actor in the World Bank documents and why municipalities did not play a major role in the academic discourse, the sampled literature allows for the formation of some possible explanations:

Firstly, World Bank documents are predominantly created for client governments. Thus, they are often aimed at addressing slum-upgrading at the policy level. They, therefore, focus on actors like municipalities or the government. As communities initiate savings groups and community-led approaches to slum-upgrading at the grassroots level, both fall outside the scope of actors the World Bank documents target and the tools they propose.

Contrastingly, academic articles are predominantly concerned with the grassroots level and the impact of slum-upgrading projects for their beneficiaries. Their focus lies on actors at the grassroots level and not on actors on the policy level. As municipalities might often not be those implementing slum-upgrading projects because they lack autonomy and resources (see section 5.3.1.2) they thus fall outside the scope of most academic publications. This presents another gap between both discourses.

6.3.2 Approaches to Reducing Slums

Across both discourses, significant differences exist in what each discourse proposes as approaches to reducing slums. Whereas the World Bank discourse focuses on reducing slums by liberalizing the land and housing markets and on using slum-upgrading to increase low-income housing stock, the academic discourse discusses different top-down, city-development, community-led and participatory approaches to slum-upgrading (see Figure 6.5). Yet, it needs

to be acknowledged that the discussion of top-down-city development approaches in the academic literature may just present the World Bank's approach to slum-upgrading from a different perspective. As the academic discourse criticizes top-down city-development approaches, it highlights a different understanding of what purpose slum-upgrading shall serve: improve the low-income housing stock or improve how people live. This raises the following question: What is the purpose of slum-upgrading? The next section will discuss each approach to reducing slums in detail.

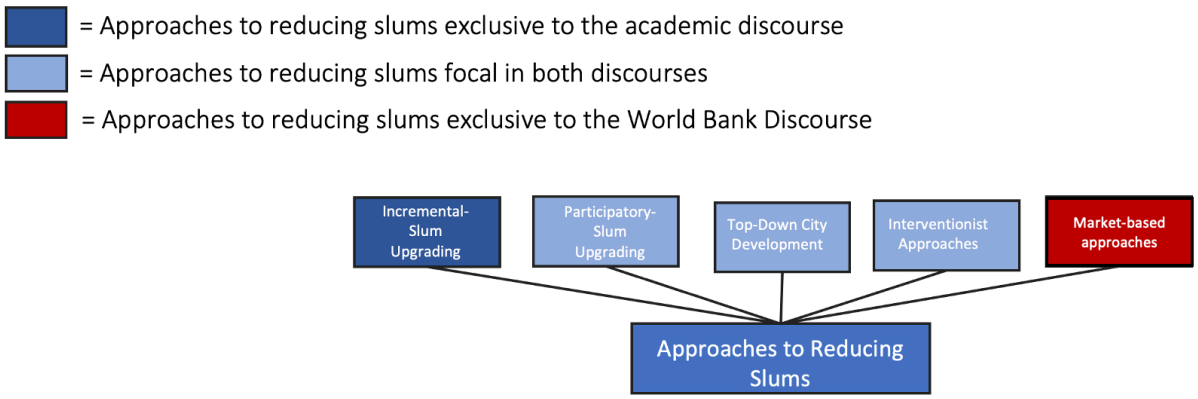


Figure 6.4: Approaches to Reducing Slums

6.3.2.1 Liberalization of Housing Markets

Liberalizing the housing markets to reduce slums was only discussed in the World Bank literature. It is a response to the World Bank's discourse on what causes slums to form (section 5.3.2.1). Strictly speaking, liberalizing the housing markets would not even fall under the definition of slum-upgrading supplied in section 2.3.2. It is no wonder that a similar approach to reducing slums is not discussed in the academic literature. With this policy intervention, the World Bank aims at increasing the supply of (low-income) housing. This is very different to the academic discourse which proposes increasing the existing living conditions in-situ. This reflects two different perspectives of what out-puts shall be produced to address the dire living conditions in a slum: The World Bank discourse tries to move slum settlers out of their housing. Contrastingly, the academic discourse proposes improving the quality of the housing that slum-dwellers live in. This may not create tensions; however, it shows a significant gap between both discourses. It remains unexplored across the World Bank's discourse to what extent the newly created spaces for relocating the slum settlers are then often used by cities for property development.

6.3.2.2 Top/Down City-Development oriented Slum-Upgrading

Both discourses present opposing views on the use and purpose of slum-upgrading. The academic discourse sees the use of slum-upgrading foremost in its benefit for the communities. Academic researchers support participatory and community-led approaches to slum-upgrading while they criticize top-down city development approaches (see section 5.3.2). The World Bank documents, on the other hand, propose using slum-upgrading to improve the housing stocks in cities and provide slums with adequate infrastructure (e.g., World Bank, 2002; World Bank 2008a; World Bank, 2015b). While letting the community participate in slum-upgrading projects is important to the World Bank (see Imparato and Ruster, 2003), the community is not always perceived as an equal partner, as the extent a community can participate in slum-upgrading is limited through the project planners (see section 5.3.3.2). This shows a significant difference between how both discourses perceive the purpose of slum-upgrading: It makes the World Bank's approach to slum-upgrading top-down, whereas the academic discourse views the ideal approach to slum-upgrading participatory and criticizes top-down city development approaches.

These tensions about the purpose and use of slum-upgrading tie into a wider discussion around "slum-upgrading" in both discourses. Whereas the academic discourse pays a lot of attention to what impact different approaches to slum-upgrading create for their beneficiaries and predominantly is concerned with them from a grassroots perspective, similar discussions around slum-upgrading are absent in most World Bank documents (except for Kapoor et al. 2004). These differences might be explained by the wider context of city-wide or city development that slum-upgrading is embedded in World Bank documents. Within this context, slums present only a small part of the larger system city system and development agenda. Good arguments might be made to support perspectives, however, it is crucial to highlight that these perspectives present a different understanding of what slum-upgrading is useful: to improve the city as a whole or improve the lives of the poor. This tension needs clarification and must be addressed by both discourses.

6.3.2.3 Community-Led Slum-Upgrading

Community-led slum-upgrading is only a theme in the academic literature (see section 4.3.3.2). It is distinctly different from the community-driven approaches to slum-upgrading that the World Bank describes (e.g. WB, 2015a). The World Bank lends and advises only governments. The World Bank might therefore not be interested in a community-led slum-upgrading project. As community-led slum-upgrading projects have achieved significant scale

(like the Baan Mankong project in Thailand; Boonyabancha, 2009) this presents a significant gap in the OKR and weakens its claim to be the "largest single source of development knowledge" (World Bank, 2021c). Thus, this gap should be addressed.

6.3.2.4 Participatory Approaches to Slum-Upgrading

There appear to be differences in what participatory approaches to slum-upgrading mean across both discourses. Whereas the academic discourse views full community participation as a central element in slum-upgrading (see section 4.3.2.3), the World Bank discourse views the community's participation as a continuum (see section 5.3.3.2). In this continuum, the World Bank degree with which a community takes on responsibilities in a slum-upgrading project. This has implications: When the World Bank ask to determine the community's participation in slum-upgrading projects, the community is limited top-down by the development organization. This can potentially result in an imbalance of power between project planners and the community (e.g. Koster and Nujiten, 2012; Adama, O. 2020; Kiefer and Ranganathan, 2020).

Noteworthy is the World Bank's discourse does not discuss that "community participation" in their discourse around stopping the proliferation of slums but in the context of "implementing the project at the grassroots level" (discussed in the next section). "Implementing slum-upgrading at the grassroots-level" is a thematic network that concerns mostly practitioners because it presents concrete suggestions about what to do when they implement slum-upgrading projects. In this context community participation appears to be a means for a more decentralized infrastructure and maintenance management (see section 5.3.3.2). While this might help address issues in the maintenance and improve the level of service provision to slums, it stands in contrast with the academic discourse. The academic discourse views the participation of slum communities as inherently valuable. This causes tensions between both discourses and will be explored in more detail in section 6.3.3.

6.3.2.5 Causes of Slum-Formation

Discussion around what causes slums to form and grow was only a theme in the World Bank discourse (e.g. 5.3.2.1). The theme discusses how constrained formal land and housing markets cause slums to form and explores the structure of informal (rental housing) markets. A similar discussion was missing in the academic discourse, likely because it was focally concerned with slum-upgrading projects itself. As section 2.2.3. finds lead several pulls- and push-factors to the migration of rural poor into cities, so why slums grow and proliferate should

be of central importance to the discourse. While the research process (see section 3.4.1) likely excluded articles that research slum formation and proliferation, there is a lack of sample academic articles that explore how slum-upgrading can stop the proliferation of slums. This, however, highlights a significant gap in the academic literature.

If the academic research is not concerned with how slums form, they may also leave questions about how slum-upgrading can contribute to stopping the proliferation unanswered. Without answering these questions, the academic discourse might be unaware of whether and how slum-upgrading can also contribute to the reduction of slums overall or what impact slum-upgrading has on the gentrification of slums.

6.3.3 Impact of Slum-Upgrading Interventions

It varies what importance the different discourses assign to how slum-upgrading impacts beneficiaries. Whereas a large set of 75 academic articles investigate the impact of slum-upgrading projects, how slum-upgrading impacts slum-dwellers was only a topic in four World Bank documents.

The fact that the World Bank and academic discourse pay different degrees of attention to the impact of slum-upgrading projects (at least within the limits of this sample) suggests a lot about their perception of slum-upgrading. The academic discourse consistently challenges, corroborates, and tests slum-upgrading in all its various dimensions (like its impact on health, security, employment, and how its housing design affects its inhabitants). It views slum-upgrading as something that can always be improved. In contrast, slum-upgrading is never clearly challenged across the World Bank literature. It remains a fixed concept that is often proposed as a strategy for city development, however, what consequences slum-upgrading can have for its beneficiaries and the actual impact of slum-upgrading is not evaluated. This is not without problems as the academic research shows that the impact of slum-upgrading projects varies based on whether they include the community (or not), and whether they pay attention to the slum-dwellers needs and livelihoods (as was discussed in section 4.3.3).

As the academic discourse shows varies the impact of slum-upgrading significantly on a variety of factors, incl. whether slums are upgraded in-situ or slum-dwellers get relocated, what housing is provided to slum-dwellers, and many more. Hence, the lack of documents evaluating the impact of slum-upgrading presents a significant gap in the World Bank literature. While the World Bank presents a quantitative evaluation of its project portfolio in Gilbert (2003), never minding that it is dated, the Bank should also report what (qualitative) improvements its projects provided to benefit slum-dwellers.

That impact evaluation or critical discussions around what impact slum-upgrading projects create are missing has also implications for users of World Bank documents as policy guidance or practical guides. Without the necessary information on what impacts World Bank have created for beneficiaries, they might not be aware that slum-upgrading can also increase their beneficiaries' impoverishment risk. The now following sections contrast and compare World Bank and academic discourses on the impact of physical improvements for slum-dwellers, the impact of slum relocation and redevelopment for slum dwellers and the impact of slum-upgrading on employment (see Figure 6.5)

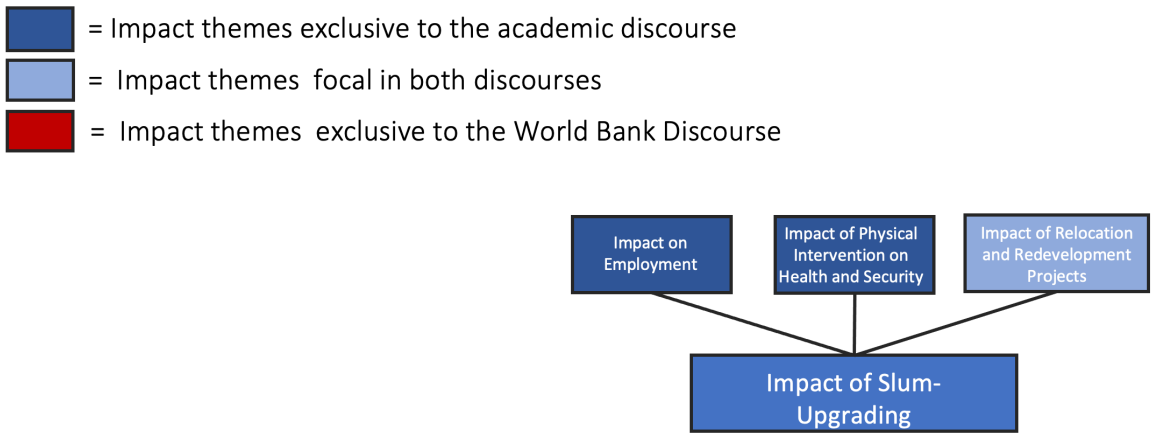


Figure 6.5: Impact themes discussed across both discourses

6.3.3.1 Impact of Physical Improvements on Slum-Dwellers

The academic discourse highlights that some questions remain about the feasibility and impact of specific housing designs on the slum-dwellers lives and what infrastructure to what extent impacts beneficiaries. Yet, how the different physical improvements impact their beneficiaries is only discussed across the academic discourse (see section 4.3.3.1). Concrete evaluations of how physical improvements impact slum-dwellers are absent in the World Bank discourse. This points towards a significant gap in the OKR. This gap is significant and requires attention because academic discourse shows that "implementing (what type) housing and infrastructure" is not as trivial (see section 4.3.3.1).

It goes beyond this research project to find out if the World Bank hosts other reports outside the sampled documents that explore the impact of different physical improvements in

more detail. However, at least when users search the OKR for slum-upgrading this project shows that they will not find much information on how different physical

6.3.3.2 Impact of Relocation and Redevelopment Projects

The impact of relocation has been discussed across both discourses. Similar across them is that

1. One subset of articles raises concerns about the effect that relocation projects have on the slum-dwellers welfare (e.g. Amis, 2001; Kapor et al. 2004; Dasgupta and Lall, 2006; Patel and Mandhyan, 2014; Cherunya et al. 2020) and

2. One subset of articles highlights opportunities that may allow relocation projects to improve the welfare of slum-dweller by relocating them closer to jobs (e.g. Virtakampan and Perera, 2006; Takeushi et al. 2007; Arandel and Watterberg, 2013; Sibyan, 2020).

While each subset of documents in their respective discourse comes to the same conclusions, their methods of inquiry differ. Academic articles use interviews and other qualitative methods to investigate the experiences of individuals during and after the relocation process. The World Bank discourse, on the other hand, uses quantitative methods of research. Together, both discourses provide a rich account of the impacts and potentials of relocation projects that can be synthesized. While there is no agreement yet across the analyzed documents in and across both datasets if relocating slums will also improve the welfare of slum-dwellers, both discourses highlight opportunities to explore this theme further.

While both discourses discuss the impact of relocating slum-dwellers, impact evaluations of redevelopment housing are missing in the OKR. The academic discourse raises serious concerns about redeveloping slums into high-rise apartment builds. They find, for example, that high-rise apartments make it difficult for slum-dwellers to continue with their livelihood (Jones, 2017; Hwang and Feng, 2020) and make a communal lifestyle impossible (e.g. Patel and Mandhyan, 2014). Hence, the fact that no documents evaluate the impact of slum-redevelopment projects in the World Bank dataset presents a serious gap that may lead practitioners and policymakers to make decisions that are potentially leading to their beneficiary's impoverishment. As World Bank documents (e.g. World Bank, 2007a, 2008a, 2011a) often propose redeveloping slums into low-income apartment housing as a policy, they should also present more discussions around the impact that redevelopment projects can have on slum-dwellers. Currently, this is a gap in the OKR that requires addressing.

6.3.3.3 Impact on Employment

While both discourses highlight potential employment opportunities in slum-upgrading projects (see section 4.3.3.3, and Imparato and Ruster, 2003), only one World Bank document (World Bank, 2009a) evaluates the employment opportunities of a slum-upgrading program. There is agreement across both discourses that in-situ slum-upgrading projects provide opportunities to employ the community in building infrastructure and housing projects. Yet, the purpose of why slum-upgrading projects should employ the community differs. In the academic discourse employing the community is perceived as an opportunity to create jobs and to improve the beneficiaries' incomes, whereas the World Bank discourse explores it as an opportunity for the extremely poor to pay for the slum improvements. This does not create tension. However, it reflects the two very different attitudes and perspectives of the discourses: The academic discourse is foremost concerned with the slum-dwellers welfare, whereas the World Bank discourse seeks to ensure that projects are financially feasible.

There is also agreement in both discourses that maintaining the infrastructure can present opportunities to employ the community. Although, similarly, the World Bank discourse explores giving the ownership of infrastructure management to the communities to ensure the community's supply of basic services and relief municipalities (Imparato and Ruster, 2003), whereas the academic discourse views it as a way to improve the service delivery to slums and improve the employment of slum-communities. Overall, how slum-upgrading projects impact the employment opportunities of their beneficiaries does not appear to be a focal concern in the World Bank discourse (compared to the academic discourse). Here again, one explanation could be that the World Bank's discourse is oriented toward the policy level and does not pay significant attention to how slum-upgrading affects beneficiaries on the ground.

6.3.4 Project Implementation on the Grassroots Level

There is a lack of research on the practice among the sampled academic documents. Thus, articles exploring how slum-upgrading projects are implemented on the ground are missing across the academic discourse. This is not without problems because between the World Bank provides all practices guidance across both discourses.

Considering the World Bank's policy-driven approach to implementing slum-upgrading projects (discussed in sections 6.3.2.2 and 6.3.2.3), one likely implication may be that communities have been limited in their participation in slum-upgrading previously (also presented in Koster and Nujiten, 2012). Hence, corroborating this perspective through the

academic more multifaceted and bottom-up view presents a significant opportunity for researchers. The gap in the academic discourse presents one possible explanation for why the World Bank has a significant influence on best practices and development efforts in practice (Tichenor et al. 2021). Nevertheless, this gap should be addressed by academics as allows them to access practitioners as a target audience for their research. The following sections discuss the organizing themes for "Project Implementation on the Grassroots Level".

6.3.4.1 Fostering the Community's Participation

There is a glaring lack of research in the sampled academic documents that explores why communities might need to be encouraged to participate in slum-upgrading. This should be of concern as the community's participation in slum-upgrading projects is a prerequisite for the participatory approach to slum-upgrading the academic literature promotes (see section 4.3.2.3). That communities might not be willing to participate in slum-upgrading projects is also an important insight the World Bank provides to practitioners as it shows that engaging the community in slum-upgrading is challenging. In contrast, the assumption the academic discourse seems to make that the community will always be eager to participate in slum-upgrading might create unrealistic expectations for practitioners and present a false image of reality to its readers. The World Bank discourse investigates all these issues, and highlights several reasons why particular communities might not be willing to participate and proposes solutions to address them. Throughout this theme, the World Bank expands its perspective and looks toward the grassroots level. It thereby addresses a vacuum that the academic discourse leaves unaddressed.

6.3.4.2 Determining the Community's Participation

Partially, this theme has been already discussed in section 6.3.2.4. The World Bank and academic discourse hold opposing views on what constitutes the ideal level of community participation. As mentioned beforehand, the academic discourse views full community participation as central to participatory slum-upgrading (see section 4.3.2.3), whereas the World Bank discourse views the level of community participation in slum-upgrading as flexible (see Figure 6.8) and determines the level of a community's participation based on its capacity to project management experience and the complexity of the same project. This creates tensions as the World Bank discourse suggests that what responsibilities participating communities take on are not determined by the communities themselves but externally, through the decision-makers (governments, planners etc.). The collision of these different attitudes and resulting

tensions may have been reflected in the observations of some researchers when they research slum-upgrading. Thus, several academics point out that planners have purposefully limited the community's roles in slum-upgrading projects (Cotton and Skinner, 1990; Coit, 1998; Koster and Nuijten, 2012; Doe et al. 2020). As one of these articles (Koster and Nujten, 2012) explores the participation of slum communities in the context of slum-upgrading projects the World Bank funded it seems plausible that the World Bank's criteria for more community participation have influenced praxis.

6.3.4.3 Including Vulnerable Groups

Both discourses agree that slum-upgrading projects must pay (more) attention to vulnerable groups and include them in the planning process of slum-upgrading interventions (e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; Chatterjee, 2015; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2016; Bardhan et al. 2019; Yehoba et al. 2021). Yet only the World Bank discourse explores how these groups can be involved in the slum-upgrading process (see 5.3.3.3). This highlights a significant gap in the academic literature. As academic researchers are concerned that vulnerable groups may be underrepresented in slum-upgrading projects, to produce more practice-oriented research may be needed to address this gap.

6.3.5 Cost and Financing of Slum-Upgrading

Discussions around the cost and financing of slum-upgrading are prominent in both discourses and focus on the financing slum-upgrading, approaches to reducing the cost of slum-upgrading and how much slum-upgrading interventions cost (see Figure 6.9). Significant differences exist between both discourses about the financing of slum-upgrading projects. The World Bank discourse explores a different way to make slum-upgrading affordable for governments. They propose charging communities and relying on community loans or private businesses for financing. The academic discourse criticizes such approaches. These tensions also extend to the discussion around reducing the cost of slum-upgrading. Yet, central and important information that could help evaluate the claims is missing in both discourses. The following section explores the shared themes across both discourses.

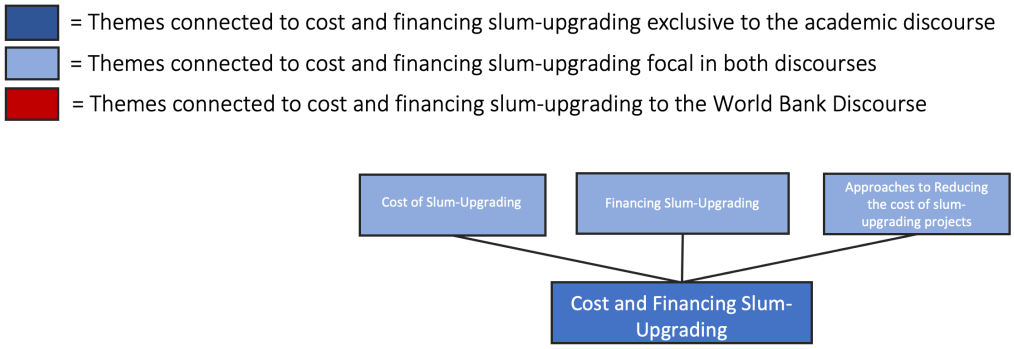


Figure 6.6: Themes related to the cost and financing of slum-upgrading

6.3.5.1 The Cost of Slum-Upgrading

Both discourses highlight how much slum-upgrading costs (e.g. see sections 4.3.5.3 and 5.3.4.1). However, the number of documents that discuss the costs of slum-upgrading varies. In the academic, only Abiko et al. (2007) present information on how much slum-upgrading costs and this is one of the few documents shared by both discourses. In contrast, several World Bank documents explore and present the cost of slum-upgrading interventions (Baker, 2006; Abiko et al. 2007; Cities Alliance, 2010; World Bank, 2015b).

The scope of costs both data sets cover varies, too. The World Bank documents present different categories of costs, including for community empowerment and participation, for employing NGOs (Cities Alliance, 2010), and how much relocation projects cost (World Bank, 2015). The academic article only presents the cost of physical improvements in a slum-upgrading project. The fact that this discussion is largely absent from the academic discourse is not necessarily a problem. Too many factors are in play to generalize the cost of slum-upgrading projects (Abiko et al. 2007). Yet, how community participation and community empowerment costs and how this affects the design of slum-upgrading projects should be of interest to academic discourse because community participation and how slum-upgrading projects are empowering communities are such focal topics in this discourse. That community participation costs money makes "community participation" not only a means of achieving valuable slum-upgrading outcomes but also to cost factor that needs to be included in the slum-upgrading projects.

6.3.5.2 Financing Slum-Upgrading

Both discourses hold opposing views on how slum-upgrading should be financed. Whereas the World Bank is a proponent of letting the community or private sector finance slum-upgrading projects, the academic discourse raises concerns about approaches that divert the responsibility of financing slum-upgrading from the government to slum-dwellers.
These opposing views create tensions and highlight that both discourses look at slum-upgrading with different priorities: The World Bank discourse is ultimately concerned with the economic feasibility of the project (in particular so that the governments financing them can afford it, see World Bank, 2002; World Bank 2011a), whereas the academic discourse focuses on the impact that different financing methods have for their beneficiaries (Yap and De Wendeler, 2010; Gruffydd-Jones, 2012).

While maximizing the social and humanitarian impact of slum-upgrading projects seems desirable, the World Bank's emphasis on finding the necessary funding mechanism for slum-upgrading can also not be ignored. Ensuring the financial viability of slum-upgrading seems necessary. Otherwise, questions around the maintenance of slum improvements, (raised in section 4.3.4.1) remain unanswered. For example, the long-term sustainability of the improvements may not be ensured, and concerns remain that, without maintenance, ultimately the deterioration of infrastructure upgrades reversed any positive impacts (e.g., Bapat and Crook, 1989). Thus, a plan that ensures the project remains viable and its maintenance can be insured after the physical upgrading project finishes is important. There is a need for both discourses to explore more of each other's perspectives to strike the right balance between keeping slum-upgrading affordable after the project finishes and finding a way to make slum-upgrading and infrastructure maintenance economically viable.

6.3.5.3 Reducing the Costs of Slum-Upgrading

This debate circles in both discourses around the reduction of building standards to save costs. Both discourses present opposing views on reducing the building standards when upgrading slums. Whereas academic documents criticize and point out native effects poor building standards have for the beneficiaries of slum-upgrading projects (e.g. Kaufman and Quigley, 1987; Patel, S., 2013; Kita, 2017), World Bank documents advise governments to lower or alleviate minimum building requirements. The World Bank argues that too high building standards make slum-upgrading too costly and often require the total redevelopment of slums (e.g. World Bank, 2002, 2006c, Hawkins et al. 2014). However, neither the World Bank nor the academic discourse specifies what they mean by lower or minimum building

standards. This makes it difficult to decide whether the lower building standards in the academic discourse reflect the lowered building standards the World Bank proposes. However, how a lower budget or a reduction of the project costs affects the project or the slum-dwellers remains unclear in both discourses and could present an area for future research. Again, the tensions between the academic and World Bank discourse highlight the different attitudes both discourses take towards slum-upgrading (discussed above).

6.3.6 Long-term Sustainability

Only academic articles pay attention to the long-term sustainability of the slum-upgrading interventions. Here focal themes included the affordability of the physical improvements provided to slum-dwellers, the maintenance of infrastructure, and disaster risk reductions. However, most of the articles highlight that affordability, maintenance of physical improvement and disaster risk reduction needed more attention (e.g Cotton and Skinner, 1990; Burra, 2005; Marias and Ntema, 2013; Thorn et al. 2015; Yu et al. 2016; Bercelli, 2017; Chaudhuri, 2017.; de Bercegol and Monstadt, 2018; Sholihah and Shaojun, 2018). This shows that there are no best practices yet that could help solve this issue and that they continue to remain a problem that is impacting the slum-upgrading project's longevity.

It is not clear why ensuring the long-term sustainability of slum-upgrading projects was not a focal theme across the World Bank discourse. One possible explanation could be (again) that the World Bank discourse predominantly focuses on the policy level. It, thus, does not pay closer attention to issues of slum-upgrading at the grassroots level (except for Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2015a Mitlin and Sterthwaite, 2016; discussed in Section 5.3.3). Another explanation is that the World Bank discourse focuses on presenting solutions rather than raising problems about slum-upgrading. In that respect, World Bank documents are very different to academic research. The academic research seems to predominantly highlight problems about slum-upgrading and therefore does not propose many solutions to problems that relate to the long-term sustainability of slum-upgrading.

Nevertheless, the World Bank documents offer several solutions that could address the problems that academic research finds impede the long-term sustainability of slum-upgrading projects. A synthesis across both discourses could help highlight these solutions and find answers to practical problems. It seems this topic requires more attention from researchers and in practice.

6.3.6.1 Issues with Maintenance

Only the academic discourse raises concerns about how slum upgrades are maintained after the physical project ends. The discourse discusses that missing government funding and institutions lead to poor maintenance. The World Bank discourse does not highlight that maintaining slum-upgrading projects is an issue. Instead, it focuses on a more macro level and proposes that governments need to ensure the financial viability of the infrastructure improvements they install in slums (e.g. World Bank 2009; 2011b). Thus, in the documents, the World Bank offers some solutions that may help address issues in maintenance. These pertain to charging slum-dwellers for using their services and outsourcing the building of infrastructure and the operation of basic services to the private sector and the management and maintenance of infrastructure by the community. For the Bank, both strategies are crucial to ensure that the government can create enough revenue to ensure that the built infrastructure can be maintained.

How World Bank and academic discourse discuss maintenance points toward a central difference between both discourses. The World Bank discourse is much more solution-oriented, whereas the academic discourse focuses on problems. Yet, as impact evaluations are missing in the World Bank discourse, opportunities exist for the academic discourse to explore the impact of privately provided infrastructure on slum communities.

6.3.6.3 Responses to Natural Disasters

That natural disasters are a concern to the long-term sustainability of slum-upgrading is again only a focal topic in the academic discourse (see section 4.3.4.3). The discourse debates and investigates the community-led approaches to disaster responses, and in-situ upgrading and relocation responses to mitigate the risk of natural disasters affecting slums. A discussion of the same topic is only found in one World Bank document by Dharmavaram (2013). It explores land value capture methods (incl. LSRs and TDRs) as an approach to incentivize the community to move out of hazardous locations. To some extent, both discourses overlap because they each present debates on relocating the community to reduce the exposure of slums to natural disasters.

However, the motivation and concerns of each discourse differ strongly: In the World Bank document Dharmavaram (2013), the Bank's motives are foremost economical in nature. The World Bank recommends solving the relocation of slum communities through incentive schemes and structures. The academic discourse, contrastingly, is concerned with the inherent value and risks that relocating the communities from disaster-prone areas might produce. Its

discussions about relocating communities out of disaster-prone areas are foremost motivated by ensuring the community's well-being.

Again, this points towards the different perspectives that both discourses occupy – the World Bank is viewing slum-upgrading from a top-down and economic lens, whereas the academic discourse views slum-upgrading bottom-up through a well-being impact lens. While both lenses do not necessarily stand in opposition, concerns remain about the effects of land value capture schemes like LDRs and TDRs in disaster risk management on the poor. As section 4.3.3 has highlighted relocate LDRs and TDRs slum-dwellers into high-rise buildings. Using these approaches to mitigate disaster in the slum-community may create serious impoverishment risks.

6.3.7 Scale of Slum-Upgrading Interventions

How important "scale" is as a topic in each discourse relates to their perspective on slum-upgrading. Looking from the grassroots level upwards, the academic discourse raises questions about what approaches to slum-upgrading at scale work best to improve the lives of slum communities. Here the discourse pays attention to standardized vs locally responsive approaches to slum-upgrading, the financing of slum-upgrading projects, tenure, and the compatibility of slum-upgrading with sustainable development. Working on large-scale city development policies, the World Bank never really explored or explained different approaches to slum-upgrading at scale. Yet one could argue that the interventions the World Bank proposes and recommends in its various reports focus on large-scale slum-upgrading. They look at the scale from the top-down perspective and leave questions about how their large-scale slum-upgrading interventions affect communities unanswered. The next section explores the focal themes relating to scale in detail.

6.3.7.1 Standardized vs. Location Sensitive Approaches

Having to weigh up replicability vs location-sensitive approaches presents a dilemma. A whole set of academic articles debate this topic (see section 4.3.5.1). While the academic discourse pays significant attention to this debate (see section 3.3.5.1), neither approach to scale is explored in the World Bank discourse. This presents a gap in the World Bank literature because the implementation of slum-upgrading projects on the grassroots level is so prominently represented in the World Bank discourse (see section 5.3.3). It could be an interesting academic task to make underlying assumptions of the World Bank models, approaches and recommendations transparent.

6.3.7.2 Tenure

Tenure only gathered significant attention in the academic discourse. It was debated if tenure is needed to give slum-dwellers the (perceived) security of their housing and land that they need to upgrade their housing. Different tenure forms (individual, collective and quasi-tenure) and also practical challenges to providing tenure were highlighted.

There is no debate about (what) different forms of tenure should be provided to slum-dwellers in the World Bank documents. It is unclear why tenure has received such different levels of attention from both discourses as the theme of tenure transcends grassroots and policy levels. Land-tilting and converting informal settlements into tolerated-semi-legal or legal settlements are ultimately policy decisions. Hence, the World Bank's reports to governments should debate tenure more broadly. For example, given the many practical challenges the academic highlights that exist when formal tenure should be provided, it may be important for the World Bank to produce documents that advise policymakers and practitioners about different tenure options and the challenges of implementing them. In the context of slum-upgrading, this presents a serious gap in the World Bank's OKR.

6.3.7.3 Slum-Upgrading and Environmental Sustainability

Only a few academic articles pay attention to the compatibility of slum-upgrading with sustainable development, and in the limits of the sampled World Bank documents, sustainable development is not a topic at all. This has some implications, as one would expect that the sustainability of large-scale infrastructure projects, slum-upgrading and city development would be of more concern to the World Bank and its clients and academic research. For the OKR this is a particularly glaring gap in the surveyed documents because the World Bank claims that it seeks to contribute with its mission to the UNSDGs (see World Bank, 2022c). With regards to climate change and being part of the finance imitative of the UN environment program (UN Environment Program Finance Initiative, 2022), why these discussions are missing is not easily understandable.

As the freely available publications in the OKR on slum-upgrading lack recency, it might be that the World Bank has created some studies that consider the environmental dimension of slum-upgrading on projects. Yet these have not been published in the OKR.

Most research on the environmental sustainability and impact of slum-upgrading projects is relatively new, thus, published after 2016 onwards (e.g. Assefa-Teferi and Newman, 2017,2018; Nutkiwicz et al. 2018; Debnath et al. 2019; Nunez-Collado and Wang, 2020).

Nevertheless, the academic discourse in section 4.3.5.4 highlights how important it is that slum-upgrading contributes to producing environmentally and socially sustainable solutions. For example, how residents are affected by the design of their housing in the face of climate change is a most relevant topic that deserves a lot more attention (Nutkiwicz et al. 2018; Debnath et al. 2019). Especially with regard to the social relevance of climate change, this presents a significant opportunity for further explorations by both discourses. Outputs may help practitioners and policymakers and may inspire further research.

6.3.8 City-Development Strategies

How "present" city development was a theme varies between both discourses. Thus, city development was a central element in the World Bank discourse. Yet, discussions of city development were found across the academic discourse in several themes, including. “the government” (section 4.3.3.1), top-down city development approaches to slum-upgrading (section 4.3.2.1), and the impact of relocation and redevelopment projects (4.3.3.2). Figure 6.10 shows the different city-development approaches each discourse highlights.

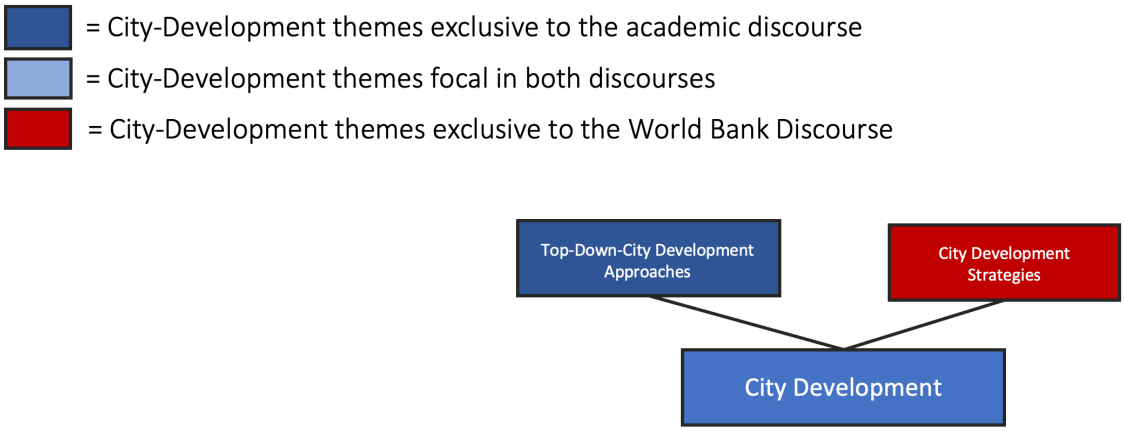


Figure 6.7: City-development themes across both discourses

Both discourses have opposing views on city development. The World Bank discourse promotes city development and sees slum-upgrading as a means to achieve city development goals like making cities more productive and efficient and enhancing cities' agglomeration economics (World Bank, 2001). The academic discourse criticizes the use of city-development strategies for slum-upgrading because it often promotes the relocation and clearance of slums or their redevelopment into high-rise apartments. This creates significant tensions between both discourses. Moreover, reviewing both discourses raises questions if the redevelopment and

relocation projects the academic literature discusses are examples of governments following the World Bank's city development agenda.

The different discussions around city development also highlight a gap between both discourses that concerns if and how city development as proposed by the World Bank can (also) benefit slum-dwellers. However, neither discourse answers this question. This shows that more research is needed on how slum-dwellers can benefit from city development projects and through slum-upgrading in the context of city development. The following sections explore similarities and differences between both discourses on "City-Development Aims" and "Decentralization".

6.3.8.1 Aims of City Development

The aims of city development were discussed in both discourses, albeit with varying degrees of attention. "Aims of city development" is an organizing theme in the World Bank discourse (section 5.3.5.1), whereas "city-development aims" inform part of the organizing theme "top-down city development approaches to slum-upgrading" (4.3.2.1).

What both discourses propose that "city development" aims to achieve varies.

The World Bank promotes city development strategies to make cities more productive, livable and sustainable (e.g. World Bank, 2000), whereas the academic discourse argues that governments use city development strategies for the spatial ordering of cities and orders the relocation and clearance of slums or their transformation into middle-class buildings for this purpose (Nuijten, 2013; De Vries, 2016; Becerelli, 2017; Comelli et al. 2018). This creates tensions between both discourses, and highlights that depending on what perspective a discourse takes on city development can be perceived as either good or bad.

As how each discourse perceives city development so differently, there is a need for both to pay more attention to how city development impacts slum-dwellers, best by taking on each other perspectives. This means that the academic discourse needs to ask questions about what benefits city development efforts can bring for slum communities and if and how slum-upgrading can contribute to city development in this context. Similarly, the World Bank discourse must ask questions about how its approaches to city development affect the poor.

While city development is focal in the World Bank discourse, it also leaves a lot of questions about city development unanswered. Some questions that remain unanswered are:

- how agglomeration economics impact slums,
- what the role of slum-upgrading projects is in the context of city development,
- and how city development projects affect the poor.

These questions must receive more attention from researchers, policymakers, and practitioners.

6.3.8.2 Decentralization

How decentralizing a government's administration can help cities implement city-development strategies was only discussed in the World Bank discourse. It argues that decentralization helps governments to govern more efficiently and be more responsive. This may also help how slum-upgrading are projects implemented as slum-upgrading projects would get implemented through municipalities that act closer to the slum-dwellers and their needs.

This perspective might be missing in academic research because it is not concerned with the policy level. How decentralization or government structures may help the implementation of slum-upgrading projects is not considered in the academic discourse. As more decentralized and locally responsive governments may enable better slum-upgrading projects, they could also potentially improve the impact of slum-upgrading overall. Exploring how different configurations of government enable slum-upgrading presents an opportunity for more research and to expand the academic discourse gap towards the policy level and should be addressed.

6.4 Overall Discussion of Both Discourses

The academic and World Bank discourse looks at slum-upgrading from two different perspectives, and what each discourse publishes is motivated by a different set of aims. Most World Bank documents approach slum-upgrading from a policy level and see slum-upgrading in the context of implementing city development strategies. When being focally concerned with a slum-upgrading project (for example, discussed in section 5.3.3), the World Bank documents look at the project from an outsider’s perspective. Moreover, the economic viability of slum-upgrading projects is of more concern to the discourse than how slum-upgrading impacts its beneficiaries. Because of these perspectives, focal areas like city-development strategies, what causes slums, housing markets, and the cost and financing of slums are important topics in the World Bank discourse.

Contrastingly, the academic discourse is focused on the grassroots level. It focuses on the individual slum-dwellers and the slum communities. It is concerned about how both are impacted by

- slum-upgrading projects,
- by actors (e.g., the private sector and the government),
- and by city development strategies.

Central in this discourse are questions like what can make slum-upgrading more successful or impactful for individuals. The academic research articles are critical towards approaches to slum-upgrading that affect slum-dwellers well-being negatively. Consequently, academic articles evaluate approaches to slum-upgrading very differently to World Bank documents: While they praise community-led and participatory approaches to slum-upgrading, they criticize top-down city development approaches, redevelopment projects and relocation projects. Overall, this shows that both discourses view slum-upgrading from very different perspectives. The World Bank discourse is predominantly:

- oriented towards policy, the city/ country development level
- oriented towards practitioners (see section 5.3.3)
- viewing governments and private businesses as stakeholders of interest
- concerned with the economic viability of slum-upgrading projects
- solution-oriented
- approaching slum-upgrading top-down
- seeing slum-upgrading as a means to build more efficient housing markets/ cities
- interested in quantitative outcomes

Whereas the academic discourse is predominantly:

- oriented towards the grassroots-level
- viewing beneficiaries as stakeholders of interest
- impact-focused
- approaching slum-upgrading from the bottom-up perspective
- problem-oriented
- viewing slum-upgrading as a means to improve the lives of slum-dwellers

Several pairs of opposites can be defined from these opposing views to help define the lenses' characteristics through which each discourse studies slum-upgrading (Table 6.1).

Academic Discourse	**World Bank Discourse**
Bottom-Up	Top-Down
Grassroots-Level oriented	Policy-Level Oriented
Beneficiary-oriented	Government- / Private-Businesses oriented
Impact oriented	Economic-Viability Oriented

Problem-oriented	Solution-oriented
Slum-upgrading as a means to improve the lives of slum-dwellers	Slum-upgrading as a means to build efficient housing markets/ develop Cities

Table 6.1 – Pairs of opposites that make up the World Banks and the academic discourse's perspectives towards slum-upgrading

Staying on this conceptual level, it is also interesting to see if both discourses are complementary and what a synthesis would cover. These pairs of opposites can help to conceptually highlight what the academic and World Bank discourse covers. They help define four conceptual models that are present and explain what perspectives a synthezis of both discourse could offer to policymakers, researcher and practitioners. They are explored in the following paragraphs.

Policy-orientation vs. Grassroots-orientation: Most World Bank documents are oriented toward the policymakers, whereas most academic articles look at the grassroots levels and predominantly focus on slum-dwellers. This had implications. Whereas this made World Bank publications pay significant attention to central governments and municipalities as stakeholders, they paid very little attention to the slum community and almost no attention to individual slum-dwellers. While the World Bank documents pay a lot of attention to large-scale development policies that aim at upgrading slums, they left out how these policies impacted the slum communities, and in particular the slum-dwellers. These gaps areaddressed by the academic discourse. The academic discourse focuses foremost on the grassroots level. It pays significant attention to the slum-dweller as beneficiaries of slum-upgrading projects and the slum community as a stakeholder in the upgrading process. While it may look upward and criticize governments and planners for how they implement slum-upgrading, they never produce research to directly address governments (see Figure 6.11).

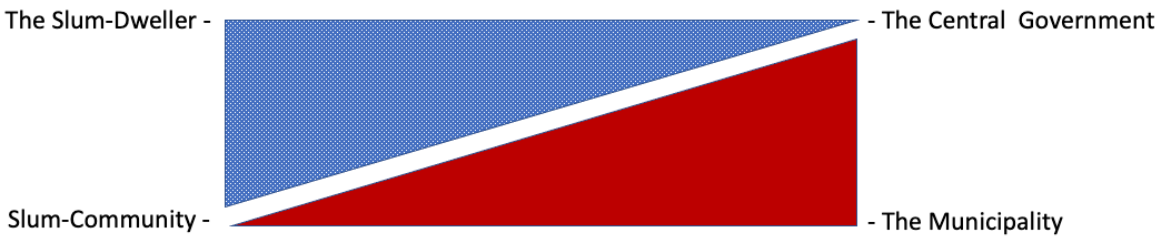


Figure 6.8: Policy vs Grassroots-Orientation

Problem vs solution focus: Most World Bank documents are oriented towards presenting solutions to problems that exist in slum-upgrading projects, whereas most academic discourse focuses on identifying problems within the slum-upgrading process. This has implications for whom each discourse address as its audience. Whereas the problem focus is very suited to inspire more research and raise questions about slum-upgrading, it makes research less relevant to policymakers and practitioners. The World Bank discourse adresses this gap. Most of the Bank's documents produces relevant insights for practice in policy. However, these documents often lacks critical reflection and should therefore be looked at with care (see Figure 6.12)

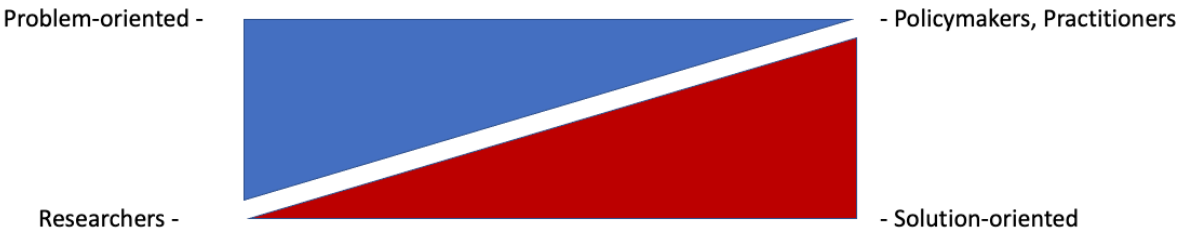


Figure 6.9: Problem vs Solution Focus

Government/private-businesses vs beneficiary oriented: The third gap between both discourses presents itself in whom each discourse sees as primary stakeholders. Most World Bank documents are created with the government or private businesses as stakeholders in mind. They present policy recommendations to municipal or central governments and they identify explicit opportunities in which the private sector can contribute to slum-upgrading and infrastructure building. This is very different to the academic discourse. The acadenic discourse predominantly views the beneficiaries of slum-upgrading as stakeholders of interest. This has implications for the discourse: across the World Bank discourse ensuring the financial viability and the attractiveness of the upgrading and infrastructure project for the government were of concern. To save the government's resources, documents recommended substituting government spending through private sector engagements or by reducing building standards. Examples are discussed in section 5.3.4.3. How this affects the beneficiaries was not a (primary) concern. As the academic literature was foremost concerned about the well-being and welfare of its beneficiaries, it is impact-oriented. Academic research does not raise questions about the

finical viability of slum-upgrading projects. Both perspectives created significant tension across each discourse.

Qualitative vs. quantitative-outputs oriented: Lastly, a third gap exists between what both discourses presented as valuable outputs of slum-upgrading. Most World Bank documents focus on viewing how slum-upgrading would affect the existing offer of low-income housing in housing markets, the level of infrastructure service provided in slums, and the cost and financing of slum-upgrading, thus quantitative outcomes. In contrast, most academic literature focuses on qualitative outputs like how slum-upgrading projects affect the health, risk of impoverishment, security, and well-being of beneficiaries. As both discourses do not also consider qualitative, respective quantitative outputs to measure slum-upgrading, they only ever look at slum-upgrading from on particular research lense. This has implications: The voices of the slum-dwellers as stakeholders are not well represented in the World Bank documents. On the other hand, as quantitative data is missing rare in the academic research on slum-upgrading, advise for guidance is rare.

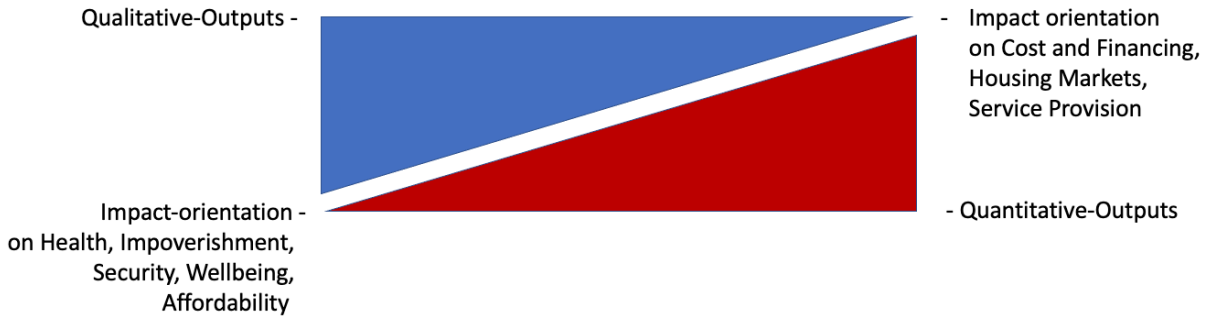


Figure 6.10: Qualitative vs quantitative out-out orientation

In an ideal world synthesizing across both discourse would allow policymakers, practitioners, and researchers to evaluate and plan a slum-upgrading project based on how it impacts beneficiaries and its financial viability. Such a view would help combine the grassroots perspectives with policy perspectives. It would allow researchers, policymakers, and practitioners to view slum-upgrading holistically. In practice, albeit significant tensions remain that nake synthesize between both discourse. To highlight where these tensions are Appendix III presents tensions, and opportunities for synthesis and gaps between both discourses for each theme using the same schema as the conceptual models presented previously. Chapter 7 reflects

on the analysis and synthesis of both discourses and what these significant gaps mean for a synthesized discourse.

6.5 Summary of Chapter

This Chapter has contrasted and compared both discourse and datasets to answer the first research question. It finds that significant differences exist between the periods each set of documents covers, their recency, and their research approach to researching about slum-upgrading. Moreover, the cross-analysis finds that both discourses focus on countries in the Global South, and significant gaps exist in their geographical coverage of slum-upgrading. These offer opportunities for more exploration.

Then the analysis focuses on the themes covered across both discourses. It finds that both discourses share focal themes, however, they view slum-upgrading from different perspectives. These different perspectives create differences in whom each set of documents addresses as the primary audience, whom each discourse focuses on as primary stakeholders, in their research and their orientation towards solving problems vs. identifying them. While both data sets cover a significant portion of the slum-upgrading discourse, their perspectives are not always complimentary. Thus, this makes a synthesis of both discourses often difficult.

The last concluding chapter reflects on this research project and explores what opportunities a synthesized World Bank discourse would offer policymakers, practitioners, and researchers and what needs to be done in the future to allow for more cross-synthesis between them.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This thesis has set out to analyze World Bank publications and academic publications on slum-upgrading in order to identify differences and similarities across them and discuss what opportunities a synthesized discourse would offer policymakers, practitioners and researchers. It has found out that both data sets investigate slum-upgrading through different and at times opposing perspectives. These create tensions, but a synthesis of these perspectives can also help establish a more holistic perspective to look at slum-upgrading. This concluding chapter now reflects upon what this investigation has found and what its findings mean for research, policy and practice on slum-upgrading.

7.2 Two Perspectives: A Top- Down vs Bottom-Up view on Slum-Upgrading

Throughout this analysis of academic and World Bank documents in Chapters 4 and 5, distinct perspectives guided each discourse.

Throughout Chapter 4, the academic discourse has been focusing on the grassroots level, has been concerned with the impact that slum-upgrading has on slum-dwellers, and it has highlighted problems with slum-upgrading or made suggestions on how slum-upgrading could/ should be implemented so it will produce a more positive, empowering, and long-lasting impact on slum-upgrading. Chapter 5, in contrast, has shown that the World Bank discourse focuses on the policy level. It concentrated on city development strategies and poverty reduction as a whole and, across most documents, did not only pay attention to slum-upgrading but also to effort of governments to develop cities. When World Bank documents paid attention to the impact of slum-upgrading projects, they were predominantly concerned with the impact that slum-upgrading had on government finances and on the economic feasibility of the project overall.

While these opposing views create tensions, each discourses very different perspectives on slum-upgrading has heled define a more nuanced picture of slum-upgrading. This nuanced analysis helps to highlight some critical points that must be considered by all actors planning and designing or researching about slum-upgrading.

7.2.1 Attention to the Impact of Slum-Upgrading on Individuals

Both discourses go to different lengths to investigate the impact of slum-upgrading projects. They come to the same conclusion; namely, if slum dwellers benefit from slum-upgrading projects is not certain, and is dependent on a set of factors, i.e. the kind of slum-upgrading approach (relocation and development potentially aiding impoverishment risk whereas in situ-upgrading may reduce it), the architecture of the housing improvements, the affordability of basic infrastructure services and housing to the beneficiaries, and existing approaches to ensuring the slum-upgrades are maintained after the physical upgrading project concludes.

However, these factors are frequently not considered when slum-upgrading projects are implemented, as the review of the academic discourse shows. It seems that in particular governments often do not have the interests of slum-dwellers at heart when they relocate them or turn their slums into high-rise apartments. This is a problem when slum-upgrading should be used to improve the lives of those living in slums. It suggests that how different approaches to slum-upgrading affect the beneficiaries, how affordable slum-upgrades are to the poor and how slum-upgrades can be maintained are often not yet aspects that policymakers and practitioners pay close attention to. This needs to be addressed through more research and also through international guidance and best practices.

7.2.2 (Increased) Attention to the Economic Viability of Slum-Upgrading

Academic researchers have raised many critical questions about whether slum-upgrading should be financed through the community, borrowing from international financial markets or by outsourcing the production and supply of basic services and housing to private firms (e.g Werlin, 1999; Boonyabancha, S. 2005; Campa Sole et al. 2006; Cronin and Guthrie, 2011; Gruffydd Jones, 2012; Astuti and Prasetyo, 2014; Cherunya et al. 2020). However, the analysis shows that **criticizing** these various approaches to slum-upgrading is not productive, and questions about the economic viability need to be answered when planning slum-upgrading.

Slum-upgrading is a very expensive undertaking and is consequently difficult to finance for many countries. This makes critical planning of how slum-upgrading projects can be financed and supported **is** important. To not the risk that governments need to abort slum-upgrading because they are running out of resources, the financial viability of slum-upgrading projects needs to be established before the project. Hereby many different sources of finance

should be considered incl. loans from international organizations like the World Bank, the contributions of slum communities and also outsourcing the provision of infrastructure and housing to the private sector. **However, i**nvolving the private sector is not without concerns. The discourse on relocation and redevelopment projects (section 4.3.3.2) shows that outsourcing the provision of infrastructure upgrades or housing to the private sector might not always work in the slum-dwellers best interest.

Subsidy schemes like using output-based subsidies could help strike a balance between outsourcing the provision of basic services to the private sector (to reduce the government's financial burden) while keeping slum-upgrading affordable for the government and also for the poor.Finding out what incentive schemes work best could be an interesting research task. Moreover, the academic discourse should pay more attention to how community participation in the financing of slum-upgrading projects impacts the poor, and they should also ask questions about the feasibility of financing slum-upgrading for the state. Only so can constructive solutions be found that help implement slum-upgrading more broadly.

7.2.3 Where do Slum-Upgrading and City Development Find to each other?

Thirdly, is slum-upgrading feasible in the context of city-wide development or is city development feasible in the context of slum-upgrading are points that need clarification.
These points become apparent when one directly contrasts the academic and World Bank discourse. In each discourse, how city-development aims result in issues for slum-dwellers is a topic. Yet significant differences exist between how each discourse discusses slum-upgrading in the context of city development. Whereas the World Bank discourse devotes entire documents (like World Bank, 2000) to propse city-development agendas, the same "World Class" city development agendas are heavily criticized in the academic discourse. This creates tensions.

The questions, however, that remain unanswered throughout the documents are what slum-upgrading does for city development and what city development does for slum-dwellers. A trace to answering these questions might be found in the World Bank discourse. The discourse claims that to create agglomeration economics while reducing agglomeration costs is the theory that underpins and guides their city development efforts. Agglomeration economics predicts that with urban density and increased urban amenities, more talented skilled individuals and also more firms are attracted to cities, and the wealth of everyone in the cities increases (Kahn, 2010; Grover et al. 2021).

Slums are usually characterized by unskilled individuals and when located in urban centres, probably occupy space that could also be used to improve the living space in the city through nice housing, malls, and other infrastructure. Therefore, it could be assumed that city development under an agglomeration economic regime will prefer to relocate slums instead of upgrading them in situ to make space cities for prestigious projects that help make cities more attractive. Yet, the question remains unanswered how the wealth that city development creates should also spill down or include the poor?

That this question is not answered by the World Bank or academic research leaves a wide gap exposed in both bodies of knowledge. It should be explored through more research. Also, when slum-upgrading and city development strategies should be used to help cities become more inclusive and sustainable, then the question remains if relocation and redevelopment projects present the right way. This is something for policymakers to consider when they plan city development strategies that include the relocation and redevelopment of slums.

7.2.3 Understanding the Complex Lives of Slum-Dwellers Better

The final point that the analysis wants to make is that the life of slum-dwellers is complex and should not be underestimated in the planning and execution of slum-upgrading projects.

Slum-dwellers live very different lifestyles from those (bureaucracy and economists) planning the slum-upgrading project. The work that they go after often takes place at their homes, for example, they run restaurants or workshops out of their homes and often hold cattle. Renting and housing arrangements are informal and often changing. Moreover, existing formal housing may subdivide illegally. At the same time the “slum community” is maintained through informal social relations ships which help community members share and organize their scarce resources and help each other (like for example through savings groups). The way that slum-dwellers lead their lives is thus very different to project planners or, for example well paid World Bank economists. Such a life rooted in informal social norms and processes will present a strong contrast to how those government officials and project planners implementing slum-upgrading live. Consequently, it would require the planners to change their perspectives to fully understand how slum communities work and what produces a positive impact for them. Consequently, this makes the inclusion of communities paramount.

One approach that could help reduce the information asymmetry between planners and the community is to gather data on the community before the upgrading takes place and to store

them systematically to enable institutional learning on slum-upgrading. However, many academic and World Bank documents show that there is a general lack of data on slum communities that could help make the upgrading process easier (e.g., Imparato and Ruster, 2003; Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2016). This makes gathering data before the project on and together with the community an important first step in any slum-upgrading project that should be implemented more thoroughly (ibid.). Gathering this data might help the project's planners to understand the lives the slum-dwellers lead better, supply the planning process with socio-economic information or even help to help add social spatial information to the planning process (Ahmed, 2016). This might help maintain social spaces or it might point towards the improvement of locations. It should be considered by all project planners and practitioners in particular.

7.3 Towards an Integrated Approach to Slum-Upgrading: A Future Research Agenda

This section transforms the points raised in the previous part into a research agenda that can guide researchers and policymakers (both in academia and working for the World Bank) towards establishing a more holistic perspective on slum-upgrading, meaning it incorporates and contrasts both the World Bank's and academic's perspectives.There are several advantages to exploring such as view - it can allow policymakers to align slum-upgrading with city development aims or check if their set city development aims also align with the slum-dwellers. Moreover, it can also help integrate slums into the context of cities. This might be needed as several documents (Antonilhao and van Horen, 2005; Paar abd Rekittke, 2011, Nuijten, 2013, Degert et al. 2016) report that slums are often still treated as separate and unwanted parts of cities. Lastly, this perspective lets researchers ask critical questions about the wider impacts of slum-upgrading projects for cities, and slum communities. Working within such a framework and answering these questions can produce significant insights for practice, policy and research.

7.3.1 Focus on Agglomeration Economics and City Development

Firstly, starting with the World Bank's perspective that views slum-upgrading as a means to city-development, there is a need to explore how slum-upgrading and city development are linked. On the one hand, section 5.8 discusses should city development strategies help reduce poverty by making cities more attractive, and more productive, and fostering agglomeration economics. However, it is not clear how the agglomeration economy

and slum-upgrading are linked. Moreover, the analysis of the document sets suggests that aiming to achieve agglomeration economies and inclusive cities may potentially create significant tensions between city development goals and slum-upgrading.

Agglomeration economies are created when cities are densely packed with firms and capable skilled individuals. Slums, often located in urban centres and often occupied by low or unskilled individuals (see Awumbila et al. 2014) are actually creating pollution to the agglomeration (e.g. Catells-Quintana, 2017). Hence, one solution to these congestion costs is to relocate individuals outside of cities and redevelop slums into high-rise apartment housing that reduces the space of slums (as was discussed in section 4.5.1). Re-location and redevelopment projects, however, minder individuals' ability to escape poverty, as thematic network 4.6.2 explores. Hence, it appears that such developmental efforts bring slum-dwellers closer to poverty instead of removing them from impoverishment risks. It remains unclear and even questionable if any positive effects of agglomeration economics are created that trickle down to the slum-dwellers and could justify their relocation. More research should pay attention to this interplay. Therefore, how agglomeration economics, slum-upgrading and city development are linked (and what positive externalities they produce for the poor) becomes the first point on this research agenda.

7.3.2 Focus on Informal Rental Markets

Secondly, there is a need to investigate how informal and formal rental markets are linked. The thematic analysis shows that informal real estate and informal rental markets have not garnered much attention across the literature on slum-upgrading. This is surprising as the reviewed documents show that slum-upgrading can immensely affect housing values and rental prices (Gulyani and Talukdar, 2008) and exacerbate the inequality between landowners and tenants in slums. Thus, how slum-upgrading impacts informal housing markets should be paid more attention to. The dynamics that exist between informal and formal rental markets as shown across the reviewed documents suggest that the following relationships exist:

When slum-upgrading projects improve the infrastructure, local amenities, and housing in slums, they effectively increase the market values of houses and rental arrangements. This can have negative effects on renting slum-dwellers who might not be able to afford the increased rent and need to move to worse settlements, potentially further away from their jobs or amenities. This means that when slum-upgrading tilts informal slum-occupied land without paying attention to the ownership structure, it might exacerbate inequality in slums.

This inequality will be particularly exacerbated when governments provide slum tenure through collective tenure arrangements and a few landowners own all the slum- housing. Here the few (informal) slum-lords would be given legal claims to their house, which would increase their power in the renting markets. Thus, understanding informal housing market structures is important to ensure that tilting policies or slum-improving projects designed at a policy level do not negatively affect the poor.

A better understanding of informal rental markets cannot only help understand what impact slum-upgrading has but understand how informal and formal rental markets are linked can also provide immense opportunities for policy. Throughout this research project sections, discussed that the transition between formal and informal housing markets is fluid. Such a perspective offers significant opportunities and insights into policy. It allows policymakers to view slums not only as a place where the poor live but rather it allows them to view slums part of an urban housing market that serves all income classes.

Viewing the informal housing market as a (lower end) part of the urban housing market spectrum can offer policymakers creative and interesting solutions to housing problems. For example, one approach to resolving the high level of informality in Mumbai that Annez et al. (2010) propose is to provide more high-end housing. This approach allows the utilization of high land prices to relieve the pressures in the Mumbai land market on middle and low-income housing. In return, this policy could free up affordable low-income housing for slum-dwellers from middle-class renters and effectively increase the supply of affordable low-income housing using a market mechanism. Such an approach offers significant opportunities to mitigate against potentially unwanted effects of slum-upgrading, such as the exacerbation of inequality in slums and the crowding out of slum settlers.

7.3.3 Explore the Meaning Decentralizing the Governments to Communities

One of the aims of the World Bank's city development strategies is to decentralize the government. In this context, it should be explored to what extent some government functions can also be decentralized to community organizations. This could help governments bridge the "last mile" between the government and the slum community. For communities, this can present an opportunity to reduce issues with the maintenance of infrastructure and housing that section 4.7.1 has highlighted.

As maintenance is a central issue that appears to often reduce the long-term impact of slum-upgrading projects, this offers a new way forward in resolving issues in service provision and maintenance of slum infrastructure.

Ostrom's theory of the commons (1990; 1999) argues that in the context of smaller systems, communities are far better equipped to design institutions that regulate the consumption of public and common goods than external actors. It should be explored to what extent Ostrom's theory is also true in the context of slum-managed infrastructure. It would be important to see to what extent Ostrom's (1990; 1999) principles also extend to communally used resources such as water taps, sanitation facilities and sewerage. If research finds that communities are able (with training) to govern and maintain institutions better than the city or municipal governments, then this could support a more community-managed approach to infrastructure maintenance.

To ensure that CBOs can take on the maintenance and management of service provision for slums, they need to be legally registered as organizations (so that private businesses work with them, e.g. Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2016), and they need to have the necessary capacity to take on these central responsibilities (e.g, Imparato and Ruster, 2003). All of this requires careful planning and research. Moreover, there is a need to also explore what it means for communities, but also for cities to employ community-led approaches to managing infrastructure and maintenance. Thus, far, section 7.5.2 has shown opportunities for CBOs to take on the management of community infrastructure and its maintenance. However, if this works and what well-working examples of slum communities that manage their infrastructure requires more research.

7.4 The World Bank's Involvement in Slum-Upgrading and the OKR.

As has been highlighted in Chapter 2, the World Bank is the most dominant organization funding and being involved in slum-upgrading projects, since the 1970s. Yet its role today in slum-upgrading remains largely unexplored across the academic literature and this is why this research project aimed at shedding more light on the World Bank its contributions through slum-upgrading.

7.4.1 On the Involvement the World Bank in Slum-Upgrading

On a superficial level, this research project could shed some light on what primary role the World Bank takes on in slum-upgrading. For example, most of the Economic Sector Work Reports (e.g. World Bank, 2000, 2002, 2006a, b, 2008a, b, 2015b) show that the Bank consults governments in city development issues and financing of upgrading interventions. This suggests that the World Bank does not often work on the implementation of slum-upgrading projects on the ground but instead predominantly focuses on the implementation of city development strategies in which slum-upgrading can be one element.

However, this exploration is not yielding satisfactory answers about the World Bank's approach to slum upgrading. While the World Bank discourse explains what city development strategies aim to do (develop agglomeration economics in cities to make them more productive) and what slum-upgrading ought to do (solve the issue in existing low-income housing markets by upgrading slum housing to low-income housing), questions remain about how slum-upgrading fits into the World Bank's city development strategies, and overall, into the World Bank's mission to reduce poverty. Thus, more research is needed to fully conclude the World Bank's involvement in slum-upgrading. It remains an important and exciting topic. In the future, researchers could have a look at other data sources, like the World Bank's Project Database, to fill this gap.

7.4.2 On Value of OKR for Practice, Policy, and Research

The World Bank claims that the OKR presents one primary and comprehensive source of development knowledge. Yet, the analysis of its documents in Chapters 5 and 6 has shown that this claim is overstated. Most of the found documents were dated and the OKR did not survey slum-upgrading as comprehensive as the academic documents. Moreover, it seems that not all key readers (policymakers, practitioners and researchers) will find it equally useful. Here, therefore, is the conclusion of what potentials and limitations the OKR holds for these three reader groups.

For practitioners, the OKR provides an interesting and valuable source of knowledge; probably even more so than for policymakers and researchers. To practitioners, the OKR offers a variety of interesting practice-oriented guides, for example, on how to create participatory slum-upgrading projects (Imparato and Ruster, 2003; World Bank, 2015a), best practices and strategies on how to include vulnerable groups (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2016) and many other useful documents. This can be extremely beneficial to them, in particular, because these topics

are not the focus of academic research or at least not to the extent that academic discourse offers concrete guidance to practitioners, as section 6.5.2 discusses.

Nevertheless, the OKR lacks discourse on the implications of approaches to practice for the slum-dwellers and slum-upgrading projects. This presents a significant limitation that practitioners should have in mind when they use the OKR. This means that the discourse is very one-sided and needs to be corroborated, which is where the academic discourse can be very helpful.

For policymakers, the OKR offers inspiration for a policy solution to low-income housing problems and city development issues. These are most often found in economic sector work and country studies that can be found in the OKR. Yet, similar to what was criticized about the OKR's use for practitioners, the lack of impact evaluation across the documents makes it very difficult to understand how these policies will impact the slum-dwellers. Policymakers should be careful not to follow these policy recommendations too blindly. It is advisable to corroborate any findings and insights through other sources, for example, through research and findings from the academic discourse. Together both discourses can help policymakers develop a whole picture.

For researchers, the OKR offers the least "new or unique" insights. While it contains a lot of practical information and policy information that is certainly interesting to consider in the context of academic research on slum-upgrading (as this research project has done, for example), research articles in the OKR are scarce and often dated. This makes the OKR the best complementary source to academic research. It may help, for example, to highlight points of criticism in existing World Bank policies, but it does not help advance any academic debates. For researchers, the OKRs usefulness lies predominantly in the available knowledge for practice that remains scarce in the academic discourse. Overall, it seems that the OKR offers very useful sources of knowledge to expand and corroborate academic research on slum-upgrading. Yet it should not be considered in isolation necessarily.

7.5 Concluding Remarks: Significance and Impact of this Research Project

By synthesizing and analyzing academic and World Bank publications on slum-upgrading, this research makes three significant contributions to its field.

Firstly, it adds to the very few literature reviews on slum-upgrading. By having comprehensively identified all relevant academic publications on slum-upgrading, it extends

this review beyond the geographic and thematic limits current literature reviews on slum-upgrading, for example, by Brakarz and Jaitman (2013) and Weiman and Oni (2019).

Secondly, by also identifying and reviewing all relevant World Bank publications on slum-upgrading, it expands the current discourse and informs several research gaps and questions that arise from the review of academic literature. Moreover, doing so also scrutinizes and tests both the academic and World Bank discourse, which helps to point out each discourse's weaknesses and strengths. Such a process is important, because today, with the internet and organizations like the World Bank having material available online that can easily be accessed, there is a need for academic research to stay relevant for all users and competitive to other sources of research.

Thirdly, comprehensively analyzing both bodies of knowledge on slum-upgrading, this research project finds that neither discourse captures slum-upgrading wholistically. Instead, they view slum-upgrading through two different and at times opposing perspectives. Yet, when taken together, these perspectives are often complementary. They help paint a more nuanced picture of slum-upgrading and raise some important questions. In the future both the World Bank and academic discourse should make more of an effort to expand on each other's perspective. Thus, a third contribution that this research project produces is that it defines several points that can help move academic research, policy-making and practice towards a more holistic approach to slum-upgrading.

Significant insights for practice, policy and research can be won from these new perspectives and have been listed in section 7.2. Together they can help inform a research agenda like set out in 7.3. This new perspective forward on slum-upgrading presents a unique contribution to this research that will hopefully move the field forward and present a significant opportunity to researchers, policymakers and practitioners.

One last concern that remains from the analysis of both World Bank and academic discourse pertains to UN Target 11.1 which was discussed in the introduction to this thesis. It proposes to "by 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums". This, however, is only a quantitive description of what slum-upgrading should achieve. As this dissertation shows that providing basic service and adequate housing to all can result in the relocation of slums and redevelopment of slums to high-rise apartments which brings significant impoverishment risks for slum-dwellers, the question remains to what extent UN Target 11.1 really captures the essence and impact of slum-upgrading and whether a more qualitative target is needed.

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9.0 Appendix

9.1 Appendix I – Example of an Article that was excluded because it was not relevant to slum-upgrading

This Appendix demonstrates the exclusion of articles because they lack relevance to slum-upgrading using the example of the article "Learning from informal markets: Innovatove Approaches to Land and Housing Provision" by Berner (2001). Berner's article mentions slum-upgrading and was therefore included in the initial sample of articles found from searching the databanks:

> "Substandard and insecure housing conditions are recognized as a crucial aspect of urban poverty. In most large cities in the developing world, the formal market serves only a minority of the population. It is estimated that between 30 and 70 per cent live in 'irregular' settlements, and that up to 85 per cent of the new housing stock is produced in an extra-legal manner, with severe social and environmental consequences. John Turner's groundbreaking work and the first Habitat conference in 1976 marked a paradigm shift towards an enabling and participatory approach to housing provision. However, little progress has been made in translating the new paradigm into practical and sustainable policies. Relocation schemes, social housing, slum upgrading, and sites and services are beset by two related problems: first, they are far too small scale to serve the growing demand and, second, products are far too expensive to be affordable for low-income groups. The paper states that the informal sector's strategy of incremental development and improvement of housing and infrastructure can be incorporated into public policies, and introduces cases from the Philippines and Pakistan as best practices in this direction. "

As this abstract shows and the review of the article confirmed, this article is not really about slum-upgrading but focused on informal housing markets. Hence, it was excluded from the finial sample of articles.

9.2 Appendix II - Full Cost Breakdown Presented in Baker (2006) and Abiko et al. (2007)

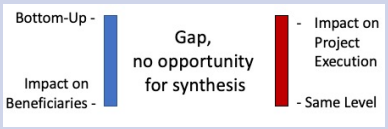
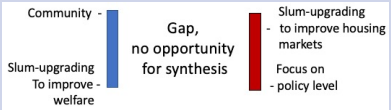
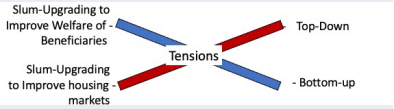
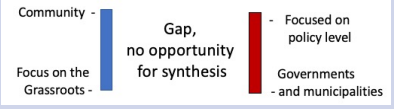
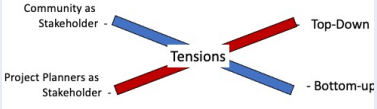
Project Component	Cost in 2006 USD	Cost in 2022 USD	Share on Total Project Costs	Cost per Slum-Settler in 2006 USD	Cost per Slum-Settler in 2022 USD	Share on Total Project Cost
Whole Project (no cost of participation listed)	3,913,524	5,439,798	100%	502.89	699.02	100%
-Housing construction and improvements	2,849,378	3,960,635	73%	367.43	519.73	73,1%
-Electricity	238,648	331,721	6%	30.67	42.63	6.1%
-Water supply	172,849	240,260	4,4%	22.21	30.87	4.4%
- Drainage	652,649	869,652	16%	83.87	115.58	16.7%

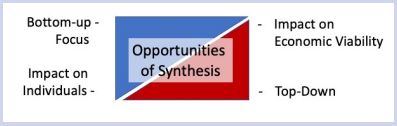
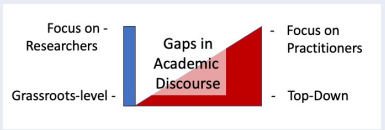
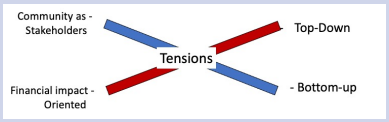
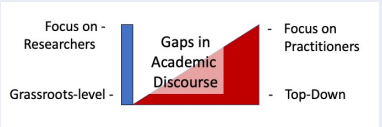
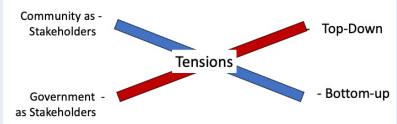
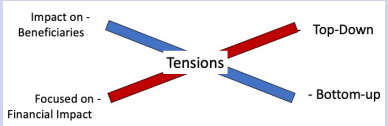
Table 9.1: Breakdown of Cost for Slum-Upgrading in Brazil (Adopted from Baker, 2006, p.9)

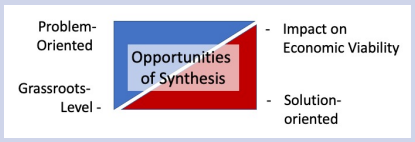
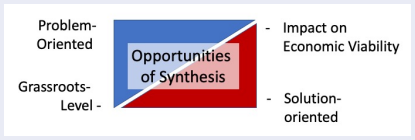
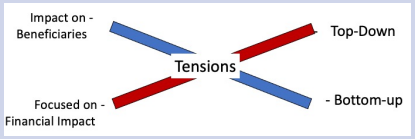
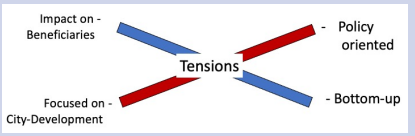
Project Component	**Share on Total Project Cost**	**Cost per Slum-Family 2007 USD**	**Cost per Family 2022 USD**
Whole Project (extent of participatory component unclear)	**100%**	**3,989.91 – 7,689.63**	**5,426.28 – 10,457.90**
Infrastructure	42.34 – 56.84%	2,119.84	2,882.98
- Water	*2.84 – 4.01%*	*195.68 – 219.88*	*266,12 – 299,04*
- Sewage	*7.06 – 12.69%*	*353.57 – 975.45*	*480.86 – 1,326.61*
- Drainage	*1.63 – 18.25%*	*81.64 – 1,060.35*	*111.03 – 1,422.08*
- Paving	*14.16 – 29.71%*	*1,054.73 – 1,371.22*	*1,434.43 – 1,864.86*
- Retaining structures	*0 -10.9 %*	*0 - 434.84*	*0 - 591.38*
- Electricity	*0 – 2.33%*	*0 – 217.36*	*0 – 295, 61*
- Lighting	*0.23 – 1.12%*	*17.89 – 86.70*	*24.33 – 117.91*
- Garbage	*0 - 0.47%*	*0 – 18.72*	*0 – 25.46*
- Landscape	*0.72 – 8.38%*	*0 – 334.54*	*0 – 454.97*
Superstructures (Housing, or Resettlements)	15.66 – 49.54%	625.01 – 2,480,64	850-01 – 3,373.64
- Construction and Relocation	*13.16 – 49.54%*	*525.01 – 24,80.64*	*714.01 - 3,373.64*
- Preliminary access to services	*0 – 15.14 %*	*0 – 1,164.58*	*0 – 1.583.83*
Social, Design, and Administrative	8.12 – 14.7%	374.94 – 1,135.78	509.92 – 1,544.66
- Social Assistance	*0 – 3%*	*0 – 166.73*	*0 – 158.75*
- Design	*2.12 – 3.52%*	*155.99 – 271.00*	*212.15 – 368.56*
- Administration	*0 – 11.25%*	*0 – 864.77*	*0 – 1,176.09*

Table 9.2: Range of Costs by Category for Slum-Upgrading in Brazil (Adopted from Abiko et al. 2007, p.17)

9.3 Appendix III – Gaps, Tensions and Opportunities for Synthesis across Both Discourses

Theme	Perspectives	Gaps, Opportunities for Synthesis, Tensions
The Government	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-Up, focused on Impact on beneficiaries • **World Bank Discourse**: Same Level, focused on impact of the execution of World Bank Projects	
The Private Sector	• **Academic Discourse:** Beneficiary Oriented, Impact on beneficiaries, critical towards government • **World Bank Discourse:** Government, Private Business Sector Oriented, Impact on Financing Slum-Upgraidng	
CBOs and NGOs	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-Up, focused on project implementation, Impact on beneficiaries, • **World Bank Discourse**: Top-down, Impact on project implementation	
Municipalities and Savings Groups	• **Academic Discourse:** focused on Grassroots, with the community as stakeholders • **World Bank Discourse:** focused on the policy-level, with the governments and municipalities as stakeholders	
Liberalization of Land and Housing Markets	• **Academic Discourse:** Focus on the Grassroots, slum-upgrading to improving welfare of beneficiaries • **World Bank Discourse:** Focus on the policy-level, slum-upgrading to improve housing markets	
Top-Down City Development oriented Slum-Upgrading	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-Up, slum-upgrading to improving welfare of beneficiaries • **World Bank Discourse:** Top-Down, Slum-upgrading to improve housing markets	
Community-Led Approaches to Slum-Upgrading	• **Academic Discourse:** focused on Grassroots, with the community as stakeholders • **World Bank Discourse:** focused on the policy-level, with the governments and municipalities as stakeholders	
Participatory Approaches to Slum-Upgrading	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-Up, Community as stakeholder • **World Bank Discourse:** Top-Down, Project Planners as stakeholders	
Causes of Slum-Formation	• **Academic Discourse:** Grassroots-level, Community as Stakeholders • **World Bank Discourse:** Policy-level, governments as stakeholders, focus on grassroots-level	

Theme	Perspectives	Gaps, Opportunities for Synthesis, Tensions
Impact of Physical Improvements	• **Academic Discourse:** Grassroots-level, impact on individuals • **World Bank discourse**: Policy-Level, Financial Impact Oriented	
Impact of Relocation and Redevelopment Projects	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-up focus, impact on individuals • **World Bank discourse**: top-down oriented, impact on individuals,	
Impact on Employment	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-up, Focus on the Impact on Individuals, impact on the viability of the project • **World Bank Discourse:** Top-down, impact on the economic viability of projects	
Fostering the Community's Participation in Slum-Upgraidng	• **Academic Discourse:** Grassroots level, focus on researchers • World Bank Discourse: Top-down, focus on practitioners	
Determining the Community's Participation	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-Up, focused community as stakeholders • **World Bank Discoursed:** Top-down, focused on the finical impact	
Including Vulnerable Groups	• **Academic Discourse:** Grassroots level, focus on researchers • **World Bank Discourse:** Top-down, focus on practitioners	
Cost of Slum-Upgrading	• **Academic Discourse:** Grassroots-level, focus on the impact of individuals • **World Bank Discoursed:** Top-down, focused on the finical impact	
Financing Slum-Upgrading	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-Up, focus on beneficiaries as stakeholders • **World Bank Discourse:** Top-down, focused the government as stakeholders	
Reducing the Cost of Slum-Upgrading	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-Up, focus on impact for beneficiaries • **World Bank Discourse:** Top-down, focused, focused on the finical impact	

Theme	Perspectives	Gaps, Opportunities for Synthesis, Tensions
Issues in Maintenance	• **Academic Discourse:** Problem-oriented, • Focus on grassroots-level • **World Bank Discourse:** Solution-oriented, focus on Impact of Economic Viability	
Issues in Affordability	• **Academic Discourse:** Problem-oriented, focus on grassroots-level • **World Bank Discourse:** Solution-oriented, focus on Impact of Economic Viability	
Responses to Natural Disasters	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-Up focus, Impact of beneficiaries • **World Bank Discourse:** Top-Down, focus on Impact of Economic Viability	
Standardized vs. Location Sensitive Approaches to Slum-Upgrading	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-up focused, Impact of beneficiaries • **World Bank Discourse:** Policy orientation, Focus on Governments and municipalities	
Tenure	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-up focused, Impact of communities • **World Bank Discourse:** Policy orientation, Focus on Governments and municipalities	
Slum-Upgrading and Environmental Sustainability	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-up focused, Impact of beneficiaries • **World Bank Discourse:** Policy orientation, focus on Governments and municipalities	
Aims of City Development	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-up focused, Impact of beneficiaries • **World Bank Discourse:** Policy-oriented, focus on city-development	
Decentralization	• **Academic Discourse:** Bottom-up focused, Impact of communities • **World Bank Discourse:** Policy orientation, Focus on Governments and municipalities, and on impact on communities