

**KIBERA UPGRADE PROGRAMME AND THE HOUSEHOLD
RELOCATION DECISION**

BY

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A research project submitted to the Institute for Development Studies,
University of Nairobi, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award
of the Master of Arts degree In Development Studies

NOVEMBER, 2012

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree award
In any other university.



Signature ^

Martin Mugambi Njeru

M / ^ W M / ^

Date

This research project has been developed with our supervision and has been submitted
for examination with our approval as university supervisors



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Date

DEDICATION

To my family

Thank you for your love, encouragement and support

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank Almighty God for the gift of life and renewing my strength every day to complete my masters' degree. I am grateful to all respondents who generously shared their knowledge on the research issue. The staff of the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) University of Nairobi, I say thank you all. My fellow students, I would not have made it without your caring support. Thanks to Wafula, Rahma, Susan, Limy, Annastasia, Cecil, Magego, Bonaieri, Felista, and Carol. My overwhelming thanks go to my two supervisors, Dr. Paul Kamau and Dr. Rachel Musyoki, You were patient with me and dedicated your time ensuring this work was accomplished. Ultimately, I am solely responsible for all the errors, omissions and misinterpretation of data contained in this report.

ACRONYMS

CWS:	Cities without Slums
GOK:	Government of Kenya
IACC:	Inter-Agency Coordinating Committee
IASC:	Inter Agency Steering Committee
IHC:	International Housing Coalition
KENSUP:	Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme
Kshs.	Kenya Shillings
KSULCH&ITF:	Kenya Slum Upgrading, Low Cost Housing and Infrastructure Trust Fund
MSSG:	Multi-Stakeholder Support Group
PIU:	Project Implementation Units
SEC:	Settlement Executive Committee
SPIUs:	Settlements Project Implementation Units
WCCD:	World Commission on Culture and Development

ABSTRACT

This study examined factors considered by households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme. In view of the contention in various studies that slum households relocation decision is based on consideration of affordability or in-affordability of new upgrade houses. Nonetheless, this study argued the relocation decision would be based on the consideration of more than one single factor. In order to establish its argument and determine the factors considered in the households overall relocation decision-making process. This study explored the socio economic characteristics of households that relocated and those that did not relocate to the Kibera upgrade programme. The study examined the socio-cultural and economic factors considered in decision to relocate or not to relocate. Finally, the study established the upgrade facility factors considered in the decision to relocate.

In order to establish its argument the study relied on primary and secondary sources of data and utilised literature review and sample surveys to obtain data from these sources. The data obtained was both quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative data was analysed through descriptive analysis procedures while thematic analysis approach was utilised to analyse qualitative data. The analysis enabled the study come up with findings that were comprehended through the cultural lens model as the study theoretical framework and the relocation decision-making model as the study conceptual framework. The findings revealed the myriad of factors considered in the decision to relocate or not to relocate. On the one hand, the relocated households considered factors like new house affordability, how regular they got their income to be able to pay for the new houses regularly, opportunity to do business for those who relied on business as a livelihood source. The relocated households also considered access to facilities like toilets, bathrooms, improved security and houses of better structural quality. On the other hand, the un-relocated households considered factors that included, affordability of slum houses in comparison to those at the upgrade, running businesses in the slums as ones livelihood source. Moreover, the possibility of increase in faie with relocation, income irregularity and perceived higher chance of getting work opportunities while at the slum than at the upgrade.

Relocation to the upgrade acknowledged by this study as the ideal situation in meeting the programme objectives and concurrent with the study findings. Recommendations are made to the programme developers with an emphasis to understand these factors considered in the decisions. Accordingly integrate them in project planning subsequent phases of the upgrade. First, to ensure factors considered by relocations^{e<1} households are improved and consolidated and secondly to ensure the factors that to slum households deciding not to relocate are incorporated in project planning. Th^{is} order to enhance uptake of new upgrade houses by those targeted in all subset* " phases and therefore lessen the number of slum households excluded in the upgrading process.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Globally and historically various approaches have been used in an effort to deal with the challenge of slums. Governments have kept on changing the approaches in search for effective ways to tackle the slum challenge. Changes in approaches have been motivated by recognition that slums continue to exist and expand. Governments consequently, changing their laissez-faire attitude or policy of non-interference or non-control of slums to either or approaches of: Evictions and slum clearance, site and service programs, slum upgrading programmes, enabling strategies and security of tenure approaches (Sletchipmg, 2005, Arimah, 2011). The 21st century nevertheless is seeing a global effort in addressing the slum issue through the United Nations Millennium Development Goal 7- target 11; target 11 expected to lead to the improvement in the living conditions of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020 (UN-Habitat, 2003a). In this context, the World Bank and the UN-Habitat developed the Cities without Slums (CWS) action plan. An action plan aimed at achieving target 11 through slum upgrading programmes by harnessing the financial capacity of the World Bank and the institutional capabilities of the UN-Habitat in the programmes.

The World Bank deemed best to finance the action plan given its capacity and experience in financing housing development programmes. For instance between 1970 and 2005, the World Bank made allocations amounting to U S \$16 billion to slum upgrading housing programmes (IHC, 2008) The financing of slum upgrading programmes by the World Bank shows a refocus of its efforts towards housing for the urban poor (World Bank and UN Habitat. 2000) In financing slum-upgrading programmes, the World Bank emphasizes the affordability principle in view of poverty in slums (Pugh, 2003). Although this affordability principle is important, it confines and reduces slum-upgrading programmes to a single factor. A factor that does not capture the slum context holistically in relation to proper and appropriate implementation of slum upgrade programmes (Pieterse, 2010).

Kenya having housing programmes financed by the World Bank is no exception to its affordability principle in housing development. At present; the World Bank is participating in financing the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP). KENSUP is Kenya's institutional and policy framework of tackling slums through slum upgrading programmes (GOK, 2004). KENSUP aims at creating a slum free nation and improving the livelihoods of people living in slums (GOK, 2011). In 2004, KENSUP started with Kenya's largest slum-Kibera through Kibera phase one upgrade programme completed in 2009. The completion saw the relocation of some of the residents from zone A of Kibera Soweto East village to the new houses at the upgrade. The emphasis in the implementation of the Kibera upgrade programme was affordability of the new houses. It was hoped that affordability would motivate the slum households to agree to relocate to the new houses. Given affordability was taken as the main factor the slum households would consider in their decision to relocate to the new houses. In spite of this affordability emphasis, some of the households identified for relocation did not relocate (Flores and Calas, 2011). It is in this realization that our study was conducted to establish the factors considered by households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the upgrade programme.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Literature on housing the low income communities largely covers issues of financing and organization for affordable houses in slum settlements (Pugh, 2003). This focus on affordability is probably the reason that there are few empirical studies investigating other factors in the living conditions of the world's poor amid squalor and mass poverty (Verhelst and Tyndale, 2002). As other aspects in pro-poor programmes are deemed insignificant in the context of affordability (Nadarajah and Yakamoto Tomoko, 2007). In slum upgrading programmes two main factors are stressed for the success of such a programme. These are political will by the government to undertake the programme and acceptance by slum dwellers of the upgrading programme. Many studies have emphasized that acceptance and decision to relocate by slum dwellers to new houses in

an upgrade programme depends on their consideration of affordability. The emphasis on affordability gives an impression there are no other factors taken into account by slum dwellers in their decision to relocate. In this recognition this study examined the slum households overall decision-making process in determining whether to relocate or not to relocate. The study taking a holistic look at the decision making process with regards to the various factors considered by slum households in their relocation decision. Contrary to the focus on affordability as the only factor considered by slum households in their relocation decision as it has been in many studies

The need for a holistic analysis at the slum households relocation decision led to the conduct of this research, the study specifically identified various factors considered by slum households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate. The identification of these factors is vital for the success of a slum upgrade programme in respect to the uptake of the new houses. Therefore, the study investigated from the households identified for relocation from Kibera Soweto East village, zone A to the phase one Kibera upgrade programme those that relocated and those that decided not to relocate on the factors taken into account in their decisions. The research focused on both the relocated and un-relocated households and their decision an aspect many studies have overlooked. Furthermore, the study also departed from the reduced affordability viewpoint that has been the focus in many studies in this area, consequently, illuminated the multitude of factors considered in the slum households decision to relocate or not to relocate.

1.3 Research Questions

1.3.1 Overall Research Question

The overall study question was to examine what factors were considered by households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme.

1.3.2 Specific Research Questions

The specific study questions were:

1. What are the socio economic characteristics of the relocated and the un-relocated households?
2. What socio-cultural factors did households consider in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses In the Kibera upgrade programme?
3. What economic factors did households consider in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme?
4. What upgrade facility factors did households consider in their decision to relocate to the new houses In the Kibera upgrade programme?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Overall Research Objective

The overall study objective was to explore the factors considered by households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses In the Kibera upgrade programme.

1.4.2 Specific Research Objectives

The specific study objectives were:

1. To find out the socioeconomic characteristics of the relocated and un-relocated households.
2. To explore the socio-cultural factors considered by households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme.
3. To establish economic factors considered by households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme.

- 4 To examine the upgrade facility factors considered by households In their decision to relocate to the new houses In the Kibera upgrade programme.

1.5 Study Justification

The study findings provided information that would enable improved implementation of the ongoing Kibera upgrade programme. Since, the study provided an insight on the factors considered by slum households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the phase one Kibera upgrade programme. These factors if appreciated and integrated in planning and implementation of the subsequent upgrade phases, would possibly enhance the uptake of new upgrade houses and lead to improved achievement of KENSUI' objective of Improving the livelihoods of people living in Kibera slums.

1.6 Study Overview

This report is organised into five chapters. Chapter one covers background to study, statement of the problem, research questions, research objectives and study justification. The second chapter covers literature review. The third chapter presents the methodology adopted in the study while the fourth chapter presents the study findings as guided by the specific study objectives and responding to the specific research questions. The fifth chapter provides a summary of the study findings, conclusions and recommendations from this study. This first chapter was largely developed through the review of relevant literature. The next chapter provides a detailed literature review as a basis for anchoring this research through comprehension of what other literary works have focused on in the area of slum upgrading and slum household relocation decisions.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents theoretical literature on decision-making and contextualises the slum challenge and approaches utilised to address the challenge. In the theoretical literature we also provide details on KENSUP, its Institutional framework and progress made in the Kibera upgrade programme. The chapter further presents empirical literature on factors considered in the various strategies to address the slum challenge at government and household level. The chapter finally concludes with the theoretical and conceptual frameworks utilised in this study

2.1 Theoretical Literature

2.1.1 Decision-Making

Individuals utilise different rules, principles and reasons in their decisions (Oliveira, 2007, Briley *et al.*, 2003). It is thus acknowledged that different factors they reflect upon will influence decisions differently leading to dissimilar human behaviours (WCCD, 1996, Kang'ethe, 2010). Overall decisions would include one or all three of the following aspects: First, there may be more than one possible course of action under consideration. Secondly, decision makers can form expectations concerning future events that are often described in terms of probabilities. Finally, possible outcomes are assessed in terms of personal values (Vitell *et al.*, 1993, Oliveira, 2007). This study was concerned with the households decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme. Essentially, the research was interested in knowing the factors that were taken into account in either decision.

2.1.2 Slum Populations: A Crisis Needing Intervention

Slums are pointers of acute scenarios of urban poverty and environmental deprivation. An urban population proportion living in conditions with limited access to basic urban services and social amenities (UN Habitat, 2003a, UN Habitat, 2002, UN-Habitat, 2003c).

Subsequently, slum is a generic term referring to a variety of lower class settlements within a city. A description in general of a wide range of low-income settlements of poor human living conditions (Diener and Diener, 2001, Nabutola, 2004). Slums are characterized by overcrowding, poverty, poor access to amenities such as water, sanitation facilities, waste collection, storm water drainage and roads for emergency access (Jankowska, 2010). Therefore, a slum household is a group of individuals living under the same roof that lacks one or more of the following conditions: Secure residential status, adequate access to safe water, adequate access to sanitation, good structural quality of housing and overcrowding (UN-Habitat, 2003a).

Globally, one-third of the world's urban population live in slums. Four out of ten inhabitants in the developing world are informal settlers (UN-Habitat, 2003a). It is estimated a billion people live in slums in the cities of the world and that these numbers are rising (UN-Habitat, 2009). In the African continent, it is estimated that 61 percent of the urban residents are living in slums (UN Habitat, 2003a). Kenya is no exception to the high populations living in slums. As it is estimated almost half of the city's population lives in over 100 slums and squatter settlements within the city. Approximately 60% of Nairobi residents estimated at 2 million people live in slums (UN-Habitat, 2009) with Kibera as the largest slum in Kenya. International Housing Coalition (IHC) estimates the Kibera population to be about half a million people. The UN-Habitat has released several estimations ranging between 350,000 and 1 million people. However, the 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census reported Kibera's population as 170,070. The issue of concern, beyond the inconsistent Kibera slum population figures is the slum people in poor living conditions, living conditions that need to be improved.

2.1.3 Tackling the Slum Challenge: Policy Approaches

Various approaches have been applied over the years as responses to the challenge of slums. Six major strategies have been adopted in the developing nations as solutions to this challenge. These approaches include:



2.1.3.1 Laissez-faire Attitude

Laissez-faire attitude towards slums in the 1950s and 1960s or policy of non-interference or non control of slums by governments led to urban authorities turning a 'blind eye' to slums and instead focused on public housing (Farvacque and McAuslan, 1992, Rakodi, 2001). This was done as many policy makers regarded the existing slums as temporary situations, thus a minor threat to long-term urban development. This was based on the notion that slums were illegal but temporary and would disappear with economic growth (UN- Habitat, 2003b). Therefore, there were no interventions by governments in developing countries to control the mushrooming slums (Fekade, 2000, Adeagbo. 2000).

2.1.3.2 Eviction and Slum Clearance

Evictions involve removal of people from their slum homes or squatter land settlement against their will (Olds *et al.* 2002). An approach adopted in the 1970s and early 1980s, when it became clear that laissez-faire attitude would not lead to the disappearance of slums. The clearance was not a solution to the slum challenge as it focused on the symptoms rather than the root causes of such settlements. Evictions led to slum displacement rather than elimination. Slum clearance further resulted in the destruction of fixed capital, family disintegration, livelihoods destruction, psychological and emotional trauma, exacerbation of housing deficit and increased impoverishment (Arlmah, 2011). Kenya has also had evictions and slum clearance leading to the destruction of property and livelihoods. Examples include the *Waruku* slum situated in *Kongeml* location, which were demolished several times throughout the 1970s. The *Moosoi* slums in *Highridge* in 1995, *Village 2 (Kwanduru)* In *Mathare* sub location in the year 2000, *Matharr 4A* during the construction of the *Mathare 4A* primary school, these evictions however did not lead to the end of the settlements but in most cases the displacement of the settlement. The example of *Mathare 4A* demolition that led to the some of those displaced moving to *Mathare 4B* and thereby expansion of the *Mathare 40* slum (Karanja, and Makau, 2007).

2.1.3.3 Site and Service Scheme/ Slum Resettlement Programmes

In the 1980s, most developing countries governments opted for a direct and centralized state intervention into the slum challenge. This was through World Bank's Initiated site and service scheme programmes. This strategy advocated the clearance of centrally located slums. This followed by their relocation to newly serviced plots often outside the existing urbanized areas where they were to build their houses (van der Linden, 1986). Site and service schemes aimed at shared responsibilities between slum dwellers and governments. Governments providing serviced plots and the slum households building their houses. Implementation of site and service schemes was heavily criticized especially in its demolition and eviction components. In many instances slum dwellers were left in 'limbo' without alternative housing, land arrangements or compensation (Butcher, 1986). The demolition without adequate relocation process actually aggravated the housing shortage. Overall, the implementation of site and service schemes failed to prevent or reduce the future expansion of slums (Sietchiping, 2005, Arlmah, 2011)

2.1.3.4 Slum Upgrading Strategies

Slum upgrading involves the gradual improvement, formalization and incorporation of slums into the city itself. It entails providing slum dwellers with economic, social, institutional and community services available to other citizens. These services include legal (land/house tenure), physical (infrastructure), social (education, health services for example) and economic (opportunities for income generation). The activities tend to include the provision of basic services such as housing, streets, footpaths, community open spaces, drainage, security lighting, clean water, sanitation, sewage disposal, access to education and health care (Banerjee, 2009, World Bank and UN Habitat, 2000). Given the failure of previous strategies to effectively tackle the slum problem, many African countries in the 1990s, adopted slum and squatter upgrading programmes largely funded by the World Bank (Banes *et al*, 2000). This approach was appealing because it

avoided (unnecessary) demolition and was cheaper per unit than site and service approach (Pugh, 2000).

Upgrading programmes aimed to achieve three main goals: Affordability, cost recovery and replicability (World Bank and UN-Habitat, 2000) Despite these considerations, upgrading programs had many shortcomings. Generally, they were criticized for failing financial commitment as the program was implemented and financed by foreign agencies. These agencies gradually reduced their financial support over time to the projects and when funding dries out many programs are not sustained. Subsequently, upgrading programs only reached a small portion of slums and did not develop into projects that could address the shortage of shelter on a citywide scale. The low levels of investment were also incapable of rectifying decades of neglect and deterioration. Furthermore, the hasty planning that allowed little or no input from beneficiary communities resulted in lack of ownership of the programmes. Besides, the upgrading model did not address the issue of emerging slums nor did it provide a proactive approach towards deterrence in the creation of future slums (Sietching, 2005, Arimah, 2011)

2.1.3.5 Security of Tenure Approach

The security of tenure campaign is associated with the enabling approach. The enabling strategy advocates developing property rights. This entailing regularization of insecure tenure in slums. A key assumption is that, if residents of slums have legal title for the land they could undertake improvements to their property given they will not be evicted. The security of tenure policy has two major limitations. Firstly, this policy benefits the 'slumlords' rather than those who reside there. When regulation occur the slumlords (who do not necessarily live in the settlement) will resell or rent the land to city dwellers at a higher price because the land value has increased with security (Payne, 2004). Slum settlers therefore who fail to claim their land rights will seek another site to develop or create slum-like settlements (Fernandez, 1999). Secondly, the

implementation of security of tenure does not guarantee any long-term solution to the expansion of emerging and future slums. This being an important gap the security of tenure policy failed to address in tackling the challenge of slums (Sietchiplng, 2005, Arimah, 2011).

2.1.3.6 Cities Without Slums Action Plan

In 1999, the World Bank and the UN-Habitat initiated the Cities without Slums (CWS) action plan. The plan specifically aimed at improving the living condition of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. The action plan was part of the United Nations Millennium Declaration Goals and Targets; specifically Target 11 under Goal 7 of improving the living condition of at least 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020. This target came in response to slums as one of the most pressing challenges of the Millennium (UN-Habitat, 2003a). The main innovation in this policy was to address poverty, as a fundamental reason of slum existence. In addressing urban poverty, the CWS proposed several complementary measures covering sectoral reforms, job creation and Improved governance. Moreover, to improve the living conditions in slums, the CWS plan advocates slum upgrading programmes. This CWS action plan however raises the following concerns. The number targeted is too modest in comparison to the number of people in slums. In 2000, it was estimated that 850 million people lived in slums and it was projected that by 2020 the number will reach 1.8 billion (UN-Habitat, 2003a). It is clear this target would do too little to effectively improve the living conditions of the remaining around 1.7 billion slum dwellers (Sietchiping, 2005, Arimah, 2011).

2.1.4 Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP)

Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) is the programme designed at addressing the housing challenge facing the majority of the urban population living in slums. The programme aims at contributing to the fulfilment of the Millennium Development Goal ¹ target 11- of improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020.

2.1.4.1 KENSUP Institutional Framework

The programme is coordinated through the following institutions:

1. Inter-Agency Steering Committee
2. Inter-Agency Coordinating Committee
3. KENSUP Secretariat
4. Project Implementation Units
5. Settlements Project Implementation Units
6. Settlement Executive Committee
7. Multi-Stakeholder Support Group
8. Kenya Slum Upgrading, low Cost Housing and Infrastructure Trust Fund

The Inter-Agency Steering Committee is the supreme programme organ. Which is composed of accounting officers of local authorities, UN-Habitat, development partners and key relevant ministries such as the Ministries of Housing, Office of the President (Provincial Administration), Lands, Local Government, Roads, Public Works, Finance, Planning, Trade and Industry, Health, Water and Irrigation and the ministry of Information & Communication. IASC approves policy decisions, gives policy direction and reports to the head of state as the patron to KENSUP. Bringing KENSUP to the centre of national decision-making and providing opportunity for fundraising.

The Inter Agency Coordinating Committee is the intermediary organ between KENSUP operatives and the IASC. It coordinates all KENSUP related activities and monitoring of inputs in slum upgrading. It is a repository of skills and experience in various technical and policy areas and it includes civil society representation.

The KENSUP Secretariat is the central operational level for coordination and tracking the slum upgrading processes. The organ has the role of day-to-day running of the programme. It is the nucleus for coordination, building capacity for local authorities, local actors and information management.

The Project Implementation Units are established within local authorities to facilitate the formation of Settlements Project Implementation Units. The units coordinate the work of the SPIUs providing technical, logistical and resource support to SPIUs. They also assist in planning, designs, and construction of required facilities. The settlements Project Implementation Units are organs linking the programme secretariat, Project Implementation Unit and the community. They are responsible for mobilizing actors and coordinating their activities at the settlement level. The SPIUs identify appropriate settlement stakeholders and grassroots organizations in co-ordination with PIU and programme secretariat.

The Settlement Executive Committee

main role is to link the Programme Implementation Unit and settlement community. SEC facilitates formation of cooperatives and resource mobilization processes such as savings and credit schemes among others. It is the forum for advocacy for community rights and ideally ensuring community participation in decision-making

The Multi-Stakeholder Support Group comprises representatives of development partners, civil society, government, local authorities, and communities. MSSG is the setup for programme review and feedback

The Kenya Slum Upgrading, Low Cost Housing and Infrastructure Trust Fund is a central depository fund of all mobilized financial resources for slum upgrading. It therefore draws funds from donors, community based organizations, private sector and government budgetary allocations. The fund pools resources and institutionalizes transparent resource allocation mechanisms.

2.1.4.2 KENSUP Progress-The Kibera Upgrade Programme

KENSUP progress on the Kibera upgrade programme is divided into inception and the implementation phases. The inception phase involved conceptualisation of programme

and setting up programme institutional framework and organizational units. Activities In this phase commenced with the production of the situation analysis as an informing tool to the slum upgrading process. An actors study was conducted In Kibera to ascertain the various stakeholders to take part in implementation of the upgrade. Multi stakeholders' consultative forums were then held to develop understanding between stakeholders and identification of priority settlements for upgrading. This is how Kibera Soweto-East village was prioritized. The KENSUP implementation financial strategy 2005-2020 was set up, which involved establishment of a low cost housing and infrastructure trust fund as a depository for monies mobilized for slum upgrading and development. Finally, guidelines were set out to safeguard displacements of targeted communities like formation of housing cooperatives, addressing relocation issues and tenure arrangements.

The status of the KENSUP implementation in Kibera currently is that Kibera upgrade programme phase one has been completed. This involved the construction of 17 blocks of 5 storey high flats totalling 600 three roomed housing units. The new houses are organised in three rooms (sitting room and two bedrooms), one bathroom, toilet, kitchen and a small veranda. The completion of the houses in 2009 saw the relocation of some households of the Kibera Soweto-East village, zone A to the upgrade. However, not all households identified for relocation relocated to the upgrade

2.2 Empirical Literature

According to Singh (2009) in a study in India on slum rehabilitation, the study came up with a conditional matrix for a successful slum rehabilitation programme. The study developed and ranked in percentage, important conditions for a successful rehabilitation programme. These were 20% for prior policy and master planning for anticipated slum rehabilitation programme Programme implementation within close proximity of an existing slum 20% which meant the programme was still near the work areas for the given slum dwellers. Consultation of the slum dwellers from Inception to

implementation of the upgrade programme would contribute 20% to the success of the programme. A programme that provides income-generating opportunities for the slum dwellers would enhance the programme probability of success by 15%. Providing security of tenure to the newly rehabilitated areas in the slums to avoid the evictions of the slum dwellers would contribute 15% to the success of the programme. Rehabilitation starting in slum areas where dwellers have lived longest would give the programme a 10% chance of success. It was however noted, even though each element is given a separate percentage, it is not possible to do one and avoid others. The matrix elements had to be approached holistically for a successful slum rehabilitation programme.

The IHC (2008) study carried out interviews with representatives of organizations involved in international development and the funding of slum upgrading programmes. A comparison of three international financing institutions the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) was done; in lending to slum upgrading programmes in developing nations. The World Bank was ranked as the largest multilateral lender in slum upgrading programmes to developing nations. This meant the World Bank was able to influence the direction housing for the urban poor took in developing nations. The study linked the World Bank and most developing nations in regards to slum upgrading programmes. World Bank in the slum upgrade programmes implementation stressing the principles of affordability, cost recovery and replicability.

Salama (2009) in a study on affordable housing in Saudi Arabia questions the increasing interest of property developers to invest in affordable housing without comprehension of the lifestyles and cultural values of the local society in Saudi Arabia. The study called for the recognition that Saudi Arabia environmental and socio-cultural contexts demand housing designs sensitive to local contexts. Issues such as privacy, social cohesion, perceptions on residential density, preferences and lifestyles of the target populations

needed to be adequately thought of, in development of affordable, desirable and sustainable housing designs. The study contended that affordable housing should take a multifaceted approach integrating socio cultural and economic aspects in implementation of housing designs. This suggested the need of a new paradigm In building affordable housing projects from quantifiable attributes of dwellings and their related cost This to an approach where affordable housing designs are viewed within relationships between the process, the product, and the socio-cultural aspects of the targeted populations.

An analysis by Viratkapan and Perera in (2004) presented findings of an empirical study on factors that influence the post-relocation performance of slum relocation projects. The study utilised 215 randomly selected respondents from six different relocation settlements and interviewing the respondents using a standardized survey questionnaire. A number of factors were identified as contributing to performance of resettlement projects. These included convenience of the new location and award of compensation. The study confirmed that almost 75% of households in successful programmes received compensation for displacement while the less successful programmes only about 40% of the households received compensation for displacement.

In a study by Baharoglu (2010) utilising a comparative Indicator analysis on the housing sector performance and policy in eight countries, namely- Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Tunisia, and Yemen. The analysis indicated that the poorest segments of the population spend between 30 and 40 % of their Income on housing. Therefore, the housing costs were a major consumption item in low-income groups household budgets. These findings implied that reduction in housing costs would provide an opportunity in the reduction of poverty. Since, the analysis pointed out to a strong relationship between housing affordability and poverty reduction. This Justified by housing costs consisting the largest expenditure item in poor households expenses.

Consequently, Increasing house affordability can be taken as an avenue (or reducing a Strain on the poor households income. Hence, more disposable income availed to the households that could be spent In the Improvement of their living standards.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

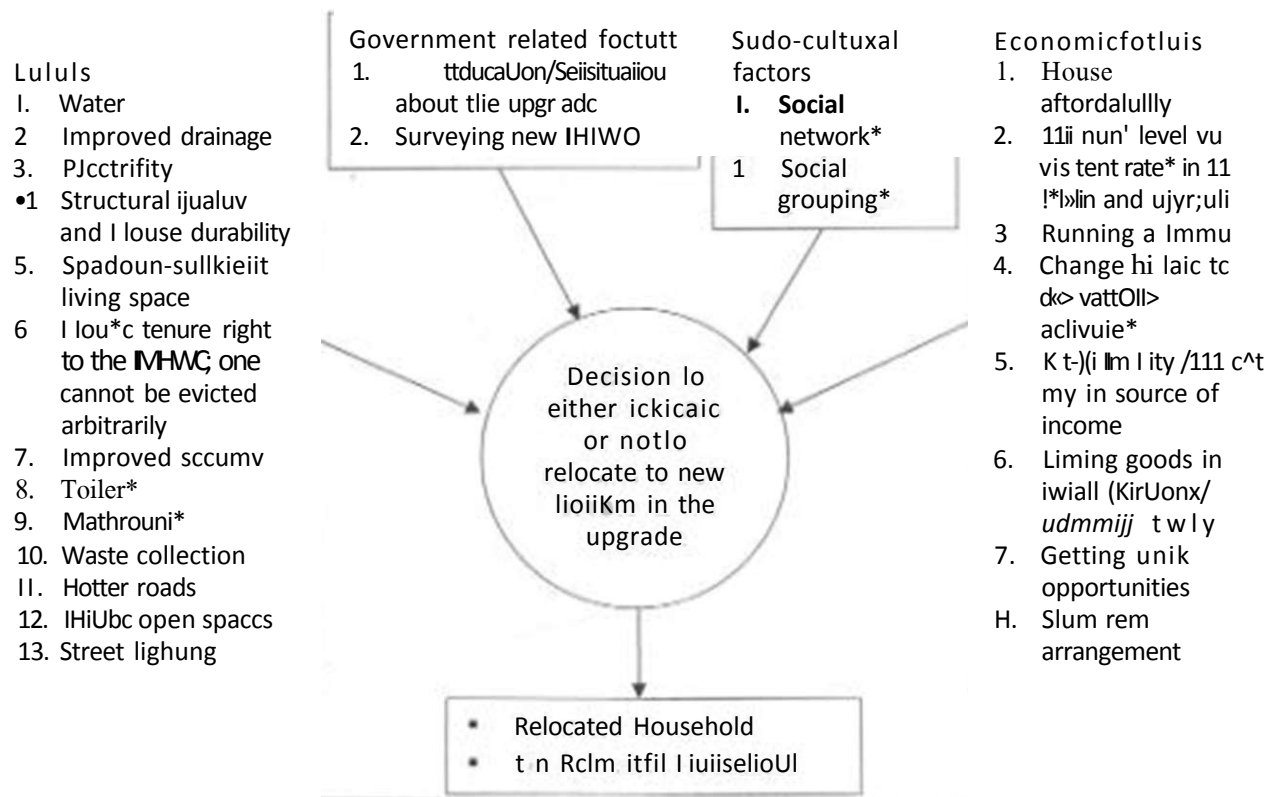
We relied on the cultural lens model (Klein, 2004} The model contends that a group of people living in similar ecological and social contexts have shared experiences and have contextual commonalities. Taken together, these similarities generate common behavioural, social and cognitive patterns. This being the "lens" through which each member of the group "sees" the world. The lens Tilters and organizes incoming Information, focuses sense making, structures planning and frames Interaction and communication. This group shared pattern of origin will lead to a shared way of seeing the world; providing commonality on cognition/ thinking in similar settings.

People from the same group with similar original contexts "see" the woild In similar ways; they interpret events and make decisions similarly They share this "lens" for making sense of the world. The lens provides similar reasoning scripts that group members use to interpret and react to the environment. The cultural lens model postulates a dynamic system in which the outcome of one action provides feedback for future actions and mechanisms for long-term awareness These context disparities lead to the people differences In making judgments, reasoning and making decisions. Similar social contexts and shared experiences contribute to group commonality of behaviour, social structure and cognition/ thinking. Collective experience provides a functional blue print for leading to similarity in decisions. The model therefore capturing how groups experiences are translated Into a common view of the woild.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

The main purpose of this study was to explore factors considered by households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme. This was conceptualised as illustrated in Figure 2.1 below:

Figure 2.1 Relocation Decision-Making Process



Source: Author's conceptualization

The Figure 2.1 above demonstrates the decision making process in deciding whether to relocate or not to relocate to the Kibera upgrade programme. Illustrating the decision depends on the consideration of several factors: Economic factors, upgrade facility factors, socio-cultural factors and government related factors. In the above framework, there is a first link between the multitude of factors and the decision; the multitudes of factors are inputs in the decision and are what is considered in the decision. The second link is between the decision/taking into consideration the multitude of factors and the

relocated or un-relocated household. This indicated by the arrow between the decision and the overall outcome of the consideration of the multitude of factors, This outcome or output is out of the consideration of the various factors and the outcome is either a relocated or an un-relocated household.

Many studies have argued that. If a household relocates or does not relocate it is out of the consideration of the affordability or in affordability of the new houses In an upgrade. Our study however broadened this view on factors considered in the decision. As it revealed there were multitude of factors considered In the decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera phase one upgrade programme. From the conceptual framework in Figure 2.1 above, the study distinguished the dependent variable as the decision to relocate or not to relocate to new houses in the upgrade programme. A decision that is based on the consideration of various factors. The independent variables are the various factors considered in the decision to relocate or not to relocate to the upgrade programme. These factors are broadly categorised into economic factors, upgrade facility factors, socio-cultural and government related factors.

2.4.1 Variable Operationalisation

The dependent variable was the decision to relocate or not to relocate to the Kibera upgrade programme. While the independent variables are factors considered in the decision to either relocate or not to relocate. The study operationalised the variables to enable collection of appropriate data to respond to the study questions. Operationalisation was done to enable the study identify the decision to relocate or not to relocate as the dependent variable. Moreover, to identify the various factors considered in the decision to relocate or not to relocate to the upgrade Kibera programme.

2.4.1.1 Dependent Variable Operationalisation

The study identified the decision to relocate or not to relocate to the upgrade by distinguishing the current living locality of households. The current living locality of households initially identified for relocation from Kibera Soweto-East village, zone A. Current living locality meant where the households initially identified for relocation are residing. Those at the upgrade according to the current living locality operationalisation had decided to relocate. While households identified for relocation residing in different villages in Kibera slums according to operationalisation decided not to relocate. Subsequently, the research sampled from the two distinct groups to appropriately respond to the study questions. On the factors, they considered in the decisions to relocate or not to relocate to the Kibera upgrade programme.

2.4.1.2 Independent Variable Operationalisation

The study independent variables as illustrated in the conceptual framework are various factors considered by households in the decision to relocate or not to relocate to the upgrade programme. These various factors conceptualised and categorised into four aspects: Socio-cultural factors, economic factors, upgrade facility factors and government related factors. The study operationalised the four broad factors considered in the decision to relocate or not to relocate as follows:

Socio cultural factors were operationalised as social networks and social groupings. Social networks defined as the valuable connections that one has made with the people they live with in the same area. In this case Kibera slums. Valuable in that they are important and mean a lot in their day to day life activities. This denoted by communications between the individuals or groups in these connections. Social networks operationalised as the conversations and discussions about the decision to relocate or not to relocate to the upgrade. Social groupings are units in Kibera slums that have membership and members contribute towards the advancement of the unit goals. Goals are intended to ensure improvement of the lives of its members and

tackling challenges common to the unit members. In respect to the relocation decision is the consideration of a possible unit decision; a decision that applies to all members in ending up either as relocated or not relocated to the upgrade

Economic factors were operationalised as: House affordability, running a business, Income regularity, change in fare to do various activities, buying goods in small portions/*uchumi ya kadoqo*, getting work opportunities, level of income and slum rent arrangement. House affordability was identified by comparison of the rent rates in the slum houses vis-a-vis the rates of new upgrade houses. Running of business identified by respondent indicating type of business they operated. Income regularity or irregularity was understood through the respondent perception of surety in their source of income; the degree to which the respondent viewed their source of income as one they could rely on in meeting or not meeting their rent obligation. The Change in fare to do various activities was identified through the respondent perception on amount payable in terms of fare while at the upgrade or while in the slums in doing various activities. The buying of goods in small portions (*uchumi ya kadogo*) was the respondents perception on whether the slums is only where they could buy things they required in small portions. Getting work was also identified through the respondent perception on whether the chance to get work is easier in the slums in comparison to the upgrade. The slum rent arrangement identified through the respondent perception of an informal rent arrangement where the slum landlord understands rent payments would be irregular and they do not evict the tenant.

Upgrade facility factors operationalised as access to the following upgrade elements: Electricity, clean water, toilets, bathrooms, waste collection, improved drainage, better roads, public open spaces, spacious house, improved security, right to house, street lighting and better house structural quality.

Government related factors operationalised as sensitization by government about the Kibera upgrade programme and government providing an opportunity to the group target to be relocated to see the upgrade houses before actual relocation.

2.5 Literature Summary

Literature shows there has been emphasis on affordability of new houses in slum upgrading programmes. This probably stirred by the appreciation slums are occupied by the worlds' poorest. Literature has given affordability prominence to the extent it is brought out as the only factor considered by slum households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to new houses In an upgrade programme. Salama (2009) notes the Increasing interest of property developers to Invest in affordable housing without comprehension of the lifestyles and cultural values of the Saudi Arabian society. The study subsequently called for a multifneeted approach to affordable housing The issue that emerges is a contention for an all round approach to affordable housing. That is, other factors need to be considered and incorporated in the development of affordable housing. This in appreciation that those targeted In the development of the affordable houses would have to make a decision to relocate to the given affordable houses, a decision in consideration of more than just affordability. The housing affordability prominence in literature as the aspect to be considered in a relocation decision was behind the conceptualisation of this study. This study focused on the phase one Kibera upgrade programme, to exploie holistically the factors considered by slum households In their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the upgrade. In an effort to provide information that would assist in proper implementation of the Kibera upgrade programme.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided theoretical and empirical literature studied in order to realize the gap where this study could fill. The chapter has also provided theoretical and conceptual frameworks utilised In our study, the study established its focus through this review of

literature and proceeded to collect relevant information to respond to its specific questions. The information was obtained systematically and scientifically as guided by the study methodology and this is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology employed in the research to achieve the study objectives. The chapter explains the research design adopted in the study, the study site and target population. It also expounds on the sampling procedures utilised in the study, data sources, data collection and analysis procedures. The chapter concludes with an illumination of the challenges encountered in the primary data collection and how the challenges were addressed. This methodology was applied to obtain relevant information to respond to the overall research question on what factors were considered by households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme

3.1 Research Design

Research design is the structure for the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2008, Ciotty, 1998). This research employed sample survey approach informed by the nature of the issues addressed in the study. The study obtained data from relocated and un-relocated households through the sample survey. The approach allowed the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data. The collected quantitative and qualitative data were then analysed through descriptive and thematic analysis methods respectively.

3.2 Study Site

The study was conducted in two areas: The Kibera upgrade site at langata where the relocated households were found and the Kibera villages where the un-relocated households were found. The un-relocated households were found in the following villages in Kibera: *LainiSaba, KwaHelt, Sirango and Svweto-East*. The Kibera upgrade site is about two Hectares comprising 17 blocks, 5 storey high flats totalling 600 housing units (GOK, 2011) while Kibera slum is divided into 13 villages. The residents in zone A. Soweto-East village were identified for relocation to the Kibera upgrade programme.

However, not all the residents identified for relocation relocated to the upgrade. The study consequently focused on the relocated households at the Kibera upgrade and the un-relocated households that remained in the Kibera slums. The Kibera upgrade site at langata and Kibera villages were selected as the study sites as this is where the study respondents were found. This enabled the study explore factors considered by households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme.

3.3 Study Population

The study population comprised the total number of households initially identified in Kibera Soweto East village, zone A for relocation to the new houses at the Kibera upgrade. The study population was stratified into households that decided to relocate and those that decided not to relocate. The study unit of analysis for the two distinct strata was the household that is the relocated and un-relocated household. Though the research unit of analysis was the household, the units of observation or actual respondents were the household heads. In the absence of the household head, the spouse to the household head was accepted as a respondent.

3.4 Sampling Procedure

The study used probability and non-probability sampling methods. These methods were used to identify suitable study respondents. The sampling methods appropriately applied for the identification of relocated and un-relocated households as the unit of analysis.

3.4.1 Identification of the Sample Survey Households

Identification of the Relocated Household

The study utilised simple random sampling technique at Kibera upgrade site in Langata, where the relocated households were found. The researcher in application of this technique, first, generated a sample frame. The sample frame was generated by identifying all the apartment blocks at the site and identifying the houses per apartment

block occupied by a relocated household. The researcher listed down 595 occupied houses at the upgrade with the assistance of the upgrade block representatives and the estate caretaker. A list was then prepared indicating the block and house number of the 595 occupied houses at the upgrade. The researcher then utilised the table of random numbers to identify randomly houses occupied by a relocated household as a sample unit. The table of random numbers was utilised until the identification of the intended sample size of 60 houses occupied by relocated households was attained.

Identification of the Un-relocated Household

The researcher utilized snowball sampling technique to identify households that decided not to relocate to the upgrade, the researcher visited Kibera Soweto-East village and enquired for households that had been identified from zone A for relocation but had decided not to relocate. The researcher consecutively requested to be directed to other people who had been identified from zone A that had also decided not to relocate. This non random identification procedure was followed for an additional sample of 20 households. The snowball sampling technique characteristic relied on by our study was the household identification for relocation in Kibera Soweto East, zone A but one that opted not to relocate. They also had to produce the identification cards issued from the Ministry of Housing, which indicated that they were identified from Soweto-East, zone A. Overall, the study aimed at a total sample size of 80 households, a sample size deemed appropriate and manageable considering time and finances available to conduct the study. Besides, the sample size of 80, which is higher than 30 cases, was statistically significant and good enough for purposes of generalization (Kothari, 2004)

3.5 Data Sources

The study utilised primary and secondary data sources. Primary data was gathered through the sample survey. The sample survey comprised the households that decided to relocate to the upgrade programme and those that declined to relocate. Secondary data was obtained from existing and relevant literature including published books.

journals, periodicals, newspaper articles and unpublished dissertations on slum upgrading. Secondary data sources provided empirical literature on slum upgrading implementation and relevant models on decision-making processes. The review of secondary data sources enabled identification of the literature gap that was filled by the study. It also enabled the researcher in gathering relevant background information on the study topic and building up the literature review chapter.

3.6 Data Collection Process

3.6.1 Desktop Review

Secondary data collection began at the proposal development stage and involved the review of relevant documents. This preceded the pilot study and the actual fieldwork. Relevant published and unpublished literatures such as books, government articles and journals were reviewed. The literature review enabled the identification of study gap and enlightened the study on issues that were incorporated in the development of the survey questionnaire,

3.6.2 Pilot Study

The researcher conducted a pilot study before the main field data collection to pre test the two survey questionnaires (See appendix 1 and 2). The rationale for the pre test was to check whether the targeted respondents understood the questionnaire and if questions asked were relevant to capture the Intended Information. Pre-testing the questionnaire was very important as deficiencies and errors in the instrument would be determined to enable its restructuring (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). Ten respondents were sampled for the pilot study, five from the relocated households and five from the un-relocated households. The pilot study enabled the determination of the questionnaire relevance as the whole process of data collection was conducted. From the administration of the questionnaire to the analysis of data collected. Therefore, through the lessons learnt during the pilot study the two questionnaires were reviewed

appropriately which ensured they gathered the required data during the main data collection stage.

3.6.3 Household Sample Survey

The researcher collected primary data from sampled households through the administration of questionnaires in face-to face interviews/ interviewer administered approach. Structured questionnaires (See appendix 1 and 2) with both open and closed ended questions were utilised to collect the required data from the sampled relocated and unrelocated households. The study opted for Interviewer administered questionnaires as opposed to self completed questionnaires as interviewer administered questionnaires would register lower rates of attrition and less incomplete questions compared to self completed questionnaires (Babble. 2010).

3.7 Data Analysis

The data collected was first cross checked and cleaned to ensure completeness, consistency and accuracy. This was to get rid of errors that resulted during recording of the respondent responses in administration of the questionnaires. The researcher having collected both quantitative and qualitative data; the researcher applied appropriate data analysis procedures in consideration of type of data. Broadly, descriptive analysis procedures were utilised for quantitative data collected and thematic analysis for qualitative data collected.

Quantitative data descriptive analysis entailed coming up with frequency distributions and computation of percentages. Means were also computed In the descriptive analysis as appropriate. The researcher used the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) to case the descriptive data analysis and make the procedures more accurate. Accordingly, the computer software enabled the production of frequency distributions, percentages and means in line with responses given In the questionnaires. The researcher developed^d new a SPSS database spreadsheet with all thp closed ended questions that could be

analysed in descriptive analysis format. The numerical responses from the already pre-coded questions in the study questionnaires were keyed into the SPSS spreadsheet and then analysed into frequency distributions, percentages and means as required.

Qualitative data thematic analysis involved identification of the main explanations captured through the questionnaire open-ended questions. This involved organisation of the responses to the open-ended questionnaire questions into sub-categories. The developed sub-categories were built up to narratives and the overall emerging patterns from the narratives arranged in line with the study's specific questions. These narratives provided the qualitative information that was utilised together with the quantitative information to draw overall interpretations in response to the study questions.

Conclusions and interpretations were then drawn from the quantitative and qualitative information obtained from the analysis. This was presented in the broad themes of the study, which included - Socio-economic characteristics of the relocated and the un-relocated households, Socio-cultural factors considered in the decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme, Economic factors considered in the decision to relocate or not to relocate and upgrade facility factors considered in decision to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme. This aimed at responding to the overall study question.

3.8 Data Collection Challenges

Even though the data collection exercise was successful, it was not without challenges. Firstly, the Kibera slum households had in the past encountered so many people doing their research in the slum. The benefits of which they stated they had not seen. This made some of the identified respondents reluctant to offer their time and information. The researcher addressed this challenge by explaining to the respondents that the research was purely an academic exercise and the information obtained would be utilised for this

purpose only. It took sometime but eventually the respondents agreed to respond to the questions posed to them.

Secondly, the researcher hoped to obtain and utilize the list of households identified by the directorate of slum upgrading for relocation from the Kibera Soweto-East, zone A as the sampling frame. However, this was not achieved as the directorate felt there were ethical issues in sharing the information given the enumeration conducted went beyond developing a list of those targeted for relocation. It also captured information about the socio economic status of the slum households. The Information collected with an assurance of confidentiality to the slum households. Subsequently, the researcher constructed the study's sampling frame, which was a tough and laborious task to achieve.

Nonetheless and despite the challenges, the researcher was able to collect and analyse the required data. The data obtained yielded useful information to respond to the study's questions. Overall, the obtained information formed the basis on which conclusions and recommendations were made.

3.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the methodology utilised In the study: The research design, where the study was conducted and rationale for selecting the given sites, the sampling procedures, data sources, data collection and analysis procedures. The researcher followed the various elements as expounded in this chapter enabling the gathering of the required data. This data was then analysed into Information that was relevant to the study; Information that provided responses to the specific study questions and is presented and discussed in the next two chapters as the study findings.

CHAPTER FOUR: RELOCATED HOUSEHOLDS AND FACTORS CONSIDERED IN THEIR DECISION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents findings of the study on the relocated households and factors considered in their decision to relocate to the Kibera upgrade programme. Additionally, the chapter provides an insightful discussion of these findings. The presentation and discussions provided in four distinct categories: First, on household socio-economic characteristics; secondly on the socio cultural factors and the relocation decision; thirdly on economic factors and the relocation decision and finally on upgrade facility factors and household relocation decision.

4.1 Households Socio-Economic Characteristics

In order to establish the socio-economic characteristics of the relocated households several attributes were investigated. These included sex of the respondents and the household headship. The respondents age in years; their religion; highest level of education attained; marital status. If one had children; the number of children they had and the ages of the children they lived with at the upgrade; number and description of people that lived with the respondent at the upgrade. The approximate number of years one had lived in Kibera slums, the house occupation status that one had in Soweto-East village, zone A during the relocation period. The occupation that one was engaged in and approximate monthly earnings from the occupation during the relocation period. Awareness of the

process leading to relocation and identification of the person or people that made the decision to relocate. The researcher also established the characteristic of the respondents current dwelling place. This section provides a detailed description of the socio-economic character of the relocated households.

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4.1.1 Sex and the Household Headship

The study queried for household headship as the decision to relocate would be made with involvement of the head of the household. Consequently, to understand factors considered in the decision to relocate the head of the household would be best suited to provide this information. Where the researcher did not find the household head the respondent relationship to the household head was ascertained. As the relationship to head of the household would vary the extent to which one would understand the factors considered in the decision to relocate. The researcher interviewed sixty respondents at the langata Kibera upgrade site 65% were male respondents and 35% female. In regards to household headship, 87% of the interviewed respondents headed their households while 13% were not household heads but all were spouses.

4.1.2 Age

The study determined the age of the respondent in the context of the relocation decision as respondent age closely relates to general life experiences. Experiences that shape the decisions one makes in their lives. The relocated respondent average age was found to be 38 years. The youngest respondent interviewed was 23 years old and the oldest was 70 years. The categorised age of the interviewed respondents was as indicated in the Table 4.1

Table 4.1: Relocated Households ARP Categorisation

Age in years (Age brackets)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
20-30	14	23
31-40	25	42
41-50	15	25
51-60	4	7
61 and above	2	
<u>Tqta</u> <u>l</u> <u>_</u> <u>number</u> <u>_</u> <u>of</u> <u>respondents</u>	60	100

Source: field data, 2012

4.1.3 Religion

Individuals may make decisions considering their religious beliefs. Beliefs associated with the presence of supernatural higher power. Regarding, relocated households religious affiliation. Households that belonged to the various protestant churches comprised 65% of all sampled households. The catholic denomination had 26% religious following by relocated households. Muslims at the upgrade consisted 7% of the relocated households and 2% of the relocated households did not associate with any religious affiliation.

4.1.4 Highest Level of Education Attained

Education enables one understand the importance of accessing and proper utilisation of certain facilities. Facilities such as toilets, bathrooms, water, improved waste collection and the overall positive knock-on effect of accessing such facilities. Moreover, overall education overtime influences the kind of choices and decisions that one makes in life. In respect to the level of education attained, it was established all the respondents at the upgrade had attended school but to different levels; none of the respondents was illiterate. The respondents level of education attained is as indicated in the Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Relocated Households-Highest Level of Education Attained

level of education attained	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Some level in primary school education	7	12
Completion of primary school education	13	21
Some level of secondary school education	15	25
Completion of secondary school education	16	27
Tertiary/College education	8	13
University education	1	2
Total number of respondents	60	100

Source: field data. 2012

4.1.5 Marital Status

One's marital status has implications on how decisions are made at the household level.

Households where individuals are married decisions may be joint decisions; with the marital status of individuals having high regard of their spouses' position on an issue to be decided on

and vice versa. Majority of the respondents were married, this being 70% of the respondents. Those who were single and widowed comprised 20% and 10% of the respondents respectively.

4.1.6 Number of Children and Age of Children that live at the Upgrade

It was relevant for the study to establish the respondent child dependents as the decision to relocate would be made in consideration of certain aspects touching on these dependents. For example, for one to relocate did they consider where their children would go to school or the need to provide better living conditions for their children? The study learnt that 92% of the respondents had a child/ children whereas 8% did not have a child/ children. The average number of children per household found to be 3 children. The respondents that had children, 82% lived with all their children at the upgrade, 13% lived with some of their children at the upgrade. Whilst 5% of the respondents that had children did not live with their children at the upgrade

Amongst the group that had a child or children, the respondent with the fewest children had one child and the respondent with the highest number of children had nine children. However, the least number of children that lived per household at the upgrade was one child and the highest number was six. The total number of children attributable to the respondents that had children was one hundred and seventy eight children. Moreover, the total number of children living with respondents at the upgrade was one hundred and fifty children. The children living in a household at the upgrade in terms of age were distributed as indicated in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Relocated- Households-Age of Children Living at the Upgrade

Age group	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Under 5 years^	36	24
6-14 years	69	46
15-18 years	28	19
Over 18 years	17	11
Number of children living with the respondents	150	100

^ r c e : field data, 2012

4.1.7 Upgrade Household Size and Description of People Living in a Household

The study interrogated this aspect to understand whether there were other dependents other than children supported by the respondents. In appreciation that there is a sense of community in African societies, a sense requiring one to take care of the needy and vulnerable in their community and their extended families (Adeagbo, 2000). This being important in the context of rural-urban migration and as people move in search of employment and livelihood opportunities. In relation to the relocated households decision it meant for instance, the need for a more spacious house to accommodate more people. That is the nuclear family and possibly other members of community or extended family. In this respect, the total number of people living in the new upgrade houses averaged 5 per household. The least number of people living in a house at the upgrade was one and the highest number being eleven. This numbers of people living in it house at the upgrade described in different mixes as indicated in the Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Relocated Households-People Uving in a given Household

Relationship of people living in a given household	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Living alone	4	7
1, my spouse and my child/children	23	38
1, my spouse, my child/children and a relative(s)	15	25
land my children	7	12
jj my children and a relative{s)	5	8
land a relative(s)	3	5
1. my spouse, my child/children and my grandchild/children	2	3
I, my spouse and my relative}*)	1	2
Total number of respondents	60	100

Source: field data, 201?

As illustrated in the Table 4.4, 40% of the respondents were living with their relatives at the upgrade. The relatives that lived with the respondents were either an uncle; brother law; sister; mother; brother; niece; sister in law or a cousin. The 40% probably considering the need for a more spacious house thus decided to relocate to access this facility at the upgrade.

4.1.8 Reason for Migrating to Kibera Slums

The study established that 85% of the respondents migrated to Kibera slums while 15% of the respondents were born in the slums. The reason why the respondents initially migrated to the slums is as indicated in table 4.5.

Table.4.5: Relocated Households-Reason for Migrating to Kibera Slums

Reason for Initially migrating to Kibera slums	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Relatives lived in Kibera slums	24	47
Friends lived In Kibera slums	3	6
Houses were cheaper	10	19
Came to stay with their husband	6	12
Was closest to where one got employed/ Intended to stay near my work place	2	4
1 heard Kibera slums is where life is affordable	6	12
Respondents who migrated to Kibera slums	bl	100

Source: field data, 2012

4.1.9 Number of Years that one has lived in Kibera Slums

In relation to the relocation decision the number of years that one has live in the slums would probably determined the attachments and social networks created. This attachments and networks created probably influencing the relocation decision in comparison to what was to be attained on relocation. The study found that relocated respondents had lived in Kibera slums for approximately 18 years. Where the respondent who was in the slum for the shortest period was six years and the longest time was thirty-five years. The categorised approximate number of years that one had lived in Kibera slums is as indicated in the Table 4.6; indicating 80% of the respondents had lived in Kibera slums for approximately 5 to 25 years.

Table 4.6: Relocated Households-Number of Years Lived in Kibera Slums

Approximate number of years that one has lived in Kibera Slums	Frequency	Percentage (%)
5 - 15	26	43
16 - 25	22	37
26 - 35	12	20
Total number of respondents	60	100

Source: field data, 2012

4.1.10 House Occupation Status in Kibera Soweto-East Village

The study determined the respondents house occupation status in Kibera slums, Soweto-East village, zone A before relocation. This was a relevant aspect on the relocation decision because through relocation. The tenants would be changing their tenant-landlord relationships by getting a new landlord, the government. They would also change the processes they were used to in meeting their rent obligations. Such as dates of meeting their rent and how the payments were made, landlords would become tenants and start paying rent implying a total lifestyle change. Landlords would also lose income through the relocation of their tenants. In respect to the house occupation status the study established that: tenants comprised 87% of the respondents, landlords/structure owners represented 8% of the respondents. Those who were both landlords/ structure owners and also tenants comprised 3% of the respondents and 2% had their house occupation status as being a structure owners' son.

4.1.11 Livelihood Source and Earnings from the Occupation

Majority of the relocated respondents were engaged in various occupations at the time of relocation. The study queried for the respondent occupation as their occupation would relate to one's ability to pay for the new houses and the regularity out of their occupation income certainty. These two aspects presented factors considered in the decision to relocate. The study found that 88% of the respondents had an occupation at the relocation time. The other 12% were not involved in any occupation at the time of relocation and were unemployed. The respondents, who had a source of livelihood, were engaged in one of the following occupations. Accountant; House help; Driver;

School cook; Tailor; Mechanic; Selling insurance policies; Telephone operator; Casual labourer; Dog trainer In a security firm; Messenger; Nurse in a private clinic; Metal welder; Washing clothes for people; Cleaner In a hospital; Security guard; Supermarket attendant; Cleaner In a university; Working in a hotel; Working in a car wash; Owning a business The business include selling shoes, running a hotel, selling *samosa*, a video show, selling *chips*, salon, selling water, selling vegetables and one had a play station area where kids played computer games.

Given the diversity of income sources the respondent who earned the highest amount earned approximately Kshs 20,000 monthly and the lowest Kshs 3,500 monthly The respondents average approximate monthly income was Kshs 8,7/4. However, 58% of those interviewed approximately earned between Kshs 3,001 - 8.000 monthly, below the average approximate monthly income. Table 4 7 Illustrates the respondents income categorisation.

Table 4.7: Relocated Households-Approximate Monthly Income

Income In Kenya Shillings (Income brackets)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
3,001 -8,000	31	58.1
8,001- 13,000	13	24.5
13,001-18, 000	8	15.2
18,001 and above	1	1.9
Total respondents with an occupation	53	100

4.1.12 Awareness of the Relocation Process

All the interviewed relocated respondents representing 100% of the sample population affirmed their awareness of the process that led to their relocation to the upgrade. The respondents provided similar information on highlights of the process. The key highlights of the process included. Enumeration of the occupants living In Soweto East village where household information and photos of the head of the household were taken, This was followed by issuance of cards. Cards that had the enumeration reference number, photo of the head of household or occupant of a given structure and

the house occupation status (tenant or landlord/structure owner) Forums and seminars were then conducted to sensitize all Identified to relocate about the upgrade programme and address their issues of concern. The government also facilitated opportunities to the households identified for relocation to visit the upgrade site at langata. All this was ended with the actual relocation in the year 2009

4.1.13 Person(s) who made the Decision to Relocate

It was imperative for the study to Identify the person(s) who made the decision to relocate. In order to make It possible to obtain the correct information regarding the factors considered in the decision to relocate. Examining the relocated households, 27% indicated that the husband alone made the decision to relocate. Households where the husband and wife made the decision comprised 38% of the sample population. The decision to relocate was made by the whole family in 5% of the relocated households. Mothers as household heads made the decision to relocate in 18% of the relocated households and In 12% of the households, a single individual made the decision as they lived alone. The person/persons stated as to have made the decision to relocate indicated to the study the household hierarchy and responsibility in regards to household decisions.

4.1.14 Dwelling Place Characteristic

The researcher observed the physical characteristics of the houses the relocated households were living in, The relocated households house characteristics described the new houses at the upgrade. This was deemed an Important observation as it enabled the study get the distinction with the general characteristics of the houses in the Kibera slums. A distinction between where the relocated households lived and what their relocation decision meant in terms of change in physical characteristic of their place of living The relocated households dwelling place was roofed with corrugated iron sheets, the floor was cemented and the walls were made of stone. The houses were five storied apartments surrounded by concrete block pavements on the outside. The character of

dwelling place signified some of the upgrade facilities the relocated household decided to relocate and access.

4.2 Socio-cultural Factors and the Decision to Relocate

In order to determine the socio-cultural factors considered in the decision to relocate to the Kibera upgrade at Langata. The study examined two aspects social networks, then social groupings and the decision to relocate. The findings and discussions on socio-cultural factors and household decisions to relocate are as follows.

4.2.1 Social Networks and the Decision to Relocate

Social networks over time develop to social investments; investments that someone can leverage on in times of need. Consequently, social networks are important in providing someone with social support systems and services (Kang'ethe, 2010). The study examined this to understand whether maintenance of created social networks was an important in the decision to relocate. In relation to this and as symbolised by a sense of communication in social networks, 58% of the sample population indicated that they talked to someone outside their families about their decision to relocate. Whereas 42% of the sample population indicated that, they did not talk to anyone outside their families about their decision to relocate. Of this 58%, 11% talked to friends only, 26% talked to their neighbours only, 54% talked to both friends and neighbours. While, 9%, talked to other landlords/structure owners in Soweto East village. Those indicated to have been talked to, that is friends, neighbours and landlords signified the social network circle for the group that discussed their decision with others.

The 58% talked to others for various reasons. Some wanted to ensure their friends and neighbours were relocating as they wanted to have their slum neighbours and friends at upgrade. The idea was one did not want to relocate alone but confirm their neighbours and friends were also relocating. Given the friends and neighbours presented a support system in the slum and they wanted this support system

maintained on relocation. Others wanted to understand what the majority would decide and consequently follow the majority. The discussions around the decision were also to establish the truth about the upgrade as rumours such as those who relocated would be chased out from the new houses were being peddled. The respondents who were part of the 42% who did not talk to anyone outside their families about their decision to relocate indicated that they felt the decision was an individual one. They therefore would not have been swayed to relocate or not to relocate by what others said as they had decided to relocate.

4.2.2 Social Groupings and the Decision to Relocate

Social groups In societies create and maintain relationships that ensure interdependence. They ensure that one is protected from certain levels of problems as long as one is part of the social group leading to an informal kind of regulation to help one another (Briley et al., 2003). In respect to the relocated respondents, 55% were in a social group before relocation while 45% were not in any prior to relocating. Those in social groups indicated that groups were started for a variety of reasons Which included merry-go rounds for money, merry-go-round for buying one another food stuffs, ethnic social groups to keep in touch with one's ethnic community, group owning a toilet, saving and loaning members, group supporting one another in burials and sickness, group supporting one another in dowry payments, youth clean up group and football group. Those respondents that were In social groups 24% Indicated that all their members were identified for relocation, 67% indicated that only part of their group members were Identified for relocation and 9% represented those In groups where they were the only ones identified for relocation. Those whose group members were identified for relocation either individually, some of the members or all the members in the group, the majority accounting for 82% of the households relocated to the upgrade and 18% did not relocate. Respondents who were part of the 82% that relocated, 27% indicated that they relocated because their group members also relocated while 73% did not relocate because their group members relocated.

The 27% who relocated because members of their social grouping relocated indicated that they decided to follow what their group members had decided. This is as they felt one does not live alone and they had created a level of interdependence in the group and wanted to maintain this. The 73% majority who were part of social groups and did not decide to relocate to follow their group members indicated that they felt the relocation decision was an individual decision and was not reference to what their group members did. In view of the fact that benefits that would accrue from relocation would be gained at the individual and household level rather than at the social group level.

4.3 Economic factors and Decision to Relocate

The study in determination of the economic factors considered in the decision to relocate investigated the following aspects: New house affordability and the household decision to relocate, opportunity to run a business at the upgrade and decision to relocate, income regularity and household decision to relocate. In respect to the economic factors and household decision to relocate, the following are the findings and discussions.

4.3.1 New House affordability and the Decision to Relocate

Regarding the new house affordability and the household decision to relocate 73% of the households relocated as they found the new houses affordable while 27% although they relocated it was not because the new houses were affordable. The 73% who decided to relocate as they found the new houses affordable indicated that rates were affordable as rates included facilities to be accessed at the upgrade. That is affordability was defined by the rates being inclusive of access to the range of facilities at the upgrade. The landlords who had relocated and were majorly part of the 73% pointed out their relocation was not an issue of affordability because they were not paying rent in the slum. What came out was a point of convergence for those who decided to relocate as they found the new houses affordable and those who relocated while not finding the new houses affordable. The convergence was their view towards the

facilities they were to access at the upgrade rather than the rent rates they were to pay. On the one hand, those who found the houses affordable did so because the rates included access to various facilities at the upgrade. On the other hand, although the 27% did not find the new house affordable they argued that they relocated as even though they found the rent rates higher at the upgrade. The rates included access to various facilities and this showed they were willing to pay a little more to access the facilities at the upgrade.

4.3.2 Opportunity to Run a Business and the Decision to Relocate

In relation to the opportunity to run a business and the decision to relocate. 25% of the respondents were doing business while at Soweto-East village and they hoped to get a chance to do their same business at the upgrade. This was therefore a factor considered in their decision to relocate. However, this was not the case with the other 75% in their decision to relocate because they were not doing business in Soweto East village at the time of relocation. The researcher did however find people who had set up makeshift sheds in the upgrade compound to use as business stalls. It was established that this was a section of people who relocated and had registered to be allocated business stalls but the stalls set aside were not adequate. For the respondents who relocated and did business as their livelihood source, having a place to set up their businesses at the upgrade was an important factor in their decision to relocate. This as it would determine their ability to sustain life at the upgrade. One of the respondents who had set up a makeshift stall quoted saying.

"Am m a good house but look of the conditions for doing business, its not good, how do I survive and pay for this house? Life has become haid, I had a duka in the slum but stalls here ate not enough. Am trying to sell some things outside here at the veranda and I cannot stock as I keep The things in my house yet I was willing to pay for a stall to set up a shop " (August 1" 2012)

4.3.3 Income Regularity and the Decision to Relocate

Income regularity was not an issue of the amount of income that one earned but the extent of surety in the source of income. The degree to which the respondent viewed their source of income as dependable in meeting their upgrade rent. It was established that 77% of the respondents made the decision to relocate as they deemed their income sources as regular and this would enable them pay for the new houses regularly. They felt their livelihood sources were stable to enable them habitually meet their rent obligation. The other 23% did not consider their livelihood sources as regular to enable them pay for the new houses regularly. As such they did relocate but not because they had a regular income source. This group did point out that they did not want not to take up the new houses on the account they did not have a regular source of income. Given one's fortunes could change and they could end up getting a stable livelihood source.

4.4 Upgrade Facility Factors and the Decision to Relocate

In order to determine the upgrade facility factors considered in the decision to relocate to the Kibera upgrade. The study probed for the following upgrade features: Access to electricity, clean water, toilets, bathrooms, waste collection, improved drainage, better roads, public open spaces, spacious house, Improved security, right to house, street lighting and better house structural quality as upgrade facilities and the household decision to relocate. The findings and discussions relating to upgrade facility factors and household decision to relocate are presented below

4.4.1 Electricity as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to Relocate

Accessing electricity as an upgrade facility was a factor considered by 58% of the relocated households whereas 42% did not consider electricity as factor in their decision to relocate. The 42% felt the slums had electricity and they did not decide to relocate to access electricity given facility. The other 58% felt they were used to a lifestyle in the slums of using electricity so they had to access this given facility at the upgrade. Nonetheless, groups noted there were conflicts resulting out of the installation of shared pre-

paid electricity meters. They therefore felt it would best for the government to install different meters for each house to avoid the conflict on electricity usage and payments.

4.4.2 Clean Water as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to Relocate

Access to clean water as an upgrade facility was considered by 62% of the respondents in their decision to relocate. The other 38% indicated that their decision to relocate was not in order to access clean water as an upgrade facility. The 62% of the respondents felt water in the slums was not in close proximity as was the case at the upgrade. At the upgrade, water was connected in the houses and this was not the case in the slums. In the slums, they had to go out of their houses to purchase the water they needed for use. The 38% respondents felt they were accessing water in the slums and therefore water was not a new facility they would be accessing. For this reason, water was not an upgrade facility they decided to relocate to access.

4.4.3 Toilets as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to Relocate

All the respondents, a 100% of the sampled population decided to relocate to access toilets as upgrade facilities. Respondents pointed out that toilets were sparsely distributed in the Kibera Soweto-East village as was the case in other Kibera villages. Subsequently, the slum dwellers would either pay for toilets that were run by community groups in the slums or disposed their waste in public. Inadequacy of toilet facilities was the cause for this poor disposal of human waste. The situation being that bad, the upgrade provided an appropriate solution by ensuring each new house had a toilet. Accessing toilets was therefore an important factor considered in the decision to relocate to the upgrade.

4.4.4 Bathrooms as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to Relocate

All respondents 100% of the sample population indicated that they decided to relocate to access bathrooms in the upgrade. Respondents stated that they did not have bathrooms in the Soweto-East village in Kibera slums and they were used to bathing in

the rooms used as their living quarters in the slums and/or bathed outside their houses. The new upgrade houses had a bathroom in each new house. This important facility was not available in the slums but the upgrade provided an opportunity to the households that decided to relocate to access bathrooms, The respondents consequently considered this as an important facility in their decision to relocate to the upgrade.

4.4.5 Waste Collection/ Cleaner Surrounding as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to relocate

Slums are pointers of acute environmental and physical deprivation (Jankowska, 2010). When the researcher visited the Kibera villages, they observed the unclean village surroundings. This was contrary to the situation at the upgrade. This contrast was an aspect the relocated respondents decided to relocate to access as an upgrade facility As 90% of the respondents indicated that they decided to relocate to the upgrade as there was waste collection leading to a cleaner surrounding One of the respondents quoted saying,

"The environment here is cleaner than the village. This means our children go out to play and do not in dirty areas. They therefore do not easily get into contact with substances that could get one sick." (August 4th 2012)

It was established that cleanliness at the upgrade had been maintained as unemployed youth at the upgrade had been commissioned to provide clean up services Only 10% of the sample population did not consider waste collection as a factor In their decision to relocate.

4.4.6 Improved Drainage as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to Relocate

Majority of the respondents considered this as a factor in their decision to relocate to the upgrade. This as they knew the importance of improved drainage or understood the consequences of poor drainage in the areas they lived in. This is so as they indicated that the slum was characterised by poor drainage and one could find water and waste

stagnated all over. Subsequently, 92% of the study sample population decided to relocate to access areas with improved drainage as an upgrade facility. The other 8% although they relocated was not to access Improved drainage.

4.4.7 Better Roads as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to Relocate

Soweto-East village in Kibera slums as with the larger Kibera is characterised by tightly squeezed shanties and access to the shanties are footpaths in between the shanties. These tightly squeezed paths hinder human movement given the slums' high populations. In addition, lack of access hinder emergency services in the villages In the case of disasters such as fires, an aspect noted by one of the respondent quoted saying,

"I decided to come to the upgrade as you can see you have somewhere to pass, not like in Soweto where you had paths that squeezed in between the houses. Even in the case of fires the fire fighters could not access the villages." (August 1st 2012)

It is this kind of concerns that made majority of the respondents relocate to the upgrade where there are better roads This indicated by 85% of the relocated respondents stating they decided to relocate to access areas with better roads as upgrade facilities. The other 15% did not consider accessing better roads as upgrade facilities in making the decision to relocate.

4.4.8 Public Open Spaces/Community Open Spaces as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to Relocate

Slums are described by overcrowding, a character we observed In the Kibera villages Congestion in the slum results from the many houses closely packed together with a 'datively high household population averaging 5 people per household. These closely Packed houses totally covering the land area means the slums do not have open spaces for such as children to play. This is for instance why 70% of the respondents considered access to public open spaces as a factor in their decision to relocate. Whereas 30% of

the respondents did not consider accessing public open spaces as a factor in their decision to relocate having been used to the slum lifestyle.

4.4.9 Spacious House/ Better House Space per Person as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to Relocate

We observed the upgrade provided households with more spacious houses in comparison to slum houses. The houses provided internal facilities such as toilets, bathrooms, kitchen, bedrooms, and balconies' over and above the living room areas. This was in contrast to the slum houses as we observed when we visited the Kibera slums. Where the living area was further partitioned to the sleeping and cooking area. The rooms were single rooms and the person who had more space was one who had separate but adjacent rooms to serve the different house purposes like living rooms and sleeping area. Slum houses did not have separate facilities like toilets, bathrooms or kitchen. In this consideration, 90% of the respondents considered the house space per person/spacious house as a factor in their decision to relocate to the upgrade. In contrast, 10% did not consider the house space per person as a factor in their decision to relocate to the upgrade. The 10% probably did not consider the house space per person as they may have been living alone in the slums. This not being a facility the respondents would have prioritised in their decision to relocate to the upgrade.

4.4.10 Improved Security as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to Relocate

All the respondents indicated that they decided to relocate to access improved security. This represented a 100% of the study sample. Improved security was an important factor in the decision to relocate to the upgrade, one of the respondents was quoted saying.

improved security is one thing I wanted in relocating to the upgrade, I can now buy electronics and leave them in this house. This I could not do in the village " (August 9th 2012)

This pointed out a security aspect that made respondents decide to relocate to the upgrade. Others stated that the slums were dangerous and one could not move around freely especially at night, as one could be easily mugged. They therefore wanted to relocate to somewhere they felt their security would improve. Given the upgrade was fenced and there are guards at the upgrade security was surely enhanced.

4.4.11 Right to house/ One cannot be evicted arbitrarily as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to Relocate

The study established that before the actual relocation the government took the households identified for relocation for seminars that addressed different concerns by the slum households. In the seminars government assured the households they were entitled to the new houses. Entitlement that meant as long as they followed the laid out code of conduct no one would be evicted. From this assurance households that attended the seminars considered this as one of the factors in their decision to relocate. This indicated by 87% of the respondents who decided to relocate having taken into account they would have right to the new house. On the contrary, 13% stated that right to house was not a factor that made them relocate to the upgrade. This 13% either did not attend the various seminars conducted by the government or else felt as tenants in the landlord-tenant relationship, the landlord has the final word in the relationship consequently assurances would not mean much.

4.4.12 Street Lighting as an Upgrade Facility and the Decision to Relocate

Generally, street lighting too many of the respondents was an additional benefit. A benefit that would accrue by relocating to the upgrade rather than one of the main facilities they wanted to access on relocation. Still 58% of the respondents decided to relocate to access areas having streetlights as upgrade facilities. While 42% in deciding to relocate it was not in order to access street lighting as upgrade facilities. The 58% connected the issue of street lighting and enhanced night security at upgrade. Where they stated that one could move around at the upgrade at night without being bothered

subsequent upgrade phases to be Implemented to adhere to the highest levels of construction as laid out in the Kenyan building codes.

4.4.14 Government Sensitization about the Upgrade Project and the Decision to Relocate

It was established that the government sensitized the group identified for relocation prior to the relocation on different issues about the upgrade. The government also made the sensitization forums an opportunity for the group targeted for relocation to get clarifications on the issues of concern they had. The group was educated on the standards at the upgrade such the rates and issues that were not allowed including selling of alcohol and sub letting the houses. Additionally the sensitization tackled untruths peddled about the upgrade for instance those who decided to relocate would be evicted and their houses given to non-slum households.

This sensitization process led to 78% of the respondents deciding to relocate on virtue of information obtained at the seminars. The other 22% relocated but it was not because of governments' sensitization about the project. The 22% did not consider this as a factor in their decision to relocate as majority did not get to attend the seminars. The 78% indicated that the governments' sensitization was very important given the rumours going around. The sensitization also enabled the respondents understand the truths about the upgrade programme and dispel the rumours, The respondents moreover stated that sensitization enabled them understand the upgrade houses were owned by the government and they had the right to the house and would only be evicted if they did not follow the laid down standards.

4-4.15 Survey of New Houses and the Decision to Relocate

The survey of the new houses provided the households identified for relocation with a chance to appreciate the reality of possible relocation. This made 73% of the respondents decide to relocate to the upgrade, as they got an opportunity to see the

new house before relocation. The other 27% did not get an opportunity to see the new houses before their relocation. Although they relocated, they did not base their decision to relocate on the fact that they had chance to see the new upgrade houses before relocation. However, the researcher appreciated that households identified to relocate lived in the same area In Kibera Soweto-East village, zone A. Therefore, the reactions from those who got a chance to see the houses were shared in the village with those who did not get a chance to see the houses before relocation.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter responds to the study questions on the factors considered by the relocated households In their decision to relocate to the Kibera upgrade Overall, the chapter has demonstrated there are a myriad of factors considered in this decision. The next chapter puts into perspective the factors considered by the un-relocated households in their decision not to relocate.

CHAPTER FIVE: UN-RELOCATED HOUSEHOLDS AND FACTORS CONSIDERED IN THEIR DECISION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents study findings on the un-relocated households and their decision not to relocate to the Kibera upgrade programme. The chapter further provides an in-depth discussion of these findings. The findings discussed in three broad themes in response to the specific research questions: The household socio-economic characteristics, socio-cultural factors and the household decision not to relocate, lastly economic factors and the household decision not to relocate to the upgrade.

5.1 Households Socio-Economic Characteristics

In order to determine the socio-economic characteristics of the households identified for relocation but decided not to relocate, several traits were investigated. This included sex of the respondents and the household headship. The respondents' age; their religion; highest level of education attained; marital status. If one had children; the number of children that one had and the ages of the children they lived with. In the Kibera villages, number and description of the people that lived with the respondent in the Kibera villages. The approximate number of years that one had lived in Kibera, one's house occupation status in Soweto-East village during the relocation period. Occupation that one was engaged in and approximate monthly earnings from this occupation at the relocation period. Awareness of the process leading to relocation was also established by the study. Still under the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, the person or people that made the decision not to relocate and the characteristic of the respondents' current dwelling place were also determined. The subsequent section provides a detailed description of the socio-economic character of the un-relocated respondents.

5.1.1 Sex and the Household Headship

The household headship was determined by the study, as the decision not to relocate would be made with involvement of the head of the household. Thus, the head of the household was best suited to provide the required Information on the factors considered in the decision not to relocate. Where the we were unable to talk to the household head the relationship to the head of the household was established. Since, the relationship to the household head would vary the understanding of the factors considered in the decision not to relocate. Respondents in the sampled un-relocated households were divided into 70% male and 30% female respondents. These un-relocated respondents interviewed 95% specified they were heads in their households. The other 5% were not the household heads but spouses.

5.1.2 Age

The age of thp respondent was established by the study since age would closely relate to general life experiences that shape one's decisions in life, fhe average age of un-relocated respondents interviewed was 41years. The youngest respondent Interviewed was 30years and the oldest respondent interviewed was 63years old The categorised age of the interviewed respondents is as shown in the Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Un-relocated Households Age Categorisation

Age in years (Age brackets)	Frequency	Percentage^)
30-40	101	50
41-50	7	35
51-60	2	10
61 and above	1	5
Total Number of Respondents	20	100

Source: field data, 2012

5.1.3 Religion

In regards to the decision not to relocate, the study sought to find out the respondents' religion in the recognition decisions may be made based on religious beliefs. Beliefs founded on mystical higher powers beyond those comprehensible by human beings. In

respect to respondents religion, 20% of the un-relocated households were part of the catholic religious following, 75% of the households were part of the different protestant churches. The other 5% of belonged to African churches stated as the Rastafarian religious group.

5.1.4 Highest Level of Education Attained

Education influences the kind decisions that one makes in life as education liberates someone by developing their thinking abilities (Frelre, 1977). All the Interviewed un-relocated respondents had attended school but to different levels. None of the respondents was illiterate; they all had formal education. The highest level of education attained by the un-relocated respondents is as illustrated in the Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Un-relocated Households-Highest Level of Education Attained

Level of education attained	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Some level in primary school education	7	35
Completion of primary school education	3	15
Some level in secondary school education	4	20
Completion of secondary school education	5	25
Tertiary/College education	1	5
Total number of respondents	20	100

Source: field data, 2012

5.1.5 Marital Status

One's marital status at the household level may influence the decisions they make. This is because the outcome of the decision may affect more than the person who made the given decision. In respect to the marital status of the un-relocated households, 70% of the respondents were married, 25% were single and 5% of the respondents were separated from their spouse.

5.1.6 Number of children and Age of Children Living in the Kibera Villages

It was relevant to establish the respondents children dependents and their ages because and for example, children of a certain age may lead to one not relocating given they do

not want to change school for their children. In respect to this characteristic, the study found that 95% of the sample population had a child/children. The other 5% of did not have a child/children. The respondents that had children, the minimum had of one child while the maximum had eight children, The total number of children attributable to those with children was fifty-nine children and the average number of children per household established to be 3 children. The respondents that had children, 74% lived with all their children in the Kibera villages, 21% lived with some of their children in Kibera villages while 5% did not live with their child/children in the Kibera villages.

Even though the total number of children attributable to the un relocated households with a child/children was fifty-nine children. The children who lived with respondents in the Kibera villages totalled forty-four children. The least number of children living in a respondent household in the Kibera villages being one child and the maximum number being four children. On average, there were 2 children living in an un-relocated household in Kibera villages. Overall, the average number of children per household established to be 3 children however the average number of children that lived in an un-relocated household were 2 children. In regards to the forty four children living with the un-relocated households in the Kibera villages, their age categorisation is as shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Un-relocated Household-Age of Children Living In the Kibera Villages

Age group of Children living at upgrade	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Under 5 years	13	29
>14 years	17	39
5-18 years	8	18
Over 18 years	6	14
Total number of children living with the respondents	44	100

5-1.7 Household Size and Description of People Living in a Household

This aspect was Interrogated in order to understand other dependents other than children supported by the respondents. In recognition, there is a sense of community in

African societies that requires one to take care of the needy and vulnerable In their community and their extended families (Adeagbo, 2000). This is especially in the rural-urban migration context where people are moving In search for employment and livelihood opportunities. In particular to the decision not to relocate, the un-relocated group may have viewed the cost of supporting this people already as high. They therefore could not take up additional costs such as rent and fare that would possibly result with the relocation to the upgrade. Regarding this un-relocated households characteristic, the study established that: The least number of people living in an un-relocated household was two people and the highest number was seven people. The total number of people living in an un-relocated respondent household averaged 5 people. This number of people living in a given house described in different mixes as indicated in the Table 5.4

Table 5.4: Un-relocated Household-People Living In a given Household

Relationship of people living in a given household	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1, my spouse and my child/children	6	30
1, my spouse, my child/children and a relative(s)	• 7	35
1 jnd my children	4	20
1, my children and a relative(s)	1	5
1 and a relative(s)	1	
1, my spouse and my relative(s)	1J	5
Total number of respondents	20	100

Source: field data, 2012

The Table 5.4 illustrates that 50% of the un-relocated respondents wore living with their relatives in Kibera slums. The relatives that lived with the respondents were either a brother in-law; sister; brother or sister in law. Probably this being a factor In the households decision not to relocate to avoid additional costs that would result with relocation to the upgrade. These as the households were already supporting other dependents other than their children.

5.1.8 Reason for Migrating to Kibera Slums

Majority of the un-relocated respondents comprising 85% of the un-relocated sample population had migrated to Kibera slums while 15% were born there. The respondents that had migrated to Kibera slums migrated to the slums for various reasons as indicated in table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Un-relocated Households-Reason for Migrating to Kibera Slums

Reason for initially moving to Kibera slums	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Relatives lived In Kibera slums	8	47
Friends lived in Kibera slums	3	18
Houses were cheaper	5	29
Came to stay with their husband	1	6
Respondents who moved to Kibera slums	17	100

Source: field data, 2012

5.1.9 Number of Years that one has Lived in Kibera

This characteristic was established in relation to the decision not to relocate because the number of years that one had lived in Kibera slums would probably determine the attachments and social networks created. The attachments and networks created could possibly lead to a decision not to relocate, the un-relocated sample population had lived in Kibera slums for an average of 24 years. The respondent who had lived for the shortest period had lived for 11 years while the respondent who had lived for the longest period had lived in Kibera slums for 40 years. The categorisation of the number of years the un-relocated households had lived in the Kibera slums is as indicated in the Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Un-relocated Households-Number of Years that one has Lived in Kibera

Approximate number of years that one has lived in Kibera	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1-10	1	5
11-20	10	50
21-30	5	25
31-40	4	20
Total Number of Respondents	20	100

Source: field data, 2012

5.1.10 House Occupation Status in Kibera Soweto-East Village

The house occupation status was determined at the relocation period since this would have been a significant aspect on the decision not to relocate. Given on the one hand, relocation to the landlords/structure owners meant the loss of Income and landlord status. On the other hand, the tenants would change their landlords from the slum landlord to the government. Slum landlords who they probably had established a relationship and a rent arrangement that protected them from eviction. Landlords/structure owners represented 50% of the respondents and tenants represented 40% of the respondents. There were also respondents who were both landlords and tenants who comprise 10% of the respondents

5.1.11 Livelihood Source and Earnings from the Occupation

The un-relocated respondent occupation at the relocation time was queried as it would relate to the level, certainty or uncertainty of Income. These Income aspects level, certainty or uncertainty were some of factors considered in the decision not to relocate to the upgrade. The study in relation to the respondents occupations found that 95% of the respondents had a livelihood source. The other 5% were not involved in any occupation at the relocation period and were unemployed. The respondents were involved in the following sources of livelihoods. Masonry; *jua Kali*-face painting; *jua Kali mix* masonry and baggage porter; washing clothes for people; business-selling clothes; casual labourers; business-running shops in the slum; business; business-running a baby care In the slum; business-running a bar and selling water; business-selling water and vegetables; business-metal work; barber shop in the slum; business-selling salt and *mogadi* sachets.

From these diverse occupations, the respondent with the highest earnings earned approximately Kshs 20,000 monthly and the lowest earned approximately Kshs 2,500 monthly. The respondents approximate average monthly income was Kshs 8,094. However, 58% of the un-relocated respondents earned approximately between Kshs

2,001 • 7,000 monthly, which was below the approximate average monthly income. Income categorisation of the un-relocated respondents is as shown in Table 5.7

Table 5.7: Un-relocated Households-Approximate Monthly Income

Income in Kenya Shillings (Income brackets)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
2,001 - 7,000	10	58
7,001 - 12,000	5	26
12,001 - 17,000	2	10
17,001 and above	1	5
Total Respondents with an occupation	19	100

Source: field data, 2012

5.1.12 Awareness of the Relocation Process

All the un-relocated respondents interviewed knew of the Kibera upgrade programme at Langata and were aware of the process that led to people relocation to the upgrade. This meant that a 100% of the un-relocated households knew of the process that led to certain households relocating to the upgrade and them being left in the Kibera slums. The un-relocated respondents provided similar information on highlights of the process that led to their decision not to relocate to the upgrade. Key aspects of the process included: Enumeration of the occupants living in Soweto-East village, where socio-economic data of each household and photos of the head of the household was captured. This was followed by the issuance of identification cards having the reference number of the details of the given household, photo of the head of household or occupant of a given structure and the house status of the occupant of the structure (tenant or landlord/structure owner). Forums and seminars were later held to sensitize all identified to relocate about the upgrade. An opportunity was also availed for the households to go and see the upgrade at Langata facilitated by the government. The actual relocation took place in the year 2009. This is when the un-relocated households were left in Kibera Soweto-East village, zone A. They continued to live in the houses however, the houses were later demolished and they moved to other slum areas as one would find a house. This is where the researcher found them, in *LainiSoba KwuHeli Siranga and other Soweto-East sections*.

5.1.13 Person(s) who made the Decision not to Relocate

The study identified the person(s) who made the decision not to relocate. In order to obtain the correct information on the factors considered, in this regard 55% of the respondents indicated that husbands alone made the decision not to relocate. The decision was a joint decision where the husband and wife consulted in 20% of the sample population. The other 20% stated that mothers as heads of their households made the decision not to relocate and 5% of the respondents indicated that it was their individual decision as they lived alone.

5.1.14 Dwelling Place Characteristic

We observed the physical characteristics of the houses the un-relocated respondents were living in. Their dwelling places in the Kibera villages were characterised as follows: The roofs and walls were made of corrugated iron sheets. Majority of the house floors were earth but some had cemented floors. The researcher also observed that iron sheet used in the roofs and walls of these dwelling places was rusty. The dwelling place characteristic was an important observation as it allowed distinction between the character of the upgrade houses and the houses the un-relocated respondents lived in. This enabled the study to put into context what the un-relocated households forfeited by not relocating to the upgrade in consideration of factors the study investigated.

5.2 Socio-Cultural Factors and the Decision not to Relocate

In order to establish the socio-cultural factors considered in the decision not to relocate to the Kibera upgrade at Langata, the study as conceptualised examined social networks, then social groupings and the decision not to relocate. The findings and discussions as regards socio-cultural factors and the household decision not to relocate to the Kibera upgrade are as follows.

5.2.1 Social Networks and the Decision not to Relocate

Social networks over time develop to social Investments; investments someone could leverage on in times of need. Consequently, social networks are Important in providing one with social support systems and services (Kang'ethe. 2010). The researcher intended to understand whether maintenance of created social networks was an important aspect In the decision not to relocate. The un-relocated respondents interviewed 30% talked to someone outside their families about their decision not to relocate to the upgrade. The other 70% did not talk to anyone outside their families on their decision not to relocate. The 30% respondents who talked to someone outside their families about their decision not to relocate, 17% of the 30% talked to their neighbours only, another 17% talked to friends and neighbours about this decision not to relocate. The other 66% of the 30% talked to fellow landlords/structure owners about their decision not to relocate.

The 70% un-relocated respondents who did not talk to anyone outside their families Indicated that they had fully decided not to relocate. They therefore would not have changed their minds by talking to someone They felt, considering their situation at their household level the appropriate decision was a decision not to relocate. This was a decision they had made and they were not in search of opinions to change the given decision. The 30% respondents, who talked to people outside their families on their decision not to relocate, indicated that this was just to get other peoples opinion. It was not to influence them to relocate or not to relocate. A large proportion of those who talked to someone were landlords/structure owners. This was because the landlords were to be most affected by the upgrade process by losing their income and status. The landlords consulted more on the matter which saw them end in court fighting for their property rights against a demolition order by the government.

5.2.2 Social Groupings and the Decision not to Relocate

Social groups in societies result in order to create and maintain relationships that ensure interdependence. They ensure one is protected from certain levels of challenges as long as one is a part of the social group. They lead to an informal kind of regulation to help one another (Briley et al., 2003). Regarding social groupings, 65% of the respondents were part of a social group during the relocation period whereas 35% were not part of a social group during the relocation period. The respondents who were part of a social group stated that social groups were merry go rounds for money, HIV positive support group, group owning a toilet, bar owners association and savings and loaning groups. Those who were part of a social group, 23% decided not to relocate given they were concerned relocation would affect their participation in the social group. One such respondent, quoted saying.

"I have AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) and moving to the upgrade would mean I would not be able to attend the support group. I am sick and would be put with people who do not understand my status. Where would I get the support group at the upgrade?" (July 22 2012)*

The other 77% did remain in the slums but it was not because relocation would lead to inability to participate in their social group

5.3 Economic Factors and the Decision not to Relocate

In order to determine the economic factors considered by the un-relocated households in their decision not to relocate to the upgrade. The study investigated the following aspects. Slum house affordability and decision not to relocate; running a business in the slums as a livelihood source and decision not to relocate. The study likewise investigated; relocation and increase in fare and decision not to relocate; buying things in small portions/um/ ya Kadogo and decision not to relocate; Income irregularity/ Uncertainty in work and decision not to relocate. Additionally the study probed, access to economic opportunities in the slums and decision not to relocate; Inability to meet the

upgrade house rent and decision not to relocate and slum landlord understanding irregularity in rent payment and decision not to relocate. The study findings and discussions as relates to economic factors and household decision not to relocate are as follows.

5.3.1 Slum House Affordability and the Decision not to Relocate

Concerning slum house affordability and the decision not to relocate, 70% of the sampled un-relocated households did not relocate because the slum houses were affordable in comparison to the new houses at the upgrade. The other 30% indicated that they remained in the slum but not because slum houses were affordable in comparison to the upgrade houses. A frequency distribution analysis of house occupation status and slum house affordability revealed that the 30% who decided were all landlords/structure owners. This group felt that in terms of actual incomes they would be able to pay for the amount at the upgrade. Therefore, their decision not to relocate to the upgrade was not an issue of slum house affordability. The 70% line of thought was that, given the upgrade rent was to range from Kshs 1,000 - 3,000 depending on the number of rooms that one would get; that is the cheapest amount to be paid at the upgrade was Kshs 1,000. While in the slums one could get a house ranging from Kshs 600 - 800. Hence, the slum rent was cheaper and is the amount they were able to pay. Amongst the 70%, were some landlords/structure owners who felt the slum houses were affordable. This was not because of the rent rates that one would pay but it was because they were not paying rent and consequently paying for any house was not affordable at all.

5.3.2 Running a Business in the Slums and the Decision not to Relocate

On querying this aspect in the decision not to relocate, 65% of the respondents stated that they decided not to relocate as they were running businesses in the slums as their livelihood source. This was however not the case for 35% of the respondents, meaning running a business in the slums as a livelihood source was not why they decided not to

relocate. The majority of the 65% were the landlords/structure owners. The landlords comprised 85% (eleven of the thirteen) respondents that decided not to relocate, as they were operating businesses in the slums. The landlords had probably diversified their sources of income by setting up businesses over and above the rent they got from the slum houses. Consequently, they could not leave their business source of income to relocate to the upgrade given they were to lose their rental incomes. The other 15% (two of the thirteen) were tenants who also decided not to relocate as they were running businesses in the slums as their livelihood source. They therefore had to remain in the slums to continue earning a living.

5.3.3 Relocation and Increase in Fare and the Decision not to Relocate

Respondents representing 95% of the un-relocated households decided not to relocate as they felt this would lead to an increase in their fare when doing various activities. However, 5% indicated that a possible increase in fare was not a factor in their decision not to relocate. Majority of the respondents that felt fare would increase with relocation earned their livelihood in surrounding areas where they could walk to/trek the case of *High-rise estate, Town, Industrial area, Ngumo, South R estate*. Similarly, those who engaged in businesses felt if they relocated going to town to get their stock was much cheaper from Kibera villages than at the upgrade in Langata.

5.3.4 Buying things in small portions/*Uchumi ya Kadogo* and the Decision not to Relocate

Slums are pointers of acute scenarios of urban poverty, a description in general of a wide range of low-income settlements (UN-Habitat, 2003a, Nabutola, 2004). The fact that slums are a description of people in low to very low-income brackets indicates the need to buy things in small portions. Buying things in small portions done in order to spend according to their income capacity. These enabling slum households spread their little income to their various needs. In relation to this aspect 55% of the respondents stated that they decided not to relocate as they felt in the slums is where someone

would be able to buy things in small portions. This commonly referred to as the *Uchuml ya Kadoqo*. In contrast, 45% of the respondents decided to remain in the slums but not in order to purchase things in small portions.

5.3.5 Income Irregularity/Uncertainty in Work and Decision not to Relocate

An empirical analysis by Viratkapan and Perera in (2004) on factors that influence post-relocation performance of slum relocation projects emphasized compensation of households relocated given the uncertainty in their sources of incomes. Compensation raised the success of relocation programmes to 75% from 40% in programmes that did not have compensation. In this appreciation, our study evaluated the aspect on income irregularity out of uncertainty in work and the decision not to relocate. Income irregularity meant an inability to pay for the new houses regularly. On this aspect, 60% of the respondents did not relocate as they had irregular sources of income/ uncertainty in their work and they were not sure they would be able to pay for the new houses regularly. Quite the opposite, 40% felt their decision not to relocate to the upgrade was not because they had irregular sources of income which meant they could not meet new house rent regularly.

The 40% were all landlords/structure owners indicating some slum landlords had attained a level of income certainty from their income sources. This probably resulting from rental income and further anchored on their business incomes. Implying that although the rental income was irregular landlords leveraged on their business income to create a level of income certainty. In contrast, all tenants felt income uncertainty was a factor in their decision not to relocate to the upgrade. That is a 100% of tenants did not relocate as they felt they had an irregular source of income and they were not sure of paying for the new house regularly. This showed the tenants were most vulnerable because they had to rely on sources of livelihoods that were short duration based. Such as being a masonry; *jua Kali-fac9* painting; *jua Kali mix-* masonry and baggage porter; washing clothes for people; casual labourers. This livelihood sources that did not

provide long-term engagement led to the uncertainty in their income, there were also landlords who felt their income sources were irregular. This were probably landlords who relied only on rental income. Therefore, given the tenants had Irregular income sources and possibly paid their rent irregularly the landlords were exposed to a level of Income irregularity.

5.3.6 Access to Work Opportunities in the Slums and Decision not to Relocate

On examination of the access to work opportunities and the decision not to relocate it was established that 90% of the respondents decided not relocate because they felt It was easier to get work opportunities while in the slums than at the upgrade. This was not the case for 10% of the sample population. The majority considered this as a factor out of the fact that they either had businesses in the slums or worked In areas that were in close proximity to the slum. Such as *Industrial areo, Ngumo and Highrise* estate, subsequently, getting work opportunities was dependent on their location in slum. This meant that to get work opportunities one felt they needed to be In the Kibera villages therefore the decision not to relocate.

5.3.7 Inability to Meet the Upgrade House Rent and Decision not to Relocate

All respondents stated that they did not relocate because they felt they could not meet the house rent at the upgrade. That is a 100% of the sampled un-relocated households decided not to relocate as they felt they could not meet the rent at the upgrade. On the one hand, the tenants compared the rent rates at the upgrade with those In the village. The upgrade rent ranged from Kshs 1,000 to 3,000 depending on the number of rooms that one would get The cheapest rent at the upgrade was Kshs 1,000 whereas in the slums one could get a house ranging from Kshs 600 to 800. This was cheaper for the given households. The landlords/structure owners on the other hand looked at it for the point of view that they would lose their rental income and relocation would mean they would start paying rent. In the long run without their rental income they would not be able to meet the upgrade houses rent.

5.3.8 Slum Landlord Understanding Irregularity in Rent Payment and Decision not to Relocate

On examining the slum landlord consideration of Irregularity in rent payment and decision not to relocate, 45% of the respondents decided not to relocate as they felt a slum landlord would understand if they were unable to meet the rent regularly. In contrast, 55% of the sampled respondents stated that this was why they decided not to relocate. The 55% explained by the fact that 50% of the sampled respondents were themselves landlords. Consequently, this was not an issue in their decision not to relocate. The 45% to whom this was a factor the majority were tenants (eight of the nine respondents that felt this was a factor). The tenants felt the government as the landlord at the upgrade would not understand if they were unable to meet their rent regularly. One of tenants quoted saying,

"I know the landlord here and we have a relationship, if I have problem the landlord understands and they would not kick me out. How sure this would have been the case in Langata. In that, if I had a problem and was unable to pay rent I would not be thrown out." (July 22nd 2012)

Another respondent quoted saying.

"The landlord understands I have AIDS. When I have I pay, when I do not have the landlord understands am sick and I was not able to go out and look for money." (July 22nd 2012)

The tenant and landlord relationship in respect to rent payment was not a formal arrangement. It was more of the landlord understanding the circumstances and situations of the tenant; having a "human face" to the tenants' situation, what the tenants felt the government would not have at the upgrade.

5.3.9 Landlords Status and the Household Decision not to Relocate

When the study examined other reasons considered in the decision not to relocate. Majority of the un-relocated landlords stated that they felt they were at different levels with tenants. This alluded to the status difference between the landlords and the

tenants. In that, to the landlords It was hard to relocate to the upgrade and be at same level with people who considered them as landlords.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter responded to the study questions on the factors considered by the un-relocated households in their decision not to relocate to the Kibera upgrade. Overall, the chapter has demonstrated there are also a numerous factors considered in their decision. These findings all together with the findings on the relocated households are the basis upon which conclusions and recommendations were made. The conclusions and recommendations are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The study set out to assess factors considered by slum households in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the Kibera upgrade programme. The study to accomplish this was guided by the following specific research questions: What are the socio-economic characteristics of the relocated and the un-relocated households? What socio-cultural factors did households consider in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme? What economic factors did households consider in their decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme and what upgrade facility factors did households consider in their decision to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme? In responding to the specific study questions, the study utilized a sample survey approach in data collection. This approach allowed for the collection of qualitative and quantitative data from the relocated households and un-relocated households. This chapter provides a summary of the study findings and conclusions based on the findings. Finally, the chapter provides policy recommendations to the upgrade-implementing agency, the directorate for slum upgrading in the Ministry of Housing and winds up with recommendations for further research.

6.1 Summary of Findings

6.1.1 Relocated Households and Decision to Relocate

6.1.1.1 Socio-Economic Characteristics

The relocated respondents mean age was 38 years having lived in Kibera slums for approximately 18 years. Majority of these households were Christians of protestant and catholic denominations. All respondents were literate and had attended school to different levels, 85% having got between some level in primary education and completion of secondary school education. Majority of the respondents were married

who comprised 70% of those interviewed while the other 30% were either single or widowed. There were averagely 3 children per household and majority of the children in a household at the upgrade were aged between 6 to 14 years, comprising 46% of children at the upgrade. The second largest, children's age group at the upgrade were those below five years of age, comprising 24% of children at the upgrade. The total number of people living in a new house at the upgrade averaged 5 persons per household and 40% of the respondents at the upgrade lived with their relatives. Majority of the respondents at the upgrade were tenants in Kibera Soweto-East village before relocation. The approximate average income per household during the relocation period was Kshs 8,774 monthly. However, 58% of the un-relocated respondents at the relocation period were earning below the average Income, earning between Kshs 3,001 and 8,000 monthly.

6.1.1.2 Socio-Cultural Factors and Decision to Relocate

The study established that 58% of the sample population talked to someone outside their families about their decision to relocate to the upgrade while 42% did not talk to anyone outside their families. Although the 58% talked to someone about their decision, they indicated that they did not talk to the people to inform their decision to relocate but to get general opinion about the relocation. The 42% stated that they did not talk anyone as they felt it was an individual decision and they had already decided to relocate. The study established that 73% of those in social groups in the slums did not relocate to the upgrade because their group members had relocated Whereas 27% decided to relocate to the upgrade as their social group members had relocated to the upgrade.

6.1.1.3 Economic Factors and Decision to Relocate

The households that relocated 73% decided to relocate as they found the new houses affordable. In contrast, 27% relocated on consideration of other factors but not because new upgrade houses were affordable. Only 25% of the respondents decided to relocate

since they wanted to take advantage of the opportunity to run businesses at the upgrade. This was because business was their livelihood source. However, quite the opposite 75% of those who relocated did not do so in order to take up business opportunities at the upgrade. The study having examined income certainly and the decision to relocate, determined that 77% of the respondents decided to relocate given their income source was regular and they could pay for the new houses regularly. This was not the case for the other 23% although they did relocate.

6.1.1.4 Upgrade Facility Factors and Decision to Relocate

The study found that all sixty relocated respondents decided to relocate to the upgrade to access toilets, bathrooms, improved security and houses of better structural quality. When the study examined improved drainage, waste collection and spacious houses as upgrade facilities, the study established 92%, 90% and 90% relocated households respectively decided to relocate to access these facilities. In respect to right to house as an upgrade facility, 87% of the respondents relocated to access the facility but this was not the case for the other 13%. Better roads, public open spaces, clean water and electricity as upgrade facilities were facilities that 85%, 70%, 62% and 58% of the relocated respondents respectively decided to relocate to access. This was not the case for 15%, 30%, 38% and 42% respectively. The study also found that 78% of the relocated households decided to relocate to the upgrade after sensitization by the government about the upgrade programme. In contrast 22% relocated but not because of government sensitization. Furthermore, the government provided a chance to households identified for relocation to go and see the new houses before relocation. As a result of this 73% of the relocated households decided to relocate to the upgrade while 27% relocated but not because they got a chance to see the new houses.

6.1.2 Un-Relocated Households and Decision not to Relocate

6.1.2.1 Socio-Economic Characteristics

The respondents in the un-relocated households had a mean age of 41 years having lived in Kibera slums for approximately 24 years. Majority of the un-relocated households were followers of the Christian religion. All the respondents being literate and had attended school to different levels, among these group 95% got between some level in primary education and completion of secondary school education. The average number of children per household was 3 children. Majority of the children living in Kibera villages were aged between 6 to 14 years, who comprised 39% of the children. This followed by children under the age of 5 years at 29%. The average number of people per household in the Kibera villages was 5 people and 50% of the un-relocated respondents were living with their relatives in Kibera villages. The respondents interviewed were distributed into 50% landlords/structure owners and 40% tenants. The study found the approximate average monthly household income as Kshs 8, 093. Nevertheless, 58% of the respondents earned below the average income, approximately earning between Kshs 2, 001 and 7, 000 monthly.

6.1.2.2 Socio-Cultural Factors and Decision not to Relocate

The study found that 30% of the sample population talked to someone outside their families about their decision not to relocate to the upgrade. This was not the case for the other 70%. The 30% indicated that this was not to change or to reinforce their decision not to relocate; they were just having discussions around the relocation decision. The 70%, who did not talk to anyone outside their families felt the decision not to relocate was dependent on their individual situation and was not subject to what other people thought and said. The study looking at social groups, determined that 77% of respondents in social groups though they decided not to relocate it was not because they would not be able to participate in their groups. In contrast, 23% decided not to relocate as they felt they would not be able to participate in their social groupings in the slums on relocation,

6.1.2.3 Economic Factors and Decision not to Relocate

The study established that 70% of the un-relocated respondents decided not to relocate because they felt the slum houses were affordable compared to the new upgrade houses. On the contrary, 30% although they decided not to relocate it was not because slum houses were affordable in comparison to the upgrade houses. In respect to running business, 65% of the respondents decided not to relocate since they were running businesses in the slums. This was not the reason why the other 35% decided not to relocate. Most of the un-relocated respondents decided not to relocate as this would increase their fare in doing various activities. Un-relocated respondents comprising 55% of the respondents decided not to relocate since they felt the slum is where they could buy things in small portions. However, 45% decided not to relocate but it was not because they could buy things in small portions. The study established that 60% of the respondents decided not to relocate as they felt their source of income was irregular and they could not pay for the new houses regularly. This was not a factor for the other 40%. Majority of the un-relocated households decided not to relocate as they felt in the slums is where they could access work opportunities rather than being at the upgrade. All the un-relocated respondents felt they could not meet the new house rent at the upgrade and therefore their decision not to relocate. Un-relocated respondents comprising 55% of the respondents decided not to relocate as they felt a slum landlord would understand their irregularity in rent payment. The other 45% decided not to relocate but it was not because a slum landlord would understand their irregularity in paying rent.

6.2 Conclusions

This study sought to explore factors considered by households in decision to relocate or not to relocate to the new houses in the Kibera upgrade programme. Literature reviewed revealed that population in slums was increasing and was a crisis that needed intervention. Even though various policy approaches were being applied over the years to tackle the crisis, slums continue to exist and expand. Nonetheless, the 21st century

seeing a global effort in addressing the slum issue through the Cities without Slums (CWS) action plan through slum upgrading programmes with a major emphasis on affordability. As new upgrade houses affordability is deemed the factor slum households would consider in their decision to relocate to an upgrade. The findings of this study however illustrated there are various factors considered in the slum household relocation decision and it was not affordability only

On the one hand, the relocated households considered two main categories of factors: Economic and upgrade facility factors in their decision to relocate to the Kibera upgrade. Socio cultural factors on the contrary were not behind the slum household decision to relocate to the upgrade. The two categories of factors considered in the decision to relocate to the upgrade, the economic factors represented the sustainability question. Sustainability question being the consideration of one's ability to stay at the upgrade once they decided to relocate to the upgrade. Whereas the upgrade facilities factors represented more than just facilities but a better standard of living life, a "good life".

On the other hand, the un-relocated households mainly considered economic factors in their decision not to relocate to the Kibera upgrade programme. Socio-cultural factors were not major factors in their decision not to relocate to the upgrade. The economic factors considered represented: First, a perceived increase in the cost of living associated with the relocation to the upgrade. Such as rise in rent rates and fare, costs the un-relocated households could not take up. Second, relocation represented a possible loss of livelihood for those who had a livelihood source. Those who did not have a sure source of livelihood relocation represented a possible decline in possibility of earning a livelihood. As their source of livelihood was obtained by the fact the households were in the slums. Such as those who trekked to search for work or got work opportunities in areas near the slum.

6.3 Recommendations

The relocation to the upgrade programme was the ideal situation in meeting the objectives of the phase one Kibera upgrade programme. This study argued there were a myriad of factors considered in the decision to relocate or not to relocate to the upgrade programme. It was not just about the new upgrade houses affordability or In-affordability. The study having demonstrated this, it is therefore important for these factors to be understood by programme developers In the implementation of other phases of the Kibera upgrade programme. First, to ensure the factors considered by the households that decided to relocate are improved and consolidated. Secondly, to ensure the factors un-relocated households are integrated in project planning. This will enhance uptake of new upgrade houses. Consequently, over time reduce the numbers of slum households that decide not to relocate to any upgrade phase. Leading to reduction in number of slum households excluded In process of slum upgrading. It is thus upon this basis the following policy recommendations are made and areas for further studies.

6.3.1 Policy Recommendations for the Ongoing Kibera Upgrade Programme

6.3.1.1 Selection of Sites to Implement Upgrade Programmes

The selection of construction sites to locate the upgrade houses is a very Important aspect In the Implementation of an upgrade. As it is possible, the upgrades should be located as proximate to the slums as possible. The policy should be the preferred upgrade site to be located in the slums. If this is not possible, alternative sites should be selected based on their distance from the targeted slum community to be relocated. Therefore, the closer the proposed site is to the slum the more it is preferred than another site far off. This assures the slum households of their livelihood sources that are within or near the slums where they live.

6.3.1.2 Innovative Management of the Upgrade

There should be innovative management of the upgrade particularly focusing on rent arrangements at the upgrade. Over and above the monthly fixed date payment of the upgrade house rent, slum households should be given an option to pay for the houses irregularly as they get their income. That is, not only allowing the fixed date, fixed amount for settling their rent. The slum households should be allowed to pay as they get income and at whatever figure probably starting from Kshs 20. Once someone gets some money they have the option to deposit it as part of the given months rent. At the same time, there should be a cap on the maximum number of months that one can go without meeting the rent. For instance, a maximum of three months and which the households are aware of and those who have not updated their rent in the period are evicted, this clearly communicated in the forums to educate the slum households on the upgrade before relocation. This will ensure the slum households are aware of availability of this rent payment option and eviction possibility. There is a high likelihood over time the tenants will appreciate the hotter living conditions at the upgrade and will try not to lose the opportunity through eviction. This as disclosed by households that relocated and who stated that the upgrade facilities accessed presented an opportunity for a better life. This innovative management approach would lead to the inclusion of all the people in the slums. Out of the appreciation the slums accommodate the lowest in the society in terms of economic capabilities.

6.3.2 Recommendations for Further Study

The study found that 82% of the relocated respondents at the Kibera upgrade knew or had heard of people who relocated to the upgrade but went back to the Kibera slums. In view of this finding, we recommend a case study on households that had relocated to the upgrade and are going back to the slums. An in-depth analysis of factors leading to relocated households re-relocation back to the slums.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for Relocated Households

My name is Martin Mugambi Njeru, a postgraduate student at the Institute for Development Studies-University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a study on the Kibera upgrade programme and the household relocation decision. You are among a group of Individuals randomly selected for the study. I will appreciate your willingness to participate by answering this questionnaire I wish to assure you that the information you provide is purely for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Questionnaire Background Information

1. Date of interview
2. Respondent name (Optional)
3. House number.

Household Socio-economic Characteristics

4. Sex of respondent: (1.) Male.....|2.| Female
5. Are you the head of the household' (I.) Yes..... (?.) No
6. If NO to Q 5, what is your relationship to the household head?
I | Spouse.....|2.) Son.....|3) Daughter.....|4.) Brother.....|5.) Sister
(6.) Other (specify)
7. What is your age in years?.
8. What is your religion?
U | Catholic.....|2.) Protestant.....(3.) Muslim.....|4.) African churches
IH Hindu.....|6.) None.....(7.) Others (specify)
What is the highest level of education attained?
t | None.....(2.) Madrassa.....(3.) Pie-primary.....(4) Some primary (class
15.) Primary complete.....|6.) Some secondary (form)
I⁷ 1 Secondary complete.....(8.) Tertiary/College
I⁹ 1 Unlvrtrtly

10. What is your marital status?

[1.J. Single]2. Married.....(3.) Separated.....[4.J. Divorced
[5.] Widowed.....

11. Do you have a child/ children? (1.J. Yes.....(2.) No.....(If, NO. Move to Q 16)

12. If YES to Q 11, how many are they?

13. If YES to Q 11. do you live with them here? Yes (all).....[2.J. Yes (some).....[3.] No

14. If YES to Q 13, how many do you live with here?

15. If YES to Q 13, what are their ages?

[1.J. Under 5 years (tick and Indicate number of children in this age bracket)

[2.] 6 - 14 years (tick and Indicate number of children in this age bracket)

[3] 15 - 18 years (tick and indicate number of children in this age bracket)

[4.] Over 18 years (tick and indicate number of children in this age bracket).....

16. In total, how many people (including the respondent) live in this house?....

17. Who are these people you live with?

18. Did you migrate to Kibera slums or were you born in Kibera slums?

(1.) Came to Kibera..... (2.J. Born in Kibera..... (enquire for year in either case)

19. If you migrated to Kibera slums, what initially made you migrate to Kibera slums?

(1.J. My relatives lived here.....[2.j. My friends lived here.....(3-1- Houses were cheap

[4.). My friends and relatives lived here.....(5.) Other (specify)

20. Approximately how long have you lived in Kibera slums?

21. In the Soweto-East village, were you?

(1.) a Tenant.....[?.] a landlord/Structure owner

(3.J. Both (landlord/Structure owner and tenant) [4.] Other (specify)

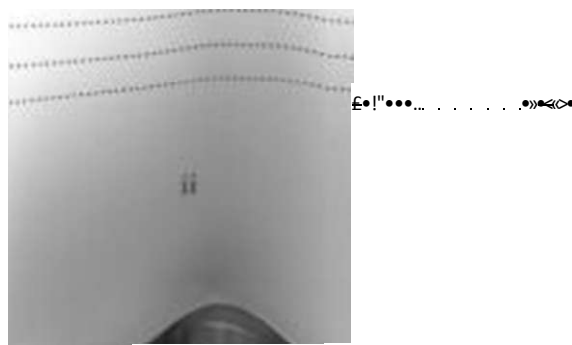
22. What was your occupation during the relocation period?

23. Approximately how much were you earning per month from this occupation?

24. Were you aware of the process leading to the relocation to upgraded programme?

II.). Yes..... 12-1 No

25. If YES to Q 24, briefly explain this process.....



26. Who made the decision to relocate to the upgrade programme?

- 11.) Husband.....[2.1. Wife.....[3). Husband and wife
 (4 | Whole family (Husband, Wife and children).....(5.) Mother.....(6 1 Father
 (7.). Self (living alone).....[8.]. If not any of the above indicate whom

27. Respondents dwelling place

Observe and tick in the boxes as appropriate		
Roof type	Floor type	Wall type
1. Corrugated iron sheets/Mabatl (J 2. Other -Indicate what [1. Earth/sand/Mud [1 2. Cemented!	1. Mud 2. Corrugated iron sheets () 3. Clay bricks (4. cement blocks 5. Stone wall []

Social Cultural Factors and Household Decision to Relocate

28. Had you talked to anyone outside your family about the decision to relocate to the upgrade? 11.) Yes.....[2.]. No

29. If YES to Q 28, who did you talk to?.....-

- [1.J. Friends.....[2.J. Neighbours
 (3.1. Friends and Neighbours.....(4). If not any of this indicate whom

30 If YES to Q 28, why did you talk to this particular person/ people?

31 During the relocation period, were you part of any social grouping in the Soweto-East village? [1.J. Yes.....[2.J. No.....(If, NO. Move to Q37)

32. If YES to Q 31, what was the group about?

33. If YES to Q 31, were members of your group also Identified for relocation?

- U.J Yes (all).....[2.J. Yes (part).....[3.J. None.....(If, None. Move to Q37)

34 If YES to Q 33, did those who were identified to relocate come to the upgrade?

- [1.J. Yes (all came).....[2.J. Yes (part).....[2.]. No

35. If YES to Q 34, did you relocate because the members of your group also relocated?

11 J. Yes_____12.1. No__

36. Briefly explain your response in Q 35

Economic Factors and Household Decision to Relocate

37. Did you relocate because this new houses were affordable compared to houses in Soweto East village? [1] Yes.....[2.] No

38. Briefly explain your response in Q 37

39. Were you running a business in Soweto-East before relocation?

[1.] Yes.....[2.] No

40. Did you relocate because you would get a chance to run a business here?

[1.] Yes.....[2.] No

41. Briefly explain your response in Q40

42. Did you relocate because you felt you had a regular source of income that would enable you pay for the new house? (1.). Yes.....[2.] No

43. Briefly explain your response in Q 42

Upgrade facility Factors and Household Decision to Relocate

44 Which of the following aspects in the upgrade programme contributed to your decision to relocate to the upgrade programme?

Elements	Decided to relocate to access the following facility	The following facility did not contribute to the decision to relocate
45. Electricity		
46. Clean water		

47. Toilets		
48. Bathrooms		
49. Waste collection/ cleaner surrounding		
50. Improved drainage		
51. Better roads		
52. Public open spaces/ community open spaces		
53. Spacious house/Better House space per person		
54. Improved security		
55. Right to house/ One cannot be evicted arbitrarily		
56. Street lighting		
57. Better house structural quality		

58. Did you relocate here because the government educated/sensitized you about the upgrade programme? (1.J. Yes.....{2.J. No~

59. Briefly explain your response In Q 58

60. Did you relocate here because you had a chance to survey and see the houses in the upgrade programme before relocation (1.)Yes.....|2.J. No

61. Briefly explain your response in Q60

62. Is there any other reason that led to your relocation that has not been captured In the earlier questions? (1.J. Yes.....(2.J. No.

63. If YES to Q 62, briefly state the reasons?

64. Were there people identified for relocation who refused to relocate?

H i Yes.....{2.1. No

65. If YES to Q 64, would you happen to know why?

66. Did you know of people who relocated but later returned to the Kibera villages?

[1.J. Yes.....[2.J. No

67. If YES to Q 66, would you happen to know why?

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for the un-Relocated Households

My name is Martin Mugambi Njeru, a postgraduate student at the Institute for Development Studies-University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a study on the Kibera upgrade programme and the household relocation decision. You are among a group of individuals selected for the study. I will appreciate your willingness to participate by answering this questionnaire. I wish to assure you that the Information you provide is purely for academic purpose and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Questionnaire Background Information

1. Date of interview
2. Respondent name (Optional)
3. Name of Kibera village where one is currently living

Household Socio-economic Characteristics

4. Sex of respondent: (1.) Male.....(2.) Female
5. Are you the head of the household? (1.) Yes.....[2.] No
6. If NO to Q 5, what is your relationship to the household head?
- (1.) Spouse.....[2.] Son.....[3.] Daughter.....(4.) Brother.....[5.] Sister
(6.) Other (specify).....
7. What is your age in years?
8. What is your religion?
- [1.] Catholic.....(2.) Protestant.....[3.] Muslim.....[4.] African churches
(5.) Hindu.....[6.] None.....(7.) Others (specify)
9. What is the highest level of education attained?
- (1.) None.....[2.] Madrassa.....[3.] Pre-primary.....[4.] Some primary (class)
(5.) Primary complete.....(6.) Some secondary (form)
(7.) Secondary complete.....(8.) Tertiary/College
- [9]. University**
10. What is your marital status?
- [1.] Single.....(2.) Married.....(3.) Separated.....[4.] Divorced
(5.) Widowed
11. Do you have a child/ children? (1.) Yes.....(2.) No.....(If, NO. Move to Q16)
12. If YES to Q11, how many are they?

13. If YES to Q 11, do you live with them here? Yes (all).....(2.). Yes (some).....[3.J. No

14. If YES to Q 13, how many do you live with here?

15. If YES to Q 13, what are their ages?

(1).Under 5 years (tick and indicate number of children In this age bracket)

(2). 6 • 14 years (tick and Indicate number of children In this age bracket)

(3.).15 18 years (tick and Indicate number of children In this age bracket)

(4.).Over 18 years (tick and indicate number of children in this age bracket)

16. In total, how many people (including the respondent) live in this house?

17. Who are this people you live with?

18. Did you migrate to Kibera slums or were you born in Kibera slums?

(1.). Came to Kibera.....12.). Born in Kibera.....(enquire for year in either case)

19. If you migrated to Kibera slums, what initially made you migrate to Kibera slums?

(1.J. My relatives lived here. J2.). My friends lived here.....[3). Houses were cheap

(4,]. My friends and relatives lived here.....[5.]. Other (spccify)

20. Approximately how long have you lived In Kibera slums?

21. During the relocation period in the Soweto-East village, were you?

(1.]. a Tenant.....(2.J. a landlord/Structure owner

IB.J. Both (landlord/Structure owner and Tenant).....(4.J. Other (specify)

22. What was your occupation during the relocation period?

23. Approximately how much were you earning per month from this occupation?

74. Did you know about the Kibera upgrade programme at langata? (1.). Yes.....[No.]

25. If YES to Q 24, were you aware of the process leading to people relocating to upgraded programme? [1.]. Yes.....[2.J. No

26. If YES to Q 25, briefly explain this process

27 Who made the decision not to relocate to the upgrade progamme?

[1-I- Husband.....[2.J. Wife.....[3.]. Husband and wife

[4.]. Whole family (Husband, Wife and children).....f5.1 Mother.....[6.1 father

[7.]. Self (Living alone).....[8.]. If not any of the above indicate whom

28. Character of respondents dwelling place

Observe and tick In the boxes as appropriate		
Roof type	Floor type	Wall type
1.Corrugjted Iron sheets/Mabati () 2. Other - Indicate what []	1. Earth/sand/Mud 2. Cemented I	1.Mud) 2.Corrugated iron sheets 3. Clay bricks) 4. cement blocks] 5.Stone wall

Social Cultural Factors and Household Decision not to Relocate

29. Had you talked to anyone outside your family about the decision not to relocate to the upgrade? [1.J. Yes.....|2.J. No

30. If YES to Q 29, who did you talk to?

11). Friend*.....|2). Neighbours

(3.J. Friends and Neighbours.....|4.]. If not any of this indicate whom

31. If YES to Q 29, why did you talk to this particular person/ people?

32. During the relocation period, were you part of any social grouping in the Soweto-East village? [1.]. Yes.....|2J. No.....(If, NO. Move toQ 36)

33. If YES to Q 32. what was the group about?

34. If YES to Q 32, were you concerned if you relocated you would not be able to participate in the social group (1.J. Yes.....|2.J. No

35. Briefly explain your response in Q 34

Economic Factors and Household Decision not to Relocate

36. Did you remain in the Kibera slums because houses were affordable compared to the upgrade programme? {1.]. Yes.....|2.]. No

36. Briefly explain your response in Q 35

38. Did you remain in the Kibera slums because you were running a business in the slums? 11.] Yes.....(2.) No

39. Briefly explain your response in Q 38

40. Did you remain in the Kibera slums because relocation would increase your fare when doing your various activities? [1.] Yes.....(2.) No

41. Briefly explain your response in Q40

42. Did you remain in the Kibera slums because you felt you would be able to buy things in small portions (Uchumi ya kadogo) [1]. Yev.....12.] No

43. Briefly explain your response in Q42

44. Did you remain in the Kibera slums because you felt you had an irregular source of Income (uncertainty in work) and you were no sure about paying for the new houses legularly? [1.] Yes.....(2.) No

45. Briefly explain your response in Q 44

46. Did you remain in the Kibera slums because you felt it was easier to get work opportunities while in the slums? [1.] Yes.....(2.) No

47. Briefly explain your response in Q 46

48. Did you remain in the Kibera slums because you felt you could not be able to meet the house rent in the upgrade? 11.] Yes.....[2.] No

49. Briefly explain your response in Q 48

50. Did you remain in the Kibera slums because you felt a slum landlord would understand if you were unable to meet the house rent regularly? [1.] Yes ... [2.] No ..

51. Briefly explain your response in Q 50

52. Is there any other reason that led to you not relocating that has not been captured in the earlier questions? [1.] Yes.....[2-)- No.....-

53. If YES to Q 52. briefly state the reasons?.....-