THE IMPACT OF CONFLICT AND FRAGILITY ON PUBLIC SERVICE DELIVERY: LESSONS FROM MATHARE WATER PROJECT, NAIROBI

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Executive Summary

Washington, April 11, 2011 state that some 1.5 billion people live in countries affected by repeated cycles of political and criminal violence, and no fragile or conflict-affected country has met a single Millennium Development Goal. The MDG 7 (“Ensure environmental sustainability”) stipulates to halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking and basic sanitation. Dirkschafer, Werchota and Dolle explains that In order to fast track the MDGs priority must be given to the urban poor. Informal settlements are the fastest growing in Africa and are a home to the poor. They will need to receive much higher priority – and they offer the biggest potential for achieving the MDGs. Water is also a right under the new constitution of Kenya (Article 43). Exclusion from water and sanitation services on the basis of poverty, inability to pay and membership in a marginalized group or on the basis of place of habitation is a violation of the human right to water. General Comment No. 15 of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UNCESCR) states that water must be accessible on the basis of non-discrimination.

In Kenya most residents of informal settlements rely on illegal connections for water service delivery including Mathare. In October 2007 the Ministry of Internal Security in conjunction with the utility companies (Kenya Power and Nairobi Water) carried out an operation to root out illegal connections in Mathare Valley. The two services had been taken over by cartels and illegal gangs, holding the residents hostage, and diverting revenue from the utility companies. Residents were also exposed to frequent outbreaks of water borne diseases from contaminated water supplied through poor quality piping. The indiscriminate mass disconnections caused a public outcry forcing and attracted political interest as it was an election year forcing the company to connect free yard taps at the periphery of Mathare slum.

In this context Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company, Water Service Trust Fund, and Pamoja Trust combined effort to implement a water project in Mathare. The project has not been easy as there are frequent outbreaks of conflicts and fights among different Actors and the Mathare at large is very fragile and hostile. This has made it difficult for utility and partners to deliver water services.

In this proposed paper, I will tell the story of Mathare Water Project initiative from a Water utility worker perspective since I have been at the frontline of this initiative as a Sociologist/project Coordinator Informal settlement Department. I will share experiences in Mathare Water Project, reflect on cases of conflict and fragility in regard to water service delivery, and what are the possible causes of conflict and what possible opportunities are there to resolve conflicts in these initiative.
1. **Background of Mathare**

There are four major slums in Nairobi Kibera Korogocho, Mukuru and Mathare. Mathare informal settlement is situated in the Northern part of Nairobi in a valley which was left after a closed quarry. It is between two rivers Mathare and Gitathuru Rivers. Its population is estimated at between 100,000 to 200,000 people living on just 0.89km2 of land (according to the Mathare Valley Zonal Plan, by MUST and Univ of Berkeley, 2012. Note: the most recent official census-2009-places the figure at just over 87,000). Mathare is made up of 12 villages; 5 of these are on public land: Kosovo, Gitathuru, 4B, Mabatini and Mashimoni while 7 are on privately owned land (Mathare 3C, 3A, 3B, Village 2, Kiamutisya, 4A and village No. 10).

2. **Background of Water Situation in Mathare**

Like all other informal settlements residents, majority of Mathare residents rely on illegal connections for basic amenities such as water and electricity. In October 2007 the Ministry of Internal Security in conjunction with the utility company (Kenya Power and Nairobi Water) carried out mass disconnection of services as part of an operation to root out illegal connections in Mathare Valley. The two services had been taken over by cartels and illegal gangs, holding the residents hostage, and diverting revenue from the utility companies. The disconnections were indiscriminate though, hitting both illegal and the few legal connections. This led to a demonstration by the residents and politicians who were then hunting for votes since it was an electioneering year. The government directed Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company to reconnect the service which the company did through installing temporary emergency measures.¹

In 2008 Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company (NCWSC an autonomous professional institution that is licensed by Athi water service board to provide water and sewerage services to the residents of Nairobi and its environs) set up an informal Settlement Department (ISD) with a mandate of laying down of infrastructure at the over 100 Informal Settlement within

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¹ With respect to water this involved installing stand pipes that dispensed water at no charge. Although the measure was intended to be temporary, it is still in place and some residents depend on this water source as it has proved politically difficult to disconnect the stand pipes.
Nairobi to ensure access of water by the poor residents. This was to be done through partnership with donors, Non Governmental Organizations and communities. Pursuant to this mandate, ISD teamed up with Water Service Trust Fund a state corporation both established under Water Act 2002 with an aim of assisting in financing the provision of water service in areas without adequate water service, and Pamoja Trust a NGO come with a partnership model that was then piloted in one of the Mathare villages Kosovo and later rolled out to the whole of Mathare slum.

This paper tells the story of conflicts experienced within the Mathare Water project. I will tell the story from a perspective of an employee of the Nairobi City Water and Sewerage Company being at the frontline of this project as a Sociologist/project Coordinator. I will focus on cases of conflicts, their causes, possible solutions and key lessons learned.

3. The Mathare Water Project Intervention
The water project in Mathare hand two main components, technical and social with an aim of constructing Water Kiosks to serve the residents with water, water pipeline extension and also capacity build the community on management, operation and maintenance of the water project with an aim of ensuring easy access to quality water and sustainability of the project. The Mathare Water Project has so far seen over 38 No. Of Water Kiosks constructed within the 11 No. of villages and about 29 KMs of pipeline extension. Some of these Kiosks were done in-house that’s by NCWSC staffs; others were done by a Contractor in this case Fadhers Contractor and two of them have been done by Athi Water Service Board. Currently we have a project dubbed “Mathare Sustainability Project” which aims to address both technical and social challenges that the project is experiencing.

4. Cases of Conflict and Fragility within Mathare Water Project
Immediately outside actor (NCWSC) through the contractor commenced the water project new challenges started emerging hence brought with them new conflicts, among the conflicts new conflicts that emerged were between cartels/gangs and NCWSC and Landlords/ structure
owner against NCWSC, between the connected customers and NCWSC and also between NCWSC and Community youths engaged on casual basis as Meter Readers. Fadhers Contractor verses the community. At the time the project was commencing, the community was deeply divided. Battles between rival cartels and gangs often broke out into ethnic conflict. Political divisions mapped themselves neatly onto these fault lines. In addition to all these, there was the enduring conflict between the interests of residents, who were almost exclusively tenants, and the interests of the structure owners and land owners (most of whom are not residents). This latter conflict finds expression in the now-familiar cycle of ‘eviction fires’ in Mathare, with the owners then rushing in to construct ‘proper’ houses, unaffordable to the ‘evicted’ tenants. In some cases, the residents managed a quick pre-emptive re-building job with the help of local churches, charities or politicians. Structure owners opposed to the water project, fearing that it might lead to possible acquisition of the land by the state, cashed in on these tensions to incite youths to disrupt the work (Kimani, Musembi, Nyawira, and Wachira & Waweru 2014)

The post-election violence of December 2007-February 2008 deepened these cleavages even further, and momentarily stalled the pursuit of the water and sanitation goals:

“We felt the water issue might be politicized and distorted and divert our discourse to a different meaning so we stopped a bit to allow the electioneering mood to end and focused on peace building so that we would not disintegrate during the post election violence” [Jason Waweru a Community Activist ]

“I have worked in Kibera Huruma Mukuru and Dandora but you cannot compare them with Mathare in terms of hostility. Mathare is the most tensed and hostile place that I have ever seen.” (Fadhers Contractor Bruno Mutwiri 2015)
i) Ethnic Conflict within Water Project

Ethnic groups can be defined as ascriptive, firmly bounded entities that are based on a strong sense of commonality, engender considerable loyalty, persist over time, provide large affective rewards to group members, incline toward ethnocentrism, are hostile to and desire to dominate outsiders, are liable to pursue conflict behavior based on passion, and engender a great willingness on the part of group members to sacrifice for collective welfare. Ethnicity is a powerful force in the politics of many countries, with profound effects on prospects for democracy (Horowitz 1993; Young 1993:18–19) and for economic development and the distribution of public goods (Easterly and Levine 1997; Meerman 1979).

In Kenya ethnicity and politics are often intertwined and inseparable. The outcome of politics and ethnicity is conflict which is frequently experienced during or after the election year. The main tribes associated with ethnic conflict during election violence in Kenya are Kikuyu, Luos and Kalenjins. Mathare project villages are ethnically divided as different villages are associated with certain tribes and true in the case of most informal settlements in Nairobi. 2007/2008 saw Kenya divide on ethnic basis and fought over the disputed election results between the Orange Democratic Party (ODM) and Party of National Unity (PNU), both parties affiliated to Luos and Kikuyu tribesmen respectively. The Post Election Violence scars are still fresh in Mathare to date. In Mathare there is River Mathare dividing village 3C currently nicknamed ‘Kismayu’ (A Somali town centre of war) with village 4B. Mathare 3C is dominated by Kikuyu tribesmen while Mathare 4A is dominated by Luos. The river acts as a den of ‘Changaa’ Brewers (an illegal local brew). There are pipes pouring clean water at both sides of the river. The pipe at 3C has water for 24hrs while the one at 4B has water but not frequently as compared to the 3C one. We had instructed the contractor to interconnect both pipes so as to reduce water pouring to waste and ensure adequate water supply between the two villages but the residents of both villages refuted the idea. At one occasion when I took the Managing Director to visit the place Mathare A resident of village 4B remarked: “the water on this side of 4B belongs to ODM and the Water
on the other side of 3C belongs to the PNU if anyone tries to disconnect it we will chop of his head”.

ii) Killings/Deaths within project Area

Going by the history of Mathare, death is almost a normal phenomenon regardless of the cause. There are stories of Mungiki chopping of the heads and private parts of some residents and displaying them publicly, the slum is also a hideout for gangsters. Extra judicial killings where police kill innocent young people, police are also killed by young gangster and robbed off their guns. Hardly two weeks passes without someone dying and majority of the deaths are not natural. It is difficult for one to work in such a fragile environment where death is seen as normal and especially if you are an outsider. Within the water project we had both, a task team made of chief’s elders and also an oversight committee made of village residents with the mandate of overseeing the project at different level and trying to address project challenges. The chair of the task team was a physically challenged man who was very vocal and eloquent and used to move around by the help of a wheel chair. The man died while on a drinking spree. Through enquiry from different residents I was informed that he was poisoned, as various persons within and without the community had interest with Mashimoni as it was on public land.

At another occasion in Mathare Mlango Kubwa part of Mathare Kiamutisya where constructed 3 No. water Kiosks, two illegal water operators fought over a water dispute and one of them ended up stabbing the other to death. The death created tension between the family’s of the two and it almost erupted into an inter group fight. Thanks to the area Chief Madam Marium Dorka who called me and we went and ordered both points to be shut and she dispersed the two groups who wanted to fight.

In another incident at Kiamutisya, I was attending an oversight committee meeting to discuss the challenges the water project was experiencing when I saw a lot of policemen gathered around an open field between village 2 and Kiamutisya. At the middle of the gathering there was a dead man lying in a pool of blood. The body was about 3metres from the social hall
where I was to conduct the meeting. An oversight committee member who had turned up for the meeting informed me that the man was shot early in the morning while going to a nearby mosque to worship.

iii) Inter group Conflicts
There are many groups within Mathare slum and especially the project area that have various interests, needs and wants.

a) Administration verses Contractor
In all our water projects in informal settlements we work with the Local area administration which represent the government at the villages and oversee the administration of such villages. The main contact within the administration is the area Chief and the chief elders some of whom are the chairs of various villages within the same settlement the chief is part of the task team. During our initial meetings we discussed the project with the task team who bought in the idea and welcomed the project. When we brought up the contractor of the project the team started opposing the project, we had no idea what had changed since no one came out audible to say what the issue was. It was demanded that the contractor should give the team the ‘elders goat’ (*it does not mean a physical goat but money*) before he start working on the ground. It was a serious issue that delayed the commencement of the project and again it turned out to be intra group as certain task team members accused others of having being given the goat in secret.

b) Administration verses the community
One day we organized a public baraza to inform the residents of the upcoming water project. A baraza is an open forum which is done in an open field within the community where everyone is invited to come get information. We prepared the field with mounting tents and chairs and invited some groups to come and perform. To our surprise the turnout was very low and we decided to find out what is the problem. We were informed that the residents are at logger head with the administration since the administration grabs the open public land and sell to the rich. The administration was also accused of corruption and also not being able to solve community problems. This left us in a dilemma as the requirement of WSTF Urban Project Cycle
called for Administration and the community and the NGO to work together it hence led to delay in project implementation as we tried to solve the dispute between the two through various separate meetings. Conducting separate meetings which were not overseen also ended up raising the project costs. Some of the tasks team members who were also village chairs were older people and youths were complaining that there time was over and they should hand over leadership to young people

c) **Landlords verses Muungano**
Pamoja Trust a partner in the water project hosts Muungano wa Wanavijiji a network of slum dwellers that are united through personal contribution to a savings scheme and are advocates of human right and against eviction. So when we started working Muungano Mathare members were at the forefront supporting the water project. Since they were already known to the landlord, landlord saw the water project as an avenue for in sighting the residents thus leading to the landlord rejecting water project in their plots. In Kosovo the Kiosk No.1 which was the first kiosk to be constructed in the whole of Mathare was brought down thrice due to fear that the NCWSC through the water project was being used as a way to evict residents.(Kosovo was formed by residents who were evicted from a private land in Kiamutisya village). Some Landlord hired some youths who demolished the water kiosk because of the fear that the water company also wanted to grab the land. The ownership of the space where the first kiosk was constructed was also in dispute which saw the kiosk demolished for a third time. This increased the capital cost since the kiosk was demolished three times.

iv) **Crime and Violence**
During the project implementation we encountered a lot of risks which made some employees give up on the water project. One day I sneaked in Mathare at around 1 P.M to checkup how the kiosk were run and managed. I got inside through Mau Mau road from Mabatini entrance and moved to Mashimoni. As I left Mashimoni to Mathare 3C in a corner, I met three youths two of them holding pistols and the third one searching a man whom they had stopped. I got shocked and since I was already near them I didn’t know what to do. I decide to pass by them
when one of them ordered me to stop. Luckily enough one of them said “that’s Wachira he is the one who helps us sort water problems in Mathare let him pass” I passed and directly I went boarded a Matatu and went home with the shock.

The contractors’ casual laborer while constructing a water kiosk in village 3C, he was harassed by some youths and when the contractor went to the scene to see what was happening he was beaten and robbed off his phone and 7000 Kshs.

I was called by an Oversight committee member one morning and informed that over 100 Galvanized iron water pipes were uprooted at night hence the said cluster did not have access to water.

On another incident a bomb was thrown in church at Eastleigh which borders Mathare and from the act the youths of Mathare started engaging the Eastleigh youths in a fight, the fight lasted for three days hence we were forced to cancel a project meeting which we had organized at Mathare village 4B

During the launch of Kosovo water Kiosk in a public baraza, we invited the area member of parliament and also the then area councilor currently referred as the Member of County Assembly. All the guests from the donor side spoke and launched the project when it was time for the Area councilor to speak the youths who were present brought chaos and disrupted the meeting. They alleged since they elected the area councilor he has never show up in the village.

In Mathare 3C also known as Kismayu, a conflict occurred between some youth and area security committee some members who were also oversight committee members. One Mzee Wesonga sustained head injuries through panga cuts while another one Mzee Kagio who used to rent me a meeting hall was burnt to death inside the meeting hall. The incident saw some youths who were involved flee from Mathare and the area District Officer ordered for the shutdown of a water kiosk and sanitation block managed by the youths involved. The incident left us without a convenience place for water project meetings in 3C.
A staff of Pamoja Trust was robbed of his phone at Kiamutisya when he was coming to conduct an interview for the water Kiosk management group. A company staff working at Mathare was suspected by the community members to have sold some water pipes which were meant for the water project. He was caught and locked in community hall and told to wait for sunset when his head would be chopped off. The company came to his rescue and he has never gone back to Mathare. A lady who was reading meters was almost raped. The problem is the meters are inside the resident’s house for security reasons. She entered the room and the guy started touching her when she finally jumped out and she never went back to Mathare.

v) Grabbing of Water Kiosks

There are a number of individuals whose own interest supersedes those of the group and the community at large within the project. A case in point is a Mathare 3A where a Kiosks which was being managed by Mathare Community Health Workers. The chair of the group changed the ownership of the Kiosk without the knowledge of the group members to a newly group which he had formed. These brought about chaos and conflict when the group members mobilized themselves and went to the kiosk and wanted to demolish the water Kiosk. The area chief ordered the kiosk to be shut down until the matter is resolved. The chair took advantage of lack of coordination between the ISD department and the regional office to change the ownership because by the time we learned of change of ownership it was already past 3 months. The closure of the kiosk means the residence nearby will go to a longer distance to thus use more time to get water than it would be if the kiosk was opened.

A kiosk owned by Mathare Jua Kali group was grabbed by another man who claimed that the group did not belong to village 3c. The matter was taken to the area chief and it was never resolved. I took the case to oversight committee who never resolved since they never met. Jua Kali gave up and left the kiosk to be run by the man, he was unable to manage and finally left the kiosk its now shut down.
vi) Frequent Fires
Mathare is known for frequent fire outbreaks. Unlike other slums where fire outbreaks are as a result of fault in illegal electricity, Mathare fire outbreak is a mean to evict residents by the plot owners. The land is developed immediately the fire is over. This experience has always traumatized the residents of Mathare to the point of not trusting anyone with any agenda that touched on their security of tenure. This there for was the cause to challenges of getting spaces for construction of water kiosks and at other times water kiosks demolition. Through the fire we have lost three number of water tanks in Mashimoni and 3C and forced to repair some two water kiosk affected by fires. This increase the project cost and denies the residents easy access. According to the residents the formula for lighting the fire is so shocking since a cat is deeped in petrol at night and light then it’s thrown inside a house in the plot and lights all the houses as it as it runs along the plot.

vii) Conflict between Community verses Company
There has been several occasion where the community are in conflict with the company. First there is the issue of lack of billing or billing estimates which leads to accumulation of bills. In Githathuru village the group received accumulated bills twice and they closed the kiosks say that they are unable to pay accumulated bill hence they decided to close the kiosks. In another incidence youths engaged by the company to assist in reading the meters, never received their monthly pay for 4 months thus they ended up stopping reading meters and also chased our Marketing Assistants away. This had an implication because it meant that meters were never read for several months and the bills were estimated, thus even creating more conflict within the slum.

Initial discussions between the community and the water company they had agreed to pilot the delegated water management model. This is where the community is given water in bulk meter and only pays their bills to the water company and distribute to the rest of the community. 5% of the revenue generated was then to put aside as a community development fund to support infrastructure. This turned out not to be the case thus brought about conflict between the
community and the company despite the fact it was very clear that some residents wanted to use that system to exploit the residence hence the company saw it as a way of legalizing cartels. Yet the issue of quality, affordability, accessibility still lied in the hands of the water company. This issue made the community lose confidence with the company.

viii) Drug and alcohol abuse
Mathare village has a zone known as ‘Nigeria’. The place is a den of drug peddlers and smugglers. There are over 100 men and ladies at any time taking drugs and others sleeping on the corridors with syringe stack on their hands. We have a water kiosk which is half way constructed and most of the time the dealer’s take nap there. The place feels insecure even for some residents of Mathare. The kiosk has remained unfinished since the contractor was chased from the site by some youths for reasons which is unknown to the company.

The major economic drive of Mathare is changaa brewing. The brewing is done along the river. Most of the resident takes the brew early morning and they become hostile thus when staff goes to work there they are frequently harassed.

5. Some causes of Conflict in Mathare
We have identified some possible reasons why conflicts happen with Mathare all though they might not be exhaustive.

i) Miscommunication/lack of communication
When you hold meetings and public baraza we pass the messages but the resident’s interprets it differently hence when they pass it to their colleagues who were absent they send a wrong message. This brings about confusion and finally creates conflict. There was a day someone decided to pay water bills for Kosovo residents in order to enable fresh harmonization of bill which had a lot of complaint. Some residents took the message to the other villages that all their bills will be paid for since the billing has a problem. The residents of other villages refused to pay their monthly bills alleging that all the bills of Mathare have been paid.
Some oversight members who were appointed to be receiving information on behalf of the groups and community never took some of the information to the members thus leading to members not being aware of what was happening. There were various forums where we expected to see some residents but they never turned up. After enquiring later they had not been informed. In other occasion the message was never conveyed since the messenger had a hidden interest of either attending the forum alone or inviting friends who are not part of the project.

**ii) Individual interests**

There are individuals within the community who have their own personal interest and would use any means to ensure that their interest is met. A case in point is where one residents alleges that Mathare Jua Kali group does not reside in village 3c hence are not suppose to run the water kiosk in 3C. The man later gave money to some leaders and took the kiosk though finally he was unable to manage.

**iii) Feeling of Interest or need is threatened**

The case of landlord and tenants, when the project started there was Muungano wa Wanavijiji a resident network which empowers community on their rights, who were also involved. Since the landlord new them they rejected that water project and said that it was a mean insighting tenants not to pay for the houses.

**iv) Needs of the Parties**

We elected the members of the task team and also the oversight team. The members of this team had different needs thus creating conflict even among them and within the project. Some task team members wanted water to be connected to their plots while other saw the project as an avenue of getting money. When they realized that there was no money given then they stopped attending the meetings. Oversight in 3 C disconnected an illegal connection which was done on a newly constructed flat in the name that they could not allow illegal connections.
Some members went back and negotiated with the plot owner and gave them money and they reconnected the water. This brought infighting among the oversight members of 3C.

v) Historical Events
Mathare community have experienced different forms of eviction. The Kosovo village is made up of members who were evicted from Kiamutisya. So anything to touch on land tenure in Kosovo is very sensitive the reason why the first kiosk was demolished around three times. It also has a history of eviction by fire and any time when there is fire they become very suspicious and become very hostile. The post election violence though

vi) Lack of proper governance structure
Governance is not very clear in Mathare. There are different leaders leading different activities and event in the same village and lack coordination. The system for getting leaders is not clear hence there are leaders who are elected and others appointed and they are always on conflict. The chief elders are members of the community but are always at logger head with the community members. They are accused of being corrupt and not wanting to hand over the mantle to the youths. There are also leaders of various groups like Muungano Wa Wanavijiji who are also leaders and in most villages they are always conflicting. There is no coordination even among the leaders.

vii) Hidden interest
There community members who give sites for water kiosks construction. When the water kiosk is constructed they claim that they need to be paid or they assume the ownership and management of the water kiosk since it’s on their land. Such kiosks end up being closed and finally denying the residents access to water.

viii) Competition
There are different groups who manage and run different water kiosks within different villages of Mathare. There are allegations that some youths disconnect lines taking water to other
kiosks because the said water kiosk has more customers. This has ended up creating enmity among different groups.

ix) **Unequal access and control of resource**
The distribution of water kiosk was done based on the sites which were available within the community during project commencement. It later turned out that some villages had four water kiosks while others have two or one, based on this some members have accused the company of being biased. This has led to conflict among villages.

x) **Misconception**
Muungano wa Wanavijiji group were the champions of the project from inception phase. The fact that they are known, some residents started saying that the project is coming to Muungano members only. If you are not a Muungano member then you cannot get connection. This message was spread across the villages and brought tension to the project. We were forced to call meetings to counter the concept.

6. **Conflict resolution**
Conflict resolution in Mathare village is can be very tricky. You can solve conflict by trying to change reality by or by reducing scarcity of water or changing the casual links that causes conflict in the first place or changing the demand of the Actors by compromises persuasion or even manipulation to the extent that newly acquired distribution of values is generally acceptable to all Actors in the dispute.
Conflict resolution is a process, it takes time for the Actors to meet and talk, the case of the grabbed water kiosk is a good example that the oversight did not find to meet and discuss and they also need to talk to the area chief and the two groups which did not happen, an activity and a result that persons within communities engage with everyday without ever using the term.
I don’t think there is a clearly defined way of solving conflicts and especially at the informal settlements. Though we need to have a system with which the people themselves have put in place and have confidence in that system. There is need to find the root cause of the conflict since at the informal settlement in most cases whatever you see at surface level is not always the problem and with proper enquiry and with time that’s when you get to know the real root cause of the problem. This means that conflict resolution calls for one to be patient and give the Actors involved time. By identifying the real root cause of the problem then one can be able to address them through solutions that are mutually satisfactorily self perpetuating and sustaining so that it does not recur again.

7. Lessons learnt
Conflict in Mathare is inevitable and more so where there is concern of water and different individual with different interest, needs and wants and different priorities. There lacks proper credible system within the community to solve disputes and conflicts. The reliable system available is the local administration office which has been accused of grabbing public spaces, being biased and corrupt. NCWSC can only try to resolve conflicts through the available local systems since the company lack a policy for enforcing law in water. Many community members lack confidence with those systems forcing others to take law on their hands. Conflict within communities is not necessarily seen. There is conflict between the tenants and landlord though one cannot see it. It is only seen when an issue touching one of them is raised.

Most conflicts has a secondary party involved, this are those people who are outside affected by conflict and have the ability to destabilise any agreement they do not agree with. Example is when the former internal security Cabinet and hundreds of police men surrounded the whole of Mathare to arrest and destroy changaa brews, the brew dens were demolished and the brewers arrested. It only took two days and brewing continued reason being the secondary party to the conflict are the owners of changaa who are very wealthy people living in maisonette and they only need to give instruction through the phone and the brewing continues.
Conflict are dynamic at informal settlements, they keep on changing and take different forms because they arise because of identity, needs, interest, or unequal distribution of resources.

8. Conclusion
In Mathare community there are conflicts throughout be they social, economic or political. Conflict in urban poor and service delivery cannot be avoided since poor urban areas are themselves very hostile so when you add a commodity which people cannot do without and it is scarce, then it means conflict and fragility is very high, however you need to understand the systems within the community for solving disputed and conflicts and if they have weaknesses engage the communities and Actors to see the gap and address those gaps on their own. Community should own the systems for conflict resolution and you as a third party or a mediator you should facility and not advice. If you give a solution to a conflict or take side within a dispute then it’s very easy for you to be chased away or create enemies. The system for resolving conflict and
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