UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES

WOMEN AND SUSTAINABLE SLUM UPGRAADING: A CASE STUDY OF KIBERA-SOWETO SLUMS

BY
RACHAEL M' Rabu

RESEARCH PROJECT
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

2004
DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree in any University.

Rachael M’Rabu
Institute of African Studies

20 January 2005
Date

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University of Nairobi Supervisor.

Isaac Amboseli Were
Institute of African Studies

21 January 2005
Date
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With gratitude and appreciation, I wish to acknowledge all those individuals who directly or indirectly contributed to this research project and especially the women of Kibera-Soweto.

I also wish to thank my family for their encouragement and patience.

Special thanks go to my classmates (2004), and all the lecturers in the Institute of African Studies at the University of Nairobi who lectured throughout the course.

I am especially and particularly grateful and indebted to my supervisor Dr. Isaac Were whose support and guidance throughout the study ensured timely completion.
DEDICATION

To all the mature women,
who have found time between busy schedules to go back to school.
# ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GOK</td>
<td>Government of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KENSUP</td>
<td>Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRSPs</td>
<td>Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAPs</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN-HABITAT</td>
<td>United Nations Human Settlement Programme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

The primary goal of this study was to investigate women and sustainable slum upgrading, with special reference to women living in Kibera-Soweto village.

It is ironic to note that the most elemental need shared by all women is rarely articulated; the common and basic need to be heard. There has been many surveys conducted in the slums of Nairobi, but none of them has uncovered any shelter projects that have studied women’s needs or solicited their views prior to project design. No matter what their national or cultural backgrounds, women have far less access to programme planners and decision-makers, in spite of the importance of women as the principal consumers of shelter.

This paper based on the study of 10 women groups in Kibera-Soweto, the selected site for KENSUP, went ahead and established that the paragraph above is a true reflection of what is happening in Kibera.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declaration</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgement</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronyms</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of content</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of tables and figures</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER ONE

**BACKGROUND OF STUDY**

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background to Statement Problem

1.2 Problem Statement

1.3 Objectives

1.4 Justification for the Study

1.5 Hypothesis

1.6 Scope and limitation of the study

1.7 Conclusion

## CHAPTER TWO

**RESEARCH SITE AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

2.0 Introduction

2.1 Research Site

2.2 Literature Review

2.3 Policy and Legislation

2.4 Conclusion

## CHAPTER THREE

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

3.0 Introduction

3.1 Study Site

3.2 Exploration

3.3 Data Collection Instruments and Procedure

3.4 Data Analysis, Presentation and Interpretation

3.5 Conclusion

## CHAPTER FOUR

**DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION**

4.0 Introduction

4.1 Exploration

4.2 Background Group Information

4.3 Socio-economic characteristics

4.4 Membership Parameters

4.5 Access to Assistance including Credit
**LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES**

Table 1: Background Group Information ................................................................. 29
Table 2: Ethnic Composition ................................................................................... 30
Table 3: Marital Status .......................................................................................... 31
Table 4: Age Group ............................................................................................... 33

Figure 1: Ethnic Composition ................................................................................ 30
Figure 2: Marital Status ........................................................................................ 31
Figure 3: Housing Priority ..................................................................................... 39
CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The research project is an investigation of women and sustainable slum upgrading in Kibera-Soweto, a pilot of the collaborative GOK/UN-HABITAT Collaborative Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP). The study contains the five chapters namely, Background; literature review; study methodology; data analysis, interpretation and presentation; conclusion and recommendation.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The government of Kenya, in collaboration with UN-HABITAT and other development partners, is currently implementing the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) in Nairobi’s Kibera slum; the largest informal settlement in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Programme is in response to the need for a more sustainable answer to the problem of housing the poor, in urban areas. The initiative is designed to promote citywide slum upgrading starting with Kibera-Soweto.

Nairobi has over 134 informal settlements (Syaggah P., Mitullah W., Gitau S. 2001) and it is estimated that people living and working in slums and informal settlements constitute over 55 percent of the 2.5 million population of Nairobi. Kibera alone is home to an unconfirmed population of 700,000. More than half of which, are women.
1.1 BACKGROUND TO STATEMENT PROBLEM:

In many cities of developing countries, more than half of the urban population lives in slums and informal settlements, in sub-standard housing environment, without basic services and without the enjoyment of their human rights to land and adequate housing. Women headed households form a high proportion of the population in many of such settlements and situations.

While lack of security of tenure affects millions of people across the world, women face added risks and deprivation. In Africa for instance, women are systematically denied their human rights to access, own, control or inherit land and property. The vast majority of women cannot afford to buy land and only access land and housing through male relatives, which makes their housing security dependent on good marital and family relations.

Exclusion of women from access to land and housing pushes them towards the cities, where they often join the ranks of the increasing number of women headed household in the slums.

Alarming numbers of cases are reported of in-laws having evicted widows upon the death of their husbands. Culturally, a widow is not considered to be part of the clan and is expected to return to her parents and or fend for herself. The HIV/AIDS pandemic has also contributed to an increase in such evictions.
Due to colonial influences, individualization of land tenure, land market pressure and other factors, including many customary laws and practices have eroded over time. The forms of solidarity that used to exist and that protected women from exclusion have now disappeared in many areas. Even where statutory national laws recognise women’s rights to land, housing and property, ‘traditional’ values prevail amongst judges, police officers, local councilors and land official. They often interpret statutory laws in what at present are understood to be ‘customary ways’, as a result of which women are deprived of the rights they should enjoy under statutory law.

In view of this, upon divorce or the death of a husband, the marital home is included in the deceased husband’s estate and is divided among his heirs. Many succession laws only entitle widows to a temporary user right of the marital home, after which, the widow is then evicted.

It is these persistent discriminatory laws, policies, partriarchal customs, traditions and attitudes that still block women from enjoying their housing rights, sending them flocking into the slums in urban areas where they become refugees in their own countries. In addition, many women do not have information, confidence, experience and resources to obtain what they are legally entitled to.

In Nairobi, the proliferation of informal settlements has led to the rapid deterioration of shelter conditions, while the challenge of meeting the housing needs for the majority of Nairobi residents has remained an elusive task. The informal settlements are
characterized by substandard housing, lack of basic services, social amenities and in most cases present very unhygienic living conditions (Abonyo, Majale, 2000). The residents in these settlements occupy the land without security of tenure and have no ownership rights. They therefore live in constant fear of the likely danger of demolition and forced eviction.

It is against this background that the collaboration to upgrade slums in Nairobi was initiated on 22 November 2000, during a meeting held between the former president, of the Republic of Kenya, H.E. Mr. Daniel T. arap Moi and the Executive Director of UN-HABITAT Mrs. Anna Tibaijuka. Discussions focused on how best the United Nations agency specializing in shelter and urban development could assist the people of Kenya. The overall goal of the initiative, being to improve the conditions; services, livelihoods, and tenure security, of people living and working in Nairobi’s informal settlements.

The GOK and UN-HABITAT identified four distinct phases for the Collaborative Slum Upgrading Initiative: Inception Phase; Preparatory Phase; Implementation Phase; and Replication Phase.

In the course of the Inception Phase, and particularly towards the end of the phase, a need was identified to not only have the initiative in Nairobi alone, but to include the whole country. This was formalised by the signing of an MOU between GOK and UN-HABITAT in January 2003. This effectively initiated the Preparatory Phase of the
Programme, bringing on board the new NARC Government and its President H.E Mr. Mwai Kibaki as the Patron.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT:

The existing slum upgrading programmes are not sensitive to the needs of women tenants and structure owners. Specific efforts to address their shelter needs in the upgrading programmes are essential, especially considering women’s triple roles. The purpose of this study is therefore, to establish the crucial need for women’s participation in sustainable slum upgrading and to show the extent to which women are marginalised in the design, planning and implementation of slum upgrading projects. Indeed, women are the principal consumers of shelter in the slums, unfortunately their inclusion in decision-making positions and integration of their needs in housing design is not acknowledged. This study seeks answers to the following questions:

(i) Who are these women living in Kibera-Soweto?
(ii) What are their housing needs?
(iii) What is their role in KENSUP?
(iv) Which is the most effective way to go forward with KENSUP?

1.3 OBJECTIVES:

1.3.1 General Objective:

Investigate women and sustainable slum upgrading, with special reference to women living in Kibera-Soweto slum village.
1.3.2 Specific Objectives:

- To establish that human settlement programmes cannot be successfully implemented without the active contribution of both women and men;
- To determine the adequacy of the proposed shelter in relation to the special role and responsibilities of women in the home;
- To recommend measures, mechanisms and strategies that can be engaged to ensure the mainstreaming of gender in the Kenya Slum Upgrading Project.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

This study investigated women and sustainable slum upgrading with specific reference to women in Kibera-Soweto. This study can be justified on the grounds that it is a gender issue. No matter what their national or cultural backgrounds, women have far less access to program planners and decision-makers, in spite of the importance of women as the principal consumers of shelter.

While housing for the urban poor depends on several factors such as governance and housing management structures, implementation of legislation and policies related to the rights to housing and participation, for women, housing is also related to the laws that are applicable in their country and that are often still ruled by customary laws and traditions which favour men. In many parts of the world, housing for women is almost entirely dependent on the men they are associated with. When family or marital relations get into
trouble, women’s access to housing is immediately at risk. It is therefore important to identify more flexible ways for the urban poor and especially women to enjoy adequate housing.

Kibera-Soweto was chosen because this is the slum village earmarked as the pilot for the Collaborative GOK/UN-HABITAT KENSUP which, is already underway. It is hoped that the findings of this study will be useful in the design and implementation of slum upgrading initiatives in other slums to more specifically address the needs of women in slum upgrading and adequate housing.

In Kibera-Soweto, the research findings can be used to fill in the gaps in KENSUP and give an indication on whether it is on the right path or whether it needs to go a different direction to ensure success. In this way, the findings can be used as a monitoring and evaluation tool for KENSUP.

1.5 HYPOTHESIS:

- Culture influences the role of women in their involvement in slum upgrading initiatives;
- A majority of slum households are headed by women.
- Lack of appropriate education and training among slum women is a limiting factor in their involvement in slum upgrading initiatives.
- Generation of disaggregated data is key to effective gender sensitive slum upgrading.
1.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The scope of the research was limited to 10 women groups in Kibera-Soweto. Focus discussions were also held with officials in charge of slum upgrading in UN-HABITAT and their Government of Kenya counterparts. However, the study had many limitations.

Due to constraints of time and a busy work schedule the research was done within a span of three days spanning from Friday to Sunday. Much of the data was collected in the afternoons due to the fact that most of the women in the groups spend mornings taking care of their household chores and are only available for group activities in the afternoons. Some of the women thought that the researcher was obstructing them from concentrating on their common activities, and she had to place herself in a strategic position where they could respond to her questions as they continued with their activities uninterrupted.

Reaching some of the groups was difficult in view of the fact that there are no roads and some of the paths were impassable due to uncollected garbage and stagnant water left behind by the short rains.

It was also not easy to get the full information from some of the groups and some of them wanted to know how their answering the questionnaire was going to help them. Some wanted to be paid before responding to the questionnaire.
Despite all these limitations, the research was undertaken successfully and all the objectives of the study were met.

1.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the background of the study, giving a brief introduction to KENSUP and its inception. It also introduced the problem statement, while at the same time examining some of the underlying reasons that bring women flocking to the slums looking for shelter for themselves and their families. The justification for the study, hypothesis and limitation of study, were also discussed.
CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH SITE AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews available literature as per the objectives of the study. The chapter has three major sections: the first giving a historical background of Kibera Soweto upon which the research was carried out. This will include available literature on the socio-economical and cultural situation in Kibera-Soweto; the second will look at slum upgrading in general including its definition, causes and other slum upgrading initiatives. The last section will look at available legislation and policy documents.

2.1 RESEARCH SITE

This section discusses the historical background of the Kibera slums and Soweto village, upon which this research project was carried out. Soweto village was chosen for this study due to the fact that it was selected for the pilot of the on-going GOK/UN-HABITAT collaborative KENSUP, which is currently in its Implementation Phase, and as such there is a lot of data available. Soweto village is also situated in Kibera - the largest slum in Sub-Saharan Africa and it makes it possible to generalize from the findings of the research since Kibera-Soweto seems to be representative.

Kibera slum is situated about 7kms South West of Nairobi City Centre in Langata Division. The settlement covers approximately 235 hectares of land and has 12 villages. The slum is home to an estimated 700,000 people (GOK, 2001) and is considered to be one of the largest slum settlements in Sub-Saharan Africa (see also GOK 2001a, Dfid
has well organised community groups that auger well for community mobilisation. The village is also relatively more peaceful compared to other settlements as evidenced by the absence of violence even at times when there are skirmishes in other villages in Kibera. There is also a large population of resident structure owners as opposed to other villages, which have tenants and absentee structure owners. The resident owners of housing structures are often not so different from the tenants in terms of the incomes they receive. The level of income earned depends on the type and number of structures they have developed. Structure owners are affected by lack of infrastructure and service provision in the same way as their tenants. They are exposed to poor sanitation, and lack of toilet facilities and water, no less than their tenants.

Map 1
2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section gives a brief account of slum upgrading.

2.2.1 What are slums?

There remains much controversy about what characterizes a slum. Different cities have different definitions of what constitutes slums, but most agree that slums are districts of a city marked by poverty and inferior living conditions that lack access to basic services (see also UN-HABITAT 2003). Slums are typically characterized, in part, by the lack of access to clean water and exposure to unsanitary conditions with excrement and open sewage pooling along unpaved walkways. Slums are usually high density and have an insufficient number of quality schools, health clinics and so on.

Slums are a manifestation of rapid urbanisation and the urbanisation of poverty. They have the highest concentration of poor people and the worst shelter and physical environment conditions characterised by squalor. UN-HABITAT defines slums as settlements that:

- Lack basic services;
- Have substandard housing or illegal and inadequate building structures;
- Are overcrowded and densely populated;
- Have unhealthy living conditions and hazardous locations;
- Have insecure tenure; irregular or informal settlements; and
- Are characterised by poverty and social exclusion (UN-HABITAT, 2003)
Despite these daily hardships, slums are also places of community and vibrant economic and entrepreneurial activity. They are vibrant places where the mixing of different cultures often produces new forms of artistic expression. These unhealthy, crowded environments can also sow the seeds of new cultural movements and levels of solidarity unknown among the middle and upper classes. However, these few positive attributes do not in any way justify the continued existence of slums and should not be an excuse for the slow progress towards the goal of adequate shelter for all.

2.2.2 Causes of slums

Rapid urbanization and urban growth have placed immense pressure on the resources of national and local governments. Few have been able to meet the increasing need for planned and affordable housing and services either through direct provision or incentives to private sector. The result is that millions of people around the world have found their own solution in various types of slums and unauthorised or informal settlements (Payne, Majale, 2004; Momanyi, 2002; and Syaggah, Mitullah, and Gitau, 2002).

Slums are often the first stopping point for rural-to-urban migrants because they provide affordable housing that enables the new migrants to save enough money for their eventual absorption into urban society. Slums also keep the wheels of many cities turning. The majority of slum dwellers earn their living in informal – but crucial – activities and therefore provide services that may not be so easily available through the formal sector. It is unthinkable to imagine Nairobi without hawkers, domestic workers or roadside mechanics. Many cities and industries would simply come to a halt without the labour provided by slum dwellers.
The main challenge facing governments is to develop a twin-track approach which aims to upgrade existing informal settlements and improve access to legal and affordable new housing. In Nairobi, KENSUP is therefore seen to respond to this approach by firstly doing an in-situ upgrading of existing Kibera-Soweto slums, and secondly by providing affordable new housing at the decanting site near Langata Women’s Prison as promised by the H.E. the President during World Habitat Day in October 2004.

2.2.3 What is Slum Upgrading?

Slum upgrading is widely acknowledged as one of the more effective means of improving the housing conditions of the poor. It consists of physical, social, economic, organizational and environmental improvements that are done in partnership with citizens, community groups, businesses and local authorities (Cities Alliance, 2002). These improvements often focus on introducing or improving basic service provision including:

- Installing or improving basic infrastructure, example, water, sanitation/waste collection, storm drainage and flood prevention, electricity, security lighting, and public telephones;
- providing incentives for community management and maintenance;
- constructing or rehabilitating community facilities such as nurseries, health posts, community open space;
- regularizing security of tenure;
- home improvement;
• relocation/compensation for the small number of residents dislocated by the improvements;
• improving access to health care and education as well as social support programs to address issues of security, violence, substance abuse, and so on;
• enhancement of income-earning opportunities through training and micro-credit
• building social capital and the institutional framework to sustain improvements.

Slum upgrading can play an important role in improving existing housing stock and ensuring that complete reliance is not placed upon new investment in low-income housing which could never cover the full extent of the need. For a while now, debate has been on going on the appropriate and sustainable ways to house slum dwellers. Advocates of both high and low-rise housing have argued their cases, but it is only the slum dwellers themselves who can truly say what is needed to achieve an environment that is truly sustainable in the long term.

2.2.4 Other Past Slum Upgrading initiatives

Due to the very complex nature of informal settlement development in Nairobi, attempts to upgrade slums have had mixed results. Past upgrading projects in Kenya have had both strengths and shortcomings at policy level. The shortcomings include lack of affordability, high standards for infrastructure, land tenure complications, and administrative inefficiency.
Affordability has been a major problem for the poor. The case is clearer in the development of sites and services schemes, where affordability is determined before development begins. Another drawback faced in upgrading programmes is the high standards set for housing, infrastructure and service provision. Although lower standards were applied, they were still beyond the means of the poor, for whom they were intended. To complicate matters even further, upgrading was permeated by political interests that distorted the allocation of plots. Rather than being allocated to the displaced poor, the plots found their way into the hands of non-target groups that had political influence. Moreover, upgrading during the 1970s and 1980s was premised on the false belief that most residents of informal settlements owned the plots on which the structures were built. The policy focused on the wrong group - the owners of the structures who did not live in the settlement.

Many past responses to the problem of slums were based on the erroneous belief that provision of improved housing and related services (through slum upgrading) and physical eradication of slums would, on their own, solve the slum problem. Solutions based on this premise failed to address the underlying causes of slums of which poverty is the most significant. Slum policies should more vigorously address the issue of the livelihoods of slum dwellers and the urban poor in general, thus going beyond traditional approaches that have tended to concentrate on improvement of housing, infrastructure and physical environmental conditions. This means enabling informal urban activities to flourish, linking low-income housing development to income generation, and ensuring easy access to jobs through pro-poor transport and low-income settlement location.
policies. It is a wonder, for instance, why in a city like Nairobi, where the majority of the workforce walks to work, there are so few pavements.

A Project like the Mathare 4A Slum Upgrading Project for example was designed to be cost-effective, while at the same time producing sustainable housing development. This project was designed to encourage a maximum degree of self sustainability and discourage displacement upon upgrading. However, this was not the case as there was lack of participation in all stages of decision-making. 25,000 residents were represented by only two residents apparently hand-picked to serve on the Consultative Advisory Board. Needless to say the Project has suffered many setbacks including battles that have left a few people dead (see also Mitullah 2001, Dfid 2000).

2.3 POLICY AND LEGISLATION

At independence in 1963, the Government of Kenya balanced the expectation of emancipation for land and shelter with a policy of containment and slum clearance then prevalent internationally. Slum clearance led to the proliferation of new slums as there was shortage of shelter and the demand was high and growing.

In 1986, the Government on the advice of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund ushered in the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), which were expected to lead to economic growth. SAPs required that the State withdraw from service provision and government subsidies. Needless to say, this adversely affected the poor, who had to dig deeper into their pockets to benefit from cost-sharing services, such as health care and education. Service provision in the country's urban slums
deteriorated. In fact the proliferation of slums in Africa is blamed on the blanket acceptance of Structural Adjustment policies.

It is clear that slum formation is closely linked to economic cycles, trends in national income distribution and, in more recent years, to national economic development policies. The failure of policy at all levels – global, national and local – has the net effect of weakening the capacity of national governments to improve housing and living conditions of low-income groups.

The current *Kenya Housing Policy* incorporates slum upgrading as one of its six aims: Encouraging integrated, participatory approaches to slum upgrading, including income-generating activities that effectively combat poverty. This Policy recognises slums and no longer considers them as illegal (see also UN-HABITAT and OHCHR 2002). The Policy’s emphasis on integration, participation and poverty are important and commendable.

When looking at policy and legislation in relation to housing and gender in Kenya, we find that despite broad agreement that laws and policies should not distinguish between men and women, there is limited legislation supporting women’s rights to housing. Customary law often contradicts new legislation (Rights & Democracy, 2000). In customary tenure systems, women have access to housing and property as daughters, mothers or wives. Many women therefore face the constant insecurity that when the relationship ends, they will lose their homes. In addition to this, knowledge about legal rights is limited, women and men often uphold traditional gender roles and relationships
rather than formal rights and women lack the confidence, information and resources to get what they are entitled by law (see also Sina, 1998; Benschop, 2002; and id21, 2003).

The challenge Kenya faces today is how to create an enabling environment which recognises the potential roles and responsibilities of women and men in the development of the country and utilise strategies that will address the socio-cultural barriers that have contributed to gender disparities and inability of women to realise their full potential (GOK, 2000).

What is needed is a clear legal, regulatory, administrative and institutional arrangement that supports and addresses security of housing and other necessary legal protections, and enhances and utilises local capabilities, including in particular those of poor urban women in the slums.

Women suffer disproportionately from poverty and discrimination, and in the first instance, their right to equal access to housing, basic services, ownership and inheritance of property and land, must be made clear. Furthermore, developing countries must realise and utilize the largely untapped energy and knowledge of poor urban women in planning slum upgrading programmes and in local community development. Gender perspective, and the empowerment of women to achieve their full and equal participation in political, social and economic decision-making, are central to the achievement of equality.
2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the background of the research site, slum upgrading and policy. The site was chosen because it is located in one of the largest slums in Sub-Saharan Africa and is also the preferred site for KENSUP. It was established that the conditions that people in the slums live in are inhuman. Examples abound on how not to upgrade slums, and these should be documented and used as tools to show how not to upgrade slums in the future. It was further established that policy needs to be clear on the roles of men and women and their access to and control over housing.

Slum upgrading in itself is not a solution. To gain sustainability and rid the city of slums, their causes, the root cause of which is poverty, must be addressed and eradicated.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the methods and procedures used in this study. It includes a description of Kibera-Soweto (the site under study), that was gained during the pre-visit exploration mission, before the questionnaire survey was undertaken. Another method was a questionnaire survey of 10 women groups in Kibera-Soweto. The questionnaire had 20 questions broken in to five subheadings for ease of analysis and interpretation. In addition, interviews and focused discussions were held with elected village leaders in Kibera-Soweto to get a better understanding of some of the responses to the questionnaire. Consultations with Officials of KENSUP were also undertaken. Lastly, a Library research - secondary sources of information, through review of existing documents was undertaken.

In addition to the methods used for data collection, this chapter seeks to also show how the data was analysed and presented and interpreted.

3.1 STUDY SITE

Kibera-Soweto, is one of the 12 villages that form the wider Kibera informal settlement. It is located on the high-rise ground off Mbagathi Way, and borders Nyayo High Rise flats, Laini Saba and Silanga villages. It has about 3,000 structures with an average of four units per structure and an estimated population of 60,000 people. Kibera-Soweto village, like any other informal settlement, lacks basic infrastructure and social facilities,
is densely populated and has a high level of poverty. It is situated on government land except for a portion that lies on a rail reserve.

3.2 EXPLORATION

This phase was designed to provide background information for the study. It was based on a visit made to the slum by the researcher accompanied by a member of the Kibera-Soweto Tenants’ Association. In this exploration mission, the researcher spent time having informal discussions with the residents of Soweto and the High-rise estate next door. The residents were requested to comment on the context of the questionnaire and its clarity. On the basis of their feedback the researcher was able to adjust the questionnaire in readiness for the prime work.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS AND PROCEDURE

This phase involved obtaining relevant information or data during the research. A simple random sampling method was undertaken for the questionnaire. The researcher sought the assistance of a social worker in Kibera, through the Friends Quakers church along Ngong road. The social worker was able to direct the researcher to the different women groups in Kibera, and the decision on which group to interview was made at random. The interviewer therefore interviewed the respondents on the spot. In most cases there were three to four respondents per questionnaire, most of them being office bearers of the women’s groups.
The decision to interview only ten women groups was due to the constraints of time. However these 10 women groups represented a total of 534 women in the length and width of Kibera-Soweto.

The researcher also sampled key officials of KENSUP who are currently working on the Kibera Project. These included UN-HABITAT staff, GOK staff in the Ministry of Lands and Housing.

3.3.1 A questionnaire survey

This was administered on 10 women groups in Kibera-Soweto. The questionnaire had 20 questions divided into 5 sub-titles to include, Background information of the women groups; Socio-economic characteristics; Membership parameters; Access to assistance including credit; and lastly, Knowledge of KENSUP. The reason behind dividing the questions into sub-headings was to make the job of analysis easy and more organised.

The questionnaire included both open and close-ended questions, the majority being open ended because the researcher wanted to get the views of the women in Kibera without hindering and limiting their responses. This also paved way for the researcher to observe the respondents attitude and in this way read the mood of the people in Kibera-Soweto.

The questionnaire also had a couple of contingency questions.
3.3.2 Interviews and focused group discussion

The researcher also held discussions with officials dealing with KENSUP in Kibera-Soweto. These included an elected member of the tenants committee in Kibera-Soweto, UN-HABITAT staff dealing with KENSUP and their GOK counterparts.

3.3.3 Library research

The researcher looked at secondary sources of information, through review of existing documents, including the Nairobi Situation Analysis and Policy Papers etc.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION.

The data was analysed and presented in tables, percentages and various types of charts. The researcher used these methods, and particularly the charts due to the fact that they make a visual impact which is easy to comprehend at a glance. Also, the charts are a tool that makes comparing and contrasting easy to understand. The percentages were a good tool for generalisation, while the researcher found the tables a convenient way to save a lot of information at once.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter looked at the methods used to collect data for this study. The study used three techniques to investigate women and sustainable slum upgrading in Kibera-Soweto. A questionnaire, interview with key informants and a desk study of existing materials including newspaper articles were used. The questionnaire was administered to 10 women groups (representing a total of 534 women), in Kibera-Soweto. The researcher
also had discussions with key players in KEN SUP. This chapter also discussed the
methods that were used to analyse and present the data.
4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter analyzes, interprets and presents data that was collected during the research period. The data is interpreted and presented in terms of tables, percentages, pie charts and bar graphs. The chapter comprises of general information as a result of the exploration mission undertaken in Kibera-Soweto prior to the questionnaire survey followed by: Background information; Socio-economic characteristics; Membership parameters; Access to credit; and knowledge of KENSUP as per the questionnaire, and the Conclusion.

4.1 EXPLORATION

This study found that most of the women of Kibera-Soweto live and work within the boundaries of the slums, a few metres from their structures or homes. This has several implications to slum upgrading programmes due to the fact that any initiative would have to consider providing not only residential houses but also buildings that will accommodate business premises as well.

Despite the congestion, the overcrowding and the squalor, the researcher noted that the slum was alive and buzzing with activities including running of hair salons (the salons were connected to electricity), kiosks, selling of second hand clothes, fish frying, cooked food-vending and so on. In addition to this, there was also a feeling of camaraderie in the air.
The researcher also noted the existence of many *busaa* (traditional beer) brewing dens run by women and patronised by men as early as 10:00 am. The explanation was that the *busaa* dens cater for the jobless men who need a place to go to when the others go to work, so that they don’t bother their women at home. Most of the women spoken to had something to do compared to the men who seemed to be basically idle.

There were also many children of school-going age up and about. On inquiring, the researcher was told that despite the ‘free’ Primary School education, one still needed money to send children to school, and that the parents just could not afford schooling for their children.

**4.2 BACKGROUND GROUP INFORMATION**

This section discusses the background of the Women groups in Kibera-Soweto. Such background may indicate where the women in slums originate from in terms of their ethnicity and the livelihood choices they make. Due to shortage of time, the researcher studied only ten (10) women groups representing a total of 534 people 15 of which were men, please refer to table 1. Therefore, the findings of this study are based on the women groups based in Soweto village, the site village chosen for the KENSUP pilot project.

According to the study, 60% of the women groups were involved in either self-help groups or merry-go-rounds. A merry-go-round is a social support mechanism through a revolving fund that contributes and helps members financially. This is done through weekly or monthly house visits where the host is given a set contribution either in cash
form or household items etc. Other social support activities include crèches for children, support in time of death and funeral expenses etc.

The study also found that six, out of ten women groups had a few male members, some of them in positions of power. In one group, the Chairperson was a man, in another it was the Accountant, and in yet another, they had a man as the Trustee. The table below gives a clearer picture of the findings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUPS</th>
<th>Core Business</th>
<th>No. Members</th>
<th>No. of Men</th>
<th>In what capacity?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Merry go round</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Trustee (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Merry go round</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Loans &amp; investment</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chair person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Handicrafts</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ordinary members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Merry go round</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ordinary members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ordinary members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Self help group</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Handicrafts</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Merry go round</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Self help group</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was important to also establish the ethnic background of the women in the groups, as this would have a bearing on cultural practices, behaviour and employment preferences of the women etc. The study found that 21% of the women in the groups were Luo, 36% Luhya, 17% Kikuyu, 20% Kamba and 6% other. These figures on their own have no meaning, but couple with the fact for example, that in Luo culture, the practice of wife inheritance is prevalent, a picture starts to emerge, particularly in relation to HIV and AIDS. Also when one considers that most Luo women, even in their rural areas prefer to trade in fish whether fried, or smoked etc, it has implications on the type of housing they might prefer in relation to the above.
Figure 1 below gives a clearer picture of the ethnic composition in Kibera-Soweto, majority of whom are people from the Luhya ethnic group. This is very representative of the larger Kibera slums where the 12 villages are divided along ethnic lines, with each village having a majority of one ethnic group or another.

**Figure 1 Ethnic Composition**

![Ethnic Composition Diagram]

The Luhya community is a community with very strong extended family ties. It is not uncommon to find extended family members living together in one home as a family. With this in mind, the implementers of KENSUP in Kibera-Soweto will do well to design housing that will answer to this specification, keeping in mind that people of the Luhya community who are the majority in Kibera-Soweto, do not live as nuclear families, but whole communities of the extended family.

**Table 2 Ethnic Composition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic division</th>
<th>Luo</th>
<th>Luhya</th>
<th>Kikuyu</th>
<th>Kamba</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**4.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS**

This section, discusses the socio-economic background of the women in Kibera-Soweto. Such background may determine the individual women’s situation in the slums and their access to basic necessities, such as food, clothing and most importantly, shelter.
Table 3 Marital Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>status</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>Ttl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married with children</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced/separated with children</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed with children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single with children</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>534</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the study, the majority of the women are raising children on their own. The study as illustrated in the table 3 and figure 2 above, shows that 71% of the women in the ten (10) groups studied are female heads of households either through divorce, widows or single parents by choice. It is only 29% of the women who are married. With this kind of statistics, it is clear that the majority of the structures in the slums comprise of female headed households and as such for any slum upgrading initiative to succeed, it must take into consideration this fact and deliberately, seek out the views and input of women, who
are the largest housing consumers in the slums. It is also known that female-headed households are usually the poorest of the poor, and that poverty in the slums is increasingly wearing the face of a woman.

Women headed households form a high proportion of the population living below the poverty line. Specifically, globally, an estimated 41% of women headed households live below the locally defined poverty line and close to one third of the world’s women are homeless or live in inadequate housing in urban areas (Benschop M. 2004). As this study shows, in Kibera-Soweto village, this figure is as high as 71%.

Among the female-headed households, the percentage of widows is highest. This could be due to the fact that in many third world countries, Kenya being no exception, women, customarily, have no right to inheritance and thus no right to property and housing. In deed over 25% of all squatter households in Nairobi are as a result of women migrating from the rural areas due to land dispossession in the event of the death of a spouse (Benschop M. 2004). Women are systematically denied their human rights to access, own, control or inherit land and property as a result of which they have no choice, but to migrate to urban areas where they join the ranks of the ever-increasing female headed households in the slums. Very rarely can a woman in such a case return to her parent’s land. So, to these widows, Kibera-Soweto, is the ideal place they can call home. To this end any slum upgrading initiative should take into consideration the fact that the widows have no other place to go to, and the slum is the only place they have found acceptance for themselves and their children. In view of this, any upgrading should be permanent,
and sustainable, not half-hearted minimal services, which quickly wear off due to overuse, emanating from the high populations and overcrowding.

With regard to the level of formal education, this study found that 24% of the women had no education at all. 16% had below primary four level, 31% had completed primary school, 26% had reached form four and 3% had gone above that to commercial colleges. The implication of these results became clearer much later when the researcher was looking at the groups' main activities. It became clear that the groups with the most educated women were more innovative in their choice of activities, and that they were able to help their members make more informed choices in their income earning activities. These are also the groups that had no men in positions of authority. The other fact that the researcher noted was that, one of the groups that had predominantly members of the Kikuyu ethnic group, although with a majority of members who had attained primary four only, was more business focussed and seemed to be in control of what they were doing despite their low level of education. This seemed to contradict the fact the education is key to development and financial security etc. For this group, when it comes to income generation activities, the problem is not the lack of education, but rather, the major problem facing these women, as the researcher discovered, is the lack of access to formal credit from lending institutions.
Table 4 Age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age (yrs)</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>ttl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-35</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-45</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-55</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 55</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study also established that the majority of women in Kibera-Soweto fall in the age bracket between 35 to 55 years old. From the table above one can deduce that this age group makes up to 75% of the women in Kibera-Soweto. It is the most productive age economically and also the age at which most women have the responsibility of raising children. As initially established in this study, female headed households are the majority in Kibera-Soweto, and as such, women as the greatest consumers of shelter in the slums should not be overlooked, but instead consulted as the lead stakeholders in the slums and therefore all slum upgrading outputs should be geared towards their needs. As also established earlier, the majority of the women in this age group are either divorced or widowed.

The age group 15 to 20, most of who were already mothers made up 7%, of the women. These comprised of school drop-outs and girls who had run away from the rural areas due to pregnancy and other factors, and could not afford to live anywhere else but the slums.

4.4 MEMBERSHIP PARAMETERS

The researcher established that for most of the groups, anyone residing in Kibera-Soweto or near the groups was eligible to join upon paying a minimum membership fee. The fees
ranged from Ksh.20 to 300 depending on the activities of the group. Two of the groups catered for widows only and so membership was open to widows only. The common membership age in these groups tended to be in the 35 to 55yrs bracket.

The study established that other than the merry-go-round, the majority of the women groups dealt with handicrafts, ranging from tailoring, making table clothes, tie and dye, weaving and bead-making. One group offered family planning and mid-wifery services to the slum dwellers.

Only one group, the study established did something directly related to housing. The study established that this group, also the one that paid the highest membership fee (Kshs. 300), and comprised the majority of women from the Kikuyu community (24 out of 33), had saved enough to build a few houses in Kibera-Soweto from which they were collecting rent. The only disappointment was that these houses were not any better from the rest of Kibera. When questioned, they explained that due to the fact that they do not own the land, it is difficult to build anything durable and long term, because there is the risk of demolition anytime, and they could lose their investment.

The rest of the groups saw better housing conditions as not necessarily better buildings, infrastructure, access to water, sanitation, or cleaner environment. Rather they were more interested in buying household utensils, furniture, televisions and radios, hence the many merry-go-round activities intended to enable members to buy these goods, and in their minds improve their homes. This seemed to prove the hypothesis that education is a determining and important factor in slum upgrading. To most of these women, slum
upgrading was not really the issue. They were more interested and concerned with the purchasing of moveables like utensils and furniture and not in improving property that cannot be moved like housing. If one were to look at the majority of African cultural practices, they would find that in most African traditions, women own only what can be moved in the homestead and not property like housing and land which is immovable. So, whether women will participate in slum upgrading activities or not, will depend on what their culture dictates about land and housing.

One very important factor that the study established was the fact that almost all the women spoken to seemed to realise that they were the key to their own solutions to life’s problems. Given a chance, they craved self-reliance like all citizens and acknowledged that self-improvement is in their own hands.

4.5 ACCESS TO ASSISTANCE INCLUDING CREDIT

The study established that all the women groups surveyed were self-reliant and did not get assistance from anywhere or anyone other than themselves. They had no access to credit from financial organisations as they had no concrete collateral as required by lending institutions.

4.6 KNOWLEDGE AND PARTICIPATION IN KENSUP

According to the study, only one of the groups studied had heard of the KENSUP initiative. This was mainly due to the fact that this group was nearest to the KENSUP Kibera office and therefore could not avoid the presence of the buildings in their midst. They had heard that KENSUP would upgrade slums and help the people. The remaining
nine groups knew nothing of the initiative. In view of this, none of the groups were involved in any of the KENSUP related activities.

When questioned on the one thing that they would like KENSUP to take into consideration while working in Kibera-Soweto, most groups expressed the hope that the upgrading project would take into consideration the future of the groups by ensuring that they do not disintegrated. The study established that the group members had become so reliant on their groups for material support among other support that they feared that any interference would cause some disruption to there lives. The groups expressed the need to stay together, and hoped to get credit for development. The groups hoped that KENSUP would understand the needs of the groups and the role they can play to complement KENSUP.

With regard to the most common housing problems in the village, the study established that 70% of the groups cited dirty environment, and hoped that KENSUP would bring a difference by offering training on how to keep their environment clean. In order of priority, this was followed by the lack of toilets and clean water, lack of access roads and low quality buildings, lack of electricity, markets for their wares and congestion were next. Interestingly and surprising was the fact that the groups put high rent as the least of their housing problems.

When questioned on their views on the proposed new KENSUP housing near Langata women's prison, the women gave three responses that basically summarised their
opinion. The study established that the women felt that no one sought their opinion about
the design of the houses and because of that, they were worried that they would not be
able to afford the cost of living in them. The study also established the fact that the
women thought that the site was too far from their current location, schools for their
children, businesses and so on.

On the issue of housing priorities that they hoped KENSUP would take into
consideration, and as indicated in figure 3 below, the study established that 21% of the
women wanted access roads as a priority. According to them most of the shacks are built
without due consideration of how people are going to access other places. They hoped
that KENSUP would ensure access roads between the buildings. Next in importance was
access to clean water. The study established that slum dwellers pay more for clean water
per 20litre jerry can, than other city dwellers living in the formal housing settlements.
Affordability and access to health facilities were next in line, each with 14%. According
to them, any housing initiative that claims to be targeting slum dwellers must be
affordable, if it is to stop new slums from emerging. As indicated before, a majority of
these women are mothers and as such health facilities for themselves and their children
are a must, if any slum upgrading activity is to claim success. Lastly, as the least
priorities were access to shops/markets and security of tenure at 10% each. The study
established that, a majority of slum women live and work in the slums, and as such, they
need to have shops and markets nearby to sell and buy their wares. In addition to this, and
according to the women surveyed, security of tenure is very important. It is only if they
have security of tenure that they can invest in better housing, because the threat of forced
and violent eviction will have been removed. In the absence of the threat of evictions, the women can build better housing using more durable and costly materials. With security of tenure, the women will also be able to access credit against whatever title they will have acquired be it communal or individual, and hence improve their living conditions.

Figure 3. Housing Priority

4.7 CONCLUSION

Most of the women groups studied knew nothing about KENSUP, leave alone being involved in it. It would seem that KENSUP needs to put in place a mechanism to disseminate information, and educate the masses to ensure sustainability of their pilot. This lack of free available information on the KENSUP process is a serious omission in my view because it causes rumour mongering which can result in suspicion and negative feelings against the project.

By far the strongest message from residents in informal settlements and especially the women was that they wished to be treated as partners in the development process, instead
of simply passive “beneficiaries”. Residents interviewed continually expressed frustration over lack of information for example on resettlement plans and the slum upgrading process itself. They wanted recognition as people with ideas and energy to transform their situation.

It is clear, based on available information, that during the Inception and Preparatory Phases of KENSUP, no effort was made to obtain views of the residents or even disseminate information to inform them of the intended upgrading. This could reflect negatively on the Implementation Phase and the whole project for that matter.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION
This chapter gives a summary of this research project, its major findings and their implications on future research.

5.1 SUMMARY
This research project was an investigation of women and slum upgrading in Kibera-Soweto. Kibera-Soweto was chosen for this study because it is the first pilot slum chosen for the collaborative UN-HABITAT / Government of Kenya Slum upgrading Programme or KENSUP. In view of the above, the researcher wanted to give an understanding of who these women are and establish to what extent women were involved in the programme. Kibera-Soweto is also situated in the largest slum in Sub-Saharan Africa, and therefore conditions found in the slum can be representative of all slums anywhere else in Africa and particularly in Kenya.

The study interviewed only ten women groups due to constraints of time. Key KENSUP officials working in Kibera and elected village officials were also interviewed. Questionnaires and key informant interviews were used for collecting data for this study. The responses were analysed and presented using frequencies, percentages and charts. The following is a summary of the findings based on this study.
Kibera is one of the most dense, unsanitary and insecure slums in the world. In Nairobi, slum dwellers constitute the majority of the city's population; an estimated 60 per cent of the city's official total population of 2.5 million people lives in the over 134 slums and informal settlements. Of these, an estimated 700,000 people live and work in Kibera. The study established that over half of these are women. In addition it further revealed that over 70 percent of slum households are female headed, making women the largest consumers of shelter in Kibera-Soweto.

With an annual growth rate of 5 percent, Nairobi will host 5 million people by the year 2020, of which nearly 3 million will live in informal and often precarious settlements, if current trends continue.

With regard to the background of the women living in Kibera-Soweto, the study established that majority of them are from the Luhya ethnic group from Western Kenya and as such most of the activities they undertake and particularly the way they live their lives and make important decisions, are dictated by the Luhya cultural practices. This was revealed in the kind of activities that the women engaged in and the fact that none of these activities involved any concrete solutions to the problems of housing. This proved the hypothesis that culture influences the role of women in their involvement in slum upgrading initiatives. In the Luhya culture, matters of land and housing, and therefore slum upgrading, are left to the men. They are the ones who own land and by extension housing and as such make all the decisions concerning the same including the actual building of houses. The situation in Kibera-Soweto, as the study established, is the same. In view of this finding, the engineers of KENSUP must realise this fact and endeavour to
involve the women in decision-making processes with regard to housing, contrary to their natural inclination not to be involved, as dictated by their culture and traditions. Women’s equal rights to access, own and control land, adequate housing and property are firmly recognized under international law. However, at country level, the persistence of discriminatory laws, policies, patriarchal customs, traditions and attitudes in various ethnic groups in Kenya are still blocking women from enjoying their rights. KENSUP should take this into consideration all through its different processes, if it is to succeed and achieve sustainability.

The study also revealed that some of the women groups had men officiating in positions of power. This was the case especially in the groups that did not have many members with a basic education. The men held such positions as trustee, chairperson and accountant.

On the socio-economic characteristics of the women groups, the study revealed that 71 percent of the women in the slums are heads of households; majority of them widows. Life in Nairobi’s slums is not easy by any standard. The congestion is the cause of many health and environmental problems in the slums. The study revealed that water, electricity, cooking fuel, education, health care, adequate shelter, and financial services are in short supply, except in small quantities and at extremely high unit costs. Cash flow is tight; with employment varying from part-time casual domestic labour to petty trade in food vending and second hand clothes, and illicit activities.
60 percent of the women had an education above primary four, with 16 percent below primary four and 24 percent with no formal education at all. Although majority of the women had some sort of formal education, this had no bearing on whether they were interested in slum upgrading or not. In deed, the only group that had activities related to housing and slum upgrading did not have as many educated members, instead it had a majority of members from the Kikuyu community who are basically reputed to be business minded. The hypothesis that lack of appropriate education and training among slum women is a limiting factor in their involvement in slum upgrading initiatives, however is reflected in the fact that a majority of the women are ignorant of their rights to adequate housing as stipulated by international law and were content to be governed by the dictates of customary and traditional law which is patriarchal, archaic and discriminatory against women. Women are systematically denied the right to own or inherit land, housing and property. They can only access land and housing through male relatives and their security of tenure is dependent on good marital and family relations.

The study also revealed that other than the groups that dealt exclusively with widows, all the other groups were open to all women who resided nearby upon payment of a membership fee. Some of the activities that the groups engaged in range from merry-go-round, tailoring, knitting, making table clothes, tie and dye weaving, bead-making, family planning and taking care of the bereaved and orphans and so on.

The study revealed that the majority of women in Kibera-Soweto have no access to outside assistance including credit. Their only hope was from their women groups, through the merry-go round schemes and other income generating activities.
With regard to the location of the proposed new KENSUP housing project near Langata Women’s Prison, the women were of the opinion that the site was too far from their current location including schools for their children and questioned the relocation of slum residents to the outskirts of the city, when it would make more sense to open up public land within the city for low-income settlement, thereby reducing congestion in the existing slums. They also expressed the fear that like other past initiatives, they would not be able to afford the new housing in the long term. And all this; they felt, was due to the fact that no one sought their opinion before designing the new project. While most governments place heavy emphasis on home ownership as a solution, the reality is that the majority of low-income households in cities and especially women are only able to afford rented housing.

5.2 CONCLUSION

The following conclusions were reached based on the above findings of the research. The first and most striking conclusion was that a very large majority of the women know nothing about the purported KENSUP initiative, and those who do, do not think much of it or hope to gain anything out of it.

There is absence of involvement and participation by any of the women groups and as such a shortage of reliable information on KENSUP, which has led to a lot of speculations on the initiative.
Housing programmes that do not incorporate community views and particularly the views of the largest group of consumers of housing; women, are bound to be unsuccessful. Women tend to have different priorities or needs compared to men, and hence the need for sex disaggregated data.

Any activity relating to upgrading project design in informal settlements, irrespective of its motivation needs to address the above concerns and issues.

Research also points to the fact that even if decent housing is made available to the urban poor, most cannot afford it based on their monthly income. Therefore, indirect cost recovery and other subsidies have to be developed.

Gender issues need to be addressed explicitly in planning and implementation. Any slum upgrading initiative that does not recognise women as major stakeholders and incorporate them will be ineffective because in Nairobi, over 70 percent of households in the slums are female headed.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

If the Kibera KENSUP project is to succeed, the Government and other implementing agencies should carry out a proper survey that will factor in the social factors, coupled with wide consultations (with both women and men) before embarking on its implementation (Daily Nation 2004).
As a start, slum upgrading, housing and shelter targets should be properly mainstreamed in PRSPs, to ensure they are not left to chance and the whims of a few. Once this is done, gender should then be mainstreamed in PRSPs to ensure that the different gender needs are identified, recognised and addressed.

An issue of concern is the lack of credit for women in Kibera-Soweto, and it would be a worthwhile course if support could be harnessed to facilitate access to credit for women, to start businesses and most importantly develop and improve their shelter conditions.

Another issue of concern is the lack of management and or employable skills, due to little or no education. For slum women to advance and make a difference in their lives, they need training in sustainable livelihoods that will enable them to support themselves and their dependents. Government should also facilitate access to markets and empower women to secure housing.

In view of this, a gendered approach to housing should be responsive to the needs of the poor, especially women and encourage stakeholder participation. There must be focus on the links between gender and poverty by identifying households headed by females. This is especially critical in slum development, since women head most households in slum areas.

To be meaningful, a slum upgrading programme has to ensure that land tenure is secured for the majority of residents who, in the case of Nairobi, are tenants (and women); this
will have to be done through a consultative process that engages both structure owners and tenants. More importantly, to support the efforts of the poor, key stakeholder groups (residents, NGOs, the private sector, donors and all levels of government) have to be involved in the development of infrastructure and service provision. The residents should include an equitable number of women slum dwellers.

Ensuring secure housing for Nairobi's poor is fraught with difficulties, including lack of political will. From the 1960s to the early 1990s, the urban poor were not organized and had no political leverage. However, since the beginning of the 1990s, with the advent of political pluralism and the emergence of new democratic spaces, the poor have been organizing and demanding rights to land and to urban services. This is changing housing development dynamics in the city and there is hope of having successful upgrading in the future that is sensitive to both the needs of women and men.

5.4 SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The respondents in this study were drawn from ten (10) women groups in Kibera-Soweto, and as such the results may not fully represent the true picture of women’s involvement in slum upgrading activities. As Kibera-Soweto is only one out of twelve (12) villages and covers a relatively small area it is possible to survey all women groups, to get a clear picture of the situation. A survey could also be done on the women groups in the rest of Kibera slum, and other slums in Nairobi, to establish and compare the findings.

It would also be interesting to survey both men and women working and living in the slums to get a more comprehensive picture.
REFERENCES


Cities Alliance (2002), *Cities Without Slums Action Plan*

Daily Nation (October 15 2004), *Rethink Kibera Slum ‘Clearance’ Project*. Nairobi, Kenya

Dfid (2000), *Community-Based Component of Kibera Urban Environmental Sanitation Project*. Nairobi


id21 (2003), *Insights Development Research: Safe as Houses?: Securing urban land tenure and property rights*. Institute of Development Studies, United Kingdom


UN-HABITAT (2003), *Rental Housing: An essential option for the urban poor in developing countries*. Nairobi

UN-HABITAT (2004), *Kibera-Soweto Slum Upgrading Project*. UN-HABITAT, Nairobi

UN-HABITAT, OHCHR (2002), *Housing Rights Legislation*. Nairobi
APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

This study is undertaken to determine to what extent Kibera – Soweto women are involved in the design/planning and implementation of the on-going Collaborative GOK/UN-HABITAT Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP), while at the same time it seeks to give an insight to the women working and living in Kibera. The information provided in this questionnaire will be used for the purposes of research only. Kindly answer the following questions.

A. BACKGROUND GROUP INFORMATION

1. Name of Group ____________________________________________
   a. What is your core business? ________________________________
   b. How many members are you? _______________________________
   c. Do you have any men in your group? ________________________
   d. I yes to (d) above, in what capacity? ________________________

2. How many of your members belong to the following ethnic groups
   a. Luo: ___________________________________
   b. Luhya: ________________________________
   c. Kikuyu: _______________________________
   d. Kamba: _______________________________
   e. other, specify: ________________________

B. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

3. How many of your members are;
   a. married with children ________ without children ___________
   b. divorced/separated with children ____ without children ________
   c. widowed with children ________ without children ___________
   d. single with children __________ without children __________

4. What is the level of education of your members (%)?
   a. None: _______________________________
   b. below primary four: ___________________
   c. completed primary: ___________________
   d. reached form four: ___________________
   e. reached form six: ___________________
   f. college, (specify): ___________________
5. What % of your members are
   a. 15-20 yrs old: ___________
   b. 20-35 yrs old: ___________
   c. 35-45 yrs old: ___________
   d. 45-55 yrs old: ___________
   e. over 55 yrs old: ___________

6. Source of income / employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of employment</th>
<th>Years employed</th>
<th>Salary per Month (Kshs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Formal (eg. govt, NGO, Private sector etc)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal (e.g. selling Mitumba, etc)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. MEMBERSHIP PARAMETERS

7. Who is eligible to join? ____________________________________________

8. Membership fee? ____________________________________________

9. Group’s main activities?
   a. ____________________________________________
   b. ____________________________________________
   c. ____________________________________________

10. Do any of the activities deal with improving housing services? _____________

11. What is your main problem?

   a. Given a chance, how would you solve it? ____________________________________
D. ACCESS TO ASSISTANCE INCLUDING CREDIT

12. Where does your main assistance come from? (choose one)
   a. NGOs _____
   b. Donors _____
   c. Churches _____
   d. Others (specify) _____

13. Is any of the assistance related to improved housing? __________
    if yes, in what way?_______________________________________________

14. Do you have access to credit? _____________________________________
    If yes, from whom? _____________________________________________

E. KNOWLEDGE/PARTICIPATION IN KENSUP

15. Have you heard of KENSUP? ______________________________________
    a) If yes, how did you hear about it?______________________________

    b) What have you heard?________________________________________

16. To what extent is your group involved in KENSUP? (choose one)
    a. to a great extent
    b. to a limited extent
    c. not at all

17. What is the one thing you would like KENSUP to take into consideration in Kibera?

18. What is the most common housing problem in your village?
a. What is the major cause of this problem? ________________________________
Suggest one solution to the problem ________________________________

19. What view is closest to your opinion of the proposed new KENSUP housing near Langata Women’s Prison? (Choose one)
   a. Very happy with the initiative
   b. House design not compatible with our way of life.
   c. Site is too far from our current location/schools/businesses etc
   d. Worried we will not be able to afford it
   e. No one sought our opinion
   f. Happy we were involved in the design of housing
   g. Other (specify)

20. As far as you are concerned, what are your four housing priorities, in order of importance starting with the most important.
   i) _____________________________________
   ii) _____________________________________
   iii) _____________________________________
   iv) _____________________________________