CO-PRODUCTION OF URBAN KNOWLEDGE: CONTEXT APPROACH FOR EFFECTIVE AND EFFICIENT GOVERNANCE OF CITIES

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ABSTRACT

Effective and efficient governance is driven by policies that prevail in urban contexts. Policies are usually the result of knowledge co-production, but the efficacy of the process of translating knowledge into policy is still not well defined in the Kenyan context. One example of this is the city of Kisumu, which has been the focus of knowledge co-production by researchers from Kisumu and Gothenburg, and when there is active involvement of academics, policymakers, and the private sector. The creation of networks and platforms has been instrumental in knowledge production and has allowed for multi-level co-production facilitating the governance of the city at different spatial and administrative levels. Understanding of the different contexts that have been key in the knowledge production, in turn, is important for the process of determining how these have been the drivers of urban knowledge for governance in Kisumu.

Keywords: co-production, urban knowledge, triple helix model, Kisumu, Kenya

INTRODUCTION

Constant societal transformations put pressure on effective urban governance. Factors such as depopulation, resource depletion, pandemics, economic stagnation, wars, deteriorating service provision or autonomy erosion all exert a negative impact on urban settlements, both spatially and temporally [Krzysztofik et al., 2015]. As a result of this, urban governance is going through a metamorphosis with a greater inclusion of citizenry. This paradigm manifests through systems and networks about knowledge coproduction with a focus on how this can enhance governance. Experiences of players from two cities – Gothenburg, Sweden in the Global North, and Kisumu, Kenya in the Global South – provide an opportunity for interrogating this paradigm. Over the last decade researchers from the academia,

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private practice and policy makers have been engaging in research activities in Kisumu. Experiences in coproduction of urban knowledge has been developed and created a unique demonstration of the effects and benefits that accrue to the city. The process and experiences are discussed through three concepts: knowledge production, coproduction, and urban governance. Kisumu City provides the context for the presentation. How these concepts interplay is assessed to allow for appreciation of knowledge and governance in cities in the Global South.

1. BACKGROUND

1.1. Knowledge production

Lately, social scientists have been attending to the relations and experiences "shaped by a focus not only on the world order, but on how the world is evolving through an engagement with our interventions in, and responses to, the world" [Greenhough, 2010, p. 42]. Mindful that "social practices exact citational force because of the spaces in which they are embedded" [Thrift, 2000, p. 677], calls for new forms of humanism have awoken, one "that avoids the rationalist and self-righteous claims of the old ones but maintains elements of the experiential dimension of social life" [Simonsen, 2013, p. 10]. With that mindset, we are entering a new dimension of knowledge-making, where comprehension of lived experience, notions of agency, politics, and participation for *knowledge production* become increasingly relevant on how we understand the world from a range of theoretical, methodological and empirical considerations [Dymitrow, 2017]. Knowledge production, as outlined by STS-scholars, is mainly a matter of *praxis*, with the implication that although philosophically contradicting knowledge claims cannot be achieved, in praxis it is possible [cf. Collins & Evans, 2008]. Consequently, there is greater emphasis on the process of coproduction. Moreover, knowledge about sustainable urban governance is not just theories about indications and contraindications, but also a specific language that needs mastering to take sustainability work forward. In other words, what knowledge receives recognition depends on the proficiency of its articulation in official documents and, accordingly, its subsequent impact claims [Brauer et al., 2019].

1.2. Coproduction

While knowledge production may denote any form of new knowledge emerging through social and cultural interaction, the concept is commonly associated with the related activities clustered in a higher education institution, a research centre or any enterprise professionally creating new knowledge (Latour's "centres of calculation"). The main characteristic of a centre of calculation though is its ability to legitimize knowledge, not because it is better but simply because it has passed through its institutional rites. The obvious crux is that formalization is not necessarily the same as quality, although formalization very often is interpreted as an indicator of quality.

To counterbalance hierarchical ways of producing knowledge, *co-production* refers to an arrangement where citizens produce, at least in part, the services they use themselves. Co-producing citizens do not rely on financial or other inputs from public agencies to develop a new or improve an existing service [Schlappa & Ramsden, 2000]; this is more so in policy frameworks. Policy networks facilitate the coordination of public and private interests and resources and enhance efficiency in the implementation of public policy [Katsamunska, 2016].

When cities are viewed as knowledge societies, it is about capabilities to identify, produce, process, transform, disseminate, and use information to build and apply knowledge for human development. Such capabilities require an empowering social vision that encompasses plurality, inclusion, solidarity, and participation [Arsovski et al., 2018]. In order to plan and manage a city, a novel way is through knowledge engineering which require the design and implementation of a knowledge infrastructure [Laurini, 2017]. Yigitcanlar et al. [2008] state that 'knowledge-based urban development' (KBUD) has become an important mechanism for the development of knowledge cities. KBUD is extensively seen as a potentially

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beneficial set of instruments, which may improve the welfare and competitiveness of cities.

Knowledge coproduction in cities is thus geared towards positioning cities as knowledge societies where the knowledge based urban development is achieved through a process of involvement of key players in the production of the said knowledge [Yigitcanlar et al., 2008]. It is against this backdrop that this paper examines the concept of urban governance.

1.3. Urban governance

Virtudes [2016] posits that governance is the exchange of information and control in a process where the local government and population are both the transmitter and the receiver of information. In Kenya, this process in the devolved structure is anchored in the institutions set up by the County Government Act. In the Weberian model, public administration implied governance by law, simply because society was governed through the imposition of law and other forms of regulation. Other institutions of the state were also included in a hierarchical system of command and control. Sub-national government has some degree of autonomy, but the state never surrendered its legal authority over these institutions [Katsamunska, 2016]. The "Global Village" and non-standardization of services has critics considering the model inappropriate.

Governance builds on a consensual image of the community and the positive involvement of its members in collective matters. It is believed that the state or local government is too big and too bureaucratic to deal with these issues and hence the multiplicity of players involved to enhance governance [Hendriks, 2013].

1.4. Research Objective

The objective of this study is to assess coproduction of knowledge for urban governance within the context of Kisumu. The City of Kisumu is used as a case study which allows for demonstration of effective and efficient governance using coproduction approaches.

A number of studies have been done on coproduction of urban knowledge. However, this paper addresses ways in which this knowledge coproduction can be used in supporting effective and efficient governance. Kisumu is a typical medium city in Sub-Saharan Africa and provides a practical case study for assessing these concepts within an urban environment.

2. METHOD

This study utilizes *framework analysis* as its principal method. Framework analysis is a tool for analyzing textual material to create an audit trail between the original material and the final conclusions [Dymitrow & Brauer, 2017]. It is used to organize and manage research by means of summarization, resulting in a robust yet flexible matrix output which allows for analyzing data both by case and theme. By borrowing principles from different epistemological traditions, framework analysis works independently of theoretical approach as long as sufficient preliminary thinking about the studied material has been done. The method is most effective for analysis of primary data, such as in systematic reviews of published texts, where it can be used to test a theory or to develop it [cf. Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, Smith & Firth, 2011, Srivastava & Thomson, 2009, Ward et al., 2013]. In order to present a comprehensive picture, the analyzed data material includes scientific publications, Acts of Parliaments and policy documents.

Moreover, experiences from the researchers, policy makers and practitioners were collected through *interviews* with key informants and consolidated to generate the general thematic areas. Data obtained during these processes was processed using the method of *content analysis* by putting issues based on differences and similarities. Documentation was reviewed to triangulate these findings and shared in roundtable meetings to create consensus. Examples are drawn from activities of researchers from Kisumu and Gothenburg in the last decade, which – though limited in scope – provide an opportunity to present a perspective on urban knowledge coproduction.

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The first section presents the case study city: Kisumu. It enables the reader to contextualize the discussions in the subsequent sections. The second section of the discussion addresses knowledge mapping. We look at the broad categories of knowledge that has been coproduced in Kisumu as a result of the interventions of the Kisumu Local Interaction Platform. The section gives an insight onto the extent that knowledge can be coproduced at various levels. The next section looks at the context of coproduction where we identify central actors and examine knowledge-power relations in the platform and how these impact on the direction and scope of urban knowledge that is coproduced. Finally, we address governance issues exploring institutional cultures and systems that would facilitate knowledge coproduction based on the context of Kisumu within the confines of the Kisumu Local Interaction Platform.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1. Case Study Town: Kisumu City

Kisumu is used to show case the concepts of this study. Kisumu is the third largest urban centre in Kenya, located on the shore of Lake Victoria. The City, with a population of over 500,000, is the hub of innovation in the greater Western Kenya. A number of research and development interventions have been undertaken in Kisumu with a lot of knowledge being generated and experimentations on governance being piloted here.

Urban knowledge co-production has been piloted in Kisumu allowing for demonstration of how urban governance can draw from coproduction. The city has been a focus of knowledge co-production by researchers from local and external universities with active involvement of academicians, policy makers and the private sector, especially civil society organizations. The knowledge so produced has been key in governance of the city at different spatial and administrative levels.

Understanding of the different contexts that have been key in the knowledge production are important in the process of determining how these have been

drivers of governance in Kisumu. Effective and efficient governance is driven by the policies that prevails in the city. The policies have been the result of knowledge co-production but the efficacy of the process of translating knowledge into policy is still not well defined.

The governance of Kisumu City has undergone transformation from the system of local government in the old dispensation to the new system after the promulgation of the new Constitution 2010. The old system had a Municipal Council made up of members elected by the citizenry. The Council then formed committees to run the various functions of the City Government. The Town Clerk who was the Chief Executive of the Council was a member of the Kisumu Local Interaction Platform with the Director of City Planning and Chairman of the Town Planning Committee also being members [Onyango & Obera, 2014]. In the new dispensation the City is governed by a board comprising of not more than 11 members; comprising, 6 members appointed by the County Executive Committee and 5 members nominated by the Institution of Surveyors of Kenya (ISK), Kenya Institute of Planners (KIP), Architectural Association of Kenya (AAK), Law Society of Kenya (LSK), an association of urban areas and cities, Institute of Certified Public Accountants of Kenya (ICPAK) and the business community [Urban Areas and Cities Act, 2011].

These changes in governance structures have had a direct impact on knowledge co-production in both form and content. The networks and platforms formed, and interactions created, have been shaped by the ways and means of communication in the different structures.

Mistra Urban Futures (MUF) centre, a sustainability research and practice centre, headquartered in Gothenburg, Sweden has established Local Interaction Platforms (LIPs) which operate as Urban Living Lab (ULL). Urban Living Labs (ULL) is an emergent concept based on an approach based on the 'quadruple helix', namely collaboration among public authorities, firms, research organisations and people [Wirth et al., 2018].

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LIPs were established in Gothenburg (Sweden), Greater Manchester (UK), Kisumu (Kenya) and Cape Town (South Africa) The network of LIPs are the primary organisational mechanism for delivering the vision and mission of MUF. The LIPs provide a bridge between different stakeholders and recombine diverse forms of expertise to address urban challenges [Perry et al., 2018]. In Kisumu, the LIP has been engaged in surveys, events and service experiments carried out by students, academicians, practitioners, and private sector actors and often there is partnership with other LIPS in Gothenburg and Cape Town. LIPs provide a meeting arena where local, regional, and state representatives can interact with academic researchers, outside their home-organisation restrictions.

Membership of Kisumu Local Interaction Platform (KLIP) is based on experiences from former networks in the city. The membership of KLIP included academia from Maseno University and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology, policy makers who are Directors from the County Government involved in planning and the environment and the City Manager. Private sector members include the civil society.

Nesti [2017] notes that there are three key problems that ULL addresses namely:

a. the first problem concerns maintaining motivation to collaborate high among volunteers;
b. the second problem concerns the governance of co-production; and
c. the last problem relates to the sustainability of ULLs.

While the concept of living labs is not clearly defined, there is a consensus that citizen and user involvement is central and that innovation takes place as a result of bringing together complementary urban knowledge, skills and resources in real-life experimentation [Lund, 2018]. KLIP should therefore be understood in this context.

3.2. Urban Knowledge Mapping

The concept of co-production in urban development is by no means clear and well defined. It has multiple roots: partly in the social innovation literature; partly in the private sector innovation literature; and partly in the 'communicative turn' in planning theory [Lund, 2018]. Richardson et al. [2018] state that coproduction implies multiple forms of expertise and knowledge, bringing new or additional perspectives as befits complex wicked policy issues. Perry [2018] argues that co-production of urban knowledge is a response to procedural and epistemic deficiencies. This includes, on the one hand, recognition that existing forms of urban governance and elite decision-making processes are insufficient to address contemporary multiple-problem challenges and, on the other, that implementable solutions in practice cannot develop without drawing on distributed forms of expertise beyond the usual technocratic fix. Kisumu City has had various types of decision-making governance systems, i.e. the elected Municipal Council and appointed Municipal Commission and eventually the City Board. Each system has made efforts at creating urban knowledge to respond to the city growth and development. Inclusion strategies have had various levels of success, but what is outstanding about Kisumu is the constant attempt at enjoining the citizenry in participation for planning and implementation.

Sometimes we have parallel production, when civil society organisations, end up "doing it alone" because of weak relations with public authorities. They work in parallel to public authorities while lip service is paid to "consultation" and "participation" and relationships are often solely focused on funding [Schlappa et al., 2000]. This arrangement must therefore not be confused with co-production. Evidence exists in Kisumu of co-production through such processes and have been documented. The City Development Strategy and the "Kisumu We Want" public consultations in Kisumu largely revealed an urban community ready to experience positive transformation in the socio-economic setting with optimal exploitation and astute management of their natural resources [UN Habitat, 2004].

Knowledge–action systems are the networks of actors, their visions and expectations of the future, and the practices and dynamics underlying the production of knowledge to advance specific

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policies, decisions, and actions related to sustainability Muñoz-Erickson [2014]. The level of continuity of actors in Kisumu on coproduction has led to some level of consistency in the knowledge created. When we look at documentation of these knowledge there is a thread of "the Kisumu we want" which includes use of the Lake Victoria, upgrading of informal settlements, enhancing productivity in the informal sector, public transport and public space. This scenario has been well captured by Frantzeskaki [2016] who notes that there are two types of conditions that influence the way knowledge can be co-created: a) conditions that relate to the way knowledge co-production processes are set-up and b) conditions that relate to the expected value or benefit that the co-produced knowledge will bring across society, policy and practice. These two conditions have mainly influenced how co-produced knowledge is presented and leveraged to achieve acceptance in the decision making and implementation process. This commonality across African and European city-regions points to the wider relevance of the "platform" concept for urban decision-making in the context of increased uncertainty and complexity and the demand for transdisciplinary knowledge production [May & Perry, 2017]. The Kisumu Local Interaction Platform (KLIP) has consolidated its position and has been at the forefront of urban knowledge coproduction. These focus on various aspects of the city's knowledge system. As a process of knowledge mapping, we take a look at some of these knowledge coproduction outputs.

3.2.1. Co-planning of policy

a. County Government adoption of policy framework for Market Waste Management: The involvement of the County Government in the Market Place research as researchers and stakeholders has seen a shift in policy formulation at the County Government level. In a number of activities, the County Executive Members in charge of Tourism, Environment and Trade have engaged with the KLIP team as key participants in workshops and conferences and in launching of activities. They have

eventually adopted they key lessons from the research to inform policy and intervention strategies. The most prominent is the waste separation model which has now been implemented in the whole CBD with bins for waste separation. The next phase is scheduled for markets. Kibuye Market Management based in Kibuye Market has also been given a Temporary Occupation License which gives them authority to use space at the market for research demonstration and knowledge cogeneration. This is an activity that is supported by KLIP. The City of Kisumu has also since signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the School of Planning and Architecture, Maseno University to work together which will include translation of the research into practice.

b. Kisumu Action Team: Having developed the City Development Strategy (CDS) to guide the city's development, the stakeholders involved in the CDS process realized that the CDS and its participatory process were a departure from the normal top-down planning and development procedures used by the Municipal Council of Kisumu. To support the City in mobilizing resources for implementation and monitoring the stakeholders' forum was transformed into the Kisumu Action Team (KAT). KAT membership included:
   – the mayor;
   – two Municipal Council of Kisumu representatives;
   – three representatives from the Informal sector;
   – three representatives from the CSOs;
   – five representatives from the private sector;
   – a representative from the faith-based organizations;
   – four representatives from government departments; and
   – three representatives from academia.

KAT was actively engaged in development of policy and monitoring interventions led by the City Council for a couple of years up to the year 2010 when the new Constitution of Kenya [2010] ushered in a new governance system.

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3.2.2. Co-prioritization of services – Participatory budgeting

Active participation of KLIP membership in the County planning and project prioritization culminates in the County Budgeting process. Integral participation of key Directors from City Management, Town Clerk and Mayor in meetings and workshops organized by KLIP engage in the discussion processes that eventually lead to prioritization of services which eventually get included in the County Budget.

The quality of participation will depend a great deal on how participation is organized, how citizens are asked to express their views, and how they are presented with information about resource limits and trade-offs [Kenya School of Government, 2015]. By operating as a platform KLIP provides an all-inclusive non-formal networking that allows for interaction between the policy makers and the citizenry. It thus becomes a platform to engage the public as the City management presents the budget for citizen participation.

3.2.3. Co-design of services

a. Market Waste Management: Waste separation project was initiated in Manyatta Peace Market. This project aimed at building capacity of neighbourhood associations working with local markets to manage solid waste. The project utilizes the principle of 3Rs (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle). Relatively small proportion of waste is therefore transported to dump site. This project supports urban agriculture, cottage industries as well as creating employment for the youth.

The waste separation project (see Fig. 1) has brought the Manyatta resident association to engage in solid waste management hence healthy environment and business opportunities. The prototypes that were developed, which include fertilizer production, attracted immense interest and the team has got the buy in of the County Government Environment Ministry. The project was then upscaled to Kibuye Market where it was adopted by the County Government.

The project is Market Community Driven. It is run by Kibuye Market Waste Management CBO representing all traders from all sectors in the market. The City Market Master compliments the traders' efforts by proving local transport for the fertilizer production. The fertilizer has since got certification form Kenya Bureau of Standards and Kenya Agricultural Research Institute. In the trial in run in 2015 the CBO produced 150 bags of 50 kg each which were sold at USD 25 each. Integration of SWM in the market operations is a coproduction process that has created a great amount of learning.

Dunga Craft Market Places: Energized Crafted Marketplace is a comprehensive integrated program that aims at socio-economically empowering the communities living along the beaches of Lake Victoria. The program is a collaboration of, KLIP and Zingira CBO who took the lead role of implementing the whole process. The training program focused on the empowerment of women and youth, environment protection and conservation, gender and rights-based approach businesses that would create employment and defeat poverty. The training design involved the community from the beginning through social mapping and needs assessment to ensure that ownership of outcomes is credited to the community. This was achieved through a SWOT analysis. After which Twenty (20) participants were nominated to attend the entrepreneurship/ Craft development training.

The training approach and methodology majorly focused on three main elements to ensure success: *People*, *Process* and *Deliverables*. Trainers used participative methodology in which all participants were involved. The training was broadly concerned with development of professional, technical skills and ethical and moral behaviour by conveying the unique meaning, obligation, and virtue of business ethics, leadership and morality in society or the acquisition of values, dispositions, and skills appropriate to the society. A broad range of methods of teaching and training techniques that were participant-centred were used.

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Fig. 1. Waste Separation in Kibuye Market
Source: authors' own photographs.

The training brought into focus the need for good partnership with leaders to improve the local infrastructure and enable easy access to markets. The participants requested that local leaders should be invited to attend training sessions so that they can be able to understand their role in societal development and in promoting the utilization of water hyacinth in L. Victoria.

3.3. Context of Urban Knowledge Coproduction

The new Constitution of Kenya [2010] introduced County Governments, with Kisumu City falling under the County Government of Kisumu. The position of mayor was abolished, and the management of the city was transferred to a City Management Board with a City Manager handling the day-to-day operations.

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As a result of the changes, new power centres have emerged in the Governor's office and the County Assembly. The prime function of KAT lost its relevance in a system where the city has become just one of several players in a region competing for resources. Decision-making has shifted to a whole new team who do not seem to see a role for KAT in the new dispensation. With no anchor in the city establishment, KAT became history, and the players have repositioned themselves in new roles. The Kisumu Local Interaction Platform (KLIP) was established through the work with Mistra Urban Futures. The platform has grown in stature and strategy as it positions itself to take over the space left by KAT. The activities connected to these projects include collaboration between the researchers from Maseno University, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology (JOOUST), the University of Gothenburg, Chalmers, CSOs, the County Government of Kisumu and surrounding counties, community members, and a number of local institutions [Onyango & Obera, 2014].

In the later stages, KAT had the advantage of hindsight, and hence was able to address some of the challenges of engaging stakeholders in co-production in the dynamic city planning environment. The team included high-level professionals as well as representatives of the informal sector. We see that the last phase of KAT was probably the best of the phases in terms of the co-production of knowledge. Players from the informal sector were able to make presentations which were quite sound on their continued positioning in the city system. Experts were able to translate the ideas into concepts which were piloted and implemented. Examples include street kiosks which have since burgeoned. The same applied to the transport sector. This included reorganization of movement of the public transport within the CBD and location of termini. Due to the co-productive nature of the process it was easy to get acceptance and hence became implementable. Furthermore, KAT was engaged in assessment of the post-2007 election challenges in Kisumu and this allowed it to develop a reconstruction strategy. This Strategy was used

to fund raise and the idea was bought by the French Development agency eventually forming the Kisumu Urban Project, a mega planning and infrastructure intervention [Onyango & Obera, 2014]. Having become moribund in the new constitutional dispensation in 2010, KAT members have since become members of the Kisumu Local Interaction Platform with a focus of coproduction of urban knowledge as its core mandate.

It is important not to forget issues of power and inclusion in co-creation processes, particularly as they relate to the identification and prioritisation of problems. When coming up with solutions to these collectively identified problems there is a sense of ownership by all co-producers. The MUF LIPs have developed differently in response to local contexts because of a realization that a one-size-fits-all model initially proposed for the LIPs was not tenable. There is the irrefutable logic of local contextualisation driven by co-production, co-financing, and partner-ship arrangements [Perry et al., 2018]. The influence that the academia has in Kisumu City has positioned them as the drivers of KLIP and enabled them influence to a great extent the coproduction of urban knowledge and how this is used in policy development in the city. This has seen KLIP influence the development of the Integrated Strategic Urban Development Plan, Kisumu Sustainable Solid Waste Management Plan, Sustainable Public Transport Policy amongst others.

Governments are more and more adopting Citizens' participation processes since they may help better understand needs and better reach communities' goals. With the emergence of ICTs, citizens' participation processes have taken new forms such as social media, blogs, and participative platforms [Marzouki et al., 2017]. A context-based citizen participation approach enables one to appreciate the dynamics of citizen participation comprehensively. That 'context' and 'politics' matter has become increasingly axiomatic within development theory and practice over the past decade. What is less clear are which specific context factors matter most and how thinking and action around social accountability interventions can be re-framed accordingly [Bukenya

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et al., 2012]. Governments from the countries that are trying to achieve the breakthrough in public sector reform based on ICTs usually tend to use the same methods as the leading countries do. Yet these attempts are often unsuccessful due to the overlooked differences in institutional, cultural, and social contexts [Malinauskienė, 2013].

3.4. Governance Systems and Coproduction of Knowledge

Urban governance refers to how governments (local, regional, and national) and stakeholders decide how to plan, finance, and manage urban areas. It involves a continuous process of negotiation and contestation over the allocation of social and material resources and political power. It is, therefore, profoundly political, influenced by the creation and operation of political institutions, government capacity to make and implement decisions and the extent to which these decisions recognise and respond to the interests of the poor. It encompasses a host of economic and social forces, institutions, and relationships [Avis, 2016].

Hendriks [2013] argues that governance refers to the institutionalized working arrangements that shape productive and corrective capacities in dealing with urban steering issues involving multiple governmental and nongovernmental actors. Figure 2 above comprehensively covers the players in the governance system in Kisumu. The academia is considered as professional expertise and form a key component in local governance.

A more neoliberal strand of urban governance has influenced the practice and conceptualisation of participation. Throughout the 1990s to date new forms of public-private partnerships and networks have been promoted to (among other things) tackle social exclusion. KLIP as a platform provides a network that fosters inclusion. It is argued that partnerships and networks were more inclusive than purely public initiatives because they created new spaces for participation [Lund, 2018]. KLIP provides an opportunity for different levels of players to engage

in issues of governance in Kisumu. Participation and governance have become inextricably linked. The Kenya Constitution [2010] makes it mandatory for the public to be included in the process of governance at all levels. This is based on experiences from the governance system in the country before 2010, where the role of the citizenry was generally limited to electing leaders. The Urban Areas and Cities Act [2011] provides for the appointment of a City Board and a City Manager who are recruited administratively. However, it states that residents may:

a) deliberate and make proposals to the relevant bodies or institutions on:
   i) the provision of services;
   ii) proposed issues for inclusion in county policies and county legislation;
   iii) proposed national policies and national legislation;
   iv) the proposed annual budget estimates of the county and of the national government;
   v) the proposed development plans of the county and of the national government; and
   vi) any other matter of concern to the citizens;
b) plan strategies for engaging the various levels and units of government on matters of concern to citizens;
c) monitor the activities of elected and appointed officials of the urban areas and cities, including members of the board of an urban area or city; and
d) receive representations, including feedback on issues raised by the county citizens, from elected and appointed officials [UA&C Act, 2011, sec. 22].

This Act effectively provides for citizen contribution in the governance process in terms of contributing to initiatives but also having input in feedback from the city administration. The Act has seen a greater involvement of Neighborhood Associations in city governance mostly in the form of knowledge generation.

Saparniene & Valukonyte [2012] argue that in Good Governance social and economic priorities would be widely supported by general agreement (consensus) in the society and that the voices of the poorest and the most vulnerable society's members
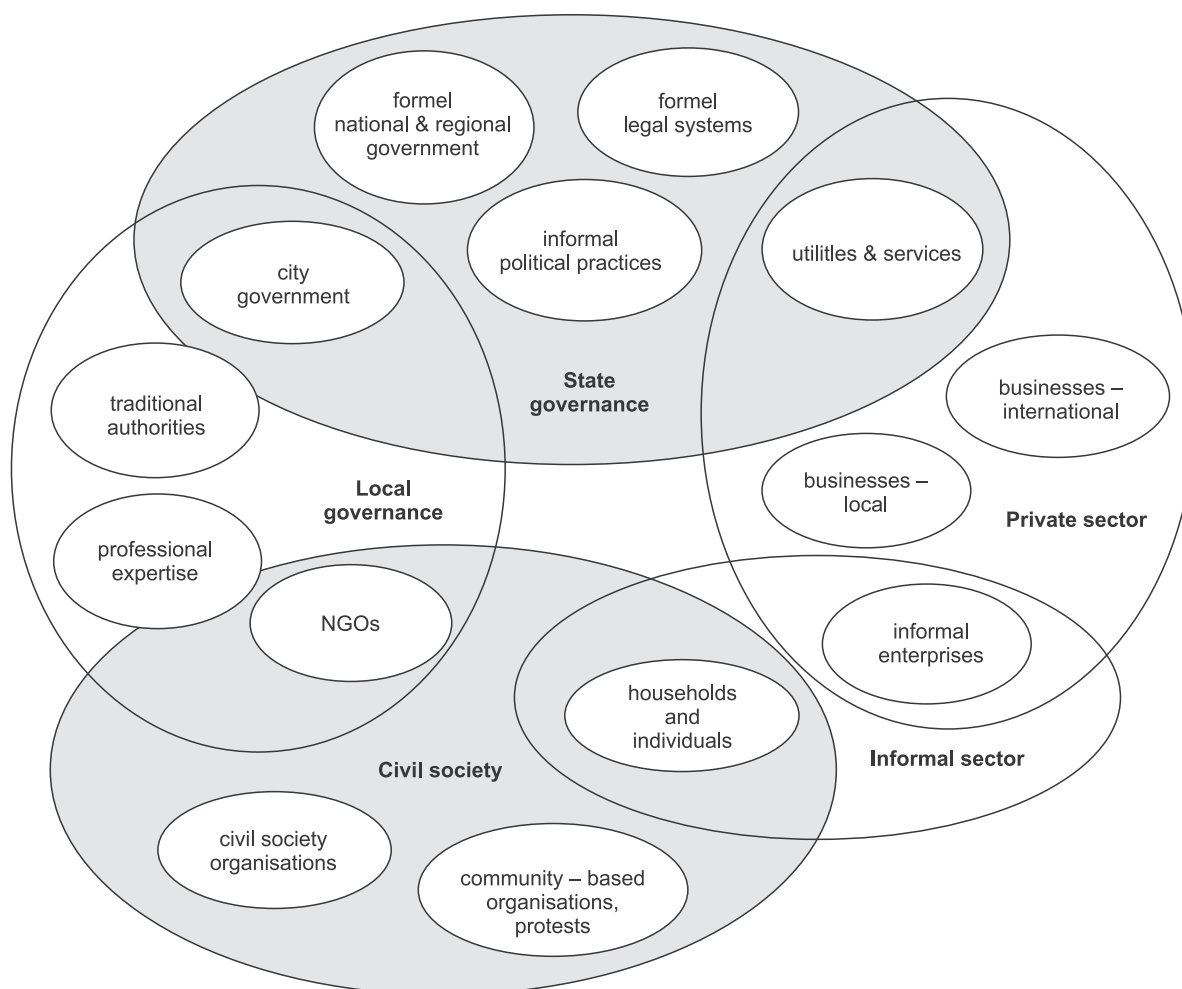
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Fig. 2. Actors and Institutions of Urban Governance
Source: Avis, 2016.

would be heard when adopting the decisions regarding the distribution of funds for development. That level of participation has been the aspiration of cities as they set up co-production processes in the different contexts. Kisumu County is in the process of setting up Ward Committees to coordinate the participation of citizens in each Ward to ensure that prioritization is anchored in grassroot needs as envisioned in the Constitution. The budgeting process has however provided an opportunity for citizens to critique and input in the priority projects of the city through a legal requirement that the County budget be subjected to an open for a of public participation. This process is limiting since people may be intimidated by the setup

of the vetting process in which assumptions are made about capacity to understand the documentations presented at such fora. The level of knowledge on budgeting may limit participation and hence limit effectiveness of the process.

Virtudes [2016] borrowing from the United Nations recognizes that good urban governance is guided by five goals namely:
a. effectiveness (including efficiency, subsidiarity and strategic vision);
b. equity (including sustainability, gender equality and intergenerational equity);
c. accountability (including transparency, rule of law and responsiveness);

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d. participation (including conflict resolution, human security); and

e. environment safety.

Legislative provision to achieve the above in Kisumu is enshrined in the Constitution [2010], Urban Areas and Cities Act [2011] and County Governments Act [2012]. The City is in the process of operationalizing these goals. The City Board has been established. The Board is mandated to develop policy that will guide in preparation of legislation that should ensure good urban governance. The Board operates as a subsidiary of the County Executive and has the mandate of rolling out approved policy. It is guided by national values including gender equity as enshrined in the Constitution. Regular feedback to the public, including the Budget Day, provide an avenue for accountability and this is all part of the participation process. Environmental safety is a role that the community has an active role. The biggest challenge to all these "best laid plans" is the old school of thinking that still prevails in the public service in which the people should wait for the City Management to plan and implement at all times. Experiences from the activities undertaken by KLIP has however impacted positively on ensuring good governance. The players from the Civil Society have become empowered in positioning their knowledge through the triple helix to leverage on City initiatives. Having established that KLIP is a platform they can use positively, they have been able to mobilize membership to develop intervention strategies such as the Solid waste management in Markets, Eco-Tourism and Urban Agriculture. The fact that County and City officials are part of the KLIP network has enabled for interaction between the citizen and policy makers well before the formal processes begin. The coproduction of knowledge has thus become integrated in the process of policy development and implementation of intervention with a clear understanding of the role of the various players.

We are seeing shifts in urban governance as result of the legislative transformation in Kenya after the new Constitution was promulgated in year 2010. The shifts in urban governance are based on time and circumstance with horizontal and vertical arrangements in decision making and implementation of the results of urban knowledge. Hendriks [2013] provides a framework for understanding these shifts which are applicable to Kisumu based on the levels of coproduction of urban knowledge (see Fig. 3).
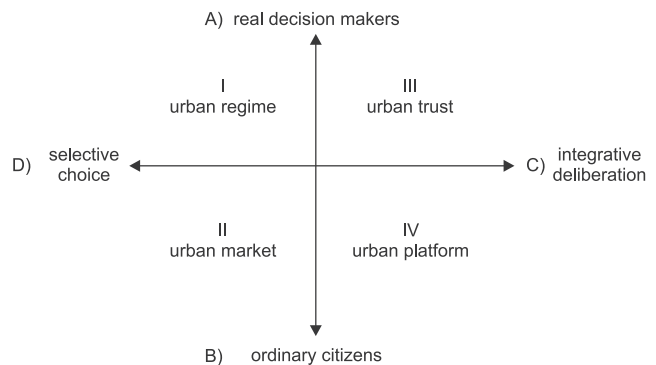

Fig. 3. Shifts in Urban Governance
Source: Hendriks, 2013.

A model of governance may be considered effective to the degree and way in which it shows an ability to truly do things, solve problems, and deliver value for money.

Urban market: In this level of urban governance communities form neighborhood associations, Market traders and Business groups. Communication is mainly through mobile phones with several WhatsApp groups set up to exchange information about the feelings and aspirations of members. In Kisumu these include the various Estate and Slum area neighborhood association which have been formed for purposes of enhancing social capital. Market traders and the Central Business District also have associations that address their aspirations. The informal sector also has associations that cover various sectors including street traders, "boda-boda" motorcycle transport amongst others.

Urban regime: The Kisumu Action Team [Onyango & Obera, 2014] was a typical example of this shift in urban governance. KAT was a select gathering of Kisumu City officials and top administrators from Maseno University and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology and Civil

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Society Organizations. KAT was highly productive in its later phases, but the social and political legitimation tends to be problematic since the institution was not anchored in law. Its decisions had to be tabled in the City Council for ratification to legitimize them. Galuszka [2018] notes that in this scenario there may be struggles. They may range from soft, discursive struggles, which can be managed via consensus-oriented means, to violent confrontations in which different authorities try to achieve their goals. It is these struggles that saw the informal traders being marginalized as the shift in governance moved to urban trust.

Urban trust: KAT evolved into a multilevel and multisectoral network, connecting leading figures of various levels of government. It was more interactive but excluded the civil society in its popular form. The KAT was able to prepare documentation that led to AfD funding for Kisumu Infrastructure to the tune of KSh 8 billion. This funding has seen a transformation of the informal settlements in Kisumu in terms of construction of roads and markets and installation of street lighting. Other development are model primary schools.

Urban Platform: The establishment of KLIP was envisioned as a wide and open platform on which everyone can have a say. KLIP revolves around dialogue, not contest by institutionalizing a comprehensive rather than exclusive approach to alternatives and collective decisions. The fact that membership includes policy makers allows for policy to be developed informally and then translated into official documentation by the policy makers in their official capacity. The other players on the platform are actively engaged in knowledge coproduction which then gets translated into policy. This platform affords integrative deliberation.

CONCLUSIONS

The interplay between the various forms of coproduction within the context of Kisumu has been demonstrated to be linked to the governance systems. Kisumu has seen multilevel co-production that has evolved over time as the various stakeholders and players within the city's complex system positioned themselves to influences policy and practice. The creation of networks and platforms provides opportunities for interactions for various players and has to a great extent made it feasible for the ordinary citizen to have an avenue to coproduce urban knowledge that has shaped the Kisumu they want. The prospects provided by KLIP have been exemplary in creating an opportunity for showcasing how academia, policy makers, and the private sector are able to work as co-researchers in knowledge production and have a space where ideas are considered equal without prejudice to its origin. This teamwork has endeared Kisumu to a number of international institutions including UN Habitat, who have consistently engaged with the players in this urban platform. This confirms that when the context is right co-production can become a viable way of urban knowledge production. The involvement of different players in knowledge co-production thus provides an opportunity for the City Management to leverage on this to enhance governance systems and have a greater impact from its interventions.

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