Poverty Profiles of Informal Urban Settlements in Kenya: A Case Study of Korogocho in the City of Nairobi

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Declaration

I certify that this is my original work which has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my wife Jane and my son Kevin Kongo for their patience and encouragement as I undertook this study. Thank you so much and God bless you.
I thank my supervisor, Professor P. Chitere of the University of Nairobi for his guidance and patience as I researched for and wrote this work. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Robinson M. Ocharo of the Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Nairobi. I thank several other people whose support ensured the completion of this work. These include Peter M. Wanjau and Beverly Phillopowsky for their enormous, tireless and dedicated contribution in the preparation of the proposal and thesis. I thank you so much. In addition I acknowledge Antony Kimemia, Jane Karia, and Kevin Kongo for their patience and moral support.

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Abstract

The study set out to establish the poverty level of informal urban settlements in Kenya by doing a case study of Korogocho slum settlement in the city of Nairobi. It was guided by five objectives which were to: assess the level of poverty of households in Korogocho area; establish characteristics of households in Korogocho settlement; examine access to and utilization of basic social services by the residents of Korogocho; find out local perception of needs and priority to be considered in the formulation of policies and programs to reduce poverty and finally to find out services and utilities that exist in Korogocho slum settlement.

The study was conducted in Korogocho, a slum settlement covering an area of 1.5 square kilometres and located 11 kilometres northeast of Nairobi City centre. The slum has an estimated population of approximately 150,000 to 200,000 people. The triangulation method (case survey and case study designs) was used to collect data. Through purposive and non-probability sampling technique, the researcher selected four villages (Gitathuru, Nyayo, Ngomongo, and Kisumu Ndogo) in which 120 household heads, four focus groups, and eight key informants were interviewed.

The study findings indicate that Korogocho has high rates of poverty, insecurity, poor housing, and insufficient social utilities. Poverty was as a result of unemployment, low levels of education, and orphanhood mainly due to HIV/AIDS. Insecurity was found to be high and it was ironically attributed by the respondents to vigilante groups and the police. Key among the needs of the slum dwellers in Korogocho were unemployment, and provision of social amenities.

The main recommendations of this study are that: The government and other relevant agencies should provide adequate and affordable housing, construct and equip new schools, or expand existing ones, address adverse environmental and sanitation problems and assist in the creation of jobs/employment and encourage and promote self-
employment for income generation. The government, City Council of Nairobi and stakeholders should also provide sufficient and affordable health care facilities, and increase surveillance and/or presence in the area.

Further research should be done in several other slums to have a wide understanding of the poverty situation in slum settlements. There is also need to critically consider and evaluate the role of community based organizations (CBOs) and self-help groups in addressing poverty in slum settlements. Finally there is need for further research to determine the influence of small and medium enterprises in enhancing economic growth in slum settlements.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1 Background

Slum settlements are a product of the urbanization process. Urbanization refers to the changes in the proportion of the population of a nation living in urban areas i.e. the process of people moving to cities and other densely settled areas. The term urbanization is also to used describe the changes in social organization that occur as a consequence of population concentration leading to emergence of slum settlements especially in the cities of developing countries. According to Eldrige, (1956) urbanization involves two elements: the multiplication of points of concentration and the increase in the size of individual concentrations. Under the conceptual level urbanism there are found social psychological aspects of urban life, urban personality patterns and the behavioral adaptation required by urban life. In slum settlements in the cities of developing countries are found a high degree of urbanization and a low level of 'urbanism' where the city especially slum areas are filled with immigrants who reside in town but basically remain rural in outlook. While urbanism as a way of life (Wirth, 1938) is often successful economically, it is said to produce personal alienation, social disorganization, insecurity and many other social and physical pathologies which fall under the crisis of the cities. Most of these pathologies tend to be unproportionately experienced in slum settlements.

Engels (1845), a close associate of Marx, on urban slums observed and graphically presented the social and environmental horrors of slum life. Although he described the slums of Manchester city, those writing are still relevant to the present. He described the poorly built dwelling, river pollution, over crowding, poor sanitation, garbage and the generally poor state of social life deprived of any meaningful décor.

Poverty is a complex human phenomenon associated with unacceptably low standard of living. It has multiple dimensions, manifestations and causes (World Bank, 2000). UN-Habitat (2006) estimates that 72 percent of Sub-Saharan Africa’s urban population live in slums; 59 percent of Southern Asia’s; and 32 percent of Latin America’s urban populations live in slums. Overall, nearly 1 billion people worldwide (32 percent of the world’s urban
population) live in what are variously known as slums, squatter settlements or informal settlements.

The statistics show that over the past 30 years, poverty has been on the rise in Kenya. Poverty seems to be a paradox in a country that has the best-developed economy in Eastern Africa, with relatively advanced agricultural and industrial sectors and substantial foreign exchange earnings from agricultural exports and tourism. Yet Kenya is a low-income country, with per capita income averaging about US$360. It ranks 148th among 177 countries in the United Nations Development Programme’s human development index, which measures a country’s development in terms of life expectancy, educational attainment and standard of living.

More than half of the country’s estimated population of 38 million people is poor, and 7.5 million of the poor live in extreme poverty. In Nairobi, the capital city, 60% of the population live in slums. Conditions in some of the slums such as Korogocho are of extreme poverty, and most of its residents lack access to basic services, including electricity and running water. Of the slums in Nairobi, Korogocho and Kibera have the biggest populations. Available figures indicate that levels close to a half of the population live in abject poverty, and also suggest that by 2020, urban poverty will represent almost half (48.9%) of the total poverty in the country (Kessides, 2006).

Studies have shown that slum settlements in Nairobi share similar characteristics. In a study by Kessides (2006), a comparison was made between Korogocho and Kibera. Kibera is the largest slum in Nairobi, and the second largest urban slum in Africa with an estimated population of between 600,000 and 1.5 million inhabitants, depending on the season (The Economist, 2007). Conditions in Kibera are extremely poor, and most of its residents lack access to basic services, including electricity and running water. The conditions are similar to those found in Korogocho, the study area. There is little formal infrastructure serving Korogocho’s residents, and most housing was built by individual families living there, and is made of mud and other recycled materials. Like any of the other slum settlements in Nairobi, it has a large poor population with no access to minimum services. Korogocho has poor health conditions due to poor infrastructure, few resources, overcrowding, and proximity to the Dandora dump site.

The World Bank’s poverty assessment (1995) used the preliminary findings of the first participatory poverty assessment report, and conducted further analysis on the relationship
between household poverty and social indicators (e.g. access to education and health). Its report pointed out that sustainable progress towards poverty eradication required two mutually reinforcing elements: broad-based economic growth that makes use of the most abundant resource of the poor (their labor) and provision of basic social services to them. For example, in the health sector, the report recommended greater share of spending on preventive and promotive health; and within curative budget shift more resources towards health centers away from district hospitals. In education, there was need for a targeted mechanism to reduce private costs to the poor and a system of bursaries for the poor, particularly female students, administered by communities and local authorities.

1.2 Problem Statement

Even though the government has conducted several participatory poverty assessments nationally, poverty still remains to be high, with the situation being worse in slum settlements. For instance the Government undertook the first Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) in the first half of 1994 to complement the statistical studies of poverty in Kenya. The purpose of the PPA was to understand poverty as seen by the poor, as a guide in the design of interventions to alleviate poverty. Nairobi was one of the areas targeted by the PPA and in particular the slums of Mathare Valley and Korogocho. The main factors seen as increasing poverty were inflation, social breakdown (e.g. emergence of female-headed households), cost-sharing strategy especially in education and health, and demographic pressure (breakdown of homes, unemployment, and large family sizes).

In summary, it would appear that though a lot has been done on poverty assessment, it has not been easy to alleviate poverty in the marginalized regions, both rural and urban. This is likely to lead to the fact that community participation through the normal Government planning structures is limited and disjointed. It could also imply that the various approaches used to address poverty have not had far reaching impacts and therefore it is important to devise more and better thought out participatory approaches to poverty in order to aid in drawing up the national agenda towards addressing poverty.

Another issue of concern while addressing poverty is that most of African demographic research, including research on poverty has mainly focused on rural areas. The reason for this is mainly because rural areas have been considered more worthy of this concentration
because they are home to the majority of the continent’s population (United Nations 1998) and secondly is the rationale that urban development biases have relegated rural areas and their residents to a relatively deprived situation as far as both health and reproductive health services and facilities are concerned (Lipton 1976; Harrison 1982; Kelley and Williamson 1984; HABITAT 1996).

Interestingly enough, the rate of urbanization across the developing world portends that roughly 90 percent of world population increase in the first twenty-five years of the current millennium will stem from growth in the urban areas of the developing world (United Nations 1998). In Africa, the growth is such that the continent is expected to be over 50 percent urban by 2016. Many cities on the continent have grown at rates of up to five percent per annum over the last three to four decades (Todaro, 1989 and Obudho, 1997). Unfortunately, contrary to the urban boom in the West in the late nineteenth century, Africa’s growth is occurring amid deteriorating economic circumstances. At the same time, whereas cities like London, New York, and Paris added barely two million people in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Nairobi, Addis Ababa, Lagos, and Kinshasa are each expected to increase their populations by about five million in the next fifteen years (Brockerhoff and Brennan 1998).

Nairobi, Kenya’s capital represents a good case study of the urbanization phenomenon and the plight of the urban poor. The bulk of the urban poor can be traced to the immigration of poor migrants from the rural hinterland, many of whom end up in marginalized slum communities in Nairobi. Already, close to 70 percent of the city’s population lives in slums or informal settlements, as they are officially referred to by the government of Kenya (Matrix Development Consultants 1993; East African Standard 1998). Living in informal settlements represents a challenge in medical and social infrastructure and services, including the most basic amenities such as water, electricity, appropriate sanitation, and garbage collection.

These challenges have not gone unnoticed: The state and other development partners have made deliberate efforts to design and deliver programmes to urban slums with the aim of building the capacities of the urban slum communities. UNDP (1991) defined capacity
building as the creation of an enabling environment with appropriate policy and legal frameworks, institutional development, including community participation (of women in particular), human resource development and strengthening of managerial systems. Capacity building is a long-term, continuing process, in which all stakeholders participate.

1.3 Research Questions

(a) What is the level of poverty of households in Korogocho area?
(b) What are the characteristics of households in Korogocho settlement?
(c) Which needs and priorities in Korogocho should be considered in the formulation of policies and programs to reduce poverty?
(d) What services and utilities exist in Korogocho?
(e) What is the level of access and utilization of basic social services by the residents of Korogocho?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to establish poverty level in the slum settlement of Korogocho. The specific objectives are:

(a) To establish characteristics of households in Korogocho settlement.
(b) To assess the level of poverty of households in Korogocho area.
(c) To examine access to and utilization of basic social services by the residents of Korogocho.
(d) To find out local perception of needs and priorities to be considered in the formulation of policies and programmes to reduce poverty.
(e) To find out services and utilities that exists in Korogocho slum settlement.

1.5 The rationale of the study

The research will complement some of the studies that have been done by different organisations about participatory poverty assessment not only in slum areas but also in Kenya as a whole. Even though quite a number of studies have addressed poverty among the Kenyan communities, this study specifically targets the urban set up and specifically a particular slum.
community. The study generated important information that could assist government in planning on addressing the needs of its populace, local organisations—both governmental as well as non-governmental.

1.6 The scope of the study

While the wider literature review served to guide the conceptualization of the study, the research limited itself to Korogocho.

The study focused on availability and access to basic facilities such as education, health, water, leisure facilities and other social facilities like religious centers. On the socio-economic status of household the study looked at employment, income, expenditure, household head, and household composition and education levels. The specific welfare indicators that were analyzed were education, health, water and sanitation, employment and income generating activities.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction
This chapter presents the relevant literature on poverty with emphasis on participatory poverty assessment of slum areas. The major concern was to understand vulnerability among the urban poor in Nairobi as well as the needs and priorities of the slum dwellers in the formulation of policies and programs to reduce poverty.

The last part of this chapter presents the theoretical framework and reflects on the Culture of Poverty Perspective and the Marxist Theory of Poverty in the context of poverty in slum settlements, conceptual framework and operational definitions of factors of study.

2.2 Income measures of urban poverty
The Government of Kenya (GoK) recognizes a range of poverty lines which are measured in different ways, all based on consumption/expenditure. The food poverty line is based on the cost of consuming 2,250 calories per adult equivalent per day, while the absolute or overall poverty line relates to survival food needs and basic non-food needs. In addition there is the category of hardcore poverty, which refers to households that would not meet their minimum food requirements even if they allocated all their income on food (Mitullah, 2003). Thus households are deemed to be absolutely poor if they cannot meet their nutritional and other basic requirements, food poor if they cannot meet all their nutritional needs due to expenditure on other basic non-food essentials, and hardcore poor if they are unable to meet their basic food needs even by foregoing other essentials. The 2005/06 Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey (KIHBS) estimated the food poverty line in monthly adult equivalent terms as being Ksh. 1,474 in urban areas (compared with Ksh. 998 in rural areas). The absolute poverty line in monthly adult equivalent terms was computed as Ksh. 2,913 for urban areas compared with Ksh.1,562 for rural areas (GoK, 2007).

2.3 Non-income measures
It is appropriate to note other approaches to defining poverty, which go beyond the strictly expenditure/income measures. After noting four major approaches defining poverty – income poverty, the capability approach, relative poverty and social exclusion, this study concluded that one approach is insufficient to define poverty in totality. In particular, there are four
aspects: not having enough to live on, not having enough to build from, being excluded from wealth, and being excluded from the power to change things for the better (Brandley et al., 2003). The UN’s definition brings together two important and related themes in the contemporary understanding of poverty: the ‘capability approach’ and the ‘human rights approach’. Thus poverty is conceived as:

“A human condition characterized by the sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights” (UN, 2001).

Poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon is perhaps best exemplified in urban areas. Not only is urban poverty characterized by inadequate income (and hence inadequate consumption of basic necessities) but also by inadequate asset base, shelter and provision of public infrastructure (for example, piped water, sanitation, drainage, and so forth), as well as inadequate access to services such as health care, schools, vocational training, and protection of poorer groups’ rights. Compounding this are limited or non-existent social safety nets, voicelessness, and powerlessness within political systems, judicial institutions and bureaucratic structures (UN-HABITAT, 2003). The sustainable livelihoods framework presents another approach towards capturing the multidimensionality of urban poverty. It is based on the notion of capital assets, with households possessing five forms of such assets: human capital, financial capital, physical capital, social capital, and natural capital. To secure their well-being and cope with the challenges of their economic, social, physical and political environments, households adopt livelihood strategies that draw upon these five forms of capital. A household’s ability to evade or reduce vulnerability is dependent upon its initial asset base and its capacity to manage, access and transform these assets.

Poverty is a situation in which resources are not adequate to meet basic needs at the root of community organization and action. Due to poverty, the Kenyan economy has continued to perform poorly with declining Gross Domestic Product (GDP), diminishing social situation and low economic growth in the country. Estimates from Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PSRP) show that poverty has risen from 48.8 percent in 1990, 55.4 percent in 2001 and 56 percent in 2003. This increase of poverty among the majority of the Kenyan population has mainly been determined by the various factors such as household size, gender, educational levels, land and agricultural outputs according to the PRSP (2003-2007). Further unequal
distribution of land and inadequate access to land, low wages and low labor productivity, low labor absorption capacity of the economy, poor implementation of development programmes, lack of focus and commitment to poverty reduction programmes have been the major causes of poverty in Kenya (Ikiara, 2005).

These high levels of poverty and increasing population have impeded economic and social development. As projected by the World Bank (2002), the population of Kenya was to increase from 30 million in 2005 to 73 million in 2025. Currently the population is estimated at 42 million according to Central Bureau of Statistics (2008). These high levels of poverty and increasing population have led to increase in development strategies in order to improve infrastructure, water systems, and sanitation to sustain the community.

2.4 Informal Settlements

A high proportion of the country's urban poor live in unplanned informal settlements located in the urban centres. The term informal settlement is often used in preference to that of slum, but in reality the terms are synonymous. The following definition of a slum applies:

A slum is a contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterised as having inadequate housing and basic services. A slum is often not recognised and addressed by public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city. A slum household is a group of individuals living under the same roof that lack one or more of the following: access to safe water; access to sanitation; secure tenure; durability of housing and sufficient living area (UN-HABITAT, 2003).

For the purposes of this report, the urban poor are equated with informal settlement or slum residents. It should be noted that not all poor people live in informal settlements and not all people living in informal settlements are poor; but the overlap between the urban poor and slum-dwellers is so great that for this report it can be assumed that in the vast majority of cases they are one and the same.

According to the 2005/2006 KIHBS, there were nearly 17 million people or approximately 50% of the total population living in absolute poverty. In terms of the urban population, there has been a reduction in the level of absolute/overall poverty since 1997; but in relation to the other two measures of poverty used – food poverty and hardcore poverty - there have actually been increases. Thus urban food poverty increased from just over 38% in 1997 to nearly 41%
in 2006, while the percentage of hardcore poor rose slightly from under 8% to just over that percentage. This means that while some of the urban population have been lifted out of poverty by the recent growth boom, others sank into even deeper poverty with the effect that the proportion of Nairobi’s residents who are very poor actually grew in the same period. Given growth in Nairobi’s overall population size between 1997 and 2006, the absolute number of the very poorest will have actually grown by considerably more than the above percentage increases suggest. Moreover in some cities, such as Nakuru and Mombasa, a full half of the population is now food poor (Kenyan Business Daily, 2007).

The same survey by UN-HABITAT further indicates that income disparities in the urban areas of Kenya have increased as measured by the urban GDP coefficient. A GDP coefficient of 0 would indicate perfect equality (that is, where everyone in the population has the same expenditure or income), whereas a value of 1 would correspond to perfect inequality (that is, when all expenditure or income is accounted for by a single person in the population).

In urban Kenya, the GDP coefficient rose from 0.426 in 1997 to 0.447 in 2006. By contrast, the rural GDP coefficient has fallen from 0.417 to 0.38 during the same period. Not only does this signify that the urban areas are becoming more unequal than rural Kenya in terms of income distribution but that, with a GDP coefficient value currently above 0.40, the country has exceeded the ‘international alert line-inequality threshold’, indicating ‘conditions conducive to social unrest and conflict’ (UN-HABITAT, 2008)

Recent studies show that levels of inequality in Kenyan towns around Lake Victoria (0.56) are considerably higher than the mean urban GDP coefficient. In Nairobi itself, income disparities between the rich and poor groups in the city are even wider; the GDP coefficient for Nairobi (as measured in 1999) is 0.59, indicating levels of inequality similar to those in Johannesburg in the mid-1990s. It has been estimated that the richest 10% of the population of Nairobi accrues 45.2% of income, and the poorest 10% only 1.6% (UN-HABITAT, 2006). These high levels of inequality have not only contributed to conflict in the city but are also bad for development more generally:

‘Inequality has two effects on poverty levels: it slows economic growth, and it makes a given rate of economic growth less effective in reducing poverty. While equity and economic growth are mutually reinforcing, inequality is socially destabilising, bad for growth, and by its nature restricts the
capabilities of marginalised groups. Conversely, equitable access to markets, political power, and social provision, on the basis of needs, is the fastest and most effective route to poverty reduction’ (Watt, 2000)

2.5 The population of urban Kenya

According to the 2006 Human Development Report, the population of Kenya stood at 33.5 million in 2004, the current estimate being 40 million. The current urban population constitutes approximately a third of that total. By 2020, it is predicted that this proportion will have risen to more than half, reflecting the continued urban growth experienced by Kenya over the last three decades; it has been labelled one of the 25 fastest growing cities in the world (Business Daily, 2007). Appendix 1 illustrates these trends, as well as providing some information from the 2003 Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) on differences between urban and rural areas. Despite the various important differences, it is important not to present the rural-urban divide as being rigid, when in fact it is a continuum and many people continue to engage in livelihoods that straddle both rural and urban areas (Appendix 2 examines some of these linkages and the dynamics of rural-urban migration).

From a figure of 2.3 million at the time of the 1999 Census, it is currently estimated that the total population of Nairobi city is just over 3 million people, with estimates ranging up to 3.5 million (Business Daily, 2007). The population has grown more than ten-fold since 1960, experiencing some of the highest growth rates per annum in Africa. Growing at a rate of 4.4% in recent years, (UN-HABITAT, 2003) the population is projected to rise to around 5 million by 2020 and 6 million by 2025 (UN-HABITAT, 2008b). There are significantly more men (54%) than women (46%) in the city while at the national level it is more or less a 50/50 split. Thus the city has a much smaller percentage (20%) of female-headed households compared with the national population (almost 32%). Moreover, Close to 40% of the Nairobi population are males aged 15-49 compared with approximately 25% nationally. The proportion of females in this age group is 29% in both cases (GoK, 2003).

The ethnic composition of Nairobi is diverse and multi-racial. With regard to the indigenous population, the Gikuyu ethnic group makes up approximately 32% of the city’s population, the Luo tribe 18%, Luhyia 16% and the Kamba 13%. The Maasai, the original inhabitants of the area before the establishment of the city, constitute less than 1% (Practical Action, 2004). The average household size is 3.1 in Nairobi compared to a national figure of 4.4. However, this certainly does not imply that people have adequate space in the poor areas; far from it –
in Kibera slum, while estimates of the population vary widely, it is said to be 30 times as dense as central New York City. Hence we now move from a consideration of the socio-economic characteristics of urban populations generally to those of the urban poor.

2.6 The location, characteristics, and composition of the urban poor

It is estimated that more than half the urban population of Kenya now live in the country's informal settlements: i.e. over 5.5 million people. In Nairobi it is estimated that an even higher percentage – over 60% – of the population live in slums (UN-HABITAT, 2006). On the basis of a specially constructed expenditure-based poverty line of Ksh. 3,174 per adult equivalent per month, excluding rent, the World Bank study of 2006 calculated that nearly three-quarters (73%) of slum households are poor (GOK 2000). According to this proportion, if Amnesty International's recent estimate of 2 million slum-dwellers in Nairobi (Amnesty International, 2009) is correct then that implies there are around 1.5 people living in poverty in the capital's slums alone.

Even those who are not poor in income/expenditure terms but live in the slums can be considered qualitatively poor by virtue of living in poor quality housing lacking infrastructure (World Bank, 2006). Moreover the Amnesty report argues that the lack of tenure security among Nairobi's slum-dwellers, the majority of whom rent and have 'no form of security of tenure – perceived or legal', is a denial of the right to adequate housing. Mass forced evictions are a huge and growing problem in the city, and despite government pledges to develop guidelines on evictions there has been little progress and there are still no Kenyan laws prohibiting forced eviction. Such guidelines and laws are particularly urgent given the threatened eviction of more than 100,000 people living in informal settlements by the Nairobi River basin, whose homes and informal businesses...would be demolished to make way for a massive river clean-up project'. Concerns raised by organisations such as Amnesty about the potential impacts of this 'socially and economically disastrous' Nairobi River clean-up process have so far been met with silence.

Disaggregating poverty in urban areas by various socio-economic characteristics, the 2005/2006 KIHBS shows that the prevalence of poverty (34% total) among male-headed households is significantly lower (30%) than female-headed households (46%). In turn, married-female headed households in urban areas have a lower incidence of poverty compared with female-other households ('female-other' signifying single, separated,
divorced, or living together women). These latter households are among the most vulnerable in urban Kenya and suffer disproportionately from inadequate housing.

As with rural areas, the positive effects of education on poverty reduction are clear in cities and towns. The level of education of the household head is inversely related with the incidence of poverty: the latter drops from nearly 69% for those with no education to 48% for those with primary education and 22% for those with secondary education. The link between poverty and the size of the household is also very clear. With poverty levels of 47% existing among households with 7 or more members, but this declines to around 20% in the smallest size of household (1-3 persons). In relation to age, 48% of households with the head aged 56+ years are poor, as compared with just around 23% in cases where the age group of the household head is 15-29 years.

In Nairobi itself, comparative indicators on the population living in the city's informal settlements can be drawn from a World Bank study based on a household sample survey of 1,755 households from 88 informal settlement enumeration areas. As shown in Table 2.2, there are more males than females, the ratio being 55:45, with a greater proportion of both school-age children (5-14 years) and adults (defined as 15 years or more) being male (51% and 58% respectively). Informal settlements have disproportionately few children, perhaps in part reflecting high infant and child mortality rates, with an average household size of 3.0.

For census purposes, CBS has divided Nairobi into about 4,700 enumeration areas (EAs), of which 1,263 are categorised as 'informal settlements'. The 88 EAs in the World Bank sample were selected randomly from this subset.
Table 1: Socio-economic characteristics of Nairobi informal settlements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household size and composition</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample Households (N)</td>
<td>1,755</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household size (N)</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single-person households (N, %)</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female-headed households (N, %)</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean age of household head (yrs)</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median age of household head (yrs)</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender profile</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 0-4</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 5-14 (school age children)</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 15+ (adults)</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All individuals</td>
<td>55.0</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The ethnic composition of Nairobi’s slum population can be quite diverse, though two or three tribes generally dominate in each settlement. Depending on a particular settlement’s location within the city, the main tribes are Luo, Luhya, Kikuyu, and Kamba. Ethnic allegiances can provide a source of cohesion within the community amongst those of the same tribe. However, such diversity of traditions and cultures can lead to conflict, particularly in situations where people are competing for limited resources or have to deal with contentious issues. The consequences can be dire, as the response to the contested presidential election results in December 2007 demonstrated: violence took on an ethnic character and led to large numbers of fatalities, as well as the displacement and destruction of property and livelihoods. Kibera, Mathare and Dandora informal settlements were the conflict ‘hot spots’ on this occasion (Peace and Development Network, 2009). Feelings of insecurity have considerably heightened since that time and, while there is not yet adequate research into the present situation, anecdotal evidence suggests that slums have become increasingly ethnically polarised.
With mobility being a facet of urban life, the tendency for ethnicity to denote one’s identity or status appears to have increased. An informal settlement tends to be dominated by one or two ethnic groups, usually reflecting its historical development and the ethnicity of the original inhabitants. Ethnic allegiances can provide a source of cohesion within the community amongst those of the same group. However, as was evident in the post-election violence in urban areas, ethnic identity – while capable of providing valuable social networks and reinforcing solidarity - can be used divisively and destructively. Associations and ceremonial cults based on ethnic membership drawn from urban society as a whole and often, in turn, connected with competition for employment or trade, are particularly evident in urban Kenya. Some of these cults are manifested as Mungiki (Kikuyu cult), Talibans (Luo cult), and Jeshi la Mzee (Kalenjin cult) among others. It is groups such as these that wreaked havoc and destruction in a number of the informal settlements of Nairobi.

2.7 Population Density and Crowding Research
The Chicago School saw high urban density as a social problem. Urban crowding and high density have long been seen as a cause of social pathology. Crowding refers to the number of people per room which usually in housing has been found to be a cause of epidemics, contagion, crime and moral degradation (Brideman et. al. 1963). The writings of Charles Dickens in: “The Adventures of Oliver Twist” show the unfortunate tale - high density means disorganization and disease. More recently almost every social evil including air pollution, loss of community, lack of response to neighbours to cries for help etc have been attributed to urban density and crowding both of which are the hallmarks of slum life.

In terms of crowding research, animals have been used for experiments to support the view that high density and crowding produce many physical and behavioural pathologies. Rats under conditions of crowding have been studied. John Calhoun (1960) in Population Density and Social Pathology found that using experiments with rats, pathological states develop under conditions of crowding even when there is an abundance of food and freedom from disease and predators. In these conditions infant mortality increases, females do not build proper nests or carry infants for the full term, homosexuality and even cannibalism occurred. At the end of the experiment, the rat population was on the way to extinction. It has been

2 The name of this group literally means ‘Army of the Old Man’. It was originally aligned to the former KANU regime.
argued that what holds for rat behaviour in crowded conditions holds for human beings. The children of frustrated human beings trapped in urban slums show behavioural manifestations of emotional disturbance.

2.8 Conclusion

The forgoing discussion reveals that while according to some indicators urban poverty appears to be less severe than rural poverty and even improving, many statistics mask the harsh reality of life for the very poorest urban-dwellers in Kenya. High levels of urban food poverty and soaring inequalities are all the more alarming given that Kenya is projected to be 50% urbanised by 2020. From the literature review, it has emerged that while the proportion of Kenya’s urban population living in ‘absolute poverty’ has declined over the past decade, this conceals the fact that the percentage share of the very poorest urban groups – defined as the ‘food poor’ and ‘hardcore poor’ – has actually been increasing.

Another issue that emerges is that there are over 4 million urban food poor in Kenya, almost a third of whom are located in Nairobi and that 60% of Nairobi’s population – around 2 million people- live in slums. Inequality is declining in Kenya’s rural areas, but in cities it is high and rising. Finally, the review has established that even if rates of urban growth are slowing, the overall size of the annual increments in Kenyan cities is huge, with Nairobi’s population projected to grow from around 3.4 million now to almost 6 million in 2025.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

This section presents the theories that explain the study. Essentially, these are theories that explain the causes of poverty. Bradshaw (2005) considers theory as an explanation that links several concepts and argues that theories of poverty explain poverty by linking different factors thought to cause or perpetuate poverty through distinctive social processes and concludes that interventions that can really do reduce poverty as a consequence. The study will thus explore the extent to which the slum dwellers’ perception of their conditions relates or compares to two theories that explain poverty: the Culture of Poverty Perspective, and Marxist Theory of Poverty.

Poverty, it is argued, is a very complex social problem with many variants and different roots, some overlapping and all of which have validity depending on the situation (Blank, 2003). Consequently, there are many varied theories about the causes of poverty, none of which is a universal concept that can explain all instances of poverty or be applied to all cultures,
societies or times. Moreover, no one theory of poverty has emerged that either subsumes or invalidates the others (Blank, 1997).

This study focused on poverty in Korogocho slums as perceived by the locals. The objective of the study is to gain an insight into the slum people’s living experience—their understanding of wealth, poverty and well-being. The study also aims at eliciting the local people’s perception of the needs and priorities that need to be considered in the formation of policies to reduce poverty in their area.

2.9.1 The Culture of Poverty Perspective.
The theory of poverty draws from the culture of poverty perspective developed by Oscar Lewis, an anthropologist, in 1959 though the socialist sociologist Michael Harrington was the first prominent academic to use the phrase ‘culture of poverty’ in a major publication. His book, *The Other America*, documented rural poverty in Appalachia and represented a moral call to action that anticipated the ‘War on Poverty’ initiated by President Johnson in 1964 (Harrington 1962).

According to Lewis (1961, 1966a, 1966b, 1967, and 1968) the culture of poverty is a specific syndrome that grows up in some situations. The poor realize that they have a marginal position within a highly stratified and individualistic capitalistic society, which does not offer them any prospect for upward mobility. In order to survive the poor have to develop their own institutions and agencies because the larger society tends to ignore and bypass them (Lewis, 1968). Thus the poor come to embody a common set of values, norms and pattern of behaviour, which is different from the general culture as such. He argued that people either disengage or maintain distance from the larger society because they have a high mistrust of the dominant institutions of society.

According to Lewis, (1969:125), the individual has ‘a strong feeling of fatalism, helplessness, dependence and inferiority’; a weak ego tuned to the gratification in the present and a strong preoccupation with masculinity. Once the subculture is formed it tends to be perpetuated. It is transmitted from one generation to another through socialization. An examination of the culture of poverty by Lewis reveals that an extreme form of adaptation that the poor are forced to make under certain circumstances and in certain places. The poor reject the
dominant culture and its institutions because they do not serve them. Their own subculture grows out of despair and protest.

This culture is characterized not only by material deprivation but also by crime, alcoholism and lack of hope for social mobility. These traits help the poor to survive in the short-term but block them in the long run. The Poor's low economic status is explained away as being the result of their personal inadequacy or inferiority. Thus, in order to survive, the poor have to develop their own economic institutions and agencies because the larger society tends to ignore and bypass them. They therefore come to embody a common set of values, norms and patterns of behavior which is different from the general culture as such. In short, the poor develop their own way of life—a specific subculture.

Bradshaw (2005), on the other hand, postulates that the theory of poverty roots its cause in the "Culture of Poverty". He argues that, the culture of poverty is a subculture of poor people in slums, poor regions, or social contexts where they develop a shared set of beliefs, values and norms for behavior that are separated from but embedded in the culture of the main society.

2.9.2 Marxist Theory of Poverty
The Marxist theory of poverty and inequality is a radical departure from other theories that claim poverty is caused by the individual. Marxists do not blame the poor for their poverty nor do they blame their culture. Instead, Marxists see the reason for poverty and inequality in the market based capitalist economy and the fluctuation that all such economies periodically go through. It is the view on structuralism that makes this study adopt the Marxist theory of poverty since it expounds the differences that exist between people living in slums on the one hand and the middle level and up-market areas on the other.

The paradigm in the Marxist theory of poverty consists of six facets: inequality and surplus-value, the mighty market, lack of full employment, profit considerations, growth and recession of capitalist economies, and the functions of poverty. In his discourse, Robinson (2000) argues that capitalism and the capitalist class cause poverty through the exchange of the labour between the capitalist and the worker. The capitalist pays the worker so as to sustain him to ensure his continued supply of the labour. The exchange between workers and capitalist is that of inequality. The capitalist is left with a surplus value thus perpetuating poverty among the workers.
Market forces also cause poverty since the capitalist economies are also market economies. According to Kerbo (2006), certain types of labour-power have a higher exchange-value than others. Workers get paid depending on the type of labour they offer. For example, unskilled manual labour commands the lowest monetary reward compared to middle professions and higher professions.

Marxists also argue that poverty occurs when those with means of production put more considerations on profit than on the worker. Capitalism is a system of production, an economy, in which some own the means of production while the vast majority must sell their labour-power (Kerbo, 2006). The capitalist class only takes on workers so long as they augment capital. Sometimes there is a loss of confidence, that is, capitalists do not think that they can sell a given amount of products and so cut back on production. What they cut back on are labourers who are made redundant thus leaving the labourers with no means of livelihood.

Proponents of the Marxist theory of poverty such as Herbert (1972), Ernest (1970), Paul (1972), Dan (1972) and David (1972) argue that poverty exists in society since poverty itself performs certain functions all of which help to meet the needs of the capitalist system, for instance, the low wage sector which exists to greater or lesser extent in all capitalist economies serves to lower the wage demands on those in paid employment. The working class tends to judge their wages not in terms of how they compare to the capitalist class but how they compare to their poorer co-workers and neighbours. Poverty thus helps to keep a check on the wage demands of the working class. Also, if there are large numbers of unemployed people, and those in poorly paid jobs, then there is always plenty of competition for jobs and so the employer can pay less. Finally, those who are in poverty form what Marx called a reserve army of labour. This reserve army of labour performs the function of keeping the pretensions of the working-class in check during periods of "boom" in the economy. During such times, when demand for labour is high, the reserve army will be called up and so any hope of opulence held by the working-class are shattered by the capitalist. This is due to the fact that the reserve labour is only useful during times of "boom" and this simply means that they are subjected to poverty.

The above dissertation captures the views of the residents of slums. The theories therefore help the study in that it gives insights on the residents of Korogocho at the individual level, family level, community level, as well as their lack of effective participation and integration in the major institutions of the larger society.
2.10 Conceptual Framework

Figure 1 presents various household characteristics that lead to poverty in the slum areas. For instance, inadequate incomes, low levels of education or no education at all dictate how households perceive their needs as well as the services they would seek, both in quality and frequency. In the slum areas, there is inadequate consumption of basic necessities, inadequate asset base, shelter, and provision of public infrastructure. In addition, there is inadequate access to services like healthcare, schools, and vocational training. Factors like who the household head is dictate prevalence of poverty amongst the slum dwellers. For instance, according to the then Central Bureau of Statistics (2008), now National Bureau of Statistics, male-headed households have lower poverty prevalence (30%) than female-headed households (46%).

Figure 1: Conceptualization of poverty in slums.

2.10.1 Operational Definitions

- Level of poverty- A minimum income level below which a person is officially considered to lack adequate subsistence and to be living in poverty. In this study poverty will be defined in terms of quality of house, feelings of security and food availability.
Household access and utilization of services — refers to utilization affordability, physical accessibility and acceptability of services which are relevant and effective.

Perception of needs and priorities refers to what slum dwellers consider as being necessary to their lives and thus should be considered before any other aspects of their lives.

Characteristics of households (i) Household type and hardship; (ii) family size, (iii) age of the household heads; (iv) their level of education; (vi) employment status; (vii) type of housing; and (viii) type of fuel used.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the research design, sampling, data collection procedures, data collection instruments, and data analysis are described.

3.1 Site selection and description

Korogocho is one of the largest slum neighbourhoods of Nairobi, Kenya and is home to 150,000 to 200,000 people pressed into 1.5 square kilometres, northeast of the city centre. Korogocho was founded as a shanty town on the then outskirts of the city (BEGA KWA BEGA, 2009; Gok, 2003). In 2009 it was estimated to be the fourth largest slum in Nairobi, after Kibera, Mathare Valley and Mukuru kwa Njenga (The Standard, 2009). The name Korogocho is a Swahili term meaning crowded shoulder to shoulder (BEGA KWA BEGA, 2009).

Located 11 kilometres northeast of the Nairobi city centre, Korogocho’s 1.5 square kilometres were originally on government owned land which was vacant when it was founded by rural migrants to the city in the 1960s. It borders one of Nairobi’s main rubbish dumps, Dandora (Comboni Missionaries, 2008). The slum is a "Location" (a formal subdivision) of Kasarani division, Nairobi Province, (GoK, 2003) and is divided into nine villages namely Nyayo, Kisumu Ndogo, Korogocho A, Korogocho B, Highridge, Gragon A, Gragon B, Gitathuru and Ngomongo. All the villages except Ngomongo are on Government land. As Korogocho expanded, it grew onto private land, and almost half its land is now owned privately (Comboni Missionaries, 2008).

There is little formal infrastructure serving Korogocho’s residents, and most housing was built by families living there, and is made of recycled materials. Despite this, many of the residents pay land rent for the right to live there. Others pay rent to those who have constructed their habitations (Gok, 2003). There is no central sewer system or piped fresh water, and crime rates are high (Gok, 2003). An informal council of elders and chieftaincy, like that found in much of Kenya, also provides land and housing for some widows and others in greater need (Diana, 2000). Small scale urban farming is commonly practiced, despite the crowded conditions (Diana, 2000).

With poor infrastructure, few resources, overcrowding, and proximity to the dump, health in Korogocho is poor. Several organisations provide free clinics in the slum, (Comboni
Missionaries, 2008) while others organise HIV/AIDS prevention work. The area has been singled out by government officials because of high illegal drug and alcohol abuse, and an estimated 14% HIV infection rate in 2008 (GoK, 2003).

Slums, covering 5% of Nairobi provide homes for 2.5 million Kenyans, well over half the city's entire population (Comboni Missionaries, 2008). Several large Italian development projects are based in Korogocho, including those funded by Italian Government and World Bank debt swaps (The Standard, 2009) and a coalition of Catholic Church charities, Bega Kwa Bega, founded in 1991 and based on an earlier project by the Italian Comboni Missionary society, begun in 1973 (BEGA KWA BEGA, 2009). The Government of Kenya has created a development body focused solely upon improving the lives of Korogocho residents, the Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme (KSUP) (GoK, 2009).

3.2 Research Design

The study adopted the triangulation method in which case survey and case study designs were combined. According to Blaike (2000), triangulation is a mixing of data or methods so that diverse viewpoints or standpoints cast light upon topics. Through survey the researcher collected data from household heads from selected villages in Korogocho slum settlement. The term case-study usually refers to a fairly intensive examination of a single unit such as a person, a small group of people, or a single company. In this case, the research is limited to one group, often with a similar characteristic or of small size. Case-studies involve measuring what is there and how it got there. Being a qualitative research approach it contributes to the process of constructing research knowledge as researchers ‘observe, interview, record, describe, interpret and appraise settings as they are’ (Eisner 1991 145). The researcher carried out a case study of Korogocho slum settlement in order to examine, and understand the poverty situation. The researcher interacted with participants in Korogocho, such as household heads, as well as other slum dwellers in order to attempt to understand and make sense of the social world/natural setting from the perspectives of the targeted participants.

3.3 Units of Analysis

Schutt (1996:88) indicates that units of analysis “represent the level of social life on which the research question is focused, such as individuals, groups, towns, or nations.” In this study, the unit of analysis was poverty in slum settlements.

3.4 Unit of Observation

On the other hand, the observation unit which is also known as the unit of data collection is the element or aggregation of elements from which one collects information. The observation
units for this study were household heads, groups of youth, women and men resident in Korogocho slum settlement.

3.5 Sampling Procedures
Sampling involves the selection of a number of study units from a defined study population (Dane 1990:37). The study adopted both probability and non-probability sampling techniques. The two techniques are considered appropriate in that Korogocho was selected purposively out of all the slums in Nairobi while the villages were sampled through simple random sampling. The selection of respondents was done purposefully as well. Members of the Focus Group discussions and the Key Informants were chosen purposefully while household heads were sampled using proportionate sampling.

3.5.1 Villages
The Korogocho Slum has nine villages: Nyayo, Kisumu Ndogo, Korogocho A, Korogocho B, Highridge, Grogon A, Grogon B, Gitathuru and Ngomongo. Four villages were selected through simple random sampling-Gitathura, Ngomongo, Kisumu Ndogo, and Nyayo.

3.5.2 Household Heads
Household heads were sampled using purposive sampling. Village heads of each of the four selected villages were requested to assist in the purposive selection of households heads spread throughout their villages. Out of the four villages sampled, 30 household heads were selected giving us a total sample of 120 household heads.

3.5.3 Focus Groups
Members of 4 Focus Groups were selected from the four sampled villages (one group from each village). The focus groups consisted of groups of male youth, female youth, adult women and men. Care was taken to ensure that focus groups were not too small (less than 7 members) and not too large (more than 12 members). The selection of members of the groups was done purposively with the help of the selected village heads and it targeted those who were more knowledgeable about Korogocho slum settlement.

3.5.4 Key Informants
Informed persons such as chief, Assistant Chief, Village elders, city council workers, FBOs/NGOs and government workers and local leaders were identified and interviewed.
3.4.5. Community Resource Mapping

With the help of the village heads of the 9 sampled villages, a total of 5 leaders were identified from each and a meeting held at which they were facilitated to map out their village in terms of resources such as schools, types of roads, health facilities, NGOs/FBOs, and self-help groups.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

3.6.1 Primary Data

The primary data were collected from household heads using a semi-structured interview schedule. An interview guide was used for both the Key Informants and Focus Groups. In addition, the study made use of an observation guide.

3.6.2 Secondary Data

The Kasarani Constituency Poverty Profile was the main source of secondary data. The researcher also made use of the internet to obtain information about the poverty studies in Korogocho and other slum settlements in Kenya.

3.6.3 Community Mapping Data

Through the use of community mapping worksheet research assistants walked through the community area at different times of day taking complete notes at intervals during their observations. This way they were able to see the different aspects of community life at different times and places. The assistants noted the things outlined on the Community Mapping worksheet and thus it was possible to develop a map of the community which identified the organizations that serve Korogocho, the services available to people in the community, the road network, availability of health care and learning facilities, and the presence of security agents.

3.6.4 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions were used to provide the opportunity for collecting descriptive data from slum members who participated in this study. These discussions focused on community members perception of poverty, vulnerability and explored the most effective actions for communities, individuals, families, government agencies and other institution for poverty reduction. Each group discussed specific questions that were provided by the researchers. There were two facilitators for each of the focus group discussions. The author facilitated and provided support by taking notes, and checking that all participants were actually participating.
3.6.5 Data analysis

Data from the semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and relevant documents was read and re-read and coded in order to identify emerging themes and their relationships to the main objectives of the study. Frequency distributions were used for data gathered from households.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction
This chapter presents findings from interviews and Focus Group Discussions with respondents that are both qualitative and quantitative. The first section of the chapter is dedicated to data from household heads and is presented in tabular form while the second part contains data collected from the focus group discussions and other sources.

4.2 Levels of poverty
Our first objective was to assess the level of poverty of households in Korogocho. It is famous mainly for high rates of poverty, insecurity and other social challenges facing slum environments. Korogocho has many Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) working in the slum settlement. Most of them are human rights based and spend most of their resources in advocacy and human rights awareness. A few of them engage in development activities besides advocacy and research. However, in spite of the high number of NGOs operating in Korogocho since the eighties, the settlement continues to be as poor as it was many years ago.

The overall proportion of those living below the absolute poverty line by the administrative divisions of Nairobi in 1999 was 44% (GoK 2003). From the same results of the 1999 census report in Kenya (GoK: 2003), 48% of the residents of Kasarani Division, in which Korogocho lies, were living in absolute poverty.

Social problems have penetrated into most dimensions of Korogocho people's lives. Some level of apathy has been reported among residents who seem to have lost meaning in life and in the work of NGOs. This is seen through high rate of alcohol and drugs abuse, endless insecurity and teenage pregnancies. There are other related factors which have aggravated the situation. Many youths whose parents are unable to generate income for their family up keep since they are jobless or sick, turn to cheaper ways of getting money such as prostitution, drug peddling and other forms of crime. Engagement in illicit sexual behaviors which also leads to high rates of HIV and AIDS infection alongside other sexually transmitted infections is also as a result of the poverty situation in Korogocho and break up in family structures.
This apathy and a mentality of hopelessness is a hindrance to development. Realizing that a majority of them are poor and are not actively involved in economic activities which can sustain their families, some of them have become totally dependent on assistance from aid agencies. Food donation has become common in Korogocho with one NGO distributing cooked food regularly to children.

4.3 Characteristics of households

The second objective of the study was to establish characteristics of households in Korogocho settlement. Through analyzing the social and demographic variables, it was possible to infer on their implications on the poverty levels of the slum dwellers in Korogocho. The characteristics were household type and leadership, age, sex, level of education, employment status, family size, type of housing and type of fuel used.

4.3.1 Household type and headship

Respondents were distributed by household type whereby consideration was whether the household was a single-father or single-mother type, or if the household unit had both the father and mother. In addition, the grouping was done on the basis of the household unit lacking both father and mother. Such were the households headed by one of the siblings. The tabulation is presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Household type of respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of household and headship</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single mother</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single father</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father/mother</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibling headed</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results of Table 4.2 show that households with both father and mother present were the most common (50.8%) while single-mother families were (26.7%). It also emerged that sibling-headed households came third (14.2%) followed by single-father households (8.3%). This had major implications in as far as poverty levels were concerned. Other studies have shown that female-headed households in urban areas are poorer than other similar households (Oxfam, 2009: 9).
From the figures in Table 2, out of 120 household heads sampled in Korogocho, only 50.8% were father/mother type. This means that the other household types were likely to be poorer than the father/mother household type.

4.3.2 Family Size
The respondents were also categorized in terms of family size in order to establish how family size was related to poverty levels in slum settlements. The results of the distribution of the respondents by family size are tabulated in Table 3.

Table 3: Family Size of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household size range</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 and above</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this study, household size is taken to include the mother, father, and children whether they are biological children of the mother and father or adopted. From Table 3, 48.3% respondents indicated that they had between 3-5 members in their households and another 37.5% indicated they had between 6-8 members. It also emerged that a paltry 5% and 9.2% of the households had more than 9 and between 0-2 members, respectively.

It is also important to note that households with more than 6 members had 'other' dependants under their care. The explanation given by the respondents for this occurrence were varied. Out of the 51 households that had 'other' dependants, 66.7% explained that parents of such children—either single mother or with both parents—had died of HIV/AIDS. The remaining 33.3% gave different reasons ranging from family break-ups, to being abandoned by their parents. Such children were then taken in by relatives, not necessarily only from Korogocho but also from other urban areas. Household size influenced the level of poverty in that larger households would have higher poverty levels than smaller ones. This is consistent with other studies done on poverty in slum areas (Oxfam, 2009; Mwabu et al.; 2000 and Oyugi, 2000).
4.3.3 Age of the Respondents

The age of the respondents ranged between 16 to 60 years. The range in years is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Respondents’ age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Household Head</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 and below</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 and above</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the respondents were in the range of 21-30 years representing 40.83% while those between 31-40 years comprised 30.8%. The other two ranges, below 20 years and above 41 years were had 16.7 and 11.7%, respectively. The range of the ages meant that Kenya’s population has a very young age structure (Shauri, 1999; GOK, 1999; and Kenya Household Health Expenditure and Utilization Survey report- {KHHEUS}, 2003). In addition, with low levels of education in slum settlements, slum dwellers were likely to get married at a young age for security reasons in the form of means of livelihood. It also emerged that some respondent were the guardians of children whose parents had either died or abandoned them. This partly explains the household heads who were in the age bracket of below 20 years and above 41 years.

4.3.4 Level of education of respondents

The range of education attainment in this study was: primary school incomplete, primary level, secondary incomplete, secondary level, and college/university. The study established that all of the 120 respondents indicated that they had attended school. This explains why the category “No Schooling” was not included in the five levels of education used to categorize the respondents. The results are presented in Table 5.
From the results in Table 5, some key issues regarding the attainment or lack of education emerge from the Korogocho slum settlement. To be noted is the fact that despite the provision of Free Primary Education (FPE) and Free Day Secondary Education (FDSE) programmes, there were cases of dropouts being reported. For instance, 15% and 10.8% of the respondents had not completed primary and secondary schooling respectively.

The conclusion from these findings was that there were low levels of education attainment. This has dreadful implications on poverty not only in Korogocho but also other slums in urban settlements of Kenya. Low levels of education do not easily guarantee one employment and therefore this translates to low incomes for slum dwellers. With low incomes or none at all, it becomes difficult for them to afford basic needs.

The level of education attained has been established to be an important factor in employment and income Geda et al., (2005); for example Oxfam (2009) indicate that the educational attainment of the head of the household (in particular high school and university education) is found to be the most important factor that is associated with poverty. Lack of education is a factor that accounts for a higher probability of being poor. In addition, the education of both the household head and of the spouse appear to be important determinants of poverty. Thus, promotion of education is central in addressing problems of moderate and extreme poverty.

4.3.5 Employment Status of Respondents

Respondents were required to state the way in which they earned their livelihoods. From the various income generating activities the respondents indicated, the researcher grouped them
under: Wage workers, informal workers, and unemployed. The results are presented in Table 6.

### Table 6: Employment of Household Heads

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Combined Totals (Male and Female)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage Workers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal workers</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the figures presented in Table 6, the largest percentage (51.7%) of the respondents was working in the informal sector, 23.3 percent were in wage employment while 25% were unemployed. A closer look reveals that it was only 23.3 percent of the respondents who had a reliable source of income and an alarming 76.7 had no regular source of income. Those in informal employment were involved in activities that did not guarantee them day to day livelihoods. In this case, incomes generated were so minimal that there was no room for savings or investments. The slum dwellers therefore found themselves in abject poverty and tied to a vicious circle of poverty. This therefore means that the bigger proportion of the households sampled was poor and therefore unable to afford basic necessities.

Similar studies on poverty have shown that wage workers, whether in the public or private sector, are better off than informal workers such as unpaid family workers (Oxfam, 2009). We can also infer from Table 6 that there were more females than males who were in informal employment (54.2%) and unemployed (22.2%). This can be explained by the fact that from the sampled population, female-headed households were more than the male headed ones, this study by Oxfam documented that unemployment rates were high in Korogocho and that a majority of the unemployed were youth who lacked the necessary skills and education for formal employment. In addition, the study showed that as in other slum settlements, many were employed as casual workers in the formal sector industries, or in construction especially in the production of building materials including stone cutting.
4.3.6 Types of Housing.

Most of the time, a person's economic strength can be measured by his/her residence. This is because of the person's ability to purchase or pay rent for the residence. In categorizing the house types, consideration was given to the material used to construct the house. Data collected on house type was categorized into either permanent or semi-permanent. The results are presented in chart 1.

Chart 1: Categorization of household heads by house type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House Types in Korogocho</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Semi-permanent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Permanent, 31, 26%
Semi-permanent, 89, 74%

The results in Chart 1 show that a bigger proportion (74%) of the residents of Korogocho lives in semi-permanent structures. Such structures were made out of temporary and recycled building materials such as timber, mud walling and roofing. Others were made up of substandard materials such as sacks, carton paper and polythene. This kind of housing is worrying considering the level of insecurity in most slum villages. The residents are forced to stay in these structures because that is the best they can afford. The remaining 26% lived in structures that were termed as permanent with the material used for construction being brick or stone for the walls and tin roofing.

Besides the house type, the study also established the size of the house respondents lived in. The term size in this study was taken to mean the number of rooms of each structure. A total of 91.6% of the respondents occupied one room each, with the rest 8.4% only occupying two rooms each. Though this category of respondents indicated that they occupied two rooms, it was established that in most cases they had partitioned one small room into two. Most of
those residing in two rooms use non-permanent structures. This concides with documentation by the Korogocho Slum Upgrading Programme of 2009 which notes that “there is little formal infrastructure serving Korogocho’s residents, and most housing was built by families living there. It is made of scavenged or recycled materials (GOK, 2009).

4.3.7 Type of fuel used by the Households
This study sought to establish the type of fuel used by the respondents for both lighting and cooking purposes. It emerged that four types of fuel were used: firewood, charcoal, gas, and kerosene. The results are presented in Chart 2.

Chart 2: Fuels used by residents

Fuel types used in Korogocho

Most of the residents used kerosene fuel (48%) to prepare their meals. This was then followed closely by use of charcoal (43%). The use of kerosene and charcoal formed 91% of total cooking fuel used. The other 9% was shared almost equally between firewood and charcoal. The choice of fuel used was dependent on its accessibility and affordability by the residents. Conversely the highly used fuels were easily accessible and affordable to the residents.

A total of 60.5% of these residents mentioned that they used electricity for lighting. The percentage is almost similar to that found by African Population and Health Research Centre (APHRC, 2002) which was at 60.1 percent. This is surprising, given the existence of non-planned informal settlements. Most of the residents of all the four villages mostly use electricity for lighting. Without making unsubstantiated allegations, it should be pointed out that incidences of illegal connections to the power grid is quite rampant in the slums (not
necessarily, Korogocho) as frequently pointed out by the Kenya Power and Lighting Company.

4.3.8 Conclusion
This section examined the social and demographic aspects of the respondents. The study examined such aspects as the age of the sampled household heads, family size, the household type, as well as the level of education. Other attributes that were considered were employment of the household heads, the types of housing and their corresponding sizes and the type of fuel used.

4.4 Access and utilization of Social Services in Korogocho
Our third objective was to examine the access to and utilization of basic social services by the households in the study area of Korogocho. Data was collected through the focus group discussions and key informants. The researcher identified the emerging themes in relation to the last three objectives of the study which were to find out what the local residents considered as needs and priorities to be considered in the formulation of policies and programmes to reduce poverty, find out services and utilities that exist in Korogocho area, and examine access to and utilization of basic social services by the residents of Korogocho. The study sought to determine a general assessment of changes experienced over a time span of ten years in the various welfare areas. These included education, health, shelter, security, and water and sanitation.

4.4.1 Education
From all the five focus group discussions, it emerged that not all school going-age children accessed education despite the existence of Free Primary (FPE) and Free Day Secondary Education (FDSE) programmes in Kenya. In addition, even parents and guardians of children who went to school still had difficulties in retaining them in school. The major reasons advanced by the participants for this state of affairs was that schools burdened parents with different levies. This supports the findings of a study on the hidden costs of FPE which indicated that parents were still financially burdened though primary education in Kenya was still free (Wambua, 2008). From a focus group discussion in Gitathuru Village, a participant claimed that:

'The experience is that education in Kenya is not free...Parents are blackmailed to pay tuition fees for their children and also buy writing material. In some cases, your child is sent away from school if you don’t pay. Most of us are poor and since we cannot afford to pay, our children remain at home...’
Through the key informants and focus group discussions, the study also established that in some other cases, access to education (both primary and secondary) was hindered by inability to provide children with school uniform. It emerged that though children at times attended school without uniform, in some cases, pupils were sent away to acquire uniform as well as other basic necessities. To some parents, this was burdening since they were struggling to provide food for their families and therefore were unable to cater for the school needs of their children. These sentiments by the respondents are supported by a study by Oxfam in Kenya (2009) which documented that urban food poverty increased from just over 38% in 1997 to nearly 41% in 2006, while the percentage of hardcore poor rose slightly from under 8% to just over that percentage.

The participants indicated that schools existed in the slum settlement of Korogocho and that the majority of them were informal. From the four (4) focus group discussions, all participants were in agreement that enrolment, especially in primary schools, was high; a fact that conforms to data presented in Table 5. The relatively high rates of primary enrolment in the slums probably reflect the introduction of free primary education in 2003. However, It is not clear where such enrolment was taking place since most schools in the slums were informal and are not registered or recognized by government even though the City Council had recently put into effect a system to ‘formalize’ community schools. Lack of recognition has meant that informal primary school leavers have been unable to access secondary school education.

It is, however, important to note that even if enrolment rates in schools are high; this tells us little about the quality of the educational experience in the slums. It has been established that the introduction of free education in 2003, while highly commendable is itself stretching the capacity of most of the schools in low-income areas beyond their ability to cope. For example, at Ayany School (a typical school in Kibera slum-Nairobi), in 2006 there were only 28 teachers for over 2000 students (500 of whom were orphans), with an average class size of 98. In the same school 1,055 girls shared 10 toilets (Amnesty International, 2009).

4.4.2 Access to Healthcare

Through observation, it turned out that the environmental factors in Korogocho were poor and as such they predisposed slum inhabitants to particularly poor health, and consequently
they suffered from a high incidence of communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, diarrhoea, malaria and other waterborne diseases, as well as malnutrition. Participants in the focus group discussions indicated that the health conditions of the slum dwellers were at risk and in particular children were most affected. This they attributed to lack of sufficient health care facilities. For instance, it was only participants who were residents of Gitathuru who indicated that their village had a health centre. The health of the residents was also compromised by the fact that certain villages like Kisumu Ndogo and Nyayo were near the Dandora dump site.

Key informants and focus group discussions attributed the high infant and child mortality rates to the adverse environmental factors. The high mortality rates in the slums are confirmed by a study conducted by APHRC between 2003 and 2005 in two informal settlements in Nairobi-Korogocho and Viwadani which revealed that the infant mortality rate here was 96.0 per 1,000 live births in 2003. The under-five mortality ratio, meanwhile, was 139.1 (Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) 2003). Mortality in the slum settlements was exacerbated by the fact that the urban poor also find it difficult to access drugs from health clinics or chemists to treat preventable diseases, leading to high levels of inadequately treated cases. A participant in the focus group discussion from Kisumu Ndogo, stated that:

‘When you are sick, you buy medicine from the local shops. Only if you are lucky you will you recover because the medicine is not usually the right one...sometimes there is no medicine even in the hospitals, so they send you out with a prescription...then the chemists are expensive so often one has to make do without the medicine...’

This kind of situation in the slum areas is prevalent even with the changes that have been witnessed in the healthcare sector. For instance, since the year 2000, the government had a commitment and budgetary allocation to implement high-priority activities within the essential package of health services with particular emphasis on women and children under five years and to decentralize control over financial resources for non-wage recurrent items, and to improve accountability and transparency. Certain measures aimed at improving access to the poor, were put in place. A case in point was when charges for treatment of certain diseases were dropped while the waiver system has been enforced for the very poor (Government of Kenya, 2000).
4.4.3 Shelter in Slum Settlements

The study established that the housing conditions of the slum settlements are often deplorable. A high percentage of the dwellings are constructed of semi-permanent materials, and many of them are severely dilapidated and over-crowded. Studies have documented that in slum settlements in Nairobi, population density has been recorded as 826 persons per hectare. When slums are disaggregated even further the figures can become even more shocking: for instance in one slum settlement, (Kambi Moto) statistics show that it recorded densities of 1,347 people per hectare and another (Ghetto) a remarkable 2,309.59 (UN-HABITAT 2008).

According to the residents of Korogocho, overcrowding of the settlement structures has denied them proper access to services. From a focus discussion in Gitathuru village, one participant raised concern about overcrowding by stating that:

'The kind of overcrowding in this area cannot allow for the free flow of goods and services into and out of the slum. When it rains in here, we are often forced to walk through mud and sewage for up to 3 kilometers before we can even get a bus to work. The lack of roads means the police are reluctant to enter the villages, making the environment even more conducive to crime'.

Besides being overcrowded, participants also indicated that there was lack of on-site services such as toilets, water supply points, baths, or electricity supply, yet landlords charged high rents. This was confirmed by a key informant who stated thus:

'In sharp contrast to the widely-held notion that slums provide low-quality, low-cost shelter to a population that cannot afford better standards...Nairobi’s slums provide low-quality but high-cost shelter. The average monthly rent that we pay is around Ksh. 790. Although the rental levels vary considerably according to location, in some cases it is not surprising for it to reach a maximum of Ksh. 3230 per month in the slum settlements'.

Access to quality housing for the slum residents is inhibited more by the fact that the slum residents do not own the houses they live in. As noted in the 2006 World Bank study, in contrast to many other cities of the world, an ‘extraordinary’ 92% of the slum dwellers in Nairobi are rent-paying tenants rather than squatters who own their units. Unit owners are
mostly absentee landlords who provide extremely poor housing units, which are mostly illegal and sub-standard in quality, often constructed of semi-permanent materials such as polythene bags and splinter wood (Amnesty International, 2009). Even though the state of housing in Korogocho was established to be poor, residents felt that the quality of shelter had improved from carton wall houses to iron sheet or wood wall housing with a few permanent structures. The structures however still remain unplanned and social and basic services are hampered as a result of this.

It was also found that although the residents of Korogocho were generally regarded as poor, in this slum there is a hierarchy. There were those who lived in Korogocho because they have invested there. These were the owners of the butcheries, wholesale shops, bars, hair salons, etc. This category actually lived there to carry out business. The second category was those who lived there because life was cheap. Although this category could live in other middle income arrears, they preferred to live in Korogocho because of the lower cost of living in the slum establishment entails. Forming the third category of Korogocho dwellers are the very poor. Most of them are people who have been evicted severally, moving from slum to slum. Overall, however, most of the people who lived in Korogocho were tenants.

4.4.4 Security in Korogocho: Vulnerability to Crime and Human Insecurity

Participants who took part in the focus group discussions rated insecurity as still high. However, compared to the past five years, the security situation had improved. This they attribute to formation of vigilante groups and the erection of flood lights in the area. The study however established that it was not all the participants who were in agreement that the vigilante groups were providing security. From the four focus groups in Ngomongo, Kisumu Ndogo, Nyayo, and Gitathuru, opinions were divergent with some members in each of the 4 groups attributing some incidences of insecurity to the vigilante groups. Vulnerability to insecurity in slum settlements was ironically attributed to the security agents - the police.

The study found out that feelings of insecurity, fear of crime and violence were more strongly experienced by women more than men. These concerns were due to the exposure of women to sex crimes. Another source of insecurity in the slum arrears was from criminal youth
gangs. All participants were in agreement that criminal youth gangs were a growing phenomenon. A female participant claimed that:

‘Even though some of these groups are not necessarily criminal in all their interactions with the broader society, their association with crime, both real and imagined, is such that they warrant special attention...Members of these youth gangs were drawn from the disaffected urban poor...’

According to the residents of Korogocho, these youth gangs had effectively filled a vacuum in the informal settlements by providing a ‘security service’ to the inhabitants, who have little choice, but to use and to pay for it. In addition, it emerged that the youth gangs had strategies of violence which specifically targeted women. A majority of these incidents of crime took place within the settlements. The physical characteristics of the areas, such as uneven narrow pathways, open drainage channels and dark, unlit areas provided fertile grounds for muggers. Marginalized groups, particularly the unemployed youth were at the risk of falling into crime, violence and political manipulation, as well as being ‘fertile ground’ for criminal youth gangs to recruit members.

The general observation in this case is that such groups were actually one of the sources of insecurity in slum settlements. The overall conclusion we draw from this is that insecurity was rife amongst residents of urban informal settlements.

4.5 Perception of Needs and Priorities.

The fourth objective of this study was to find out local perception of needs and priorities held by the heads of households sampled. The study attempted to understand the threats facing the poor in the slum so as to understand their needs and priorities. It has been argued that the poor are ill-placed to take advantage of economic growth unless deliberate interventions are put in place to increase their opportunities and access to the resources, skills and services required for them to rise out of the poverty trap (Government of Kenya, 2000).

From the 4 Focus Groups, it emerged that the key needs among the slum dwellers in Korogocho settlement were unemployment or underemployment. This ultimately contributed to lack of basic needs (decent shelter, clothing food and clean water). The residents also pointed out that insecurity was an issue that needed to be prioritised. All members of the 4
focus groups indicated that there were high levels of insecurity. The vulnerability that comes with poverty presents a chance for manipulation and exploitation. This though mentioned across the board was strongest in Kisumu Ndogo and Gitathuru Villages.

Another priority was provision of social amenities. The existence of unplanned structures makes provision of social amenities such as schools, health facilities, social halls, and play grounds that are so basic become so elusive. Waste disposal was almost non-existent because of the poorly planned housing and infrastructure in the slum. This was an especially great concern to residents at Nyayo, Ngomongo and Gitathuru.

The key informants, just like other participants, mentioned poor sanitation, insecurity, little education, poor health, lack of clean water, constraints of doing business, poor housing, lack of social amenities and hopelessness of the youth as a great set back in the slum. Participants in the focus group discussions were in agreement that there was need for planning in the Korogocho slum settlement. Proper planning was regarded as a priority since it affected the provision of social amenities. For instance, it emerged from Ngomongo that social amenities like schools, health care facilities, play grounds, and social halls were insufficient and this was attributed among other factors to poor planning. It also emerged that proper waste disposal was impossible due to the existence of unplanned structures. This was more of a concern to the residents of Ngomongo, Nyayo, and Gitathuru. The views by the focus group discussions were supported by the key informants. For instance, the Chairman of Tunaweza Youth CBO indicated that “poor sanitation, lack of clean water and poor health were some of the greatest setbacks in Korogocho slum settlement”. This key informant attributed poor health in the slum to drainage systems which were either poor or even lacking.

The residents also pointed out insecurity as another key issue that needed to be addressed by the government. The focus group discussions indicated that the presence of the police in the area did not help matters since in most cases the police harassed the residents and therefore were themselves a source of insecurity. A male participant of a focus group discussion in Gitathuru stated:

“There is continued harassment by the police especially at night...The security arms are the source of insecurity in the slums rather that security for us slum dwellers. We are harassed by police officers especially close to the dumping site...”
In summary, the study established that unemployment, and underemployment were rampant in Korogocho slum settlement. Lack of planning in the slum affected the provision of social amenities like schools and health care services. It also emerged that the government needed to urgently address the issue of residents' insecurity.

4.6 Level of Services and Utilities

The last objective of the study was to find out the services and utilities that exist in Korogocho slum settlement. The study attempted to establish the existence of resources in the slum settlement through mapping. This was done through the assistance of 8 leaders, 2 for each sampled village. In Nyayo it was established that education was mainly provided through public and informal schools. Most of these schools that exist in this village were either nursery or primary schools. These were: Church Road Education Centre, Happy Day Self Help Group: Day care and nursery school, Big Pen Primary School, African Divine Church: Makao Juniors Primary School, Jambo Toto Primary School, and KDN Non-Formal Education Centre.

The study established that in Gitathuru village there were self-help groups some of which were engaged in income generating activities, while others were awareness groups on HIV/AIDS and poverty eradication. Self-help groups included: Gitathuru Kujiinua Self Help Group, which promoted their business through pooling their members' resources. The group had a revolving fund that provided loans to their members. There was also Together We Can Youth Group, involved in the cleaning up of the village. They also had water selling points, and operated pay public shower rooms and toilets, a cyber café and a play ground, all of which generated income. In addition, Gitathuru had the Korogocho Hope Self Help Group, a merry-go-round group comprising both men and women. Another self-help group included Club De Angels Youth Self-Help Group which was involved in theatre and drama to raise awareness on poverty alleviation in Korogocho and agitate for ways and means to alleviate it.

We also found out that quite a number of organizations concerned with HIV/AIDS awareness existed in Gitathuru. These included: AIDS Informational Centre and Beste Focused for Life. In addition, there was Care Takers, an organization taking care of AIDS orphaned children, and Korogocho Community Based Health Care (CBHC) an organization ran by the Comboni Sisters Mission that provided Health Care, drugs and food for HIV/AIDS and TB Patients.
In regard to education a few education centres, both formal and informal, exist in Gitathuru. These include: Undugu Society, an organization which gives youth basic education before placing them in vocational training institutions. There was also Kaola Tumaini Mission to The Slum, an organization that runs both primary and secondary schools. They also run artisan courses in tailoring and hair dressing for the youth.

In Ngomongo village, there were several groups that provided a variety of services ranging from education, health, and community development. For instance, Triple C (Comprehensive Care Center) a CBO that operated an educational center that takes in children from as early as day care level through nursery to primary school level. The center, also has training for youths in tailoring, carpentry, masonry, weaving, basketry and painting. Quite a number of other non-formal schools exist in Ngomongo which include: Kyeeda Education Centre, C.R.E. School, Grapes Yard School, and Revealed Orphanage School. Others include Great Hope Mission School, St. Prisca School, Chitegemee Nursery School and Ngunyumu Education Centre, which is a formal school.

Self-help groups also existed in Ngomongo like Badilisha Maisha Self-Help Group, a Catholic Church run organization that has Alcoholic Anonymous (AA) and drug rehabilitation counseling sessions. The organization also financed rehabilitated drug addicts and alcoholics while also training them and other needy cases in art/trades such as knitting of baskets, tailoring, and beadworks. There was also Korogocho Multi-Purpose Cooperative Society whose members operated at the Dandora dump site doing recycling some of the dumped articles. Another group was Baba Dogo Utifui Self-Help Group which promoted entrepreneurial undertaking such as the manufacture of leather products e.g. footballs, handbags, belts, wallets and also tailoring.

In the slum settlement, there exists a radio station which broadcast in the name “Koch FM”. The station broadcasts national and international news in a manner that appeals and is easily understood by the local populace. The brand of music and other entertainment that it broadcasts is mainly determined by the local people who are encouraged to contribute ideas as to the content of what they wish to listen to. The slum settlement also holds an annual beauty pageant (Miss Koch) which apart from looking for Korogocho’s beauty queen also involves a variety of cultural activities. The pageant has over the years attracted a lot of support and sponsorship from NGOs and individuals. These events give a different picture of
Korogocho besides the misery and gloom that has been brought out in studies done about the slum settlement.

4.7 Conclusion

Even though the mapping of resources presented in this study has revealed that there are quite a number of institutions that exist in Korogocho, they are not sufficient to cater for the needs of the slum dwellers. There is need to recall that Social and demographic background aspects of respondents presented earlier in chapter four revealed that residents of Korogocho were insufficiently served in terms of provision of services. This was also confirmed by the focus group discussions as well as the key informants. The overall assessment by this study on Korogocho slum settlement is that poverty levels were still high among the slum dwellers despite the many efforts both by the residents themselves as well as other development agencies.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

5.1.1 Social and demographic background aspects

The key attributes that were considered in this study were household type, age, sex, level of education, employment, income levels and family size. The study established that three types of household types existed in Korogocho. These were: father and mother, single parent, and child headed households. The most common type of family was the one of both parents (50.8%), while single-parent family was second in order. For the single-parent type, Korogocho the study established that there were both single-father and single-mother families with single-mother most common with a frequency of 26.7% while single-father type was as low as 8.3% of the total households. The age of majority of the household heads ranged between 21-30 years (40.88%) while those between 31-40 years (30.8%) were second. The study established that households were living in crowded households since the average household size was 3-5 members. This is because 91.6% of the households lived in single rooms. In addition 74% of the total respondents indicated that they lived in semi-permanent structures. The study revealed that households with 6 members and above had other dependants under their care due to death of parents through HIV/AIDS, family break-ups, and some children were abandoned by their parents. It also emerged that there was lack of or insufficient on-site services such as toilets, water supply, or electricity supply.

5.1.2 Education and employment

Another important finding by this study was that there are still many cases of school dropouts in the slum settlement of Korogocho, with 15% and 10.8% of the respondents having not completed primary and secondary school respectively. A bigger proportion of the respondents did not have a stable income since it was only 23.3 percent of the respondents who had a reliable source of income with 76.7% having no regular source of income. Through the focus group discussions, residents confirmed that some school-going children did not attend school due to unpaid levies charged by schools as well as the inability by household heads to provide school uniform. This was attributed to high poverty levels in the slum settlement. However, it was established that enrolment in school, especially in primary schools, was still high though most of the schools were informal and their performance was poor and thus many pupils could not join secondary school.
5.1.3 Access to health care and sanitation
The study established that the health conditions of the slum dwellers were deplorable and that children were particularly the most affected. This was because the environmental conditions in Korogocho were poor and as such they predisposed slum inhabitants to particularly poor health. Poor health of the residents was attributed to lack of sufficient health care facilities which meant that access to health care was insufficient as was sanitation.

5.1.4 Vulnerability to Crime and Insecurity
The residents rated insecurity as still high despite the formation of vigilante groups and the erection of flood lights in the area. Insecurity in the slum settlement was attributed to the vigilante groups and the police. Another source of insecurity in the slum was from criminal youth gangs. The study found out that feelings of insecurity, fear of crime and violence were more strongly experienced by women more than men due to the vulnerability of women to sex crimes.

5.1.5 Needs and priorities of the slum dwellers
Key among the needs of the slum dwellers in Korogocho settlement were unemployment or underemployment. Another area of concern that was mentioned by the residents as a priority was in the provision of social amenities, a situation made worse by existence of unplanned structures. Insecurity emerged as another key issue that needed to be addressed by the government. In addition, there was need for planning in Korogocho slum settlement. Waste disposal was also termed as a priority since it was directly connected to the poor health situation in Korogocho.

5.2 Conclusion
From the study, the overall conclusion was that poverty levels were still high in the slum settlement of Korogocho. Another conclusion was that the slum dwellers did not have adequate access to education, healthcare, housing, and clean water. It was also clear that Korogocho was insecure since there was total lack of reliable security agents.

5.3 Recommendations.
5.2.1 Policy recommendations
a. There is need for the government and other agencies to develop mechanisms for providing decent and affordable housing in the slums
b. The government and other stakeholders should step in urgently to address the education needs of the residents through construction of new schools and/or expansion of existing ones.

c. Government departments like NEMA need to tackle adverse environmental problems in order to address the serious sanitation problems.

d. There is also need for the government, City Council of Nairobi and other stakeholders to provide sufficient and affordable health care services.

e. It is necessary for the government to construct a police station and increase surveillance.

5.4 Recommendations

There is need for further research in the following areas:

a. The fact that this study limited itself to Korogocho slum settlement, there is need to do research in several other slum settlements to have a wider understanding of the poverty situation in slum settlements in Kenya.

b. The role of community based organization and self help groups need to be strongly supported in the fight against poverty.
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Tools


1. Who in your view is a rich person?
2. What are the major threats that the poor living here in Korogocho are faced with?
3. What in your view can you as a community do to lessen your levels of poverty?
4. What would you say the government should do to lessen levels of poverty in your community?
5. What of other organization such as the Church, NGOs and CBOs?
6. In the last ten years what changes have taken place in this community in the following welfare areas
   a. Education
   b. Health
   c. Leisure
   d. Shelter
   e. Roads
   f. Business
   g. Security
   h. Water and sanitation
Interviews Schedule for Household Heads

Name of Household head________________________________________

Village_____________________________________________________

A. Type of household
   i) Single mother
   ii) Single father
   iii) With both mother and father
   iv) Without both mother and father
   v) Other (specify)

B. Family size
   i) Own children________________
   ii) Other dependents under their care_____________________

C. Gender of the household head_______________________________

D. Age of the household head_______________________________

E. Education of household head______________________________

F. Age, Gender and Education of other household members

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<th>Gender</th>
<th>Education level</th>
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G. Income generating activities of household members

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<th>Gender</th>
<th>Income generating activity</th>
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H. House type
   i) Type____________________________
ii) Size (No. of rooms)..................

I. Household’s assets (Type and No.)
   i. ......................
   ii. ......................
   iii. ......................
   iv. ......................
   v. ......................
   vi. ......................
   vii. ......................

J. Source of energy (e.g. Gas, Kerosene, Charcoal, firewood)

K. Source of lighting (e.g. electricity, candle, lantern etc)

L. Household’s access to services
   Health ___________
   Education ___________
   Water ___________

M. Household’s perceptions of its needs

N. Household’s level of poverty.

Key Informant Guide

1. How would you rate the poverty levels of this community?

   Low □ □ □ □ □ □ □ High □ □ □ □ □ □ □ Very high □ □ □ □ □ □ □

2. What are the reasons for your rating?

   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________

3. What are the major welfare threats people of this community are faced with?

   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________

4. What opportunities do you see in the community that can go a long way to lessen the threats?

   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________

5. What role can the community members, government and other agencies play to improve on the welfare of the community?

   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________________________