

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE ROLE OF SOCIOECONOMIC FACTOR IN
SLUM MANAGEMENT PROGRAMMES; A CASE OF KIBERA-SOWETO
EAST NAIROBI KENYA**

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

NYABUTI DELVIN KERUBO

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OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT.**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for any academic degree in any other university.

SIGNATURE:.....

DATE:.....

DELVIN KERUBO NYABUTI

REG: C50/73645/2012

Approval

This research project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the university supervisors.

SIGNATURE:.....

SIGNATURE:.....

JOHN WAKAJUMMAH

KIVUTI KARINGI

DATE:.....

DATE:.....

DEDICATION

To the people in my life who have been a source of inspiration, my Dad Dr Nyabuti who energized me to complete this work, my Sister Eunice, and my two gentlemen, Isaac and Andrew.

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First and foremost, I acknowledge the blessings of the Almighty God in my life .I thank Him for His Mercy that has destined me the opportunity to take on a Master of Arts in Environmental Planning and Management. Throughout this period, He granted me courage, hope and health amidst trials, obstacles and disappointments.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYM

GRHS	Global Report on Human Settlement
GoK	Government of Kenya
HCS	Housing Cooperative Society
KENSUP	Kenya slum Upgrading Programme
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlement
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Commission on Human Settlement
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

ABSTRACT

Slums continue to pose the greatest challenges to the urban areas of developing countries Kenya included. As a result, Kenya has an elaborate slum upgrading strategy which aims inter-alia at improving the physical and social infrastructure and provide security of tenure among the residents of Kibera. The success of the current slum management strategy would however depend on whether the root cause of slums is understood and whether past mistakes in slum management have provided sufficient lessons for those who manage slums. Current slum upgrading strategy for example tend to emphasize the physical aspect of the slum component: land tenure, and physical infrastructure. There is current thinking among scholars that the past slum management strategies emphasized the physical component and ignored the socioeconomic component, thus occasioning the failure of past upgrading strategies. However details of what constitutes socioeconomic components are not known. It is not clear what role the socioeconomic component plays in the slum management process. This information is critical if slum management approaches have to incorporate the socioeconomic component towards the slum management process. This then formed the purpose of this enquiry; to determine the sub components of the socioeconomic factors and the role they play on sustainable slum management process. The study used culture of poverty and other related literature to formulate a conceptual framework of understanding the role of socioeconomic components. The framework was used to integrate the past slum management strategies within the framework of the socioeconomic factor. The conceptual framework was also used to interrogate the various forms of social and economic networks which constitute the slum community. The study population in this research was the Kibera-Soweto East slum dwellers where the upgrading program is currently underway. Interviews were conducted and questionnaires distributed to obtain information from the respondents. Secondary data was obtained from existing literature on the subject of study. Finally, the study interrogated how useful these networks are among the residents of the slum community. The study used SPSS and Excel to analyze data, and also t-test in testing the study hypothesis. The study found that slum communities are poor, earn income which barely covers the cost of living per month and this makes them vulnerable. Knowing their problems, and to ease their burden they form and engage in various socioeconomic networks which enable them survive and cope. Some of these networks include forming welfare associations, "chamaas". It was found that most of the slum management models often end up relocating them, following which they lose ties and remain vulnerable hence regrouping to form yet another slum community with similar ties. The current slum management also focuses on the physical site ignoring the socioeconomic ties of the community. This is seen as the cause of the failure of the past approaches and the likely cause for the failure of the slum upgrading program. This study demonstrates that the socioeconomic factor is critical among slum communities and slum management programs should incorporate this integral component.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The existence of slums in the urban areas of Kenya and elsewhere is a problem which cannot be ignored. Slum residents have no access to basic services such as; sanitation, water, adequate space and security of tenure, (Amnesty International, 2009). Slums constitute 60% of urban population in Kenya; it has been observed that the growth of African cities is typically reflected in the growth of their slum settlements (Sietchipig, 2010). This means that most of Africa's new urban dwellers will reside in urban fabrics characterized by low employment, poor quality building material, houses constructed, poor sanitation, and inadequate access to water, energy, and health and education services. Sclar et al, (2005) contends that lack of these basic requirements has direct consequences on the physical and psychological well-being of the urban slum population. It has been argued that under such conditions, urban sustainability depends on African cities implementing mutually reinforcing social, economic and environmental decisions and actions (Ibid 2009).

Nairobi, the capital of Kenya and the largest city in Eastern Africa, is estimated to have a population of four million people, out of whom 60% reside in slums. Slums in Nairobi are growing at the same rate as the city at 5% per year (Mwaura, 2005; Hendriks, 2010). Mwaura (2005) observes that it is possible to find 1200 people in the slum living per square hectare, and with as many as 400 people sharing a toilet and these results into health and environmental problems.

There have been several strategies to manage the slum menace. However, past approaches have not been effective for various reasons, some of which include lack of proper understanding regarding the dynamics underlining the slum problem. In this connection, Tibaijuka, (UN-Habitat, 2009) argues "*Slums and urban poverty are not just a manifestation of population explosion and demographic change, or even of the vast impersonal forces of globalization. Slums must be seen as a result of failed policies, bad governance, corruption, inappropriate regulation, dysfunctional land markets, unresponsive financial systems, and a fundamental lack of political will*" (UN-Habitat 2009)

Slums have therefore been portrayed as resulting from institutional failures in housing policy, housing finance, public utilities, local governance and secure tenure. Measures to address slums have therefore evolved around such thinking. Over the past five decades, authorities in African countries have adopted several strategies to tackle the problem of slums and informal settlements. These approaches include benign neglect; repressive options such as forced eviction and demolition; resettlement or relocation; slum upgrading programmes; and building of quality housing by the government for the slum dwellers. These approaches have evolved over time, and many are still being implemented despite their failure to find lasting solutions to the formation and proliferation of slums and informal settlements.

In response to these challenges caused by proliferation of slums, the government of Kenya and UN-Habitat embarked on slum upgrading where the slum dwellers were to be provided with better housing, improved physical and social infrastructure and security of tenure. The success of the slum upgrading program is not guaranteed however unless the lessons from the past strategies are properly studied in order to inform current and future strategies. It is observed for example that past slum management strategies did not incorporate the socioeconomic aspect of the people as an important ingredient in the slum management process. The slum upgrading strategy is being interrogated in this study to find the extent to which it can be a panacea to the urban slum menace in Kenya.

1.2 Problem statement

Cities in Kenya are expanding tremendously (5% per year), and majority of the population (60%) reside in slums (Mwaura, 2005; Sietchip, 2010). Slums are unacceptable because of the deplorable living conditions in which people of the slum find themselves, lack of physical and social infrastructure, lack of decent housing and quality of life (Sclar et al, 2005). As a result of the foregoing, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights included the right to housing as an important requirement in order to illustrate the significance of access to adequate housing for all human beings.

There have been several strategies or models to manage the slums in Kenya and elsewhere. Some of these strategies include building houses for the slum people, followed by a period when slums were viewed as a transient phenomenon and therefore no action was taken to tackle the problem of slums as it was considered that slums will disappear when the economy improved. This was followed by a period when Governments were involved in wanton destruction and clearance of slum areas. The fourth strategy was the site and service schemes where Governments identified land, provided minimum infrastructure and social services to accommodate slum dwellers who were then expected to build the modern houses then seen as affordable by the majority.

Despite numerous approaches aimed at managing, clearing or upgrading slum areas as shown above, it is clear that almost all of them did not work and therefore slums have persisted as part of the urban fabric to date. In this inquiry, it is contented that the failure of the above strategies is as a result of not understanding the slum community as a system. It is for example argued by scholars (Gulayani & Talukdar, 2006) that past strategies were based on the assumption that slums are created by the poor, who by virtue of being poor, illegally occupy unoccupied urban space and build shanty houses because they cannot afford to build decent ones. The problem is then accentuated by tenure insecurity because the thinking is that such residents cannot improve their dwellings even if their income improved for fear of demolition by legal land owners (Bodewes 2005). This is the thinking that informed past slum management models such as site and service delivery and even the current slum upgrading one. The approach is that first improve the

physical and social infrastructure of the slum people to improve the livability of the environment then upgrade the houses to some standards and then slums shall be no more (UN-Habitat 2009). This view is based on the understanding that actors in slum formation are the poor urban immigrants from rural areas and therefore the slum upgrading shall improve the lives of the poor, their environment, provide them with physical and social facilities. However there is new evidence that slums are actually owned by the rich who do not stay in the houses but have them specifically supplied for the poor whose demand is insatiable because they are many and cannot afford better houses (Gullayani & Talukdar, 2006; Syagga 2010)

Currently, the Kenya Government is undertaking the slum upgrading program in Kibera-Soweto East which took off with the aid of UN-Habitat. This can be considered the latest approach to manage the urban slums in Kenya after the failure of several other strategies as enumerated above. Although the socioeconomic component is important, it is not clear which role it plays within slum community and no one knows the details of such components. However it is not clear whether the lessons learnt earlier have been of use in the current slum upgrading strategy currently underway in Kibera. According to Muraguri (2009), the people have already sub-rented the units they were allocated in the decanting site where they are supposed to occupy temporarily as they await relocation to completed houses in the upgraded area. It is therefore important to understand these networks and ensure that they are maintained during the upgrading process so that the past mistakes of ignoring them are corrected. These networks can be maintained by ensuring neighbors move to the upgraded area while maintaining their neighborhood, provide toilets that do not consume a lot of water and also ensure that the people are upgraded as opposed to upgrading just the structures.

It is not clear for example whether the current slum upgrading model in Kenya intends as part of its strategy to integrate the socioeconomic aspect of the people. If not, then the strategy, just like its predecessors, shall fail and the slum menace shall remain part of the problem in the urban areas of Kenya. This is the crucial knowledge gap which this study endeavors to investigate. There has been no study to date directed towards the

understanding of the socioeconomic aspect of the slum community and the need to integrate such networks in the slum management programs. This then forms a knowledge gap that this study aims to fill.

1.3. Research questions

1. What are the forms of economic survival mechanisms that exist in Soweto?
2. What are the forms of social ties which constitute the slum community of Soweto?
3. How useful are these socioeconomic networks among the slum community?

1.4 Objectives of the study

1.4.1 General objective

The main objective of the study was to establish whether the socioeconomic component of the slum community is being integrated in the current slum upgrading process in Kibera-Soweto, Kenya.

1.4.2 Specific objectives

1. To determine the existing forms of economic survival in Kibera-Soweto East
2. To examine the forms of social networks which constitute the slum community of Kibera Soweto East?
3. To establish the usefulness of the socioeconomic networks in 1-2 above.

1.5. Hypothesis

There is no significant difference in the cost of living between the upgraded and the slum area.

1.6: Justification of the Study

The deplorable living conditions in Kenyan slums have attracted both governmental and non-governmental organizations with the upgrading agenda in equal measures. Various non-governmental organizations, many with the World Bank's help; have sponsored slum upgrading projects over the past decades with varying degrees of impact and hardly any qualified success (UN Habitat, 2007). The current slum upgrading programs are aimed at correcting past mistakes and thus comprehensively deal with the slum menace. However, if the root cause of slums is not known, current and future approaches to slum management might fail as well, and this has implications on cost. This study argues that

the lack of understanding regarding the importance of the socioeconomic aspect as an important component of the slum community was the reason why past strategies of slum management could not succeed, hence the need for this study.

Past research has failed to identify other components that are part of the slum system.

Past research findings assumed that those who create slums are the tenants and therefore tenants and slums are seen as mutually inclusive. Slum management strategies therefore emphasized slum improvement strategies which include inter-alia liberalization of land tenure and the improvement of physical and social infrastructure. This approach was based on the wrong assumption that the slum dweller was the owner of the structure and such a person was unable to improve the structure because of land tenure insecurity. However it has been established that, slum tenants and structure owners, are actually different entities and therefore mutually exclusive (Gulayani & Talukdar, 2006; syaggah 2010). The strategies therefore excluded the socioeconomic aspects of the tenants who are not the structure owners. This study aims to demonstrate that the socioeconomic networks among the slum communities particularly belong to tenant community who are not necessarily the structure owners. This means that the past strategies covered the structure owners and excluded the tenant community.

1.7 Scope of the study

The study focused on the slum community of Kibera-Soweto East in Nairobi which is located 5 kilometers away from the city Centre. The Kibera slum occupies around 550 acres (Bodewes 2005) this study develops a conceptual framework to understand the role of the socioeconomic factor in the slum community. It looks into the importance of the factors among the slum people, uses the framework to interrogate past strategies and the current strategy. Although past slum management strategies are reviewed and referred to, this study mainly investigates the slum upgrading process as a strategy which is currently being implemented in Kibera Soweto East. This study is also limited to finding out the extent to which the socio-economic component of the slum community is being integrated during the slum upgrading process. Since the slum upgrading project is ongoing, some of the components may not have been integrated fully.

1.8 Definition of terms

Capacity building: A process that aims at upgrading the combination of knowledge, skills and aptitude that individuals possess to carry out their mandate (Kirui, 2003)

Decanting site-this are units near Langata where the people of kibera are being moved to temporarily as their structures are demolished and replaced with the upgraded units

Economic ties-the economic networks like *chamaas* for survival

Ethnic linkages: This refers to the ties that a migrant group retains with their land or place of origin, and the people who are considered of same origin.

Informal settlements: They are defined as illegal and spontaneous shanty towns without good services and infrastructure.

Slum; "A slum is generally defined as a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. "A slum is often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city" (Caldeira 1996 quoted in UN-HABITAT 2003, p.10).

Slum dwellers: The people who live in informal settlements.

Slum eradication: This is the clearance of slum areas by harassing slum dwellers and evicting them in masses and without resettling the evictees.

Slum upgrading: Slum upgrading is a programmatic response to existing slum communities that focuses on keeping the community intact while improving the quality of housing, infrastructure and services in the slum.

Slum management programs/models- This terminology has been used in the study to refer to all approaches that have been employed in dealing with slums.

Social ties- These include welfare associations for survival among slum people

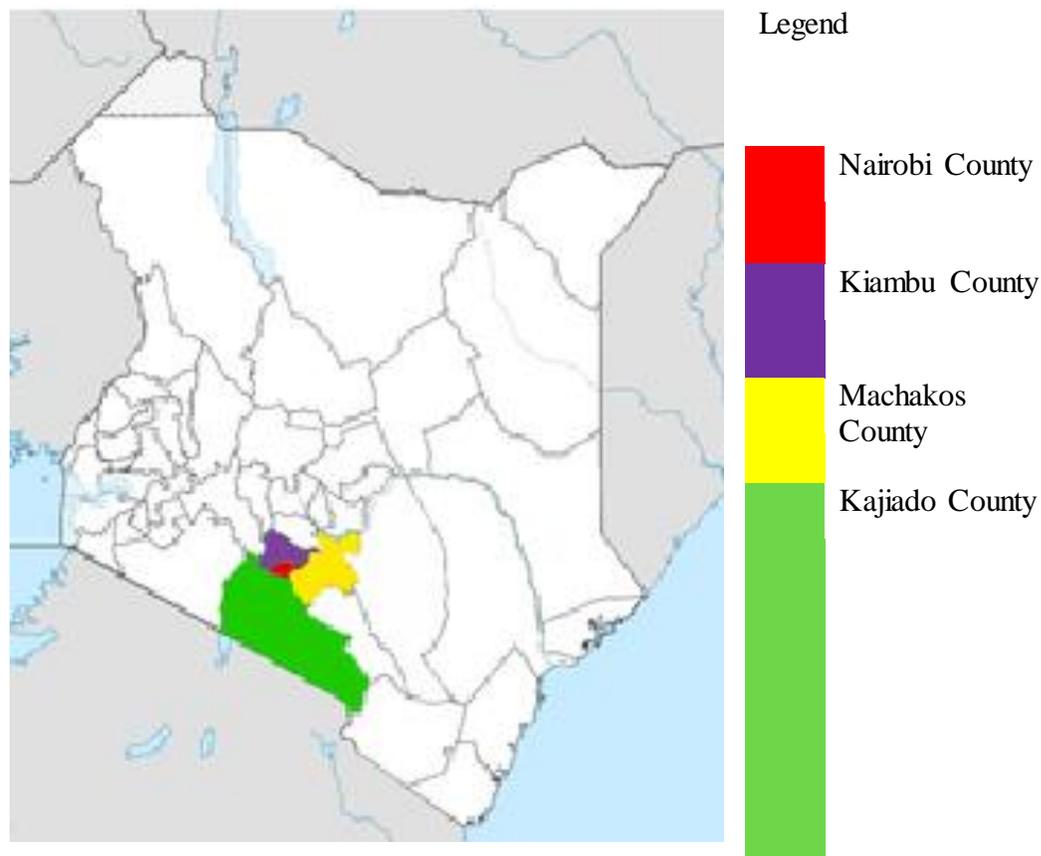
Subsidies: A benefit given by the government to groups or individuals usually in cash or tax reduction. It is usually given to remove some type of burden and is considered to be in the interest of the public.

1.9 Study Area

1.9.1 Position and size

Nairobi was previously known as *'the city in the sun'* because of its appealing environment. It is located at the south-eastern end of Kenya's agricultural heartland, at approximately $1^{\circ} 9'S$, $1^{\circ} 28'S$ and $36^{\circ} 4'E$, $37^{\circ} 10'E$. It occupies an area of 696km^2 (CBS, 2001) and the altitude varies between 1,600 and 1,850 metres above sea level (Mitullah, 2003). Fig 1.1 below shows the map of Kenya and showing the location of Nairobi County.

Fig 1.1 Map of Kenya showing Location of Nairobi County



Source: Online Kenya Atlas (2015)

1.9.2 Physiographic and geographic features

Key physical features include the Nairobi, Ngong and Mathare rivers and the indigenous Karura forest in northern Nairobi. The Ngong hills stand towards the West. As Nairobi is adjacent to the Rift Valley, minor earthquakes and tremors occasionally occur.

1.9.3 Rainfall and temperature conditions

Nairobi has a temperate tropical climate with two rainy seasons. Highest rainfall is received between March and April and the short rainy season is between November and December. The mean annual rainfall ranges between 850-1050mm (Lakin undated). The mean daily temperature ranges between 12 and 26°C. It is usually dry and cold between July and August, but hot and dry in January and February (CBS, 2003). The mean monthly relative humidity varies between 36 and 55 per cent. The mean daily sunshine hours varies between 3.4 and 9.5 hours (CBS, 2003). The cloudiest part of the year is just after the first rainy season, when, until September, conditions are usually overcast with drizzle.

1.9.4 Drainage

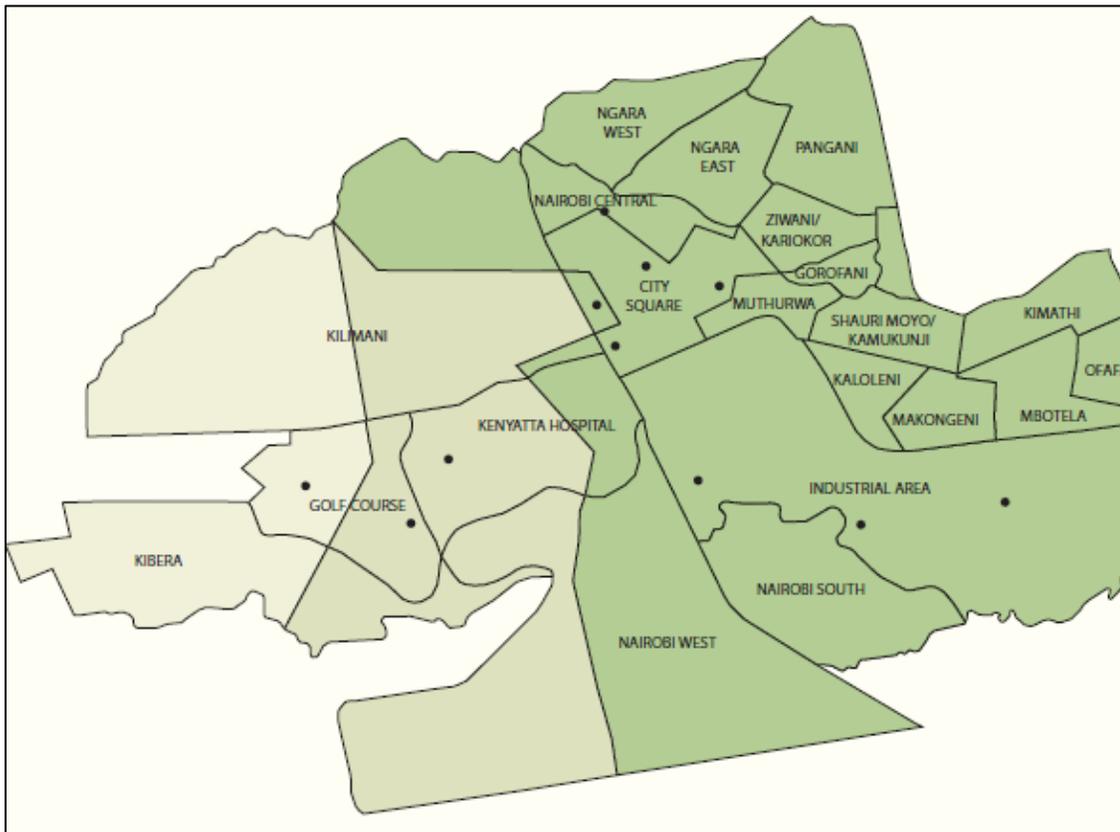
Nairobi's main drainage follows the regional slope of the volcanic rocks towards the east, while subsidiary internal drainage into the Rift region is confined to the western part. (Saggerson, 1991). Water draining eastward from the hill area accumulates on the low-lying ground between Parklands in the north and Nairobi South estate, forming a perched water table above the Nairobi phonolite. The Kerichwa Valley Tuffs lying to the east of the highway function like a sponge and the contact between them and the underlying impermeable phonolite thus forms a perfect aquifer, so much so that a number of channels containing water occur beneath Nairobi.

1.9.5 Kibera slum

The Kibera slum lies on a flat ridge plateau which is divided by two polluted rivulets running southeast towards the Nairobi dam (Rahbaran & Herz, 2014). It is located about five kilometers Southeast of Nairobi city center and covers an area of 550 acres (Bodewes 2005). It is surrounded by the royal Nairobi golf club to the northeast Nairobi dam to the southeast, and Ngong forest to the southwest. The settlement is divided into a number of villages, including Kianda, Soweto West, Raila, Gatwekera, Kisumu Ndogo, Lindi, Laini Saba, Siranga, Kambi Muru, Makina, Mashimoni and Soweto East. The former Kenya-Uganda railway track forms the northern boundary of Kibera, with the

Nubian village of Makina lying on the other side. The villages have borders that are not clearly defined but mostly consist of natural boundary makers like paths, railway tracks with each village housing people from different ethnic backgrounds though each one has a dominant ethnic group. The single railway track does not really serve the settlement and its commuters but is used as the main pedestrian and commercial path when the train is not in service (Rahbaran & Herz, 2014).

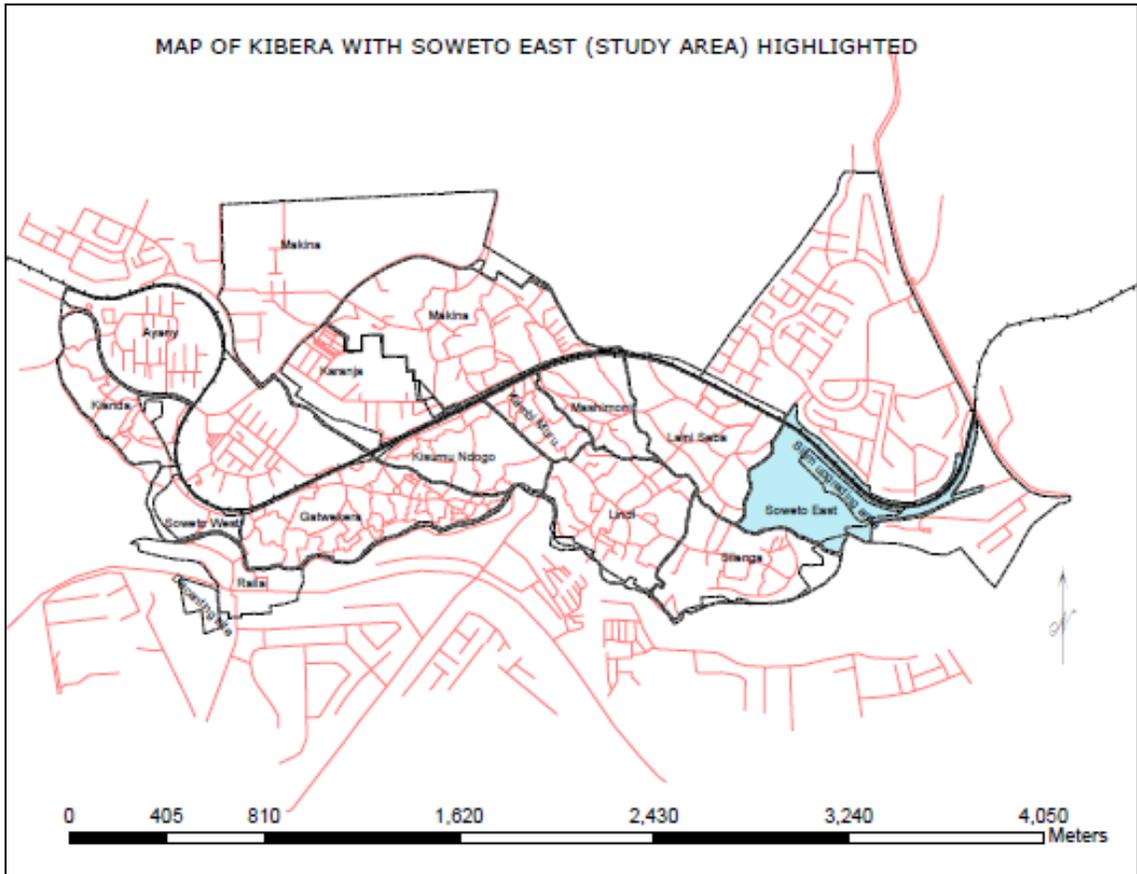
Fig 1.2 Map of Nairobi County showing Location of Kibera



Source: Online Kenya Atlas (2015)

The map of Kibera area that was the study area is as shown in the fig below.

Fig 1.3: Map of Kibera with study area



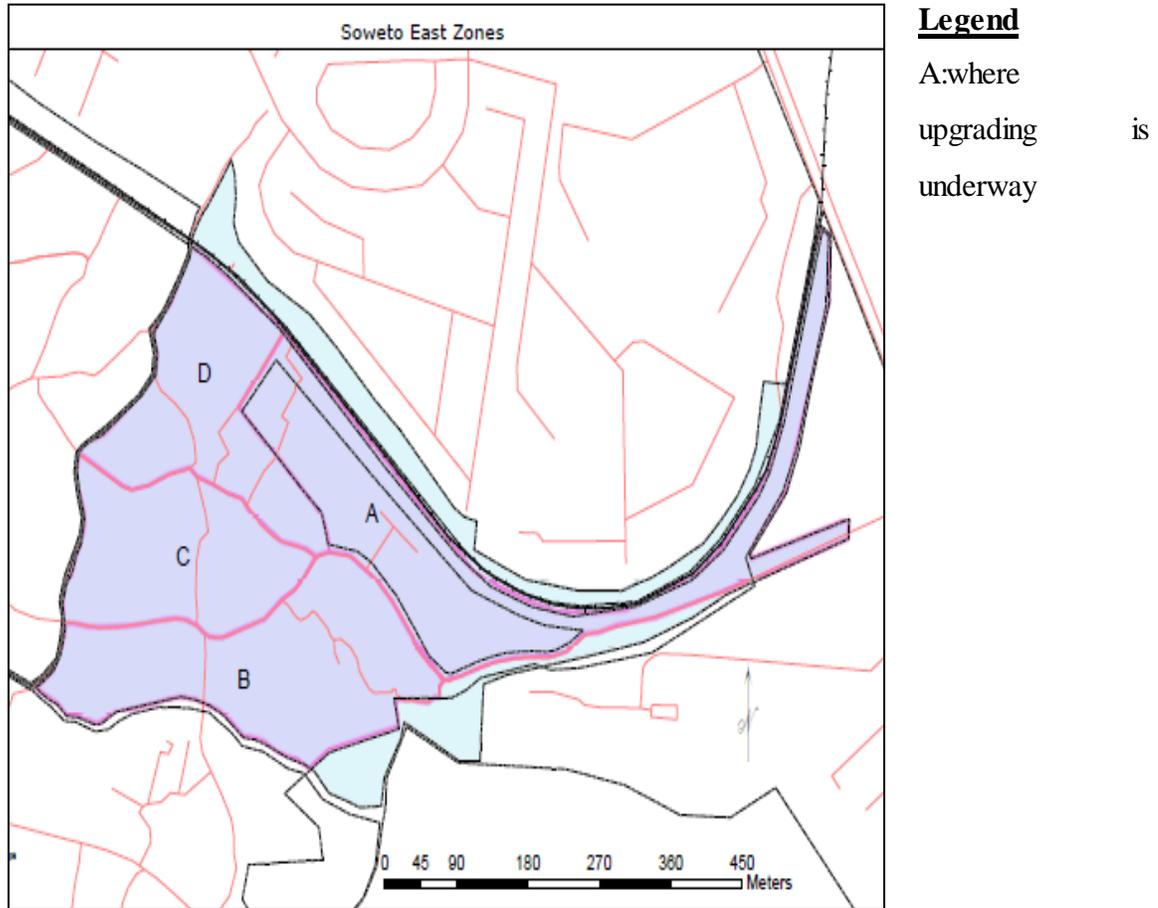
Source: Researcher 2014

Shaded Area: Study Area

Kibera started in 1912 when the British government settled the Nubian soldiers who had been part of the King's African Rifles on an area that came to be known as Kibra-meaning forest in the Nubian language (Bodewes, 2005). However by the late 1950s large new ethnic groups of settlers started moving into Kibera, the Nubians welcomed these new settlers and invested in the inflow of these new migrants by extending their houses and building new structures for their rental purposes. This resulted in growth and densification that lacked planning and infrastructure and set the stage for emergence of the slum structure (Rahbaran & Herz, 2014).

The Study Area of Soweto East is as shown in Fig below.

Fig 1.4: Division of Soweto East



Source: Researcher 2014
 A, B, C, D represent the zones in Soweto

1.9.6 Population density and settlement

The 2009 Kenya population census reported Kibera’s population as 170,070. The Kibera slum was previously thought to be one of the biggest informal urban settlements in the world. According to Davis (2006) a well-known expert in slum upgrading, Kibera had a population of about 800,000 thousand people, UN-Habitat had released several estimations ranging between 350,000 to 1 million people. The breakdown of Kibera people ethnic groups and their gender is Luo: 34.9% (male), 35.4% (female); Luhya: 26.5% (male), 32.5% (female); Nubian: 11.6% (male), 9.1% (female); Kikuyu: 7.9%

(male), 6.4% (female); Kamba: 7.5% (male), 10.3% (female); Kisii: 6.4% (male), 2.2% (female); Other: 5.2% (male), 4.1% (female). According to Irin (2009) the population density of Kibera is 2000 people per hectare. The number of people per unit is up to seven as reported by (UN-Habitat, 2008). The case in Kibera can be described as high population densities per unit area of land. For instance, Kibera, the largest informal settlement in Kenya, measures approximately 2.5 square kilometres and even going by the Kenya Population and Housing 2009 Census of 170,070 people, the density is 68,000 persons per square kilometre. (Syaggah 2010)

1.9.7 Type of housing

The houses built in Kibera are mostly one-room structures that are constructed from temporary material. The most common materials for structures are mud and wattle walls with second hand corrugated iron roofs, some structures are built with other semi-permanent materials such as wood and cardboard (Bodewes 2005).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews theories and concepts of slum formation. The chapter also reviews the various approaches to slum management in Kenya and the challenges that face slum management models so far. In particular, the chapter sought answers to the following questions: what has been done to manage slums so far and why does the slum problem persist to date? What constitutes the socioeconomic component in slum formation and what role does it play toward the slum community?

2.2 Slum

There is no universally agreed definition of a slum; and this is because every country has its own definition depending on the attributes that they associate with slums. A case study of different cities of the world show that slums are defined according to various characteristics such as: construction materials, temporary nature, construction legality, land legality, health and hygiene, basic services, infrastructure, crowding, poverty, low income, environment, compactness, crime and violence. While Nairobi definition is related to basic services and infrastructure, Bangkok is based on crime and violence. However, a United Nations Expert Group Meeting held in October 2002 in Nairobi Kenya recommended an operational definition of a slum to include characteristics such as: 'inadequate access to safe water; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; poor structural quality of housing; overcrowding; insecure residential status' (UN-Habitat, 2003: 12).

Literature suggests that slum locations have several common characteristics across cities in the world. For instance, slums are normally found in locations that are unsuitable for housing and urban development (UN- Habitat, 2003). These locations include hazardous sites such as river banks, steep slopes, solid waste disposal sites, vacant land along the railway tracks and wetlands. Areas with safety hazards, like landslides, pollution, health hazards, fire, flooding and areas unsuitable for human habitation are also correlated with slum locations (Jenkins, 2007). Slums are also found in unattractive areas such as cemeteries and graveyards e.g. city of the Dead in Cairo, Egypt (Garr, 1996).

Overcrowding also characterizes slums areas in developing countries. In particular, slums have very high population densities compared to the rest of the cities. For example, in Nairobi, Kenya, the average slum density is 75,000 persons per sq. km, which is 25 times higher than in the planned parts of the city, 3000 persons per sq. km) (Alder, 1995).

Bodewes (2005) studied Kibera slum and pointed out the characteristics that are typical of slums in the urban areas of Kenya. She highlighted such things as poor roads which are too narrow for cars to pass, structures built of temporary materials, high cost of water, open sewers made up of open trenches and disposal of refuse in rivers because it is not collected by city authorities. The physical environment is characterized by residential and commercial dumping of solid waste, human waste, medical waste, and wastewater causing perpetual degradation of the environment and water quality. Some pit latrines are located inappropriately close to water sources, causing black water to seep into these sources, while inadequately maintained latrines negatively affect the general environment and children play in roads and dump areas for lack of adequate open spaces (Mulcahy & Chu, 2007)

Land tenure in the informal settlement is mixed for example. Squatters on public/private land, group purchases through land buying companies, illegally subdivided land by original owners who subsequently sold it. This latter situation has various implications and majority of the residents are low-income earners (Syagga, 2010). In this study, the UN-Habitat definition of slums shall be used concurrently with that of (Bodewes 2005).

2.3 Environmental effects of slums

Many slum communities are located on government land devoted to local transportation infrastructure – railroad or highway rights of way, airport runways or harbors. The physical danger from passing vehicles is particularly acute for children. Many slums on the other hand, are located on land not deemed appropriate for permanent habitation because of its steep terrain or geological characteristics that make it prone to subsidence, landslides or mudslides. Slums are also frequently ‘receivers’ of a city’s negative externalities. Accumulations of solid waste in a city’s rubbish dump represent one such negative externality.

Massive fires are an all too frequent occurrence in many slum and squatter settlements because of the lack of publicly provided fire-fighting systems; the extreme proximity and high density of shelters; the narrow alleys impeding access by fire fighters; poorly wired electrical systems or the use of kerosene stoves and lamps; the lack of water sources to douse the flames; and the combustibility of construction materials. The absence of city authorities development controls to ensure acceptable levels of fire safety, further amplifies fire risk. The other environmental effect of slums is floods which are the most frequent of all natural disasters (UN-Habitat, 2003b)

2.4. Factors leading to emergence and expansion of slums

From a global context population concentration in informal settlements come about because of, and is perpetuated by, a number of forces.

2.4.1 The culture of poverty

The theory of culture of poverty was put forward by (Lewis 1969). He explains that the people in slums have a strong feeling of marginality, helplessness, dependency and a feeling of not belonging. They are like aliens in their own country, convinced that the existing institutions do not serve their interests and needs. The theory of the culture of poverty also explains that the people have a feeling of inferiority and personal unworthiness. This is true of the slum dwellers of Mexico City who were studied by Lewis, he argues that they do not have a distinct ethnic group but portray this same culture of poverty. In the United States, Oscar further argues that the Negroes have an added disadvantage of racial discrimination. In the culture of poverty, slum dwellers have very little sense of belonging; they only know their troubles, their own local conditions, their own neighborhood and way of life.

Many of the traits of the people in the culture of poverty can be viewed as local spontaneous attempts to meet needs not served in the case of the poor by the institutions and agencies of the larger society because the poor are not eligible for such services, cannot afford or are ignorant and suspicious. Once the slum culture has come into place,

it tends to perpetuate itself. By the time slum children are six, they are usually absorbed into the basic attitudes and values of their sub-culture. Therefore, they are psychologically not ready to take full advantage of changing conditions or improving opportunities that may develop in their lifetime. The culture of poverty can therefore explain how the people of slums get used to the conditions around them, and develop some attitudes, values and coping mechanisms that jeopardize slum upgrading projects. This is true of the slum dwellers in Kibera who know only their troubles and detest outsiders whom they always perceive as strangers who do not identify with them.

The lesson learnt in this section is that slum dwellers form a community of their own and see others as outsiders. This theory however, does not explain how slums come about, although it explains why slums persist and become difficult to eradicate once they have emerged.

Socioeconomic networks are an integral component of the slum community. Boonyabancha (2008) observes that literature exists that points out to the importance of neighborhood social networks, especially among the poor sectors. These networks have been described as a survival strategy or identified as 'social capital. Boonyabancha (2008) also points out that a community works like a vital protective layer and source of horizontal support for poor individual families who may have no strength on their own. Hasan et al. (2005) also underscores the relevance of strengthening and supporting low-income groups and their organizations, as well as the capacity of local organizations to work and to be accountable to them. In order to survive, slum dwellers form networks which could be in the form of socio-economic groups. It is these networks which enable them to survive and cope with the harsh environment in which they find themselves. Any approach to manage the slums must therefore take care of these networks without which the communities shall remain vulnerable and resist the envisaged changes in the neighborhoods which they treat with suspicion. To tackle poverty in a more integrated way, it is necessary to bring the whole slum community into a development process together, as a group.

2.4.2 Slum networks as a factor in Rural-urban migration and slum formation

It is often argued that the immigrant urban poor have largely moved from the countryside to the cities motivated by perceptions of better economic opportunities (Bodewes, 2005). Such temporary migrants cause large swings in population size, and the available housing is strained and thus large populations end up in slums (UN-Habitat, 2007). These people often rely on casual employment having little to spare on rent since much of their income is spent on food. It is argued in this study however, that shelter in the slums is not free as to allow rural migrants to join them. This begs the question, what is it that attracts them to the slums? It is argued here that a slum area is where the rural urban migrants have relatives to accommodate them while they look for jobs. When they eventually get jobs, they find the pay from such jobs too low to enable them afford better housing or even rent their own shares. It is in the slum therefore that they can get accommodation when they are waiting to get jobs and it is in the slums where they can share accommodation and rent with acquaintances who are usually relatives. This is the socioeconomic coping strategy which slum dwellers develop in the course of their stay and which also explains why rural residents end up in slums. This is the component of slum formation that is rarely understood and often ignored during the slum management strategies.

2.4.3 Insecure land tenure and formation of slums

The other cause of slums is insecure land tenure among the slum dwellers. In many poor areas within and around cities of the world, most people do not own the land on which they have built their houses (Durand-Lasserve and Royston, 2002).

In certain cases, customary forms of land occupancy still exist, and the plot is allotted to a family by the local community, and on rare occasions is this legally recognized by the state. Generally though, land occupancy is willfully ignored in favor of existing administrative, financial and regulatory procedures, often based on Western legislation imposed during the colonial era. For the United Nations, secure land tenure is a key element for the integration of the urban poor, as is their recognition by the public authorities (UNCHS, 1999).

It is contended in this enquiry however that the assumption informed by UN-Habitat that slum formation is as a result of insecure land tenure has biased past slum management strategies. There is evidence however, that a slum dweller is not the same as the slum builder (Gulyani and Talukdar, 2006) and therefore, land tenure was of no relevance to the slum dweller. The situation in Kenya is that slum people are poor and cannot afford to build shacks. The shacks are actually built for them by those who aim to take advantage of the idle government land to build low cost houses for the poor and advance the profit motive. The promotion of secure land tenure shall only benefit the shack owner and exclude the tenant. This often makes the shack expensive for the poor who relocates to another site to form yet another slum. The shack owner benefits by getting land and he targets the middle income group when the rent is raised.

2.4.4 Lack of planning

Lack of land use planning in towns, is a cause that leads to slum formation; it is a global as well as a local issue. There is no land use planning in Kibera and so structures have been built randomly and are crammed together wherever space is available Bodewes, (2005).

2.4.5 The politics of slums

The local politics plays a massive role in the growth of slums in cities. The local government directly impacts the legal and regulatory affairs. A lack of political will can be catastrophic to the cause of slum upgrading. In India, local slum leaders are connected to political parties and they let slums grow as vote banks (Chakra barty, 2012). In Mumbai, vote bank considerations have prevented the eviction of illegal squatters around the airport, thus preventing the utilisation of the land for the airport's expansion. Eviction is carried out selectively and is largely governed by micro politics of the region

2.5 Factors leading to Informal Settlements in Kenya

2.5.1 Colonial policy of racial segregation

The roots of slum formation in Kenya, particularly Nairobi can be traced back to British colonial control of the country in the early 1900s where most Africans were barred from

the city's designated residential areas since they were reserved for Europeans and Asians. Kenyans who came to the city in search of work had to create informal residential settlements outside the central business district (Amnesty International, 2009). Others argue that the city's first development plans did not include early settlements; hence essential services to the settlements and road construction to link them to other areas of the city were not provided by the local authorities (Huchzermeyer, 2006). This implies that areas outside the city which developed informally during the colonial era remained so even during post-colonial era although such areas were incorporated within the city boundaries.

2.5.2 Land tenure

Lack of formalization of land tenure in Kenya is a problem which has reduced slum dwellers to squatters, hence denying them a chance to have long term investment (SIDA, 2006). Land tenure insecurity in Kenya is perpetuated by lack of effective housing policy for low income earner, and the social segregation of the very poor has also sustained the growth of slums. The fact that slums are regarded as illegal and temporary, has led to denial of basic services such as water to the slum dwellers and their exclusion from decision making processes and planning of service delivery.

It has already been observed in this study that slum dwellers are not shack owners who can be involved in long term investment if security of tenure is provided. The shack owners are land speculators who see an opportunity to invest in housing the poor population from upcountry; hence slums are not tenure driven but poverty driven.

2.5.3 Social and Economic ties as a factor for Rural-Urban migration

The key reason for the tremendous urban growth of informal settlements is rural-urban migration with people coming to find jobs and better economic opportunity (Bodewes, 2005). The continued rural urban migration of the post-independence era turned Kibera into an even more favorable place in Nairobi, for migrants. This was particularly as a result of kinship and ethnic ties and access to affordable single roomed accommodation (Rahbaran & Herz, 2014).

The important aspect of this section of the literature review is that rural-urban migrants particularly targeted Kibera because of the socioeconomic kinship ties. This section agrees with the position taken in this study that migrants move to the urban areas after thorough understanding of where to get prior accommodation and even jobs already sourced by their relatives. Such migrants are already too poor to construct a shack. This is the bit of information which past slum management strategies did not understand and therefore did not integrate in their slum management process.

2.6 Slum management models

In this section, the strategies used to manage slums are discussed. In particular, the strategies are assessed on the basis of the extent to which they incorporate the socio economic aspects of the slum population as discussed in the culture of poverty theory (Lewis, 1969). It is argued in this study that failure to incorporate such factors can be the cause of failure of any program put in place to manage the slums.

2.6.1 Building of houses to settle the slum dwellers

The first attempt to solve the housing problem in developing countries was copied from the European example, where countries began to build public housing to house the slum dwellers. In 1950s and 1960s, this was the dominant approach to the management of informal settlements. It was a strategy of demolition and replacement by public housing. This interventionist role of the state, in taking responsibility for the delivery of permanent housing units, was transplanted from developed countries, where it had proved successful in the immediate post-war period. The assumption was that this approach would eventually eliminate the perceived squalor and disorder of informal settlements (Pugh, 1997).

The reality was, however, that informal settlement escalated as the houses were occupied by the middle class (Abbott, 2002). The author further contends that despite its laudable objectives, the programme failed to meet the housing needs of its intended beneficiaries. First, very few houses were built in relation to existing deficit. Second, the houses built were unrealistically of high standards, and thus very expensive for low-income families.

The result therefore was that such houses had to be retargeted to middle and high-income households.

This means that the policy provided houses for the poor without considering the ability of slum people to afford such houses. Secondly, in the context of culture of poverty (Lewis, 1969) the policy makers may not have understood how to integrate the important components which constitute the slum community into the new settlements where they located them. The program also did not address the causes of slum but rather sought to give solutions to existing slum conditions. The finished houses benefited the shack owners but excluded the poor tenants.

2.6.2 Sites and services delivery

The failure of the optimistic strategy that it was possible to provide housing for all triggered a shift in the housing policy from the production of finished houses to the provision of minimum solutions that could be improved by the people themselves. Sites and services were seen as an option for the poor (Brakarz et al, 2002). These schemes were undertaken as an alternative to the haphazard slum clearance of previous decades (Pugh, 1997).

Many of these programs entailed the clearance of slums in central city locations and the relocation of residents to newly serviced plots, frequently in the city periphery. These schemes were widely criticized for relocating slum residents to distant places; the new locations were less favorable in terms of access to urban services and work opportunities (Brakarz et al., 2002).

Since many activities like agriculture were discouraged in these new site areas, the people suffered because these were essential for the livelihood of many slum dwellers (Peattie, 1982). The program ended up benefiting middle income earners who could afford the site and service areas and the slum dwellers were forced to find unplanned areas elsewhere which resulted into relocation of slums (Patel, 2012).

It is argued here that, taking the slum people to serviced plots disconnected them from their source of employment, disrupted their social and economic networks which they

had developed in their former slum areas over time. Relocation therefore made them vulnerable and unable to cope in the new settlements. The slum people had to regroup in another location to form another slum by necessity.

2.6.3 The tendency to view slums as a transient phenomenon

This approach which was predominant in the developing countries in the early 1970s is based on two basic assumptions: 1, slums are illegal, and slums are unavoidable but a temporary phenomenon mostly linked with rural urban migration that can be overcome by economic development both in rural and urban areas. More often than not, slums and informal settlements were not put in the land use maps, but were shown as blank spots denoting underdevelopment (UN-Habitat, 2003).

It is argued in this study that such attitudes were influenced by post world war II reconstruction policies employed by industrialized countries. This strategy could not definitely solve anything by trying to ignore the problem and therefore gave room for further expansion of slums. This approach also assumes that it is the poor who own the shacks, which was based on the undertaking that the economic status of the poor will improve and therefore they will improve their housing. This view however is wrong as the economy is still yet to integrate the very poor and the middle class are still constructing shacks to meet the needs of the poor.

2.6.4 Slum eradication through clearance

Slum eradication was the common response to the development of slums during the 1970s and 1980s. When it became evident that slum populations were not going to be integrated with economic development, governments opted for a repressive option of eradicating or clearing slums. This was the case in South Africa where the slogan ‘Cities Without Slums’ rather than the modest target to improve the lives of the ‘slum’ population inspired and legitimized a particular focus on doing away with informal settlements (Huchzermeyer, 2011). Governments in African countries have generally sought to justify slum clearance on four main grounds. First, slums are perceived as landscape eyesores, and as such, large-scale demolition and eviction often precede major

international events, the visit of an important dignitary or simply to beautify the city. Second, slums are often viewed as havens for criminals.

In Nairobi, Kenya, 'security' reasons were cited in the demolition of *Muoroto* and *Mwariro* in the early 1990s (Otiso, 2002). Slums are also considered as health hazards, thus this view was used by colonial authorities to clear slum in order to rid the cities of their unsanitary conditions. The redevelopment urban area is a major reason for slum clearance (Mukhija, 2003; Shaktin, 2004). In this respect, slums in strategic locations such as the city centre and in peripheral locations where land values have appreciated are cleared to make way for office blocks, luxury apartments, malls and infrastructure that tend to benefit wealthier households.

In 1970, the government of Kenya continued a policy of slum and squatter settlement clearance, particularly in Nairobi. During that year, 39,000 people were rendered homeless when 6,733 dwellings were demolished (Syagga, 2001). Werlin (1999) points out how he saw soldiers and police play a cynical and counterproductive 'cat and mouse' game with squatters, in November 1970. For example, the Nairobi City Council authorized the destruction of 49 illegal settlements, containing perhaps 40 000 people (Werlin, 1999). This resulted in a swelling of housing demand, a decreasing housing supply and greater exploitation of tenants in the remaining unauthorized settlements where an estimated third of the population lived. Because slum clearance was so widespread during the 1970s, United Nations officials estimated that governments were annually destroying more low-income housing than they were building.

However, most of these slum-eradication efforts proved futile in terms of controlling slum growth, since they failed to slow the flow of newcomers to the city or the formation and growth of slums. This model also did not address the dynamics shaping slums, which could be socio economic in nature. It also failed to contain slums as it resulted into many former residents, who had been evicted, simply re-settling in or near the original settlements (Cities Alliance, 2003).

2.6.5 Summary and lessons learnt

The idea of looking at slums as transient phenomena gave room for more slums to mushroom as the economy did not grow in line with the number of people in slums and those migrating into slums. Slum eradication or clearance on the other, hand this led to regrouping of slum evictees and re-creation of slums elsewhere by the people who are evicted. Furthermore, most of these slum-eradication efforts proved futile in terms of controlling slum growth, since they failed to slow the flow of newcomers to the city or the formation and growth of slums. Site and service delivery which included people being relocated to serviced plots led to loss of jobs among the slum dwellers. The plots also found themselves in the hands of middle class people who could afford as majority of the slum dwellers were too poor to afford.

The view also assumes that shack dwellers and the conditions in the slums although varied by poverty are made worse by insecure land tenure. This view then excludes the emerging paradigm that slums are caused by socioeconomic factors perpetuated by the same factor which if ignored slum management shall never succeed. The unmetered water and electricity, temporal toilets are among the slum conditions that make it easy for slum people to cope with the little they earn.

The models failed to separate the slum dweller from the slum owner and hence their failure. They also failed to identify the role of the socioeconomic aspect and instead concentrated on the security of tenure.

2.7 Slum upgrading Kibera, Nairobi-Kenya

The term upgrading usually refers to an effort to improve living conditions in particular urban areas characterized by poor-quality housing and inadequate infrastructure and service delivery (Hardoy; Mitlin, Satterthwaite, 2003). The global emphasis on the upgrading programmes and self-help housing emerged broadly in the 1970s when the World Bank searching for an alternative to widespread slum clearances and evictions started to stress a new 'paradigm' for the urbanizing world.

Kenya Slum upgrading program (KENSUP) has the following objectives: institute good urban governance, and provide social and physical infrastructure. Other objectives

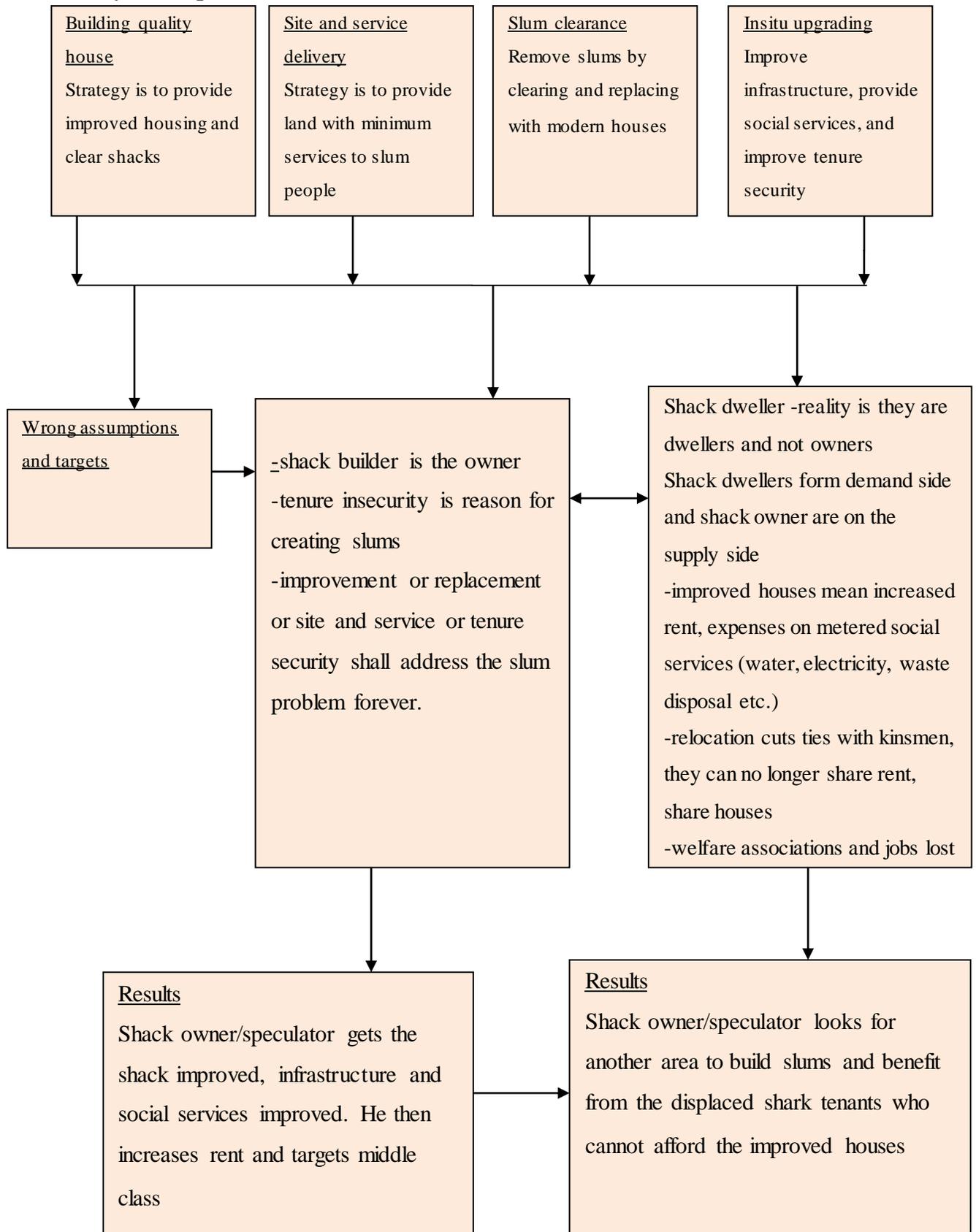
include providing security of land tenure, improved housing, and enhanced opportunities for income generation and employment creation. It also aims to attract private sector finance and encourage investment in slum upgrading; promote a culture for environmental conservation and management; and enhance the capacity for research, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. This is being done by relocating the people temporarily to decanting sites, to give room for upgrading of the area after which they are returned back. Slum upgrading is a programmatic response to existing slum communities that focuses on keeping the community intact while improving the quality of housing, infrastructure and services in the slum fabric.

The KENSUP project is currently on-going and it is the focus of this study. It has been argued that slum residents tend to form important socioeconomic networks which should be retained or incorporated during the slum upgrading program. These networks are important as they have become part of the culture of slum people as explained earlier by the theory of culture of poverty the study will therefore assess the extent to which such networks are being addressed and incorporated in the slum upgrading program.

When looking at slum upgrading it is argued how the slum community was created by two different players who have different interests which are convergent in the market place. The poor are on-the demand side which is insatiable and increasing. The poor are here because they cannot afford to build even the cheapest of houses, have no land or even power to access the land even if it was freely available. The rich are well connected they have money to invest in housing including the middle income housing. They are however aware of the opportunity of available market to make money and where unoccupied land exists to invest and make the money. They also have the power and connections to encroach on such land in the meantime. They are however aware that the land is insecure and they should not invest in permanent housing lest they lose their money. They build temporary housing for the poor. The poor who require these housing find this category of houses suitable for them. The poor get low income and cannot even afford basic livelihood through the month. To survive they develop networks like chamaas to help them survive.

Slum upgrading approach and other previous slum management models then gives the security of tenure to the shack owner who is not the tenant and gives him an opportunity to improve the houses with confidence and raise rent. His interest shifts from the poor to the middle class; the poor find the houses unaffordable and seek shelter elsewhere. Who provides these low cost housing? The same landlord creates them for the poor to occupy.

**Fig 2.1: Conceptual framework
Why slums persist**



Source: researcher 2014

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This section discusses the research methods that were followed in conducting the study. It gives description of the research, the study design, sampling techniques and sample size. The chapter also looks at methods of data collection, analysis and presentation.

3.1.0 Research design

The study adopted descriptive research which includes surveys and fact finding. The major purpose of this design is to describe things as they are currently (Kothari 2004)

3.1.1 Study population

Kibera has a population of 170,070, and Soweto east which was the focus of this study has a population of 28,182 people spread out in four zones: A, B, C and D (KNBS, 2009). Some residents (3917 people) of Soweto East zone A have been moved to the decanting site. This leaves 24,265 residents spread through zones B, C and .D; this constituted the study's sampling frame.

3.1.2 Sample population

The sample population was divided into two, the officials working with the NGOs and government agencies involved in the upgrading program and the residents of the three zones of Soweto-East. The first sample was made up of key informants who were the representatives of the UN Habitat, Maji na Ufanisi, and Ministry of Land Housing and Urban development among others. These organizations amongst others are involved directly in dealing with slum dwellers in Kibera Soweto. Other respondents included residents of Kibera-Soweto East who were above 18 years of age.

3.1.3 Sampling procedure

The study used both, probability and nonprobability sampling designs, namely, Purposive sampling and systematic random sampling. The study identified National Housing Corporation, UN-Habitat, Ministry of Housing among others as key informants. These agencies were sampled based on their involvement with the study population,the

upgrading programme and knowledge of the challenges facing slum upgrading programmes in Kibera Soweto.

3.1.4 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling was adopted to select the relevant organizations and institutions operating in the area of study and also based on their mandate. In identifying these organizations the criteria was based on their mandate, roles and contributions towards the Kibera residents.

3.1.5 Sampling Frame

Kibera has a population of 170,070, Kibera-Soweto East has a population of 28,182 spread out through zones A,B,C and D according to the 2009 census, out of the 28,182 people 3917 from zone A were moved to the decanting site. Therefore 24,265 people remained in Soweto East spread out through the three zones of B, C and D. This formed the sampling frame in this study from where 188 respondents were picked. The total number of respondents in the three zones of Soweto East was divided by the required sample size to determine the sampling interval.

3.1.6. Sample size

The following formula from Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) was used to determine the sample size.

$$n_0 = \frac{Z^2 pq}{e^2}$$

Where:

n= the desired sample size

z=the desired normal deviate at the required confidence level

p=the population in the target population estimated to have the required characteristics

q=1-p

e=the level of statistical significance

In this study, the standard normal deviation at required confidence level (z) is 1.96 and the level of statistical significance level adopted is 5%

The proportion of target population to the population (p) is

$$P = \left(\frac{24,265}{170,070} \right) = 0.143$$

$$q = 1 - p$$

$$q = (1 - 0.143) = 0.857$$

Thus n is:

$$n = \frac{(1.96)(1.96)(0.143)(0.857)}{0.05^2} = 188$$

The first respondent was picked randomly after which the next was chosen using systematic random sampling. The target population of 24,265 was divided by the sample size of 188 and therefore every 129 case was chosen during the interviews.

3.1.7. Purposive sampling

Some populations were purposively identified in this study as key informants. This included officials working with the NGOs, community leadership and government agencies involved in the upgrading program. The first sample was made up of key informants who were the representatives of the UN Habitat, *Maji na Ufanisi*, and Ministry of Land Housing and Urban development among others. These organizations amongst others are involved directly in dealing with slum dwellers in Kibera Soweto.

3.2 Data

3.2.1 Data Needs and Sources of Secondary Data

These were drawn from relevant literature from UN-Habitat published and unpublished work about the study topic, journals, books, reports, government documents like population census and Housing Policy and other relevant materials on the subject of study. The slum management models that have been used to deal with slums were drawn from secondary data. Secondary data also informed the conceptual frameworks employed in this study as well as what kind of data was required from the field.

3.2.2 Primary data sources

A structured questionnaire was developed to gather data that for answering the research objectives. The first part collected the bio data or background information of the respondents like age and education. Part two sought after information on the existing forms of economic survival like *chamas*, welfare associations, monthly income, source of income, and how they survive when they don't have money. The third part of the questionnaire addressed the social ties including the ethnic ties, neighborhood and welfare associations. The fourth part of the questionnaire focused on how the program is incorporating the social and economic aspects of the people. The questionnaires were pretested before being administered to the respondents.

3.3 Key informant interviews

In-depth interview guide was also used to interview the governmental and NGO officials in order to obtain more information on what the respondents had provided and the information already obtained from the literature review for clarification purposes. The targeted number of key informants in this study was comprised of 10 informants from NGOs and Government officials who were purposively chosen; the first sample was made up of key informants who were the representatives of the UN Habitat, *Maji na Ufanisi*, and Ministry of Land Housing and Urban development among others. These organizations amongst others are involved directly in dealing with slum dwellers in Kibera Soweto

The in-depth interviews also sought information on the extent to which the upgrading program is integrating the socioeconomic aspect of the people. Information on the level of rent in the upgraded units, resettlement procedure, and the total amount someone has to pay to own the upgraded units was also gathered from key informant.

3.4 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions provide access to a larger body of knowledge of general community information. Group discussions enable quick access to many people and are also cheap and quick to conduct compared with individual interviews with the same

number of respondents. Data that was gathered through focus group discussion include, interviews with the merry-go-round groups(chamas) and other socioeconomic networks the respondent were in, the ethnic composition, neighborhood associations, the importance of such networks and how relocation will affect them. The researcher managed to conduct two focus group discussions, one with a merry-go-round group (chamaa) and the other with a welfare group. The merry go round focus group comprised of six ladies, while the welfare association focus group comprised of eight men. This was seen as within the required size of focus group of between five to ten people. The focus groups were moderated by the researcher.

3.5 Observation

The study also used observation method to collect primary data. Observation was employed in verifying the current state of the decanting site and how the residents cope in the formal area.

3.6 Data analysis and presentation

3.6.1 Data analysis

Data was analyzed using both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Averages This is the mean of a set of scores or measurements, this was calculated by adding up all the scores and dividing the sum by the total number of scores. The study calculated the average income of respondents, the average amount of money spent for rent in a month, and the average of rent they can be able to afford per month in the upgraded units.

Percentages

This is the proportion of a sub group to the total group or sample and ranges from 0% to 100%. The study calculated the proportion of the study population in a particular age bracket, income, education and in economic groups like chamaas.

Pearson's product moment correlation

This type of correlation was used because the interval scales of the variables used were continuous. The computation of a correlation coefficient yields a statistic that ranges from -1 to 1. This statistic is called a correlation coefficient(r). The correlation coefficient tells the researcher:

1. The magnitude of the relationship between two variables. The bigger the coefficient, the stronger the association between the two variables.
2. The direction of the relationship between the two variables. If the correlation coefficient is positive, it means that there is a positive relationship between the variables

The analysis was employed in this study to determine the relationship between ones place of residence and the total monthly expenditure.

T-test

The t-test was used to test the difference between two groups on some continuous variable. The equation for the *t*-test depends on whether we are doing an *independent samples t-test* (comparing two different groups) or a dependent samples *t*-test, also called a *paired t-test* (comparing the same group at two different periods of time, or two different groups that have been “matched” on some important variable). There is also a one-sample *t*-test that was used to compare a group of scores with a known population mean. Furthermore, there are separate equations for the *independent samples t-test* depending on whether or not our two groups have equal sample sizes. In this case the paired t-test is employed given that two groups are being compared based on the variable of income.

The following are the key assumptions for t-tests:

1. The data must be sampled from a normally distributed population (or populations in case of a two-sample test).
2. For two-sample tests, the two populations must have equal variances.
3. Each score (or difference score for the paired t-test) must be independent of all other scores.

The study used SPSS to run the t-test model defining the direction of total monthly expenditure difference between groups in the decanting site and the informal area. The results were used to reject the null hypothesis.

Qualitative analysis

This was used to analyze non-empirical data like data obtained from in-depth interviews which was analyzed thematically. For each of the data set, a separate code sheet was created in an attempt to establish and interpret the patterns and relationships of the responses. This was done in a systematic way in order to come to some useful conclusions and recommendations (Mugenda and Mugenda 2003).

3.6.2 Data presentation

The study presented data mainly in two forms: tabulation and diagrammatic representation.

Tabulation

This entails presenting data in an array of rows and columns. Use of tables condensed large mass of data, enables comparison to be made easily among classes of data and also took less space than data presented in narrative form (Alabi 2007). The study tabulated data obtained on some of the study objectives. Beyond the use of tables the study also used diagrammatic representation.

Diagrammatic representation

Diagrammatic representation brought out the visual impact in a better way. Graphs and charts were adopted because they enable the reader to see the trend of distributions more easily than it is possible by simply looking at numbers (Mugenda and Mugenda 2003). The study made use of charts to present data on age and gender as put forward by the respondents. In addition the study made use of photographs to show information and study area during data collection in the area of study.

.3.6.3 Study Limitations

Some of the limitations encountered during the study include: -bad weather as it was raining thus hard to work comfortably; the congestion in the slum area and lack of proper roads or paths made it hard to navigate through the area; unwillingness by respondents to give information and suspicion of everyone around was a challenge and this might have

contributed to loss of important information; some respondents claimed to be busy while others wanted to be paid prior to giving the information. Fear for security and safety made it hard to go into the deep parts of the slum. However multiple sources of information were used to triangulate the main methods of data collection earlier employed in the study and the findings can still be considered as useful contribution to the on-going debate regarding urban poverty and the slum problem in particular

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the outcome of the analysis of the data and the interpretation made in relation to the research questions and objectives which the study set out to achieve. The main objective of the study was to establish whether the socioeconomic component of the slum community is integrated during the current slum upgrading process in Kibera-Soweto, Kenya. However, the various socio economic components of the slum community are often not understood and therefore this study envisaged determining whether such components exist and if they do, which forms do they take among the slum dwellers. The discussion is carried out according to the specific objectives of the study.

4.2 Response Rate

A total of 184 completed and usable questionnaires out of 188 administered were obtained from the respondents for the study. This represented 97% response rate which the researcher considered adequate for the analysis

4.2.1 Information emerging from the respondents of Kibera-Soweto East.

Out of the total people interviewed in Kibera-Soweto East, 69.6% were male while 30.4% of them were female as shown in (Figure 4.1 and Table 4.1) below

Table 4.1 Distribution of respondents by Gender

Gender	Frequency	%
Male	128	69.6
Female	56	30.4
Total	184	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

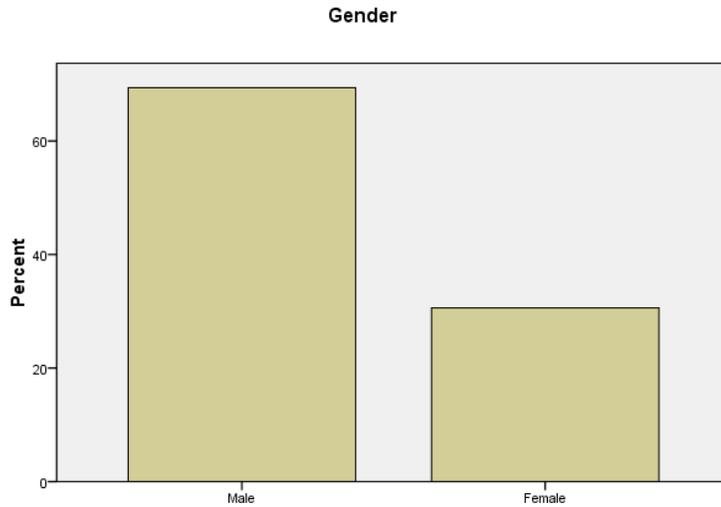


Fig 4.1: Distribution of Respondents by Gender

4.2.2 Distribution of respondents by age

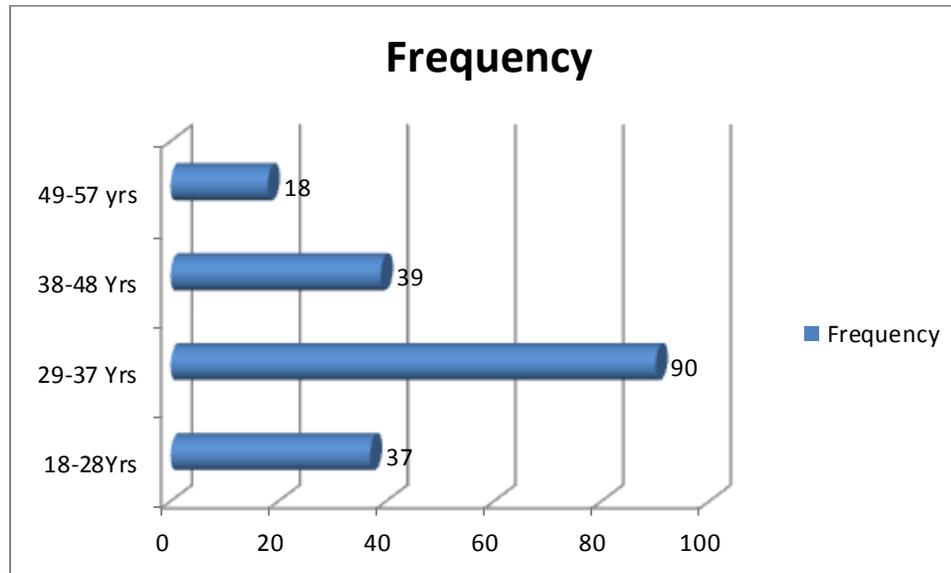
The study also aimed to establish the dominant age brackets of the slum community and evidence from the field shows that majority (48.9%) of the respondents were between 29-37 years of age. This was followed by those in the age bracket of 38- 48 years comprised 21.2%, and 18-28 years comprising of 20.1%, while those in the age bracket of between 49-57 years were 9.8 (figure 4.2).

Table 4.2 Distribution of respondents by Age

Age	Frequency	%
18-28Yrs	37	20.1
29-37 Yrs	90	48.9
38-48 Yrs	39	21.2
49-57 Yrs	18	9.8
Total	184	100.0

Source: Field survey 2014

Fig: 4.2 **Distribution of Respondents by Age**



Source: Field survey,(2014).

The study concluded that most of the slum dwellers were men and were youthful. This may be explained by the fact that most of those who migrate to the urban areas are mainly men looking for jobs and their option is to join the slum areas where they can afford rent

4.2.3 Distribution of respondents by level of education

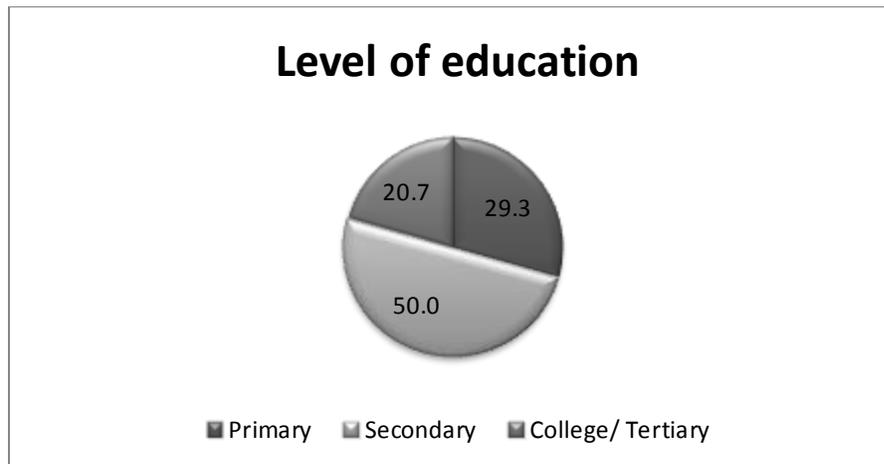
This inquiry aimed inter-alia to find out the level of education of the slum dwellers because this is an important factor that determines the socio economic bracket of an individual. The study found out that majority (50.0%) of the respondents attained secondary school level of education, while 29.3% of the respondents had attained the level of primary education and (20.7%) were educated upto tertiary/ college level (Table 4.3). This shows that most of the respondents were either unskilled or semi-skilled and this was a factor which excluded them from most well- paying formal jobs in the city. The destination of such people who are poor and not trained was in the slum settlements where they could be able to afford housing.

Table 4.3 Distributio of Respondents by Level of Education

Level of Education	Frequency	%
Primary	54	29.3
Secondary	92	50.0
College/ Tertiary	38	20.7
Total	184	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2014

Figure 4.3 distribution of respondents by level of education



Source: Field Survey 2014

4.3 Existing economic networks and coping mechanisms.

In this section, the study aimed to establish whether there are any forms of economic networks in Kibera-Soweto East. The study further aimed to find out how these networks are useful as coping mechanisms that enable the slum residents survive the difficult life within the slum community. There has been several arguments among scholars that slum upgrading approaches fail because the economic networks of the slum communities are not known. Such networks are often not integrated during the slum upgrading initiatives and therefore the slum management programmes become a failure at the end. But the question is: what are these networks and how useful are they to the slum community? This was the main concern of objective one in this study.

How did the slum residents earn their living? The study found out that majority of the respondents (77.2%) were working, while 22.8% of them had no job (Table 4.4 and Figure 4.4).

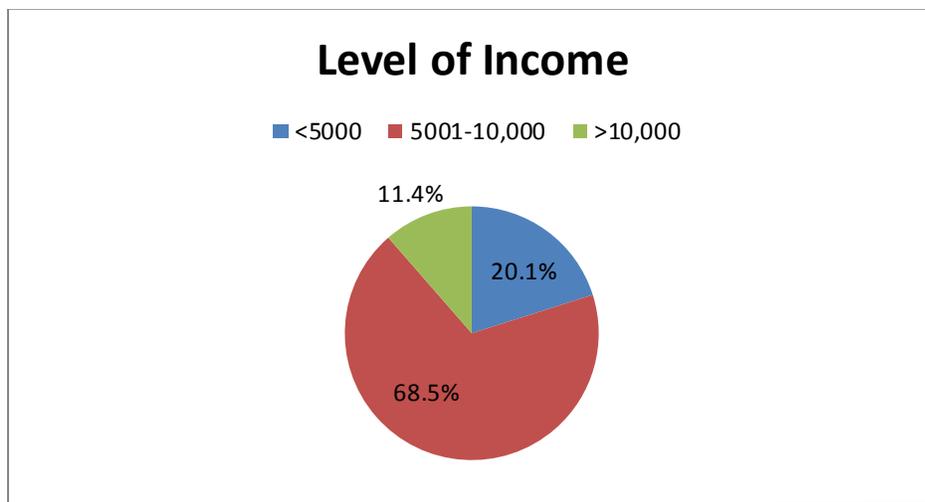
Table 4.4: Distribution of Respondents by employment

Having a job	Frequency	%
Yes	142	77.2
No	42	22.8
Total	184	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2014

Out of the 142 respondents who were working, 44.0% of them worked in the neighboring estates of Lavington, Kilimani, and Langata that border the slums, 25.5% of them worked within Kibera slums and the rest 20.1% worked in industrial area. The inquiry further tried to establish the levels of income earned among the slum dwellers and whether such income was sufficient to support them. The study established that 68.5% of the inhabitants who were working were within an income range of Ksh 5001- 10,000, while 20.1% of them earned less than Ksh 5000, and 11.4% of them earned more than Ksh 10,000. This means that up to a total of 88.6% of the respondents earned an income of Ksh 10,000 and less. However, most of them spend up to an average of Ksh 9000 in the former slum areas and also spend a total of Ksh 13,000 in the areas where they were relocated, to cater for slum upgrading.

Fig 4.4: Level of Income



Source: Field Survey, 2014

4.3.1 Distribution of Respondents by Expenditure

How did they spend the money? On average the informal area residents spend Ksh 9050 while those in the upgraded units spend Ksh 13,370. The higher expenditure in the area where they were relocated to is as a result of new rent which is Ksh 2500 per unit, the cost of food is also higher by an average of 1650.

Table 4.5: Distribution of Respondents by Expenditure

Expense on Items	Slums	Upgrades
Rent	750	2500
Electricity	250	320
Garbage	0.00	150
Food	5850	7500
Fees	2000	2500
Water	200	400
Total	9050	13370

Source: Field Survey, 2014.

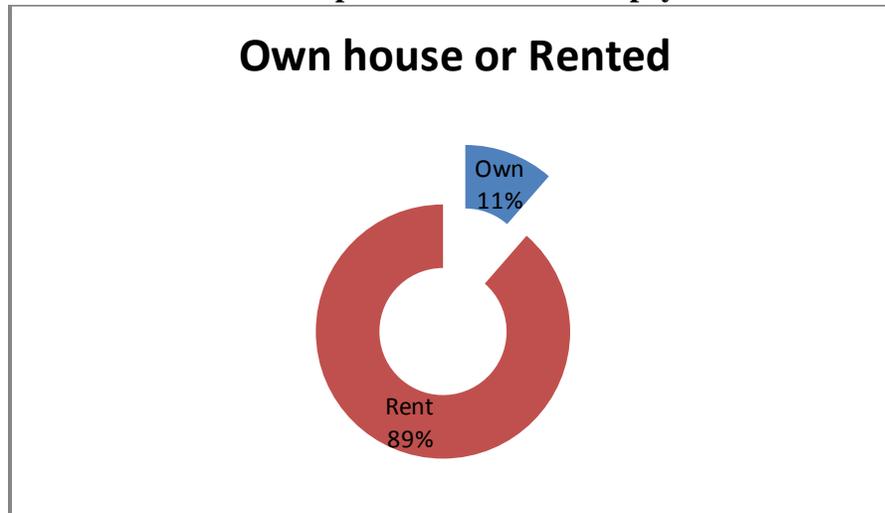
The study indicated that majority (88.6%) of the inhabitants who stay alone in the informal dwellings, pay rent while a minority (11.4%) owns those places of dwellings as captured in the Tables 4.6 & Figures 4.5 below.

Table 4.6: Distribution of Respondents who own or pay rent

own or pay rent	Frequency	%
Own	21	11.4
Rent	163	88.6
Total	184	100.0

Source: Field survey, (2014)

Fig 4.5: Distribution of Respondents who own or pay rent



Source: Field survey, (2014)

4.4 Hypothesis testing

H0: There is no significant difference in the cost of living between the slum area and the upgraded area.

H1: There is a significant difference in the cost of living between the slum area and the upgraded area

A computation of the average total income of the sampled Kibera-Soweto residents depicting their average expenditure on basic needs reveals that slum area residents spend less on basic needs such as shelter (rent), water, food, electricity, garbage, and fees.

A Pearson correlation analysis was conducted to determine the relationship between where a resident stayed and their average monthly expenditure. The results revealed that there was a strong positive correlation between where a person's area of residence and their average total monthly expenditure (Pearson correlation value > 0.5)

Correlations			
		place of living	total monthly expenditure
place of living	Pearson Correlation	1	.766**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	184	184
total monthly expenditure	Pearson Correlation	.766**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	184	184

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

A paired sample t-test was also conducted to test the validity of the hypothesis that a resident living in the slum area averagely spends less than a resident living in the upgraded area.

Paired Samples Statistics					
		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	place of living	.42	184	.495	.036
	total monthly expenditure	9832	184	.496	.037

Paired Samples Test									
		Paired Differences				t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
					Lower				Upper
Pair 1	place of living - total monthly expenditure	-1.005	.339	.025	-1.055	-.956	-40.266	183	.000

The results revealed P. value<.05 df=183. Since the P. Value<.05, the null hypothesis was therefore rejected

What is emerging from the foregoing analysis is that majority of the slum residents spent almost all their money in the old slum areas where they resided before they were relocated and in the new settlements, the residents spent more money than their earnings, even though the income remains constant. The study therefore concluded that the cost of

living in the upgraded area increased pressure on the slum people, who already were barely surviving in the slum area without improving their source of livelihood.

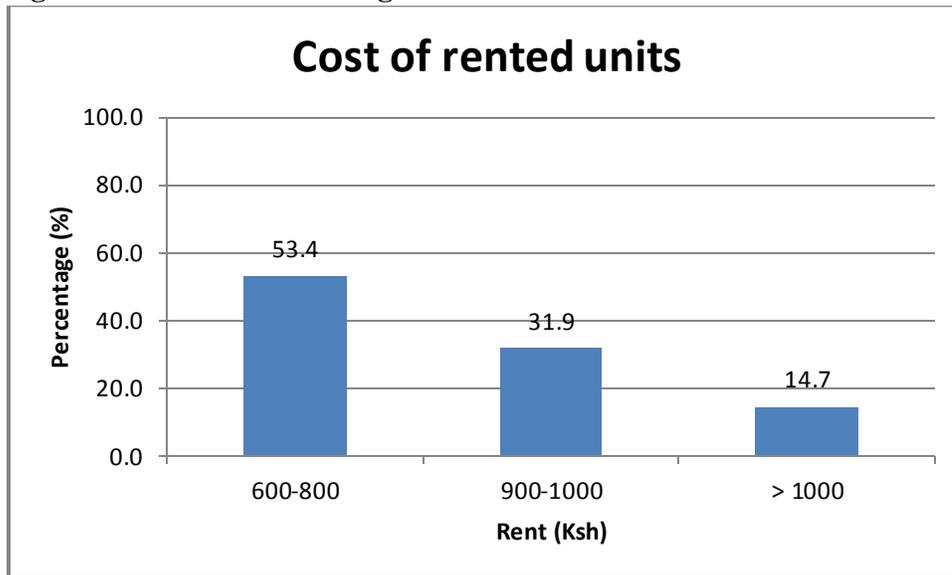
The study sought to find out if the unit was rented and how much they were paying for it. Those who pay between Ksh 600-800 comprised 53.4%, with those over Ksh 1000 being the least at 14.7%. This is further depicted in Table 4.7 and Figure 4.6

Table 4.7: Cost of renting a unit

If rented how much	Frequency	%
600-800	87	53.4
900-1000	52	31.9
> 1000	24	14.7
Total	163	100.0

Source: Field survey, (2014)

Fig 4.6: Cost of renting a unit



Source: Field survey, 2014

Considering that income was not enough to enable slum residents survive properly, how did they cope with the gap in income?

The respondents were asked to indicate their mode of survival in case they had money deficit in the middle of the month. A majority of the respondents (46.7%) borrowed goods from shops, while 33.7% borrow from *Chama* while the rest which comprise (19.6%) borrow from friends (Table 4.8)

Table 4.8 Survival Mechanism Incase of Money deficit

In case of Deficit	Frequency	%
Borrow from Chama	62	33.7
Borrow from the shops	86	46.7
Borrow from friend	36	19.6
Total	184	100.0

Source: Field survey,(2014)

Majority of the respondents indicated in the affirmative (69%) that they belonged to a chamaa while (31%) indicated that they did not belong to any chamaa What emerged from the foregoing analysis is that majority of the slum residents spent almost all their money in the old slum areas where they resided before they were relocated and in the

new settlements, the residents spent more money than their earnings. How then did they survive without sufficient income to cover their expenditure and where did they get the extra income to cover some of their essential costs in the month? This could be explained within the economic networks which slum dwellers develop over time some of them which helped them to survive the hard economic times in the slum areas.

4.5 Socio networks as coping mechanisms of the slum community.

In this section, the inquiry aimed to establish the nature and usefulness of the socio networks of the slum community in line with objective two of the study. The contention advanced in this study is that slum dwellers are poor; they earn low income which does not cover most of their expenses that they incur in life. However, slum dwellers form a community of the poor who share the same problems and who therefore sympathize for one another and even help one another to survive. In the foregoing section, the study established that indeed incomes earned by slum dwellers were low (less than Ksh 10000) and most of their expenditures exceeded the income earned. This study contends that some of the socio networks developed by the community help them to overcome some of the traumatic experiences in the slum areas caused by lack/low income and some of such networks advance and compliment the economic survival mechanisms. The socio and economic networks are therefore intertwined and complimentary.

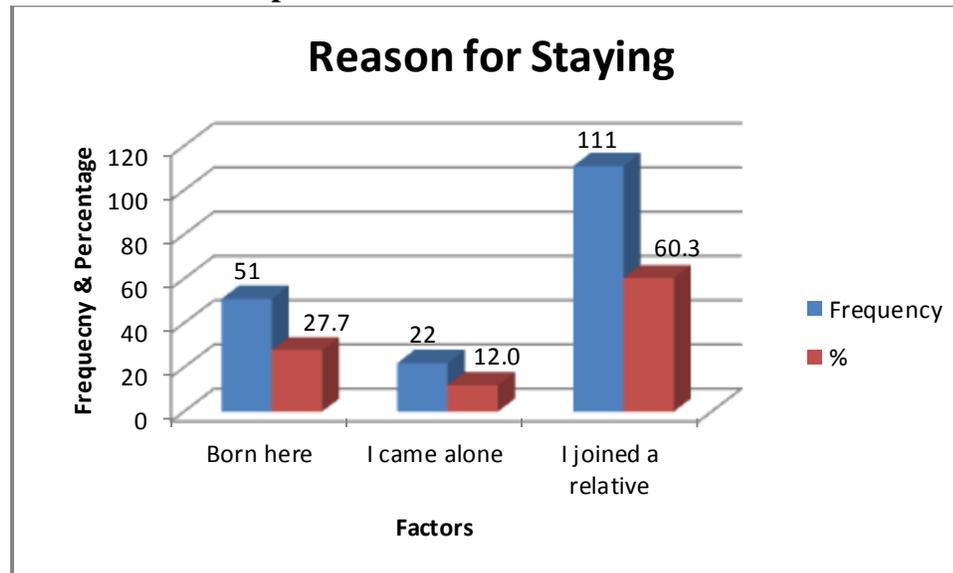
The first question posed to the residents is: how did they end up in the slums? Most of the residents joined a relative (60.3%); some of them comprising 27.7% were born in Kibera while some of them indicated that they came on their own (Table 4.9 and Fig 4.7).

Table 4.9: How the respondents came to the slums

Reason for staying	Frequency	%
Born here	51	27.7
I came alone	22	12.0
I joined a relative	111	60.3
Total	184	100.00

Source: Field Survey 2014

Fig 4.7: How the respondents came to the slums

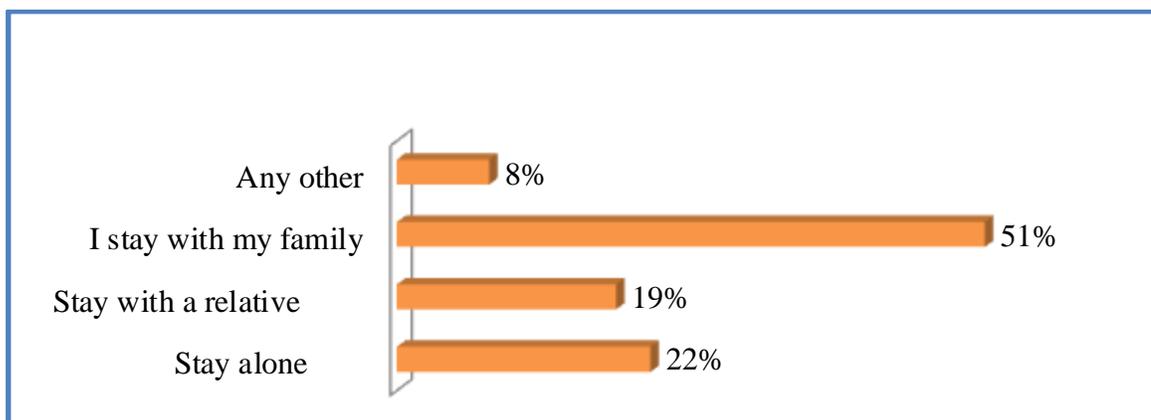


Source: Field survey, (2014)

The fact that majority first came to the slums to join the relatives is a very critical socio network which is important in slum formation. Slum people come from the rural areas with full knowledge on where to live and with whom. This helps them to acclimatize in the city as they look for jobs and the relatives usually arrange for their employments in advance. But most important is the fact that the relatives take care of the new comers until the time they are able to get a job. This is an important social insurance which can only be found among the poor community and it can be seen as one of the components of the culture of poverty developed by poor communities over time.

Again, the common practice among the high and middle income communities in the urban areas is for families to live in the house with members of their immediate families in line with the western cultures. But what is the practice in Kibera-Soweto East? The study indicated that most respondents (51%) lived with their families; 19% of respondents lived with relatives who were not immediate family members; 22% of respondents stayed alone while 8% of respondents had other means of living as shown in Figure 4.8.

Fig 4.8: Distribution of Respondents who Stay alone or With Family



Source: Field survey, 2014

The data shows that although most of the respondents lived with the family, a good number of them comprising 19% lived with relatives. This means that slum culture allowed the sharing of a house with friends or relatives contrary to what happens in the middle and high income neighbourhoods. Again this shows that slum areas have an important component which allows the poor and those without jobs to share houses with those who have houses and jobs until those who don't have jobs can be able to stand on their own. This is an important survival mechanism among the slum dwellers.

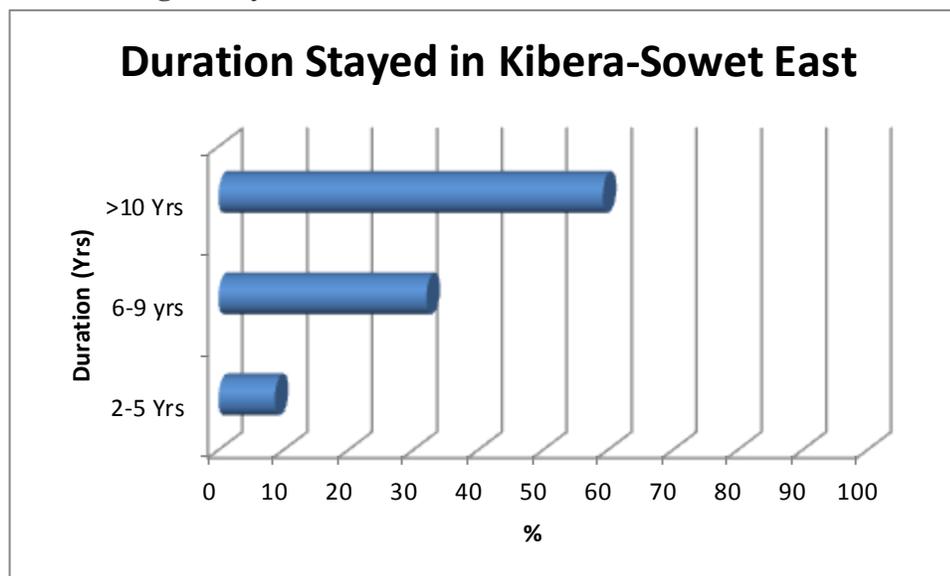
This inquiry also sought to find out the length of time that residents of Kibera Soweto East have resided in the neighbourhoods of Kibera slums. The study indicated that a fair proportion of the inhabitants (59.2.8%) have lived in the slums for a period of more than 10 years, whereas 8.7% have spent between 2-5 years in the slums (Figure 4.9 and Table 4.10)

Table 4.10: Distribution of Respondents by length stayed in Kibera

Duration Stayed	Frequency	%
2-5 Yrs.	16	8.7
6-9 yrs.	59	32.1
>10 Yrs.	109	59.2
Total	184	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2014

Fig 4.9: Length stayed in Kibera



Source: Field survey, (2014)

How many of the residents were members of a welfare association? This question was important because welfare associations are useful networks and useful coping mechanisms both as fallback positions during hard socio times and during hard economic times as well. The respondents were asked to indicate if they belonged to any welfare association. Majority of the respondents comprising 79.3% indicated that they belonged to a welfare association and 20.7% indicated that they did not belong to any welfare association (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11: Distribution of Respondents by Welfare Group Membership

Member of a welfare group	Frequency	%
Yes	146	79.3
No	38	20.7
Total	184	100.0

Source: Field survey,(2014)

The inquiry further aimed to establish how the respondents benefited from the welfare associations. Majority of them comprising 56.8% indicated that the welfare associations were handy during times of bereavement as they helped to offset funeral expenses, 29.5%

indicated that it helped to clear hospital bills and 13.7% indicated other reasons such as paying bride price and wedding expenses (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12: How welfare groups help

How does welfare help		Frequency	%
Funeral Expenses		83	56.8
Hospital Bills		43	29.5
Others		20	13.7
Total		146	100.0

Source: Field survey,(2014)

But where did the members comprising the welfare associations come from? This line of inquiry aimed to find out the extent to which ethnicity formed an important factor in the formation of welfare associations. A good number of the residents comprising of 51.4% indicated that members of the welfare associations were from their tribes or from their local community back home. This was followed by those who said that members of the welfare association comprised of neighbours (24.7%,) while 11.6% were welfare associations comprising of friends. The rest (12.3%) in the category of others included those who formed welfare associations with church members and workmates. This is shown in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Composition of Welfare Membership

Composition of Members		Frequency	%
Neighbours		36	24.7
Friends		17	11.6
Community/tribes members		75	51.4
Others		18	12.3
Total		146	100.0

Source: Field survey,(2014)

The most important point to note here is that members who constitute the welfare association are acquaintances from either the tribes of the residents (51.4%),or from the neighbours (24.7%) or friends (11.6%) or even from church. This means that members of the welfare associations are those who can trust one another because they know one

another. Again, acquaintance and trust can be seen as one of the most important aspect of welfare formation among the slum communities. Welfare associations in turn form important socio networks which not only enable the residents to cope during difficult times such as funerals but also such welfare associatiosn compliment the economic networks.

How did slum residents cope when money was not adequate for accomodation? It was established that some of them shared houses. The study established that 70.1% of the respondents indicated that they were sharing the houses where they were staying while 29.9% indicated that they were not sharing the houses where they were staying (Table 4.14).

Table 4.14 Sharing of Houses

Sharing of House	Frequency	%
Yes	129	70.1
No	55	29.9
Total	184	100.0

Source: Field survey, (2014)

A majority (43.4%) were housing friends and relatives who had just come from upcountry, 20.9% of respondents housed friends and relatives who were jobless and 35.7% housed friends and relatives who were unable to afford paying rent alone

Table 4.15: Reason for House Sharing

If yes why	Frequency	%
Don't have a job	27	20.9
Just came from upcountry	56	43.4
Unable to pay rent alone	46	35.7
Total	129	100.0

Source: Field survey,(2014)

There are those with cultural restrictions who could not share houses with either their children or their parents, how did they cope in circumstances where they required extra acomodation in another house? This avoidance reelationships where children and parents,

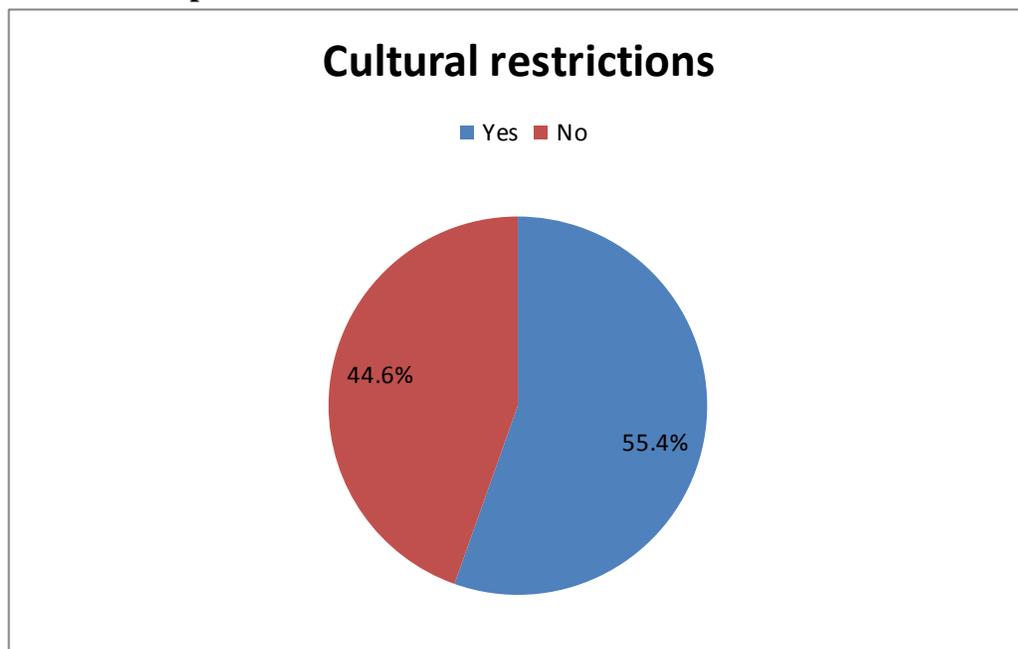
as well as inlaws do not sleep under the same roof is well embedded in most African cultures as explained by Raddcliffe (1940) The study established that most people in the slums (55.4%) had cultural inhibitions which made it hard for them to share houses with their relatives while a good number of the respondents (44.6%) did not have such restrictions (Table 4.16 and Figure 4.10).

Table 4.16: Respondents who do not share houses due to cultural restrictions

Unable to share due to cultural reason		Frequency	%
Yes		102	55.4
No		82	44.6
Total		184	100.0

Source: Field survey, (2014)

Fig 4.10: Respondents who do not share houses due to cultural restrictions



Source: Field survey, (2014)

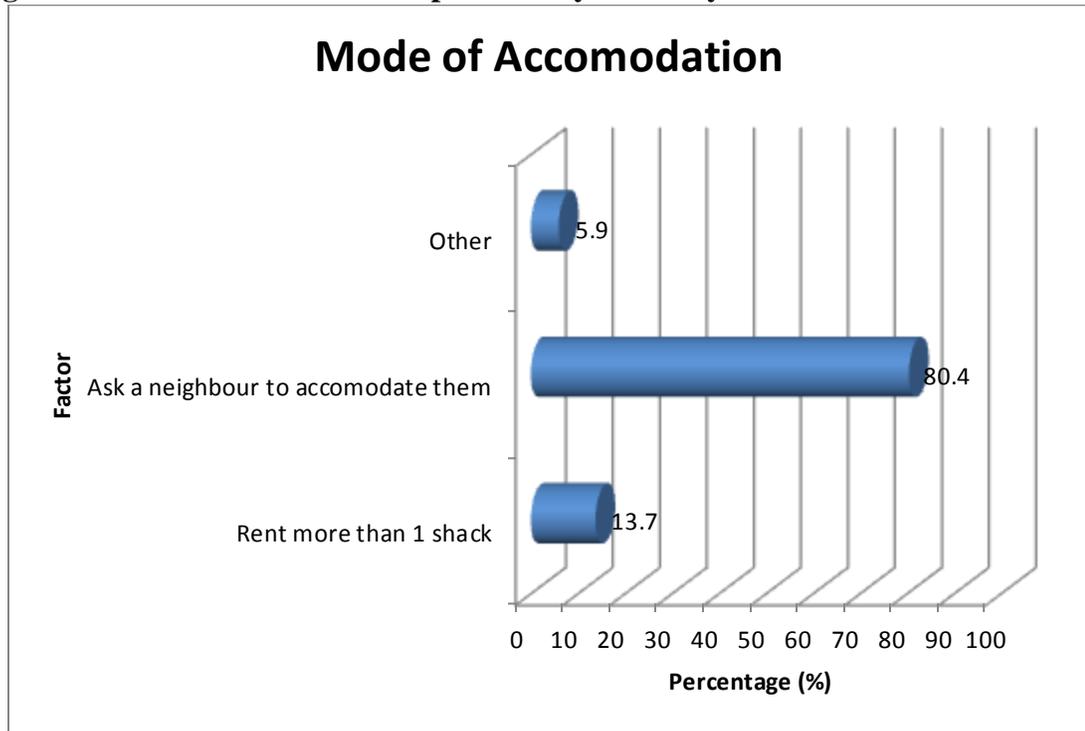
Those who could not share houses for reasons of cultural inhibitions were prompted to look for alternative accommodation. As a result, most such people comprising 80.4% sought for accommodation among relatives in the neighborhoods, (13.7%) of them rented more than one shack for this purpose while a negligible number of the respondents (5.9%) sought other unspecified alternatives (Table 4.17 and Figure 4.11).

Table 4.17: Distribution of Respondents by how they accommodate relatives

How are they accommodated		Frequency	%
Rent more than 1 shack		14	13.7
Ask a neighbour to accommodate them		82	80.4
Other		6	5.9
Total		102	100.0

Source: Field survey, (2014)

Fig 4.11: Distribution of Respondents by how they accommodate relatives



Source: Field survey, 2014

The above findings shows how friendships and ethnic ties among the slum dwellers become handy especially when one has an extra visitor who requires accommodation or when one cannot even be able to accommodate some members of his/her family as a result of some cultural inhibitions. This happens especially among members of the Luhya Luo and Kisii communities where parents cannot share a house with boys who are circumcised. Sometimes it can be very expensive and unaffordable to look for extra accommodation. In this case the ethnic and friendship ties help the persons concerned to accommodate the extra persons among the friends and members of their ethnic groups.

Ethnicity and friendship then form important ties that help slum communities with income constraints to cope among the slum communities.

4.6: Level of integration of socio-economic components in slum upgrading programs.

This study holds the view that the socio-economic components of the slum community seen in the foregoing sections should form the integral part of the slum management programs. This was then the focus of objective three of this study who sought inter-alia find the answer: to what extent are the socio-economic components of the community integrated into the slum upgrading programs?

4.6.1 Components of the Kenya slum upgrading program

Kenya Slum upgrading Programmed (KENSUP) aims inter-alia: provide social and physical infrastructure, provide security of land tenure, improved housing, and enhanced opportunities for income generation and employment creation (GoK: 2004). This is being done by relocating the people temporarily to decanting sites, to give room for upgrading of the area after which they are returned back.

In the Soweto East context, the KENSUP project aims to temporarily relocate slum residents from Soweto East-Kibera to Lang'ata decanting site, and it is expected that after the completion of the project, the slum people shall return to Kibera where they can choose to become tenants or homeowners. But one condition is that they have to join a housing cooperative that was established in 2007 by the Ministry of Cooperatives. Each week a resident who chooses to become a homeowner has to pay the Cooperative Bank of Kenya Ksh 10,000 per month until a total of 100,000 (which is the target) is attained. Those who are not interested in this "offer" will continue to be tenants. Slum upgrading is a programmatic response to existing slum communities that focuses on keeping the community intact while improving the quality of housing, infrastructure and services in the slum fabric.

The question asked here is: to what extent can the objectives of the slum upgrading be made while ensuring that the important socio-economic networks of the slum community remain intact?

One of the important issues emerging from the socio and economic analysis carried out in sections 4.2 and 4.3 is that most of the slum dwellers (88.6%) are tenants. This means that the slum upgrading process which inter-alia include provision of social and physical infrastructure shall improve the living environment but might eventually work against the majority who are tenants. The improved infrastructure would restore sanity in the otherwise deplorable living environment of Kibera and this shall tempt the landlords to increase rent. Once rent is increased, the tenants might not afford because even as of now, majority were living beyond their means with expenditure exceeding income per month. The second approach of slum upgrading involving tenure security shall also benefit landlords who shall now own the ground besides the structures. This might also make those landlords with better income to change their focus from the poor to the middle class where collection of rent shall be enhanced and shall be more regular than that from the poor.

But of interest in this section is that it has been established that slum dwellers form very important socio-economic networks which make them survive in the slum community. Are such networks integrated or considered during the slum management programmes? For example when they were asked to relocate to Langata decanting site, majority of the respondents expressed the desire to remain in the informal area (63.6%). Among the reasons they gave for opting to stay in the former slum settlements instead of relocating to the new sites included the cost of acquiring the upgraded units. In the focus group discussion, it was established that the amount payable for ownership of the units ranged from Ksh 900,000-1.300,000 depending on whether it is a two-bedroom unit or three bedroom unit. This cost was seen to be high and confirmed from the in-depth interviews conducted. The slum residents also were not sure if the process of house allocation shall be fair. Majority believed that just like the other former projects like Nyayo project, this one will still be benefiting the middle class (Table 4.18).

Table 4.18: Respondents by desire to move to upgraded units or stay in the informal area

desire to move or stay		Frequency	%
Stay		117	63.6
Move		67	36.4
Total		184	100.0

Source: Field survey, (2014)

Plate 4.1: Focus group discussion



Source: Field survey, (2014)

Considering that majority of the respondents earned Ksh 10, 000 and below, the amount of contribution required to own a house after the slum upgrading program shall be too high for the residents of the slum community to raise. It was noted during the study that those who did not have any objection towards relocating were concerned about being separated from their immediate neighbors most of whom were of great benefit as established from focus group discussions. They aided each other in times of crisis like loss of loved ones by providing moral support and contributing towards funeral expenses

and their chief concern was how this will be ensured that they are not separated. The Kibera Soweto East people as established from the focus group discussion have mixed feelings towards the slum upgrading project. As much as they will appreciate having better housing, they are more concerned of their affordability, targets of the project, and their socioeconomic networks. The in depth interviews from key informants revealed that they were in agreement that allocation should be done systematically through allocation of numbers and that is what will be used when relocating so as to ensure that the social networks are not de-stabilized. Of concern from the in-depth interviews was the ability of the Kibera people to take care of the amenities in upgraded units like toilets and sewer system because these requires extra costs and they are not used to such expenses. This is evident as observed by the researcher during field visits; the decanting site is already a total mess as shown below.

Plate 4.2.: Deteriorating decanting site



Source: Field survey, (2014)

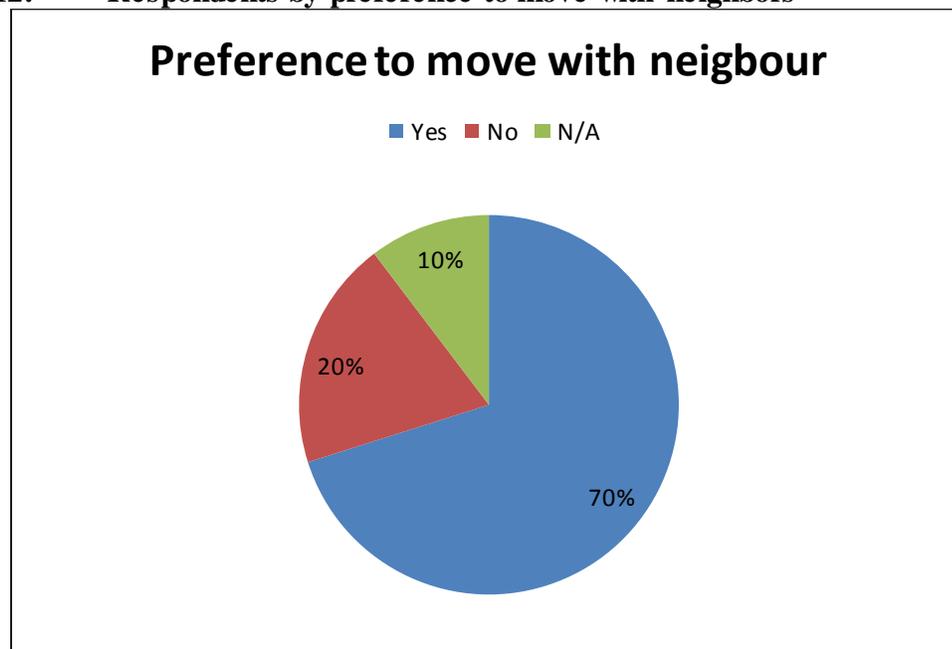
Respondents were asked to state their preference and how they would have wanted to live in the new areas where they were required to relocate to. Majority of them (70.1%) had a preference to move with their neighbors or retain the pattern of arrangement as it were in the former slum areas, while (19.6%) did not prefer to move with neighbors and another 10.3% did not indicate their preference.

Table 4.19: respondents by preference to move with neighbors

Preference to move with neighbour	Frequency	%
Yes	129	70.1
No	36	19.6
N/A	19	10.3
Total	184s	100.0

Source: Field survey, (2014)

Fig 4.12: Respondents by preference to move with neighbors



Source: Field surveys, (2014)

On the other hand the study sought to find out how or what mechanism had been put in place to ensure economic sustainability of the slum community. The community officer from *Umande* trust emphasised that it would be important to have a plant for recycling the waste through collaborations with the UN-Habitat and the Government of Kenya in

partnership with local NGO to generate income and manage waste. In the same light the study sought the opinion of a social worker with Carolina for Kibera on the integration of economic survival mechanism she said “how I wish we could have a SACCO that caters for slum dwellers where they can save and borrow, this will boost the *chamaas* that they use to survive and also take pressure from shop keepers who support this people through the month and end up making losses as few of them repay promptly.” As such it was suggested that there was need to provide a common industrial area since people were being accommodated in flats thus reducing their mode of channels of trade which were being conducted from their door steps.

It was therefore found that the slum upgrading programs had put in place some measures such as keeping neighbors intact even after relocation and ensuring that the project had the component of income generation. However, the study established that the tenants shall be replaced because they cannot afford the shacks and they do not own such shacks. The shacks shall be expensive and shall only benefit the landlords and the middle class. This means that slums shall not be eradicated by use of the slum upgrading program.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter covered summary of the key findings, conclusions, policy recommendations as well as areas for further study.

5.2 Summary of the key findings

This study set out to demonstrate, first that the socioeconomic factor is important among the slum communities and that slum management programs should therefore consider the factor as an integral component of the slum management programs. The enquiry was based on the view that although slum management approaches consider that the socioeconomic component is crucial, what constitutes the socioeconomic factor is seldom understood. The role played by the socioeconomic component among the slum dwellers is knowledge that is not understood by scholars and policy makers.

This study takes the view that the slum community is poor or in most times their income is low or inadequate to cover their expenses. This sets them into a vicious circle which begins by such person's first going to low income houses where they can afford or where they can find relatives to accommodate them in the initial stages as they try to look for jobs and acclimatize in the city.

While in the slum, the settlers find that their incomes are low or they have no jobs and for them to survive they develop networks which are economic in nature or both economic and social networks interlocks to the extent that it is not clear which one causes the other.

The study found out the following;

1. That most of the slum dwellers 88% are slum tenants, they first joined the slums through acquaintances such as relatives or friends. This shows that contrary to popular belief, slum dwellers are on the demand side of the slum formation while the supply side constitutes different entities, most of them unknown and most of them who do not belong to the slum community. Entry into slums using acquaintances as members of the same community or friends again who come from the same community explains why Kibera slum is partitioned into ethnic

categories like *Kisumu ndogo* for Luos, *Karanja* for Kikuyus and *Makina* for Nubians.

2. The study also found out that most slum dwellers are either unemployed or earning income which is less than Ksh 10,000 per month. The monthly expenditure on rent, food among others was closer or higher than the income earned. This means that slum dwellers were eking a living and unable to survive. How then did they cover most of their basic expenditure of life?

The study found out that the residents tended to form groups where they made monthly or weekly payments modes to secure some loan. This merry go round approach again took on ethnic dimension as most of the chamaas were found to comprise members of similar ethnic groups.

The study also found out that most residents had sleeping arrangements which could be seen in the context of either saving money or coping the period when income was not available. Some people shared houses while some slept in turns for example sleeping during the day for those who worked as watchmen and sleeping at night for those who work during the day. This arrangement is crucial because residents were saving money or could still find somewhere to sleep even if they have no money to rent their own houses. This then can be seen as an important economic network which again acted as important economic survival mechanisms for slum residents and a slum management program break these networks and leaves the people vulnerable.

3. The study also found out that the social component formed a very crucial factor in slum formation. For example most of the people in the slum first joined Kibera from the rural areas using acquaintances who were friends or relatives and most of them were from the ethnic background of the migrant. This shows that ethnicity was a crucial factor in the initial stages of rural-urban migration and the slum formation in particular.

While in the slums majority join areas predominantly occupied by members of the same ethnic group. This allowed the slum dwellers to get accommodation during the time of looking for jobs or share housing if they are unable to afford because these are the people they can trust. While in the slum the slum residents find that income is very low and occasionally they are unable to meet some of their basic needs. Most of the slum people therefore joined welfare associations where they could meet over the weekends. They could also subscribe and contribute money per month to meet expenses like funeral ones where they helped in transporting the dead to the rural homes, help during sickness and occasionally when one found themselves on the wrong side of the law. These networks that are social in nature can be seen as two faceted, first as the main factor during slum formation and two as the main factor which helps the slum dweller to survive under the difficult circumstances which they find themselves in the slum and changes brought about by slum upgrading and other slum management programs puts the slum people in a situation where these networks are broken and therefore vulnerable.

This enquiry again tried to answer the following questions; if socioeconomic factors are crucial first as determinants of slum formation and second as slum coping mechanisms, how and to what extent are such factors integrated into the slum management programs.

The study began by interrogating the first models, and two by interrogating the current slum upgrading programs.

First the slum management approaches take cognizance that slum formation has the supply side and the demand side and both of them are not necessary mutually inclusive. In Kibera-Soweto East most of the residents are tenants and therefore those who build the shacks can be seen as investors/speculators who build the low income houses for the poor to achieve profits. This category of people does not necessarily live in Kibera and may not belong to the category of the poor. Past research has established that majority are civil servants, administrators, politicians (Syagah 2010; Gulayani and Talukdar 2008). Slum management should therefore not emphasize on tenure security and improving the shacks

as this shall raise rent, benefit the shack owner and throw away the tenant. The slum management program should first address the poverty of the people which was a crucial factor in slum formation and two ensure the networks are retained as they form important survival and coping mechanism.

To what extent did the slum management approaches integrate this important aspect? First the study found out that all past slum management strategies emphasized on either demolition or rebuilding the shacks or site and service.

These strategies first benefited the owner who were not the tenants hence excluded the tenants, the new houses become expensive, the site and service changed hands to the middle class and the slum tenants lost out. They had to regroup in another location as their plight was not understood and it was not addressed.

The second thing to understand is that site and service and slum renewal gave houses for slum people at random. Neighborhoods are lost and the networks as well, the location was also important as it was close to places of work but site and service dislocated people from the original area.

In the current slum upgrading program the emphasis is the rebuilding of the houses, Tenure security and improvement of infrastructure. These approaches are based on the assumption that the slum dweller is both the shack owner and tenant. However this study found out that the slum dwellers were mainly tenants. The slum upgrading shall benefit the landlords whom own the shacks, the houses shall be expensive rent shall rise and the poor tenants shall relocate. The program is not complete to show exactly to what extent the socioeconomic are integrated but it is clear that it is targeting the landlords and not the poor. This enquiry therefore finds out that the socioeconomic is very crucial to slum management.

5.3: Conclusion

This enquiry concludes that slums persist first because they target the landlord whom they confuse for the slum dweller. Second because the networks while are crucial to slum formation and coping mechanisms are broken during the programs.

5.4: Recommendations

On critical analysis of the findings, the following policy recommendations were put forward based on the objectives of the study for consideration

1. Future slum programs should isolate the slum builder and the tenant and provide separate programs for each
2. The poor tenant who provides the demand for the shacks finds themselves in a vicious cycle where they roam in slums because of poverty and forms networks for survival and the future slum programs should focus on breaking the cycles by first improving the livelihoods and then provide shelter.

5.5: Areas for further research

A study should be conducted with clear variable parameters that go beyond social and economic networks to include among other parameters such as political networks, NGO and donor funding networks and administrative networks and so on. This will provide the rationale of establishing whether or not there are other parameters that explain more significantly the networks influencing slum management and their role in managing slums at Kibera-Soweto, and other slums in Kenya.

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Appendix I: questionnaire guide for structured interviews

Introduction to survey questions

I am Delvin Kerubo Nyabuti a masters student in Environmental Planning and Management at the University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a research on the role of socioeconomic networks on slum management programmes: a case of Kibera-Soweto-East. You have been selected to participate in this research as a resident of the area. All the information given in this study will be treated with utmost confidentiality and your identity shall remain anonymous. Please note that your participation in the study is voluntary and that you will be free to withdraw from the study if you feel uncomforTable. Please answer frankly and if you have any questions you may send them to nyabutidelvin@gmail.com

Thank you in advance for your cooperation

To indicate your consent please sign below

Signature.....date.....

What is your name(optional)

SECTION A (BIODATA)

1. Gender

Male Female

2. Age

18-28 29-37 38-48 49-57 above 58

3. Highest level of education attained?

Not gone to school Primary Secondary college/tertiary university

3. marital status

Married Single Divorced Separated Widowed/widower

4. Religious affiliation

None Catholic Protestant Muslim Any other

SECTION B(existing forms of social and economic survival mechanisms)

5. How long have you stayed in this neighbourhood?

Less than 2 years 2-5 years 6-9years more than 10 years

6. did you come alone to Kibera or joined a relative?

was born here i came alone i joined a relative

7. Do you currently stay alone or you stay with a relative?

Stay alone stay with a relative stay with my family any other

8.If you stay alone do you own the house you stay in or you rent?

own rent

9.If you own the house, how did you acquire it

Bought it bought land and built it found vacant land and built it
any other

10.If you bought the shack how much did you spend?

10000-20000 21000-30000 31000-40000

11.If you rent, how much rent do you pay?

100-500 600-800 900-1000 over 1000

12.Do you know the landlord by name?

Yes No

13.How do you relate?

We relate well through an agent we dont relate well

14.Do you have a job?

Yes No

15.If yes, where do you work?

Area	code
Within kibera	1
Neighbouring estates like Langata and Kilimani	2
Industrial area	3
Any other	4

16.which kind of job do you do?

domestic worker industrial workers commercial workers

17.Where in the following salary/income per month do you fall?

Less than 5,000 5,001-10,000 above 10,000

18.How much do you spend in the following per month?

Rent
Electricity
Garbage collection

Food
Fees
Water
Any other

19. When you have money deficit in the middle of the month how do you survive for the rest of the month?

Borrow from chamaa borrow from the shops borrow from a friend
any other

20. Are you a member of any chamaa

yes no

21. Are you a member of any welfare association?

Yes No

22. Where in the following does the welfare help,

funeral expenses hospital bills school fees any other.....

23. What is the composition of the members of the welfare/chama?

My neighbours my friends my community members others

24. Are you sharing your house with a friend or a relative

yes no

25. If yes, why are you housing them?

They don't have a job

They just came from upcountry

They were unable to afford paying rent alone

26. Are there relatives you can't share a house due to cultural reasons?

Yes no

27. If yes, how do you accommodate them?

Rent more than one shack ask a neighbor to accommodate them any other

Section C (extent to which the upgrading program integrates the socioeconomic aspect)

28. Are you aware of the upgrading program?

Yes No

29. If you had power, would you like to remain here or move to the upgraded units

remain move any other

30. Would you like to move with your current neighbours to be your neighbors in the upgrade

Yes no

31. How much do they pay in the upgraded units for the following

Rent

Electricity

Garbage collection

Food

Water

Any other

32. Any other comment

.....
.....

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GOVERNMENT AND NGO OFFICIALS

I Delvin Kerubo Nyabuti an M.A student in Environmental Planning and Management at the University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a research on the role of socioeconomic factor in slum management programmes: a case of Kibera-Soweto-East. You have been selected to participate in this research as a key informant based on your knowledge on the undergoing upgrading program. All the information given in this study will be treated with utmost confidentiality and your identity shall remain anonymous. Please note that your participation in the study is voluntary and that you will be free to withdraw from the study if you feel uncomforTable. Please answer frankly and if you have any questions you may send them to nyabutidelvin@gmail.com

Thank you in advance for your cooperation

To indicate your consent please sign below

Signature.....date.....

1. Which organization do you work for?

Pamoja trust maji na ufanisi UH-Habitat

National housing corperation any other.....

2. What is your mandate in the organization?.....
.....

3. Besides land tenure ,and physical infrustucture what else does the upgrading progra address?
.....
.....
.....

4. Do you intend to provide industries for economic survival?
.....
.....

5. When the house are complete, how is relocation done?

Through secrec ballots

Naming of houses in order to retain current neighbours as they are

Any other

6. Will the upgraded houses be self contained?

.....
.....

7. How will people pay for electricity ,water and other services?

Flat rate

Charged per unit

Government will pay

Any other.....

8. Will there be communal latrines and water points?

.....
.....
.....

9. Are you aware that majority of slum dwellers are not structure owners?

.....
.....
.....

10. How will the allocation be done between structure owners and occupants?

.....
.....
.....

11. How much will it cost to own a unit in the upgraded area?

.....
.....
.....

12. Those who might not be able to afford, what will happen to them?

.....
.....
.....

13. If they will be allowed to continue being tenants, how much will they pay per month?

.....
.....
.....

14. Suppose they do not afford the rent, how will they be taken care of?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Appendix III: Focus Group Discussion guide

1. What is the composition of your membership, are you friends, neighbours or members of the same community?
2. How much do you contribute towards your chamaa ?
3. After how long do you give your contribution eg weekly
4. Where do you feel these chamaas help the most in your survival?
5. Do you think moving to the upgraded area will affect the smooth running of your chamaa?

Part B

1. What is the composition of your welfare association membership?
2. What are the specific areas that these associations help the most
3. How are you intending to maintain the welfare associations once you move to the upgraded units?
4. What do you think should be taken into consideration during this upgrading program so that the associations are maintained?