THE INFLUENCE OF URBAN REFUGEES ON HOUSING CONDITIONS IN EASTLEIGH ESTATE IN NAIROBI

BY

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DECLARATION

This research project report is my original work and has not been presented for any degree award at any other University or learning institution.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

FGD
Focus Group Discussion

HPG
Humanitarian Policy Group

UNHCR
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

JRSK
Joint Refugee Services of Kenya

DRC
Democratic Republic of Congo

UN
United Nations

IDPs
Internally Displaced Persons

UNON
United Nations Office in Nairobi
Abstract

The problems of refugees have always existed since the world wars and will continue to exist in the foreseeable future. Refugees arrive in the host countries to seek refuge and assistance. Every refugee hosting country always complains of diverse issues related to refugees including insecurity, resource squeeze and other social problems. Kenya has been a refugee hosting nation for decades. By 1988, there were already about 12,000 refugees in Kenya, the majority of whom were Ugandan and lived in Nairobi (UNHCR 2010). At that time, refugees were entitled to rights, including the right to move freely, work, access educational services, and apply for legal local integration (UNHCR 2010). However, in the early 1990s, there was escalation of conflict in countries surrounding Kenya; in particular, the collapse of the Somali state created large flows of refugees. Crises in Ethiopia and the Sudan in 1991-1992 and then in Burundi, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) increased the influx. The numbers of refugees in Kenya jumped from roughly 12,000 to 120,000 in 1991 to over 400,000 in 1992. By 2000, they stabilized at around 220,000 – however, recent events in Somalia have again increased refugee numbers, and current estimates put the total number of refugees at over 350,000 (UNHCR, 2010).

This study which was done in Eastleigh estate in Nairobi has revealed the influence of urban refugees on the housing conditions in Eastleigh estate mainly on rental charges, occupancy levels, water and electricity and toilets facilities. Eastleigh is located about 10 km from the Nairobi central business district. The purpose of this study was to establish the influence of urban refugees on housing in Eastleigh estate in Nairobi. It aimed at highlighting the main problems of influx of urban refugees on the housing conditions in the estate and ways of addressing the resultant conditions. The main objective of the study was to establish how the conditions of the housing units have changed with the unplanned influx of urban refugees to this estate. The methodology used in this study was descriptive survey design. Samples were drawn from the 15 streets of Eastleigh estate and a sample size of 150 respondents was selected to participate in the study. Data was collected using semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Secondary data sources were also analysed. The results were analysed by use of descriptive statistics and quantitative methods. The key findings of this research were that urban refugees have influenced level of occupancy, rental charges and toilet usage. The conclusions drawn from this research is that there is high level of occupancy in Eastleigh estate than other estates in Nairobi and that rental charges by the landlord are exploitative in nature. The researcher recommends that the host government needs to develop a policy on rental charges in order to stop rogue landlords from the exploiting the refugees. The researcher recommends that there is need to do a further research on the livelihoods systems of urban refugee and their influence on the Kenyan economy.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

As of 2010, only one third of the world’s 10.5 million refugees now live in camps; the rest live in cities (UNHCR 2010). Even UNHCR itself has recognised that over half the refugees it serves worldwide live in urban areas and many more are continuously moving to cities. Refugees in cities face different kinds of challenges from refugees in camps. While they may escape some of the dangers present in camps, they become vulnerable in other ways, especially in countries where they are not legally allowed to live and work in cities. On the other hand, urban areas present opportunities to build a livelihood and even begin businesses – and have more amenities to offer than the often-harsh environments of refugee camps. As the number of refugees in urban areas increases, there is a need for studies to focus on the challenges they face in surviving and prospering in the city as well as the challenges for the host country’s national and municipal authorities caused by an increase in the refugee population in urban areas. As UNHCR has recently recognised, in particular, studies need to focus on how refugees build economic networks and livelihood systems as well as how they access essential services such as housing, education, and healthcare. Studying refugees in an urban setting also needs to account for not only whether and how refugees are accessing these services but also how they affect the host country’s ability to provide these services.

This study focuses on one of those essential services – housing. It examines the case of Nairobi, Kenya, where there are tens of thousands of refugees from Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, the Congo, and other countries in the region. In particular, it focuses on the area of Nairobi known as Eastleigh, an area known for a high refugee population and a growing
commercial centre. The area has seen rents rise sharply while services remain poor. The study will therefore seek to understand more about the dynamics of the housing market in Eastleigh and how urban refugees impact upon those dynamics.

Kenya is an important case study because it is a major centre for refugees within both eastern Africa and the Horn of Africa and has since the late 1980s been in the midst of a continuously escalating refugee crisis. It is currently home to the largest refugee population in the world and continues to receive more asylum seekers every day from its unstable neighbour Somalia and the troubled Ogaden Region of Ethiopia. From the onset Kenya has been a refugee hosting nation with its rare peace and stability amidst crises in its neighboring countries.

By 1988, there were already about 12,000 refugees in Kenya, the majority of who were Ugandan and lived in Nairobi (UNHCR 2010). At that time, refugees were entitled to rights, including the right to move freely, work, access educational services, and apply for legal local integration (UNHCR 2010). However, in the early 1990s, there was escalation of conflict in countries surrounding Kenya; in particular, the collapse of the Somali state created large flows of refugees. Crises in Ethiopia and the Sudan in 1991-1992 and then in Burundi, Rwanda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) increased the influx. The numbers of refugees in Kenya jumped from roughly 12,000 to 120,000 in 1991 to over 400,000 in 1992. By 2000, they stabilized at around 220,000 – however recent events in Somalia have again increased refugee numbers, and current estimates put the total number of refugees at over 350,000 (UNHCR, 2010).

The Kenyan government does not have an official encampment policy, but in practice since the early 1990s, has expected and required refugees to stay in camps (Pavanello et al., 2010: 13-16). The Dadaab system of refugee camps is currently the primary place where Somali
refugees are encamped. Located about 50 kilometres from the Kenya-Somalia border in North Eastern Province, it was originally designed for 90,000 refugees, it soon held far more than that; the UNHCR declared the camps full in August 2008. By the end of 2009, it held more than 350,000 refugees; by the end of 2010, the camps are likely to hold at least 380,000 (HRW, 2010).

However, there is also a large population of refugees outside the camps. Even before the fall of Somalia, there were a number of Somalis from Somalia who sought refuge from Siad Barre's government in Nairobi. However, with the fall of the Somali state, a much larger number of Somalis fled Somalia for Nairobi. Since then, an unknown number of Somalis, probably in the tens of thousands, have travelled to Nairobi, either directly from Somalia or from the camps (Ibid). They disappear into the city, receiving almost no support. They live in the city illegally, unable to access many important services or work in the formal economy, and vulnerable to police harassment and arrest. They have devised mechanisms of survival, with some running their own businesses while others live on remittances from abroad. This population is for the most part formally unrecognised by the Kenyan government, with a few exceptions in which refugees have been accorded limited protection (Campbell, 2005: 6).

Despite the fact that the Kenyan government has paid little substantive attention to the issue of these urban refugees apart from threatening to 'mount crackdowns' and 'flush out' illegal aliens, the number of urban refugees in Nairobi continues to increase. The exact population is unknown; UNHCR figures put it at around 46,000 refugees (UNHCR 2010 cited in Pavanello et al, 2010) while other unofficial estimates are nearer 100,000 (RCK, 2008; Dix, 2006). Despite these high numbers, both quantitative and qualitative information available on these populations continues to be scarce. This study therefore hopes to contribute to the effort to
increase the available information on these people who have been living and working in Nairobi for in some cases over a decade.

The focus of this study, Eastleigh estate in Nairobi, has been the destination of majority of the urban refugees from the Horn of Africa including Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea. The increase in the number of urban refugees has contributed to the social problems experienced by all urban poor in Nairobi have including poor sanitation, inadequate and insufficient shelter, and unemployment. In some cases this has caused animosity between the urban refugees and the local population. An estimated 100,000 refugees are a great strain on Nairobi itself let alone a single estate where people are for the most part left to fend for themselves as regards social services.

A major challenge facing Eastleigh residents is housing. The area faces serious shortages and high rent charges, which many residents as well as commentators in the media and academia say are caused by the large number of urban refugees who have come to settle there. As Lindley (2005: 4) argues, a “key change in Eastleigh in the 1990s was the effect of the influx of refugees in the local property and housing market. Increased demand from Somalis, as Eastleigh became known as a Somali enclave, raised the cost of accommodation: the rent for single rooms after the influx in the early 1990s was five or more times the previous levels, pushing many Kenyans tenants out into other areas of Eastlands, while the refugees often lived in over-crowded conditions, sharing and sub-letting.”

The resulting situation raises many questions. How do these refugees find shelter in already congested and overcrowded two-avenue estate? What happened to the majority of Kenyans resident in Eastleigh? What role did the City Council play? Are the complaints by citizens
about the escalation in house rent and uncomfortable housing conditions genuine? Using a survey, semi-structured interviews, and a focus group discussion, this study delved into these questions and others regarding the effects urban refugees in Eastleigh have had on the local housing conditions.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Access to affordable and decent housing is a universal human right – including for urban refugees and other particularly vulnerable populations. In many Third World cities however, just like the urban poor and other migrants, urban refugees face an acute shortage of appropriate accommodation. Moreover, while many poor citizens are sometimes hosted by extended family members who live in the cities as they try to fend for food and employment, urban refugees do not always have such options. This therefore means that urban refugees have to compete with the local population for low-cost housing, thereby escalating the demand for these resources and contributing to an increase in price and often a worsening in quality (Jacobsen, 2005).

In the case of Nairobi, Eastleigh estate is the major destination for refugees. Currently an overcrowded two-avenue estate interconnected by over 12 streets, it was initially designed as a residential estate for Asians during the colonial era. It has undergone tremendous change since the early 1990s, and the large increase in its population has placed great strain on the available housing space in the estate.

This study explored how urban refugees have influenced housing conditions in Eastleigh estate. It looks at the influence these refugees have had and continue to have on the level of occupancy in the housing units, rental charges, water and electricity supply and the sanitary situation of the toilet facilities of the housing units in this area of Nairobi.
1.3 Purpose of the Study

This study was necessitated by the fact that, despite the housing shortage and rising property prices in the Nairobi Eastleigh estate, there has been little research done on how and in what ways the urban refugees may have contributed to this problem in the estate. The purpose of this study was to establish the influence of urban refugees on housing conditions in Eastleigh estate in Nairobi.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study were to:

1. Determine the extent to which urban refugees have influenced occupancy levels in housing units in Eastleigh estate.

2. Establish the extent to which urban refugees have influenced rent per room in housing units in Eastleigh estate.

3. Determine whether urban refugees have influenced water and electricity bills per room in housing units in Eastleigh estate.

4. Establish to what extent the urban refugees have influenced number of persons using each available toilet in housing units in Eastleigh estate.
1.5 Research Questions

This study sought answers to the following questions:

1. To what extent have urban refugees influenced the number of occupants in housing units in Eastleigh Estate?

2. To what extent have urban refugees influenced rent per room in housing units in Eastleigh estate?

3. In which way have urban refugees influenced monthly water and electricity bills per room in housing units in Eastleigh estate?

4. How have urban refugees influenced the number of persons per toilet in housing units in Eastleigh estate?

1.6 Justification of the Study

Little research has been done on the consequences of the urban refugees on housing sector in Eastleigh estate and this study was intended to fill this gap. This study was important to ensure that necessary data was gathered to add to our body of knowledge on urban refugees internationally and in Kenya specifically.
1.7 Significance of the Study

The results of this study will be helpful to policy makers in enabling them to make informed decisions on tackling issues of housing in relation to urban refugees in Kenya. The study attempted to reveal the myths and realities of the role of the urban refugees on housing conditions in Eastleigh estate and will be relevant to the city council, government agencies and other stakeholders to review their actions and inactions on this problem. The findings will be useful to non-governmental agencies and refugee-hosting governments who want to find ways of mitigating the impact of urban refugees on municipal services and craft strategies on how to minimise hostilities between urban refugees and the local residents.

1.8 Basic Assumptions of the Study

The major assumptions of the study were that; The urban refugees in Eastleigh have had an influence on housing conditions in Eastleigh estate, the sample that was taken in this research was representative of the target populations: Kenyan residents of Eastleigh and refugees residing in Eastleigh estate, the instruments of collecting data were valid and designed for the study; all efforts were made to ensure that respondents understood the study and felt comfortable responding fully and honestly. Finally, the time allocated for the research was sufficient to collect adequate data required for the analysis.

1.9 Delimitation of the Study

The study focused on the influence of urban refugees on housing conditions in Eastleigh estate only, though there are other estates in the city where urban refugees live. The data and analysis presented here attempted to answer the research questions stated above, though the analysis also point towards new and other future research areas. The study took a period of six months.
It was a challenge to identify who was and was not an urban refugee in Eastleigh estate. The estate hosts a diverse group of people from different regions from Kenya as well as different countries from the region. Many identities overlap; it was difficult to tell in a short space of time for example who is a Kenyan Somali and who is a Somalia Somali but this challenge was overcome because the researcher and his two assistant were all ethnic Somalis and have lived in Eastleigh for sometime. Another challenge was that the urban refugees are very sensitive and fear authorities because of their illegal status; they sometimes do not provide information as needed for fear of reprisals but this was overcome by using the right entry-points-such as elders amongst them, opinion holders and people they are familiar with as described in the data collection technique.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

1.11 Definition of Significant Terms used in the Study

House or shelter that is adequate according to UN Habitat is defined as: “more than a roof over one’s head, it means adequate privacy, adequate space, physical accessibility, adequate security of tenure, structural stability and durability, adequate lighting, heating and ventilation, adequate basic infrastructure such as water, sanitation, and waste management facilities, suitable environmental quality and health factors and adequate and accessible location with regard to work and basic facilities, all of which should be available at an affordable cost. The absence of these housing necessities is seen as the defining characteristic of slums: lack of basic services; illegal or poor building structures; overcrowding and high density; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; inadequate access to safe water; hazardous locations; insecure tenure; and poverty leading to social exclusion.
Housing includes the physical aspects of housing, such as the structural and design features (e.g., house type, space, warmth, and dryness).

Refugee According to the 1951 UN convention, a refugee is an individual who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality or being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it (United Nations, 1951).

Refugee camp According to the UNHCR's Handbook for Emergencies refugee camp is a term used to describe human settlements, which vary greatly in size and character. In general refugee camps are closed areas restricted to refugees and those assisting them, where protection and assistance is provided until it is safe for the refugees to return to their homelands or resettled elsewhere.

Urbanization: is defined by the United Nations as movement of people from rural to urban areas with population growth equating to urban migration.

Urban refugee According to Jacobsen, 2005, urban refugees are self-settled refugee formally recognized or not residing in urban areas. Urban refugees therefore will be assumed in this study to be a special category of refugees who have fled their countries but instead of settling in designated and recognised refugee camps are illegally residing in urban centres where they are not recognised by the authorities. They could have migrated from a rural or an urban setting initially.
1.12 Organization of the Study

This research consists of five chapters. Chapter one presents the background to the study problem, the statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, the delimitation of the study, significance of the study, limitation of the study, and the definition of terms.

Chapter two presents a review of literature dealing with the subject under investigation from the international to the local level, bringing into light what other authors, researchers and analysts have written about it and identifying the gaps this study is intended to fill.

Chapter three of this research explains the methodology, which was used to gather data. The chapter consists of research design, target population, sampling and sampling selection procedures, research instruments, validity and reliability of the instruments, data collection procedures and data analysis techniques.

Chapter four presents the respondents return rate, demographic characteristics of respondents, distribution of respondents by gender, age, education level, influence of urban refugees on occupancy level, rent, water and electricity and toilet facilities.

Chapter five of this study presents summary of findings, conclusions, recommendations, areas for further research and contribution to the body of knowledge.

1.13 Summary

This chapter has addressed pertinent topic of the study. It gave in-depth analysis of the background of the problem clearly stating the problem to be addressed. It set out the objectives that the research will meet as well justifying the need of the study. It concludes with a section on delimitation, limitations and general organization of the study to be undertaken. It therefore sets the momentum for the following chapters.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The World Wars and the immediate post-war periods produced the largest population displacement in human history. What followed was a web of movement and people uprooted from their homelands by conflicts, civil strife, environmental disasters and hunger from famine in different parts of the world. These displaced people moved and crossed borders to seek safety in neighbouring countries (Kuhlman, 1994).

The post-war period also led to the creation of the international refugee regime, with the signing of the 1951 United Nations Convention Related to the Status of Refugees, later reinforced by the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention. Refugees thus were given rights to seek safety in other states; however, those states could limit their movement and their ability to integrate into society in the host state.

Another change that has marked the second half of the twentieth century is increasing urbanisation. It is estimated that more than half of the Sub-Saharan Africa population will be living in urban centres in two decades' time (Pavanello et al. 2010). Refugees have also been moving to urban areas. It is currently estimated that almost half of the world's 10.5 million refugees live in urban centres (UNHCR 2010). The majority of these refugees have been moving to urban centres where social problems that come with urbanization already exist. The urban poor are already struggling with lack of adequate shelter, unemployment, unhygienic conditions, insecurity and shortages of social services. The arrival of a large number of urban refugees in already fragile urban area is likely to accelerate the trouble these urban poor are facing and create a serious resource squeeze.
This chapter reviews literature to do with refugees on a global and local level, refugees in Kenya, and the increasing urbanisation of which urban refugees are a part.

2.2. Refugees: the International Situation

According to the UN Refugee Statistics Report 2009, the number of people forcibly uprooted by conflict and persecution worldwide now stands at 42 million. In the same report it states that developing countries hosted 80 percent of those uprooted by violence in 2008. In 2008 Pakistan hosted the most refugees – 1.8 million – while Syria hosted 1.1 million, Iran hosted 980,000, Germany hosted more than 580,000, and Jordan hosted just over half a million. In Africa, Chad hosted the most with over 330,000 refugees living there while Kenya and Tanzania were each caring for more than 320,000 refugees. In the same report, the leading countries of origin for refugees and displaced persons were: Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Sudan, Colombia and D.R. Congo. All these countries are still bedevilled by intractable conflicts within their borders.

According to UNHCR (2010), at the beginning of 2009, there were more than 10 million people of concern to UNHCR in sub-Saharan Africa, including some 2.1 million refugees, 305,000 asylum-seekers, more than 6.3 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and an estimated 100,000 stateless people. Somalia faces one of the most severe forced displacements in the region, with more than 1.5 million of its citizens uprooted many times over. Thousands have entered Ethiopia and Kenya as refugees.

2.3 Refugees: The local Scenario

Kenya was hosting refugees as early as the 1970s with refugees coming from Uganda, Ethiopia and other neighbouring countries. By the end of 1977, between 9,000 and 10,000 people, mostly Ugandans, were receiving aid through the UNHCR and Joint Refugee Service
of Kenya (JRSK). There may have been up to 10,000 other Ugandans may have been living in Kenya, some of whom were self-supporting, but others of who were in great need, but unable to get official help. (Pirouet, 1979). The rate at which refugees were coming to Kenya accelerated in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

In the early 90’s the whole arithmetic of the refugees scourge in Kenya changed. With the crumbling of the Somali State and the development of dictatorial regimes in Ethiopia and Eritrea, Kenya became a safe haven for thousands of asylum seekers running away from persecution. In the Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya, over 300,000 refugees are hosted. Overcrowding is putting a severe strain on infrastructure and services and leading to reductions in the standard of assistance.

2.4 Kenya’s Refugee policy
The Kenya government official refugee policy according to the refugee Act 2006 is that those in camps are *prima facie* refugees and those who come to urban areas are illegal immigrants. The authorities therefore require refugees to live in camps or settlements and view urban refugees as illegal migrants. Those who are not in camps are on their own. It is also important to note that the authorities tolerate these refugees but occasionally when there are issues of insecurity target them and are at times harassed by the law enforcers. These urban refugees are always legally in limbo. It does mean therefore that the urban refugees in Eastleigh estate are unwanted aliens in the city.

2.5 Urbanization
It is forecasted that in the next 40 years, seventy 75 percent of the world’s 6 billion people will live in urban centres. This urbanization is expected to increase poverty burden, spread disease and crime, which will most likely be felt by cities in developing countries. The
problem is that in many countries, urban growth has outpaced the ability of governments to build essential infrastructures and enact and enforce the legislation needed to make life in cities safe and healthy.

Rapid urbanization in developing countries started much later and followed a different pattern. Although, these new urban settings followed the same sequence of rapid population increases, dramatic rural–urban migration rates and major environmental impacts, this was often accompanied by low or medium economic growth rates. The authorities responsible for managing the urban areas are often ill-equipped to meet the housing needs of the population influx. As a result, the majority of people live in slums, where individual households build their houses incrementally by using their own savings. (John et al., 2008)

Sounding a new alarm, Anna Tibajjuka, the Executive Director of the UN-Habitat said during the Governing council meeting in Nairobi 2007, “the 21st Session of the Governing Council was being held at a critical time in history: “The year 2007 is a year when human beings will become an urban species, homo urbanus. From now on the majority of people will no longer be rural but urban. And there is no going back for this demographic shift. The transition is irreversible.” She warned delegates that UN-HABITAT research showed that across the planet the rate of slum formation was today almost the same as the rate of urban growth. This implies that most of the people who are migrating to cities, and who are born in cities, are joining the ranks of the urban poor and slum dwellers.

2.6 Urban Refugees

As Jacobsen, (2004:57) writes, “urban refugees are self-settled refugees—formally recognized or not—residing in urban areas.” In the Global south people migrate for various reasons. Some are economic migrants, others environmental migrants while some flee from persecutions. It is therefore difficult to isolate who has migrated for what reason. The livelihoods and economic problems facing the urban poor are similar. The difference for
Urban refugees and migrants is that they face additional problems related to their legal status and to xenophobia. We assume that refugees live in camps and are isolated group of people but a growing number move to the cities and towns of host countries. Compared with their co-nationals in camps, urban refugees often face greater protection risks and receive less assistance with shelter, healthcare, education, and other social services—sometimes none at all. (Jacobsen, 2004)

Urban refugees have in all practical sense devised ways and means of survival. They start up small enterprises, work for relatives, sell merchandises on the streets and receive remittances from relatives abroad. With no recognition, or work permit, they have to live by all and sundry. Urban refugees find their way to towns and cities because it is assumed that most of them are from urban socio-economic backgrounds and choose to come to towns because they cannot farm or pursue livelihoods in rural areas and camps. While some urban refugees pass through camps, many come directly without humanitarian assistance along the way.

2.7 UNHCR Urban refugees Policy

According to the new UNHCR (2009) Policy on Urban Refugees released only in 2009 acknowledges that the world is undergoing a process of rapid urbanization. In 1950, less than 30, per cent of the world's population lived in cities and towns. That figure has now increased to over 50 per cent and is expected to reach 60 per cent by 2030. In terms of population numbers, the statistics are equally striking. While some 730 million people lived in urban areas in 1950, that figure has more than quadrupled in the past 60 years and now stands at over 3.3 billion. In view of these developments, it is no surprise to find that a growing number and proportion of the world's refugees are also to be found in urban areas.

As well as increasing in size, the world's urban refugee population is also changing in composition. In the past, a significant proportion of the urban refugees registered with
UNHCR in developing and middle-income countries were young men who possessed the capacity and determination needed to survive in the city.

As well as increasing in size, the world's urban refugee population is also changing in composition. In the past, a significant proportion of the urban refugees registered with UNHCR in developing and middle-income countries were young men who possessed the capacity and determination needed to survive in the city.

2.8 Kenya's Housing Situation

Kenya's housing sector is currently beleaguered by alarming combination of challenges and strains. Urbanization coupled with high population growth rates, poor domestic policy performance and the associated debt burdens have had devastating impacts on development policies and strategies. The urbanization process is itself not the problem in these areas. The main problem is that the urban centres and the authorities responsible for their developments have not been able to cater for the basic need of the increasing population resulting in many negative developments accompanying the urbanization process. The negative developments have manifested themselves in the forms of unemployment, widespread poverty, deficient housing and homelessness among others. The problem is more acute in the urban areas where more than five million residents now live in deficient, health threatening houses and conditions.

Deficient housing manifests itself in the rapid formation and growth of informal settlements and informal structures matched by deficiencies in the supply of the most basic infrastructure and public facilities required for humane habitation. Therefore the living conditions tend to deteriorate at an alarming rate. This notwithstanding, it is also worth noting that approximately half of Kenya's population lives in slums and informal settlements.
Kenya's capital city Nairobi has some of the most dense, unsanitary and insecure slums in the world. Almost half of the city's population lives in over 100 slums and squatter settlements within the city, with little or inadequate access to safe water and sanitation. Housing conditions in slums are deplorable and most residents have no form of secure tenure. While there are serious housing problems in Kenya, both in rural and urban areas, housing problems are most acute in urban areas. The phenomenon of rapid urbanization being experienced world-wide has brought about many challenges, the most critical being a general deterioration of the living standards of an increasing majority of urban dwellers. The problem of urban housing is mainly that of acute shortage in the number of dwellings, inadequate infrastructure, community facilities and services, over-crowding and sub-standard human settlements such as slums and squatter settlements. This situation has been aggravated by recent changes in socio-economic development strategies in a liberalized world economic order. The acute shortage in housing supply has led to high rents being charged by landlords.

2.9 Kenya's Current Housing Needs

Recent statistics from the Ministry of housing indicate that the majority of the people in urban areas do not own homes as the level of owner-occupancy has been declining. The housing problems in urban areas are also closely linked to the rural-urban migration of citizens in search of better economic prospects. Prevailing high unemployment levels, low investment in housing and infrastructure development by the public sector, high cost of finance and limited availability or lack of serviced land have exacerbated this situation. According to the Ministry of housing Strategic Plan, the estimated current urban housing needs are 150,000 units per year. It is estimated that the current production of new housing in urban areas is about 20,000-30,000 units annually, giving a shortfall of over 120,000 units per annum. This situation has given rise to mushrooming of informal settlements, construction of unauthorized extensions in existing residential estates and over-crowding. This has led to poor
standards of construction of housing units and disputes between tenants and landlords over rents charged especially in low income neighbourhoods such as Eastleigh in Nairobi

2.10 Critical review: Research gaps

Most research on refugees in Kenya focuses on refugee camp situations. Until recently, urban refugees in general have largely been ignored. In the case of Kenya’s urban refugees Campbell, 2005 gives three reasons why researchers have continuously ignored urban refugees research; Lack of demarcation of the urban refugees, that nobody knows where they start and where they stop. Refugees are widely dispersed throughout the city and intermix with a variety of local Kenyans, immigrants, asylum seekers, and foreigners—and often hold a variety of documents.

Secondly, the refugees in Eastleigh in Nairobi have no legal status are not registered with the authorities, hence are not entitled to protection or assistance. The majority of resources are thus directed to camp refugees. Third, the government’s position against refugees residing in cities has caused many researchers and policy makers to simply ignore or downplay the presence of urban refugees in Nairobi, who are, after all, supposed to be living in the camps.

As Landau (2004) also explicitly expresses researchers have ignored the urban refugees studies; he cites methodological challenges associated with studying refugees in urban environments; thematic and conceptual biases within refugee studies, the growing body of theoretically and methodologically sophisticated literature within the spheres of urban inquiries which includes literature on discussions about shifting patterns of identity; new trans-local forms of social and political organization; and concerns over environmental sustainability, health, education, and gender which is resonates with established ‘forced migration’ issues and finally the fluidity of the urban refugees population makes senseless to analytically distinguish, a priori, between the processes affecting these sub-populations.
Instead, research and advocacy are likely to be served when analysts are able to identify similarities and differences between forced migrants and hosts, who may themselves also be recent migrants.

This gives credence to the fact that as the numbers of urban refugees continue to increase and many more encamped refugees find their way to the cities researchers continued to focus on rural refugees or refugees in designated camps. It is noteworthy that the focus is now shifting to also to pay more attention to refugees in urban centres and their associated social problems.

The influx of Somalis into Nairobi increased the rent of a single room in Eastleigh from 1,000 Kenya shillings to Kenya shillings. As a result, most residents displaced by the Somali refugees are progressively joining shanty life in the neighbouring Mathare Valley or Kitui Village. Sometimes, (largely Kikuyu) landlords would even evict Kenyan tenants and replace them with refugees, from whom they could garner higher rents (Ondego 1998 cited by Campbell, 2005:19).

This trend has seemed to have continued. Many of the researches conducted in Eastleigh from the foregoing literature (Campell,2005;Karen,2004;Herz,2007;Lindley,2007) have concentrated on issues affecting the refugees only, such as their trade networks, Remittances from abroad, Security and protection issues and urban refugee livelihoods. Most of the researches have either scantily mentioned how the urban refugees have impacted on the social problems to hosting municipalities and urban centres. There is a limited research done on the impacts on these urban refugees specifically on the housing sector despite the fact that there has been complaints from the Kenyan residents in Eastleigh area. Even when researchers attempted to touch on it they have only done it in relation to how the urban refugees themselves struggle to get housing. This study will attempt to fill this void and contribute to the wider urban refugees research discourse.
2.11 The Study area

Eastleigh, located just a few kilometres from Nairobi's Central Business District at the centre of the Eastlands area was established between 1910 and 1914. It has undergone much change since then. (See appendix 4).

2.11.1 Commercial Activities

When the British colonialists established an airbase at Eastleigh, little did they know that the neighbouring would grow into a huge commercial centre later at the end of the twentieth century. Since the fall of Somalia in particular and the movement of Somali businessmen from cities like Mogadishu and Kismayu to Nairobi, the estate has evolved into a "Dubai" of East Africa. Businessmen based in Eastleigh import fabric and manufactured goods from China, Dubai, India and Thailand at cheap prices; their outlets attract traders from all over Kenya as well as other countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan and Uganda. The trade has greatly affected the appearance of the estate, which had previously been primarily residential, dominated by buildings of four to five storeys. Since the mid 1990s, numerous shopping centres housing hundreds of kiosks and shops have appeared on 1st Avenue. However, the estate still includes many residential blocks as well as smaller businesses - cybercafés, telephone booths, *hawallas* (informal money transfer agents), minimarts, and restaurants on 2nd Avenue, as well as the interconnecting streets and surrounding areas. The area continues to change, as residential areas give way to new malls and hotels.

2.11.2 Population of Eastleigh

As stated above, it is very difficult to find accurate estimates for either the total or the urban refugee population in Eastleigh. Estimates range from 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, (Herz 2007: 1; Lindley 2007: 2), though the lower end of the scale is probably more appropriate if it
is the central part of the estate under examination. Some estimates put the number of Somali refugees at 60,000 (Lindley 2007: 2); estimates of other refugee groups are not present in the literature.

2.11.3 Administrative Division

Administratively Eastleigh is divided into Eastleigh North and Eastleigh South. Both are part of Pumwani division of Nairobi. However, in the original plan for Eastleigh and in the everyday discussions among residents, the estate includes sections 1, 2 and 3. Two main avenues run down the estate, with 15 interconnecting streets running between them.

2.11.4 Education facilities and Networks

Eastleigh hosts numerous primary and secondary schools. Although roads leading to Eastleigh from the surrounding areas are in good shape, those within and around the shopping complex are badly damaged. The Moi Airbase is also located in this area and serves any military needs. Eastleigh is known to have all privately provided goods and services its residents require and is sometimes referred to as a “city” because of its self-sufficient nature.

2.11.5 Missing services

Eastleigh lacks many public amenities. The drainage system is poor. There are heap of garbage everywhere. The roads are full of potholes, and neither water or electricity supply is consistent. There are constant traffic jams and high levels of noise pollution from the matatus.

2.12 Conceptual Framework

The influence of urban refugees on housing conditions can be viewed from the various variables that come into play in housing units. For example, the level of occupancy per room can directly be influenced by the influx of the urban refugees. At the same time, rent affordability will also be directly influenced by demand created by the high level of occupancy in the housing units necessitated by the urban refugees. Supply of water and
electricity can also be compromised by high numbers of urban refugee settling in the estate who were not planned for which in turn will have influence on the sanitary condition of the toilets in the housing units. All these factors will contribute to the conditions that are prevailing in the estate’s housing. Arguably the government policy will also play a role in this mix either aiding or abating the conditions.

The relationship between these variables under study has been shown in figure 2 below.

*Figure 2: Conceptual framework*

Measure of the influx of urban refugees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of people living in a housing unit (residents)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Measure of housing conditions

- Number of occupants in a room
- Rent per room
- Number of persons per toilet
- Water and electricity supply per room

Independent Variable

Government Policy

Moderating Variable
### 2.13 Operationalization of variables

The independent variable in this study is the measure of the influx of urban refugees to the housing units in the estate i.e. number of people living in a housing unit in the estate, while the dependent variables are the measures of the housing conditions i.e. the number of occupants, the rent per room, the number of persons per toilet and the water and electricity supply per room. In the table below a summary has been given on how each of the variables will be operationalised and measured.

*Table 2.1: Variables in the study*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable(s)</th>
<th>Indicators (Conceptual)</th>
<th>Measure (Operational)</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Statistical Test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban refugees</td>
<td>Influx of urban refugees</td>
<td>Number of residents in a housing unit</td>
<td>Ordinal</td>
<td>Measure of dispersion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupancy level</td>
<td>Congested or Spacious</td>
<td>Number of people per room</td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>Product moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental rates</td>
<td>High or Low</td>
<td>Amount paid per room</td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>Product moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity and water supply</td>
<td>High or low</td>
<td>Supply consistency</td>
<td>ordinal</td>
<td>Measures of central tendency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toilets</td>
<td>Adequate or inadequate</td>
<td>Number of persons per toilet</td>
<td>Ratio</td>
<td>Product moment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The foregoing literature revealed that, past researchers focused their research activities on different factors which do not provide a solution to the problem under study. The demand for an effective solution to the prevailing urban refugee problems continues rising as much as their population continues to escalate.

With the population of Eastleigh escalating and housing sector not expanding what happens? Urban refugees must compete for housing in this fast squeezing sector with the local residents who have legal documents, government support and documents that can act as security. Without all these requirements from the urban refugees they still manage to survive and at times prosper better than the local residents. How then do they manage to circumvent these hurdles and survive? What strategies do they employ to sway away the local authorities to disregard the city by-laws, plans and zoning rules to change the house use or house development regulations?

The focus of the authorities has been much on security related issues, conducting swoops to weed out criminals amongst the urban refugees immigrants, sometimes assumed. The authorities have either ignored the wider perspective of the urban refugees' burden to the local population. The degree of local antiforeigner hostility toward urban refugees has been near xenophobia. Locals associate all social problems like crime, congestion among other problems they face in their daily lives with the urban refugees. But all these cannot happen unless they do have adequate housing units to operate from? How then do they secure these houses?

This sustained focus of authorities on the immediate visible issues which are sometimes exaggerated by corrupt and publicity seeking authorities hence blinding the real issues of concern to the local population as pertains to the urban refugees' infiltration in their daily lives. This study will closely look at this hidden grieve of the locals.
Moreover while the UNHCR Urban refugee policy tackles issues that directly affect the urban refugees such as protection, respect for their human rights among others, it is silent on how to deal with the problems they cause to the hosting communities in terms of housing and other social problems associated with them. Further analysis of the policy documents show shortfalls in addressing the real problems but only acknowledging issues these urban refugees will bring to the social fabric of the host community in an urban setting. It contains details much of which is what it envisages as near ideal situation to protect the rights and freedom of urban refugees as per the 1951 United Nations Convention on Refugees. It therefore leaves glaring gaps and assumes that the urban refugee will not have individual and collective impact on the lives of the host city, part of city or community in which they are hosted.

This research will therefore give credence to the fact that such policy need to integrate the needs and aspirations of the hosting community in a wider perspective to avoid conflicts and enhance coexistence. The basic needs of any human being food, clothing and shelter, the policy ought to have addressed how these needs will be affected by extra population of thousands of urban refugees in any area and what could be done to appease the local hosting communities.

As Little (2003:166 cited by Campbell, 2005:14) writes, “Eastleigh is neither formal nor informal, ... In some respects, it symbolizes a graphic form of resistance to an economic and political system that excludes it. As much as it may have been excluded, it is now part and parcel of the urban fabric of Nairobi. No matter the outcomes of the current peace processes being negotiated, with multi-million shilling investments and prosperous businesses, refugees in Eastleigh are there to stay”. This therefore informs part of the decision to undertake a study on this problem.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the location of the study, research design, target population, sampling and sampling procedures, research instruments, validity and reliability of the instruments, data collection procedures and data analysis techniques. The chapter discusses the research design and methodology of the study. The researcher had to be precise in the design on sampling methods, data collection and data analysis. Proper Research design provided the ultimate project product without which it will have been difficult to come up with this report. The design encompassed the samples, instruments, validity and reliability of the instruments so as to address the central research questions. The methodology included using logical methods in collecting of the data, determination of target population, sampling technique, sample size and data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

Research design is the overall plan for conducting the study in order to answer the research questions; the research design indicates the steps to be followed in conducting the research. A descriptive research design was used for the study. Descriptive research design is a systematic, empirical inquiry into which the researcher does not have direct control of independent variables as their manifestation has already occurred or because they inherently cannot be manipulated. Inferences about relationships between variables are made, from concomitant variations of independent and dependent variables. The current research design was chosen because the study was not confined to the collection and description of the data, but sought to determine the influence of the urban refugees on the housing conditions in
Eastleigh estate. Descriptive survey design was used both at the preliminary and explanatory stages. This has allowed the researcher to gather more information for the study. The face-to-face correspondences with the respondents have given the researcher the authenticity and confidence to make inferences from the data collected so as to achieve the objectives of the study.

3.3 Target population

The study’s target population was the residents of Eastleigh estate. Due to the illegal status of the urban refugees, it was not easy to derive an exact measurement of the population of the estate. Estimates range from 10,000 to 100,000. (Pavanello, 2010, Herz, 2007, Lindley, 2007). The sample for the study’s questionnaire was designed to capture residents from all fifteen streets of Eastleigh estate.

3.4 Sample Size and sample Selection

This represents the number of respondents who were selected from the target population to constitute a sample. The sample size represented the number of respondents who were selected through the use of simple random sampling technique in the fifteen streets of Eastleigh estate and snowball sample was further used to get the right respondents. Those who were identified to be part of the sample had either the questionnaire administered by the researcher and his assistants or issued to fill them on their own and were later collected. A sample size of 150 respondents was selected and this consisted of 75 urban refugee households and 75 Kenyan citizen households. Each of the streets in Eastleigh estate was taken as a unit and provided 10 respondents to the overall sample of 150.
3.4.1 Sampling technique

The study applied Simple random sampling technique to select individual respondents from the target population, this involved dividing the target population amongst the fifteen streets of this estate in order to give equal representation of all the respondents in the target population. This made it possible for the study to have equal participation of both the urban refugees and Kenyan residents households. Once the Simple random established the housing units to be included in the sample from each and every street in the estate, the researcher further used snowball sampling technique to ensure the households with characteristics required were targeted. This turned out to be a satisfactory method for this study.

3.4.2 Sample Frame

This was the source list, the areas in which the samples were drawn, in this study the samples were drawn from the urban refugees and Kenyan households in the fifteen streets of Eastleigh estate. These involved; an equal number of the urban refugees households and Kenyan residents households in these streets.

3.5 Data collection instruments

In this study the researcher used semi-structured interview schedule as the main instrument of data collection. These tools were the most realistic tools in the collection of mostly descriptive data that was needed for this study. The interviews were administered directly by the researcher and his assistant while some questionnaires were dropped and picked at later stage and on agreed time. This involved the use of both structured and semi-structured questionnaires. Structured questionnaires listed close end questions where the respondents either answered one of the options provided. Semi-structured questions provided open-end
questions where the respondents stated and explained their views. Questionnaires prepared for the research addressed the variables stated in the research objectives. A pilot study was conducted before the actual study to test the validity and reliability of the questionnaires. The data collected consisted of both quantitative and qualitative.

3.5.1 Validity of the instrument

To ascertain the validity of the instrument, a pilot study was conducted in one of the streets (12th street) of Eastleigh estate, the study area, before the actual study took place. This was useful for the researcher to note the level of difficulty of the instrument and whether there were any ambiguities. The pilot study also served the purpose of testing relevance of the instrument to the objective of the study. Corrections from this pilot and suggestions by the supervisor and the panel were incorporated before a final questionnaire was produced. The questionnaire was also constructed using simple and plain English which was easily comprehended by all the respondents who were literate.

3.5.2 Instrument reliability

In order to improve the reliability of the instrument, the researcher used test-retest method where different set of questionnaires were administered at different times to the respondents in the 12th street to check on the consistency of their answers. The pilot study was done to ensure that the respondents have no difficulties in the understanding of the questions. Once ambiguities were detected, the researcher reframed or rephrased the questions and retested them to ensure that they were clear to understand. The test retest method improved the
reliability of the instrument by ensuring that there were no ambiguous questions and erroneous answers.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure

Data for this research report came from primary and secondary sources. Primary data collection was carried out in May and June 2010 by the researcher and two other trained research assistants briefed and coordinated by the researcher.

At the beginning of data collection period, the researcher and two assistants carried out a pilot exercise in the 15 streets in Eastleigh where the data collection exercise was to take place. They conducted six interviews in 12th Street and created a profile of residential areas in all of the other streets. These preliminary steps ensured the two research assistants understood the procedure to be followed for the in-depth household interviews, which would be carried out over the month of data collection and provided us with important contacts for the next stage of research.

For the next round of data collection, the team identified community leaders in the main residential areas of the 15 streets of Eastleigh and explained the project to them. As well as listening to their advice, the team gained their support, which proved crucial in building trust with survey respondents. When interviewees seemed suspicious of us, community leaders were important references in making people feel more comfortable expressing their views about their housing situation. Along with these community leaders, initial contacts established during the pilot exercise were helpful in identifying people to be interviewed; they introduced the team individuals who bear the same characteristics as defined by our methodology. In particular, many of those who were introduced by the elders agreed to be interviewed and gave useful information. This method worked very well, especially
considering that due to the fact that many urban refugees are in a vulnerable situation, living as illegal residents in Nairobi, and do not give out information about themselves easily.

Apart from those contacts introduced to us by community leaders and other contacts, the team visited households from those selected by the sampling technique. After we had informed them about the study and its intended purpose, most agreed to help and took time to answer the survey.

Finally, the researcher delivered some of the household questionnaires to the identified Kenyan households to be included in the sample. Some of these were administered by the researcher or an assistant while in the case of respondents who were able to read and write, respondents were given the opportunity to fill in the questionnaires on their own. In the latter case, the researcher or a research assistant was always present to offer guidance. In addition, information from these interviews was collated to sieve out any discrepancies and at times further interviews with other respondents in the same area were carried out in case the data collected was suspect.

As well as the structured interviews carried out using the questionnaire, the researcher also conducted a focus group discussion with 3 Kenyan residents of Eastleigh and 3 urban refugees residing in Eastleigh. The researcher led the discussion, beginning with the main questions on the survey questionnaire and then opening up space for conversation and debate.

Throughout the above process, the researcher took great exception to ensure the diversity of the population under study was properly represented in terms of gender, nationality, age, and residential area. In total, 102 household interviews, and a 6 member focus group discussion were conducted. Of these there were 40 Kenyan households and 62 urban refugee households. The urban refugees households were comprised of 47 Somali households, 10
Ethiopian households and 5 Eritrean households. The interviewees were also varied in terms of economic status and occupation.

To enable proper triangulation and analysis, secondary data was also collected and compiled through a thorough review of obtainable literature on urban refugees. The materials obtained included articles from academic journals, NGO reports about refugee issues generally, and government and NGO documents concerning refugee populations living in Nairobi. It is important to note that there is relatively little literature available on the urban refugee problem, which is globally under researched.

3.7 Data Analysis Technique

The initial step was cross-examining the data after fieldwork. This was important to ascertain the accuracy, completeness and uniformity of the data collected. In analysis of the quantitative data, the researcher used descriptive statistics such as frequency and percentages. This information was further presented using appropriate tables. Statistical packages such as Ms Excel and Ms Access Software were used to analyze the data obtained. Quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques were applied. The data was then presented in form of tables, this was clearly explained in data analysis and presentation of finding. Qualitative data on the other hand was analyzed descriptively.

3.8 Summary

This chapter addressed the methodology which was used to carry out the actual study. It stipulated the design, the sampling techniques, the instruments and how validity and reliability of the instruments were met. It also gave a detailed description on how data collection was done, concluding with the analysis technique employed by the researcher for the data collected to meet the objectives of the study.
CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses data analysis, presentation and interpretation of the research findings. It explains a broad range of the procedures that were used to analyze the data collected from various respondents through questionnaires, participant observation and focus Group Discussion. The chapter begins with the analysis of response rate where the actual representation of respondents in relationship to the sampling size was determined. Both quantitative and qualitative techniques were applied in the analysis of data while tables and percentages were used to present the analyzed data. The analyzed findings were drawn from the actual respondents and were presented and interpreted.

4.2 Analysis of the response rate

This section presents the respondent return rate from the fifteen streets of Eastleigh estate where the study was based and also the population category, either the urban refugee households or Kenyan households in the housing units which were targeted in the study. To determine the total number of the respondents who participated in the research study, through answering of the questionnaires. The response rate was illustrated using table 4.1 as follows;
Table 4.1: Showing the respondents rate of return from those targeted by the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Street</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
<th>Actual size</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Population category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Urban refugees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kenyans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 shows the analysis of the response rate; this demonstrates how the respondents in the 15 streets of Eastleigh estate participated in answering questionnaires. It shows the sample size of the respondents in each street and this clearly shows that a total of 150 respondents were issued with the questionnaires in the fifteen streets in Eastleigh estate, 10 in
each of the estates. The table presents that the actual representation of the respondents was 102 (68% of the targeted respondents) in total and this was presented in the fifteen streets.

The difference between the sample size and the actual representation was 34 respondents (32% of the total sample size) and this indicated that majority of the respondents participated in answering of the research questionnaires which were the major data collection instruments. In the population category, the urban refugees respondents were 62 (which is 61%) of the total actual respondents while the Kenyan respondents were 40 (which is 39%) of the total actual respondents. Out of the possible 150 respondents a total of 102 were successful which is 68% of the total targeted respondents. This means that the researcher was able to get satisfactory response rate which contributed to the availability of enough data that was further analyzed to determine the influence of urban refugees on the housing conditions in Eastleigh Estate. The respondents, though hesitant to respond to the questions at the beginning, were for the most part cooperative.

4.3 Demographic characteristics of the respondents.

Demographic information collected from the respondents included; gender, age and education level. Demographic characteristics were intended to show the diversity of the respondents in the study.

4.3.1 Distribution of the respondents by gender.

The researcher had to capture the gender of every respondent interviewed and those who filled the questionnaires themselves were required to state their gender. The responses were summarised in table 4.2 as follows:
Table 4.2 shows gender distribution amongst the actual respondents. It indicates that 57% of the respondents were male while 43% were female. This means that more males participated in the survey than female during the Study. In the population category urban refugees had 31 male respondents and equal number of females. Many of the urban refugees interviewed said that this was the case because of family disintegration and as people escaped from the wars in their countries, each arrived on his or her own. While on the other hand the Kenyan respondents produced 27 males against 13 females. This is the case because many of the Somali Kenyans residing in Eastleigh are either students or people who are working or running businesses; in both cases men dominate these categories, women mainly being responsible for petty trade.

4.3.2 Distribution of the respondents by age

The respondents interviewed were asked to state the age brackets they belonged to and their responses were summarised in table 4.3 as follows;
### Table 4.3: Distribution of respondents by age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age bracket in years</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-45</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 55</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>102</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3 shows the age distribution among the respondents who participated in the study. It shows that majority of the respondents (40%) were in the age bracket of 31-45 years and 34% in the age bracket of 18-30 years. This reveals the diversity of the residents in this Estate, which is a home to many young school going people and also families. Many of the respondents in the ages 18-30 were either going to school or started working and lived in Eastleigh. While the bigger age bracket were residents who are involved in informal sector such as selling goods, mainly textile.

### 4.3.3 Distribution of respondents by education level

In the Survey the respondents were asked to state the level of education whether may have attained in their respective countries of origin. This related to both the Kenyans and urban refugees respondents. Their responses have been summarised in table 4.4 as follows;
Respondents differed according to the level of education they had completed. The majority, 54 (53%), were unschooled, while 18(17%) had completed primary school, 13(13%) had completed secondary school, and 17(17%) had completed some kind of college or university course. Respondents were overwhelmingly employed in the informal sector, working as shopkeepers, M-pesa agents, fruit vendors, textile dealers, retailers, or tailors, except for a few who were in formal employment.

4.4 Influence of Urban Refugees on Occupancy levels in Housing Units in Eastleigh estate.

The population of this estate is very diverse, especially as it continues to develop into not only the commercial hub of Eastlands but also the main commercial centre of Nairobi itself, even challenging the Central Business District. The population in this estate has been rising in the last decade mainly due to the arrival and settlement of refugees from countries such as Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Rwanda, and Sudan. Overcrowding and poor sanitation have been the hallmark of this estate – something easily noticed by the one-time visitor to Eastleigh and
confirmed unanimously by interviews with residents. Reasons for refugees coming to Eastleigh vary, but most urban refugees arrive here looking for greater livelihoods opportunities and increased security. Others leave the camps because of the frustration of having to live where employment is non-existent for them and climatic conditions are harsh (Pavanello et al, 2010). In essence they moved to the urban centre seeking opportunities and economic independence in the hope of a better life.

One of the objectives of this study was to determine the extent to which urban refugees have influenced levels of house occupancy in the housing units in Eastleigh estate. First, they were asked to indicate the number of rooms their families occupied and whether the occupancy level had increased over time. As discussed in detail below, respondents almost unanimously reported that the occupancy level had increased greatly over the past ten years. To understand the dynamics of house occupancy on the estate, respondents were asked how long they had lived on the estate, the ownership of the housing unit they lived, and how they found housing in the first place. As discussed below, analysis revealed that the cost of finding a new room are high for new arrivals to Eastleigh; moving in with friends or relatives is much cheaper, which means that new arrivals often move in with people already living in Eastleigh, rather than displacing them. Finally, to understand what had attracted increasing numbers of people to the estate, the respondents were asked why they chose to live in Eastleigh, and their reasons they gave have summarized in the following sections.

4.4.1 Occupancy Levels

Fourteen percent of the respondents said they occupied a single room in the housing unit and the number of people living in such a single room varied from one to four. Forty-one percent of the respondents said they rented two rooms in the housing unit and the number of occupants ranged between three and eight members. Twenty-one percent of the respondent
said they lived in three rooms from the housing unit and the number of occupants varied from four to more than 10. The rest of the respondents (24 percent) lived in four or more rooms and had four to 12 occupants.

When asked about changes in the number of people living in a specific sized unit, respondents stated that there had been little change over the past year. However, when asked about change over the last three years, all respondents in all categories of rooms reported an increase in the level of occupancy by between 12 % and 18%. Finally, when respondents were asked about occupancy levels 6 and above years ago, the results showed a tremendous increase in the occupancy levels in housing units in Eastleigh. The respondents estimated that the increase was as large as 50%.

4.4.2 Dynamics of Finding Housing in Eastleigh

The sample included residents who had lived on the estate for varying amounts of time; however, only 25% had only been living in their current place of residence for one to three years. Thirty-two percent had been living in their current place of residence for four to six years while 30% had been living there for seven to nine years. Finally, just under 12% had been living in their current place of residence for ten years or more. Although the sampling technique may have favoured residents who had stayed in the neighbourhood for longer and thus had time to be more familiar with community elders and other neighbours, there are several factors which encourage people to stay in the same place of residence for several years. Although many people, especially young men seeking employment or enrolling in city universities, find it easy to move to Eastleigh because they can move in with a friend or relative, actually locating a new place to live on the estate is difficult. For example, respondents explained that house brokers normally demanded up to 10,000 shillings or more to find a new house, a process which can take up a couple weeks. These high transaction
costs explain why people stay where they are while new arrivals use friendship or family ties and share until they can find a place of their own.

Another reason why transaction costs are high is that urban refugees and other residents are often renting from middlemen rather than the landlord himself. Only seven respondents stated that they rented from urban refugees who owned the building – all but one Somalis – while 30 stated that their building was owned by Kenyan Somalis. The rest, 65, stated that the building was owned by other Kenyans; in these cases urban refugees normally sublet from a middleman, normally a Kenyan Somali.

When the respondents were asked to indicate how they acquired their rooms, 29 percent said they are subletting from friends or people they knew while 23 percent said they came to share a room with a friend already residing in Eastleigh. This means that just over half of all respondents were subletting or sharing with friends already in Eastleigh – both of which would lead to increased occupancy levels. The remainder faced high transaction costs to secure a room of their own: 35 percent said they paid agents to get them rooms, and 13 percent paid ‘goodwill’ money to the previous occupants to ensure they acquired the rooms at the time of the previous occupants’ departure.

4.4.3 Reasons for Coming to Eastleigh

Despite increasing occupancy levels and the resulting overcrowding, many people are still coming to and settling in Eastleigh. For urban refugees, they are attracted to the estate because it is one of the few areas of Nairobi where they can find people who speak their language and share their culture. Eastleigh hosts madrassas (Islamic education centres) and duksi (Koranic school) and restaurants which prepare Ethiopian and Somali cuisine. It also caters for other needs of refugees such as language schools, hawala (informal money transfer) agents, and many cybercafés and satellite telephone booths. Respondents also cited
the sense of security arising from the solidarity amongst different groups of refugees who organize to support each other in case of police harassment or arrest. Finally, Eastleigh serves as a safe haven for families to reunite after being separated by war in Somalia; people often welcome and host their relatives as they learn to navigate their new environment.

However, there are other reasons why the estate is attracting Kenyans and not just urban refugees. Many university students from Northern Kenya come to live in the estate as they can easily find rooms to share with friends and also enjoy the cheap prices and constant availability of good food. Finally, and most importantly perhaps, people are attracted by the vibrant business culture and the opportunity to seek employment in the growing commercial outlets of the estate. Eastleigh offers new residents opportunities that they would not be able to find elsewhere.

4.5 Influence of Urban refugees on rent in Housing Units in Eastleigh estate

Eastleigh estate in Nairobi hosts the single largest urban refugee population in Kenya, population estimates vary from 10,000 to 100,000 (Pavanello et al, 2010, Campbell, 2005). With such a high population in a relatively compact area, affordable accommodation has very quickly become a challenge in the estate. One effect of the high demand for accommodation and limited supply is high rent. There is much anecdotal evidence about high rents in Eastleigh. Newspaper articles have frequently highlighted the complaints of Nairobi residents about increasing rents in the area, and many of the respondents admitted that they frequently struggled to pay rent.

One of the objectives of this research was to establish the extent to which urban refugees have influenced the rental charges of the rooms in the housing units in Eastleigh estate. To achieve this objective the researcher sought the views of 150 residents of Eastleigh estate. These were equally divided amongst the urban refugee households and Kenyan households.
Residents were asked to indicate how much rent in Kenyan shillings they are currently paying per room as well as how much they were paying a year ago, 3 years ago, 6 years ago and more than 6 years ago for the same kind of room. They were then asked to indicate whether urban refugees have led to the increase of the rent charges in rooms in the housing units in Eastleigh estate. The results from the 102 successful respondents are discussed in detail below.

4.5.1 Reasons for Increased Rent in Eastleigh Estate

When asked about the extent to which the rent charges have increased in a span of a decade, 89% of the Kenyan citizens who were living in Eastleigh a decade ago said they used to pay between Kshs.2000 and 3000 for their single rooms. As of 2010, they were paying between Kshs.7000 and 10000 for the same room. Meanwhile 98% of the urban refugees who have lived in the same rooms for the same period said they were now paying between Kshs.10,000 and 14,000 whereas when they had arrived they had paid between Kshs.2000 and 3500.

Almost all respondents thought that the presence of urban refugees had contributed to the increase in rent in the estate. The responses from the 102 respondents which fully completed the survey are illustrated in the table 4.5 as follows;

Table 4.5: Showing summary of the responses to the question, "Do you think urban refugees have led to the increase in rent for rooms in this housing unit?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban refugees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the analysis of the 102 responses, only 7 (9%) have attributed the increase in rent charged per room to general population increase, shortages of housing unit, or increase in the cost of living. On the other hand, the vast majority – 93 respondents or 91% – were of the opinion that the urban refugees have greatly influenced the rent charges per room in the estate. When asked why, they cited the illegality of the urban refugees as an underlying factor in the increase of rent. They explained that middlemen in the housing sector take advantage of their illegal status. These middlemen, mainly Kenyan Somalis, rent flats from the Kenyan – mainly Kikuyu – landlords who own the housing unit. The majority of the landlords would rather rent to a fellow Kenyan with legal papers rather than directly to a refugee. In the meantime, urban refugees, due to linguistic and cultural ties, would mostly rather rent from another Somali rather than a Kikuyu landlord. If the refugees choose not to deal with middlemen, they normally have to pay three to four months’ rent in advance to secure accommodation. Landlords often worry that refugees will find a way to leave Kenya and seek asylum elsewhere and so like to have some insurance against this risk.

There are other factors that respondents cited as reasons for the increase in rent. As with many other parts of Nairobi, residents of Eastleigh complain that at times the landlords and the middlemen collude to raise the rent arbitrarily. Moreover, the growth of Eastleigh as a commercial centre is impacting upon the supply of residential housing; residents pointed to the conversion of the residential units into commercial units. Almost all shopping centres in Eastleigh sit on land where previously residential buildings once stood. Even the famous Garissa Lodge started out as residential housing before being changed into a lodge and then more recently a mall with hundreds of shops.

The results of the survey carried out for this thesis match up with the findings of a 2010 report by the Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG) which discovered that rents in refugee-dominated areas across the city are higher and that landlords often charge refugees more than
Kenyans. HPG stated that in Eastleigh, a 15 ft x 15 ft room normally shared by a family with five members costs up to 14,000 KES ($196) a month. Of course, as mentioned above, Eastleigh is a central location in the city and a growing business centre, which accounts for part of the high price. However, even in Githurai, an area on the outskirts of the city where many urban refugees live, 15 ft x 15 ft rooms run from 3,500 KES ($49). HPG also found evidence of discrimination against refugees. Landlords will often charge refugees more due to generalisations about refugees’ ability to access wealth – for example many assume that Somalis are normally successful business entrepreneurs or able to access remittances through relatives abroad. Finally the report also mentions the same mechanisms discussed above – subletting to middlemen instead of renting directly to urban refugees without papers – as responsible for rent escalation (Pavanello et al, 2010: 24).

4.6 Influence of urban refuges on water and electricity bills and supply in housing units in Eastleigh estate.

Water and electricity shortages in Eastleigh estate are daily phenomena. It is a common sight to see ladies lining up for water with jerry cans at least to guarantee their daily need. Water supply is so inconsistent that many of the residents have erected their own tanks as reservoirs instead of depending on the Nairobi Water and Sewerage Company. Supply of electricity is no different. The supply is very inconsistent, with power blackouts at times becoming daily occurrences or even lasting a whole week. Most commercial buildings in Eastleigh have generators, but people in residential buildings just have to manage without power.

One of the objectives of this research was to determine whether water and electricity bills and supply to residential housing units in Eastleigh has been affected by the increase in the numbers of urban refugees on this estate. The researcher asked the survey respondents the extent to which they thought refugees have influenced water and electricity bills in Eastleigh estate. Their responses are illustrated in the table 4.6 as follows;
Table 4.6: Showing summary of the respondents to the question on water and electricity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To a very great extent</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To a great extent</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>102</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis from the table shows that 92 (90%) of the respondents do not think that the urban refugees have influenced at all the water and electricity bills per room in the housing units in this estate. Only 10 (10%) are of the opinion that the urban refugees have had any influence on water and electricity bills per room in the housing units. The respondents interviewed attributed the increase in monthly water and electricity bills to mainly external factors such as drought that hinders electricity generation and lowers the water levels in the dams. They have also stated factors like general population increase, inefficiency of the service providers especially the government agencies like the Nairobi water and Sewerage Company and the Kenya power and lighting company.

Resident interviewed dissociated any serious influence by the urban refugees on water and electricity bills per room in the housing units. They could not also categorically say the amount they paid per room because most of them shared the bills from water for the whole unit or of so many rooms.

Meanwhile the respondents interviewed agreed to the fact that water and electricity supply has been influenced by the urban refugees. This they attributed to the high level of occupancy
in the housing units. This was further confirmed by the Focus group Discussion where the members pointed out the problems shortages of water and electricity supply in the estate due to the higher number of residents in the housing units. They were in agreement that the supply of water and electricity from source might be efficient but the amount might be insufficient for the big number hence leading to perennial water and electricity shortages in this estate.

4.7 Influence of urban refugees on the number of persons using each available toilet in housing units in Eastleigh estate

Hygiene and sanitation are important considerations in determining the quality of available housing. It goes without saying that proper disposal of human waste is a crucial element in any building be it residential or commercial. To comprehensively understand the influence of urban refugees on housing conditions in Eastleigh, one of the objectives set was to establish whether the number of persons using each available toilet has been influenced by the urban refugees coming to live on the estate. To achieve this objective the researcher sought the views of 150 residents in Eastleigh estate. The actual respondents from the survey numbered 102: 40 Kenyans and 62 refugees.

First, the researcher asked all the respondents to indicate the number of persons using a single available toilet in the housing units they currently occupy. They were further asked to indicate how many persons were using the same toilet a year ago, three years ago, six years ago and more than six years ago. Ninety-five percent of the respondents said that the number of people using a single available toilet was currently between 12 and 15. A year before, there had been 10 to 11 people while three years ago there had been seven to nine people. Six years ago there had been only five to six people, and more than six years ago, there had been even
less than five people using each toilet. Only five percent did not say there were changes in the number of people using the toilets in the housing units they occupied. The respondents were further asked to state whether the urban refugees have influenced the conditions of the housing units they occupied. Their responses are as follows;

Table 4.7: showing summary of the responses to the question, “Do you think urban refugees have influenced the conditions of toilets in the housing units in Eastleigh estate”?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban refugees</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the analysis of the 102 respondents on whether the number of persons using each available toilet has been influenced by the urban refugees in housing units in Eastleigh estate, 75(74%) are of the opinion that the urban refugees have had influence on the housing conditions negatively. They have cited reasons such as sub-division of the rooms, high level of occupancy and overcrowding in the housing units as some factors which have contributed to the deterioration of the conditions of the toilets. They have also indicated that they have to wait for more time to use the shared toilets in the housing units leading to delays and lateness for their places of work especially in the morning hours. They have also said the conditions of these toilets have deteriorated complaining of unhygienic and unfavourable conditions. Meanwhile 27(24%) of the actual respondents do not think the urban refugees have had any influence. They indicated that the landlords and the middlemen who do not maintain the
toilets are to blame for the general bad condition of the toilets and improper planning from the structural engineers.

4.8 Quantitative Analysis of the objectives

The objectives were also quantitatively analysed; quantitative analysis was performed on the data to test the relationships between the independent and dependent variables as outlined earlier in the study. The results are explained below;

Objective One: The basic quantitative analysis of this objective has been captured above and is based on descriptive statistics. Overall, all respondents stated that they had experienced an average increase in occupancy levels over the last six years of 50%, the minimum being 25%, the maximum being 100%, and the median being 60%. Overall, refugees stated that they had experienced an average increase in occupancy levels over the last six years of 60%, the minimum being 30%, the maximum being 100%, and the median being 65%. Meanwhile, Kenyans stated that they had experienced an average increase in occupancy levels over the last six years of 40%, the minimum being 10%, the maximum being 70%, and the median being 25%.

Furthermore, for the quantitative analysis of the other three objectives, occupancy levels were used as a proxy for the increase in population. This is because the latter is extremely difficult to measure in Eastleigh due to lack of official statistics and knowledge of the number of urban refugees who leave the camp to come to Nairobi and Eastleigh in particular. This is coupled by the heterogeneity of the population of the urban refugees.

Objective Two: There was a weak negative correlation between the change in rent over three years and the change in occupancy over three years (the correlation coefficient was $r=-0.1796763$). There was also weak correlation between the change in rent over six years and the change in occupancy over six years (the correlation coefficient was $r=-0.0124158$). Logically, there is a relationship between increased population and increased rent. However, the data cannot show this relationship. First, occupancy levels are influenced by many factors, not just population
increase — such as different individuals' family networks and livelihood opportunities. Refugees are a diverse group, not a homogenous population. Furthermore, researcher's interviews and literature review revealed that it is the particular situations and vulnerabilities of urban refugees that have led to an increase in rent, more than just the increase in population. In this case, qualitative analysis is important as it reveals the different mechanisms and patterns such as the role of middlemen in the rental market which cause rent to be high.

Objective Three: The pilot survey of one street in Eastleigh showed that the objective could not be analysed quantitatively. The researcher reframed the objective to ask about supply of water and electricity instead of bills. This has been qualitatively analysed in the above section. Especially as people do not remember how much water and electricity they have used over time, respondents' answers were more useful to give an impression of the changes in the supply of water and electricity, rather than as data that is rigorous enough to undergo quantitative analysis.

Objective Four: When the change in the occupancy levels over the last three years was correlated with the change in the number of people using each available toilet over the last three years, the correlation coefficient was very low: (the correlation coefficient was $r=0.007316561$), meaning that there is minimal correlation between the variables. When the change in the occupancy levels over the last six years was correlated with the change in the number of people using each available toilet over the last six years, (the correlation coefficient was $r=0.103220042$), again meaning there is minimal correlation between the variables. While overall increase in occupancy over the whole estate would cause the number of people using available toilets to go up, the data measured changes in a single housing unit while the number of people using a toilet depends on the change in occupancy in the entire building. Occupancy levels have not changed at the same rate in each unit in each building, and the correlation between the variables is affected by this fact.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the study’s findings, conclusions, recommendations and contributions to wider bodies of knowledge.

5.2 Summary of findings

The key findings for each of the objectives in this research are summarised below;

Objective 1: The first objective of the study was to establish the extent to which urban refugees have influenced the occupancy levels in the housing units in Eastleigh estate. The major finding under this objective is that the urban refugees have immensely influenced the occupancy levels in the housing units in Eastleigh estate. This is as a result of urban refugees of Somali, Ethiopians and Eritreans origin preferring to settle in this estate. They also share rooms with the newly arrived, sublet to relatives and subdivide rooms to smaller units. This has a resultant congestion and overcrowding of the majority of the housing units in the estate.

Objective 2: The second objective of the study was to establish the extent to which urban refugees have influenced rent charged per room in Eastleigh estate housing units. The major finding under this objective is that the presence of urban refugees has greatly influenced the rent charged per room, albeit somewhat indirectly. As already mentioned under the findings for Objective 1, the high rate of rent charges have led to people sharing rooms. To enable residents to split rent costs between them, single rooms have often been subdivided into two or three units and host almost three times their intended capacity. This has led to deterioration in the units and generally unfavourable housing conditions.
Objective 3: The third objective of the study was to establish whether water and electricity bills per room in the housing units has been influenced by the urban refugees in Eastleigh estate. The major finding under this objective is that the urban refugees have not had immediate influence on water and electricity bills to the housing units in Eastleigh estate. The respondents have mentioned the other factors such as drought, as the factors responsible for the fluctuation of water and electricity bills. This they said is not a problem which is confined to Eastleigh estate but a scenario in the whole of Nairobi. Meanwhile the respondents were apprehensive that the supply water and electricity has been influenced by the urban refugees due to the high level of occupancy in the housing units causing shortages and contributing to the poor conditions of the housing in this estate.

Objective 4: The fourth objective of the study was to establish whether the number of persons using each available toilet has been influenced by the urban refugees who have in the housing units in Eastleigh estate. The major finding under this objective is that due to increase in occupancy levels that has occurred with the arrival of many urban refugees, there are now more people using each toilet. This has caused toilets to become unhygienic and unclean. This has contributed to generally unfavourable housing conditions in the housing units in this estate. Particularly because of the problems of hygiene and sanitation, many of the residents interviewed would have preferred to live in other places.

5.3 Conclusions

Conclusion from objective one – From objective one, we can conclude that urban refugees have influenced levels of occupancy in the housing units in Eastleigh. This is because of continuous flow of refugees to the estate as indicated in the analysis. Subdivision of rooms, sharing and subletting has also led to the increase in occupancy levels – residents struggle to
afford both the rent and the transaction costs of finding accommodation and so have to find ways of reducing these costs by living together with others.

Conclusion from objective two - From objective two, we can conclude that the high rent charges in this estate by landlords are exploitative and do not match the market trends in other parts of Nairobi. The urban refugees also stated that middlemen who rent from the landlords and sublet to refugees cause rents to be very high. Both middlemen and landlords in many cases take advantage of the illegal status of refugees to justify the high levels of rent. Finally, the residents whether Kenyans or urban refugees have confirmed that landlords arbitrarily increase rent without enough notice to the residents.

Conclusion from Objective three- From Objective three we can conclude that while there has been greater strain put on the supply of water and electricity due to higher population and high occupancy levels, residents did not focus on urban refugees as the cause for the increase in water and electricity bills in Eastleigh. In supply of water and electricity they pointed to the obvious neglect of duty by Nairobi Water and Sewerage Company apart from the external factors like drought. It is therefore paramount that the other underlying factors in the provision of water and electricity supply be addressed.

Conclusion from Objective Four- From objective four, we can conclude that the number of persons using each available toilet in Eastleigh estate is far greater than appropriate and is beyond the acceptable level for the maintenance of hygienic conditions in this estate. Human waste overflow is evident and is a daily occurrence in most of the streets in Eastleigh estate. There is a need to look at this situation clearly and address it comprehensively.
5.4 Recommendations

Based on the analysis of data made in chapter four of this research, pertinent issues that influence housing conditions in this estate have been revealed. In this section therefore, the researcher provides some key recommendations that can be used to improve the housing conditions in this estate.

5.4.1 Recommendations for policy and Practice

Based on the findings from the research, the following recommendations are made for policy and practice;

1. The Kenyan government needs to recognise the positive contribution refugees can make to the Kenyan economy and thus the tax base. Some of the refugees in Eastleigh have been living on the estate for close to two decades now, with no chance of regularising their status. The government should build on its own 2006 Refugee Act and UNHCR’s new urban refugee policies and enact a clear and specific policy giving refugees the right to live and work in urban centres. This policy should also include a path to naturalisation for refugees who have lived in Kenya for over a decade or some other significant length of time to qualify them to acquire citizenship.

2. After giving urban refugees a chance to live and work legally in Nairobi, the government should register all the residents of Eastleigh estate and keep an up to date population databank so that essential services such as water, electricity and housing can be adequately planned for and availed.

3. The City Council of Nairobi should strictly make residents adhere to the city zoning plans so that there is clear demarcation in the estate between commercial and
residential zonings. They should also ensure their zoning plans are updated regularly and public forums held to inform residents of possible changes.

4. There is need to monitor properly architectural designs and construction processes in order in the estate to reduce the risk of buildings collapsing due to the high number of people living inside them. The City Council and relevant ministries should ensure that new housing structures meet the standards that will protect those who will be occupying the structure.

5. There is need to ensure that water and electricity supply is maintained and monitored, because shortages of these commodities are making the conditions of the housing units in Eastleigh estate unfavourable and non-conducive.

6. There is need to educate the population in this area on maintenance of hygienic conditions of the toilet facilities to forestall health risks.

7. The government need to develop a policy on rental charges so as to stop rogue landlords from exploiting the urban poor and refugees in Eastleigh estate.

8. The issue of who owns the property in the growing commercial centre of Eastleigh has become controversial in recent years, with newspapers and other media outlets claiming that Somalis are taking over property ownership in Eastleigh and many other urban areas in Kenya. It is important to note that over 95% of the respondents in this study said that the housing units they occupy are owned by Kenyan citizens. It is important for the government to recognise this fact publicly. Otherwise, there is a risk that the misinformation will continue to encourage xenophobic tendencies against the Somali people living in Eastleigh estate.
5.4.2 Contribution to the body of knowledge

Under this section, the researcher has highlighted the key issues that came out as a result of the research. The new ideas contributed by this research against each objective of the research were illustrated in table 5.1 as follows:

Table 5.1: Contribution to the body of knowledge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Contribution to body of knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1: To determine whether urban refugees influence occupancy levels in housing units in Eastleigh estate</td>
<td>Urban refugees who are illegal residents of the Eastleigh estate have influenced the occupancy levels in the housing units in the estate leading to poor housing conditions and congestion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2: To establish the extent to which urban refugees have influenced rent per room in the housing units in Eastleigh estate</td>
<td>The urban refugees have greatly influenced the rent per room charges in this estate. Exploitation by landlords and middlemen is rampant and there is need for policy to protect the urban poor rights to housing in this estate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3: To determine whether monthly water and electricity bills and supply have been affected by the urban refugees in Eastleigh estate.</td>
<td>The urban refugees have not had any major specific influence on water and electricity bills but have affected the supply due to the high occupancy levels in the housing units. Urban refugees have influenced the number of persons using each available toilet greatly, it is a serious health concern and remedial measures must be taken to arrest the situation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.3 Suggestions for further research

This research critically looked at the influence of urban refugees on the housing conditions in Eastleigh estate especially occupancy levels, water and electricity, rent charges and toilet facilities. Based on the findings from the study, the researcher would want to recommend the following areas for further research in this field.

1: The livelihoods systems of urban refugees in Eastleigh estate and their influence on the Kenyan economy.

2: The social networks amongst the urban refugees in Eastleigh estate and how these networks help them to survive illegally in Nairobi.

3: The implementation of the 2006 Refugee Act and its effect on urban refugees.
REFERENCES


Websites


Appendix 1: Transmittal Letter

RE: TRANSMITTAL LETTER

27/08/2010

Dear respected reader,

Enclosed find a research project report entitled *influence of urban refugees on housing conditions in Eastleigh estate in Nairobi, Kenya*. This study was necessitated by high number of Somali urban refugees in Kenya and deteriorating housing conditions and excessive exploitation of the refugees by landlords through prohibitive rental charges. The researcher used descriptive survey design as the main methodology. The study was guided by the following objectives:

1: Determine the extent to which urban refugees have influenced occupancy levels in housing units in Eastleigh estate.

2: Establish the extent to which urban refugees have influenced rent per room in housing units in Eastleigh estate.

3: Determine whether urban refugees have affected water and electricity supply to the housing units in Eastleigh estate.

4: Establish to what extent the urban refugees have influenced number of persons using each available toilet in housing units in Eastleigh estate.

The key findings of this research were:

- urban refugees have led to high level of occupancy in the housing units in Eastleigh estate.
- The urban refugees have immensely influenced rental charges and toilet usage in Eastleigh estate in Nairobi Kenya.
- The urban refugees have influenced the number of persons using each available toilet in the housing units in Eastleigh estate. These have made the housing conditions in the estate poor and unfavourable.

Sincerely,

Ahmed Hassan Odhowa.
Appendix 2: Cover Letter for Questionnaire

Date

Dear respondent,

MA RESEARCH PROJECT

I am a student of University of Nairobi undertaking a Master of Arts Degree in project Planning and Management. As part of my graduation requirements I am expected to carry out a research project in an area of my choice with guidance from my university.

I am carrying a research project on Influence of urban refugees on Housing Conditions in Eastleigh Estate in Nairobi. I am asking you as one of the respondents to kindly take 15-20 minutes to complete this questionnaire. I will appreciate your response as this questionnaire is an important part of my data collection process for this project.

All responses will be treated confidentially and in no instance will your name be mentioned.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

AHMED HASSAN ODHOWA
Appendix 3: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

A: Background Information

Please fill in your details. This information is just for the research and will not be used in any other way.

Name: (optional) ___________________________ Date: __________________

Section: __________________________ Street: __________________________

Occupation (Work): __________________________

Gender (Tick one): Male   Female

Kindly place a TICK the answer you think is appropriate in the following section.

1. Ethnic origin (Tick only one)
   o Somalia Somali
   o Kenyan Somali
   o Ethiopian
   o Other Kenyan
   o Other (Specify) __________________________

2. Which is the highest level of school completed (Tick only one)
   o Unschooled
   o Primary
   o Secondary
   o College/University

3. Marital status (Tick only one)
   o Married
   o Single
   o Divorced
   o Separated
   o Widowed

4. Where do you fall in this age bracket (Tick only one)
   o 18-30 years
   o 31-45 years
In the following section, the researcher is looking at the occupancy and density of the housing unit you live in. Kindly answer the questions that follow as per instruction against it.

1. How many rooms do your family members occupy in this housing unit (Tick only one)
   - One
   - Two
   - Three
   - Four
   - Five

2. Who owns this housing unit? (Tick only one)
   - Somalia Somali
   - Kenyan Somali
   - Other Kenyans
   - Others (specify) ____________

3. Why did you choose to live in Eastleigh estate? (give few reasons)

4. How did you get a rental house in this estate? (Tick the most applicable to you)
   - Through a friend
   - Paying 'goodwill' money
   - Agents
   - Subletting
   - Others (specify) __________________________

5. How many members of your family live here including you? ____________

6. How many months have you lived in this housing unit? (Tick only one)
   - 1-12
   - 13-24
   - 25-36
   - 37-48
7. How many members of your family were living in this housing unit in the duration specified (For every row Tick only one)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration in years</th>
<th>No of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 - 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A year ago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years ago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 years ago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 6 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Which refugees from the following countries are the majority in Eastleigh estate?
   - Somalia
   - Ethiopia
   - Others (Specify)

9(a). Has the number of people occupying in this housing unit increased or reduced since you moved in?
   - Increased
   - Decreased
   - Don’t know

(b). What could be the reasons for the increase or decrease?

(c). In the case of increase how has this affected the space available for the residents of this housing unit?
10. How would you describe your residential area before you moved in to this estate (Tick only one)

- Urban
- Rural
- Others (specify)____________________

11. Please indicate [by ticking the box] whether you Agree or Disagree with the following statements on conditions of housing in this estate specifically water, toilet facilities, electricity and space?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Housing conditions in this unit have improved after the urban refugees have moved in over the years.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Urban refugees exert more pressure on use of these utilities in this housing unit than Kenyans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Occupancy by urban refugees have led to increase in house rent in this housing unit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Occupancy by urban refugees have led to reduction in per capita space available in this housing unit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C: House rent

In this section the researcher will ask you some questions on the rent you pay for the rooms in this housing unit you occupy. Please answer the following questions as per the instruction.

1. How much rent do you currently pay per month per room in this housing unit in Kenya Shillings (Tick only one category)

- Below 5000
- 5001-6000
- 6001-7000
- 7001-8000
- 8001-9000
- 9001-10000
- Above 10,000

2. How much rent per room per month were you paying in the duration indicated below? [Tick in the box which applies]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration in years</th>
<th>Amount in Kenya Shillings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Below 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A year ago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years ago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 years ago</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 6 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Which of the following factors do you think have greatly contributed to increase in house rent in this estate?

- Increase in the number of urban refugees in the estate’s housing units
- General population increase
- General shortage of housing units
- Inflation and increase in cost of living
- Others (specify)

D: Water and Electricity bills

In this section the researcher is looking at the water and electricity bills you pay for the rooms in this housing unit. Please answer the following questions as per instruction.

1. How much electricity bills do you currently pay per month per room in this housing unit Kenya Shillings (Tick only one category)
   - Below 200
   - 201-400
   - 401-600
   - 601-800
   - 801-1000
   - Above 1000

2. How much water bills do you currently pay per month per room in this housing unit Kenya Shillings (Tick only one category)
3. How much electricity bill per month were you paying in the duration indicated below? [Tick in the box that applies in the duration indicated]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration in years</th>
<th>Amount in Kenya Shillings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Below 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>201 - 300</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>301 - 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>401 - 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>501 - 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>601 - 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>700 and more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- A year ago
- 3 years ago
- 6 years ago
- More than 6 years

4. How much water bill per month were you paying in the duration indicated below? [Tick in the box that applies in the duration indicated]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration in years</th>
<th>Amount in Kenya Shillings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Below 200</td>
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<td>201 - 300</td>
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<td>401 - 500</td>
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<td>501 - 600</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>601 - 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>700 and more</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- A year ago
- 3 years ago
- 6 years ago
- More than 6 years

5. Which of the following factors do you think have greatly contributed to increase in water and electricity bills in this estate?
   - Increase in the number of urban refugees in the estate’s housing units
6. To what extent do you think have the urban refugees influenced water and electricity bills per room in the housing units you occupy? (Please tick only one)

- To a very great extent
- To a great extent
- Average
- Not at all

7. Do you think urban refugees have influenced water and electricity supply in the housing units you occupy? (Please explain)

E: Toilets

In this section the researcher is looking at the toilet facilities in this housing unit you live in. Please answer the questions that follow as per the instruction.

1. What is the number of persons currently using a single toilet in this housing unit currently? (Tick the applicable number)

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 and above

2. How many persons were using the same single toilet in the duration indicated below? (Tick number of persons applicable)
3. Do you think urban refugees have influenced the conditions of the toilets in this housing unit? (Please tick only one)

☐ Yes

☐ No

If yes in 3 above (explain how)

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Appendix 4: Map of Nairobi showing Eastleigh and other areas where urban refugees reside. Source: Pavanello et al, 2010.