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VOICES FROM THE SLUM
A study of perceptions amongst rural migrants in Kibera, Nairobi

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ABSTRACT

Migration and urbanisation have a great impact on many Less Developed Countries. However, limited research has been focusing on the relationship between urbanisation and rapidly growing slum populations. This thesis provides a better understanding of how rural migrants in Kenya are affected by their movements to one of the world's largest slums, Kibera. This study uses qualitative data collected from a sample of 20 respondents, using Netsayi Noris Mudege and Eliya M. Zulu's framework as its theoretical basis. The respondents were interviewed about their perceptions on their pasts, presents and futures. The respondents had different reasons for moving to the slum, and for many of them strong social bonds had an impact on their movements. Their places of origin were described as underdeveloped and with lacking opportunities, and by moving, the respondents hoped to be able to better achieve their individual goals. Most of the interviewed men had reached their goals and that resulted in them feeling a sense of satisfaction. Generally, this was not the case for the women who felt dissatisfied with their movements. The rural areas were of great importance for the migrants, therefore almost all of them considered moving back to their rural villages in the future. Unfortunately, for many of the migrants moving back could be seen as problematic.

KEYWORDS: Rural-Urban Migration, Perceptions, Movements, Urban, Social Bonds, Slum, Kibera, Residential Satisfaction

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 1 INTRODUCTION..... 1
 - 1.1 Purpose and Research Questions..... 2
 - 1.2 Delimitations 2
 - 1.3 Outline 3
- 2 THEORETICAL DISCUSSION..... 4
 - 2.1 Internal Migration and Urbanisation Theories 4
 - 2.2 Residential Satisfaction 6
 - 2.3 Residential Satisfaction in a Development Context..... 8
- 3 METHODOLOGY AND DATA 10
 - 3.1 Method 10
 - 3.2 The Respondents 10
 - 3.3 Secondary Data 11
- 4 KIBERA SLUM..... 12
 - 4.1 The History of Kibera 12
 - 4.1.1 Before the Independence..... 12
 - 4.1.2 After the Independence 13
 - 4.2 Slum Definition 15
- 5 IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS BEFORE MOVING 17
 - 5.1 Individual and household characteristics at rural areas..... 17
 - 5.1.1 Economic Factors..... 17
 - 5.1.2 Social Factors..... 18
 - 5.1.3 Education Factors..... 19
 - 5.1.4 Health Factors 20
 - 5.1.5 Gender Factors 20
 - 5.2 Factors at Place of Origin..... 21
 - 5.3 The Importance of Social Bonds Before Moving 24
- 6 IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS IN KIBERA 26
 - 6.1 Social Bonds in Kibera..... 26
 - 6.2 Location Characteristics in Kibera..... 27
 - 6.3 Individual Perceptions of Success..... 30
 - 6.4 Relative Satisfaction with Residential Location 31
- 7 CONSIDERING MOVING 34
- 8 CONCLUSIONS 36
 - 8.1 Suggested Future Research 38
- REFERENCES..... 40

FIGURES AND MAPS

FIGURE 1. The Figure explains the first stages of mobility decision- making: the determinants of who considers moving.....	7
FIGURE 2. The adapted model is explaining satisfaction for migrants in slum areas	9
MAP 1. Nairobi, indicating Kibera in the circle	14
MAP 2. Areas in Kibera.....	14

1 INTRODUCTION

Migration and urbanisation greatly impact many African countries, and this is partly because they are changing countries' population structures. It is widely believed that rural-urban migration flows are occurring faster in sub-Saharan Africa than anywhere else in the world.

Migration and urbanisation can be seen as two extremely complex concepts because of their ability to have an impact on countries' development and demographic processes. However, despite the growing awareness of urbanisation processes and the increasing proportion of urban residents, relatively little research has focussed on the relationship between urbanisation and rapidly growing slums (UN-Habitat 2003). According to Akin L. Mabogunje, this is problematic, and many of the people that are moving from rural to urban spaces end up in big urban slums where they cannot necessarily be a part of the modern urban sector. Instead, they often live without any type of security, health services and working sanitation. With lacking opportunities in rural areas, rural-urban migrants have remained an issue in less developed countries for decades (Mabogunje 1986:173,174).

Nairobi can be described as the capital of East Africa. Over decades the city has functioned as the region's financial and communication centre and many international nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) have their headquarters located in Nairobi. Because of the status of Nairobi, many rural inhabitants decide to try to improve their lives in the city but with lacking resources many of the rural migrants settle down in slums, and particularly in East Africa's biggest slum, Kibera. Kibera is located in the south of the city and it is home to up to a million people, many of whom live in abject poverty (SIDA 2010:1, Barkan 2004:88). Limited research has been done to understand migrants' residential satisfaction in large slum settlements like Kibera (Mudege & Zulu 2010:219). Therefore, this study seeks to explain why some people decide to move to one of the world's largest slums and if they are satisfied with their movements.

1.1 PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

There are many challenges regarding internal migration flows. People tend to move more now than ever before. For this reason, to be able to create well functional societies it would be of great value to understand the challenges that are created by people's movements (UN-Habitat 2003). A better understanding of people's movements can be seen as an important factor when slum-upgrading programs and development programs are trying to solve different issues that can occur regarding slums and urbanisation. The purpose of this study is to get a better understanding of why migrants leave their rural areas for Kibera, and if they are satisfied in their new surroundings. To be able to do this it is necessary to highlight the different characteristics of the migrants' movements and how their feelings and experiences regarding these characteristics are affecting them.

To better assess the migrants' situation, this study will also try to find out if the migrants will consider moving from the slum in the future. When asking about the future a better understanding about the present can be presented. In a development context it is very important to understand how migration patterns affect people and why migrants decide to settle down in large slum areas.

The main focus will be the migrants' experiences and attitudes regarding their movements. This will then be linked to their residential satisfaction. To be able to get a valid understanding for the migrants' satisfaction or dissatisfaction in Kibera different stages of their movements will be discussed.

To be able to achieve the purpose of this study the following questions need to be answered:

Which characteristics were important for the migrants when they took the decision to leave their rural areas for Kibera?

What kind of perceptions do rural-urban migrants have to their new surroundings – are they satisfied in Kibera or are they considering moving in the future? Were there any differences between the unemployed and employed, female and male respondents?

1.2 DELIMITATIONS

During the development of this dissertation, a number of delimitations were noted. The aim of the dissertation is not to be exhaustive. This study is limited to 20 people's rural-urban migration flows to Kibera. Unfortunately, to focus on 20 respondents can easily lead to generalisations. Therefore, a qualitative method will be used to make sure that such generalisations are not made. The reason for this is that the migrants' histories need to be told, and this is the case even if they are the only inhabitants in Kibera that feel in a certain way. Another limitation that is provided by this study is age. All the migrants were above 20 years of age when being interviewed. To only focus on adults can leave out valid information regarding children's feelings towards the slum. However, some of the migrants were young

when they moved to the slum. These respondents were chosen to make sure that children's views had an impact on the study.

Kibera is the main geographic area for this study. Only focusing on a certain place can be seen as problematic. Nairobi has many slum areas and the other slums may not have the same problems as Kibera. However, the scope and time limits prevent a comprehensive study that could go into the details of the complex circumstances of the whole of Nairobi.

Another geographic limitation is the respondents' rural areas. Some data will be provided to get a better understanding for the main rural areas but some areas will unfortunately be left out. It is important that the reader keeps this in mind so that the rural areas are not generalised. However, it is the respondents' feelings and perceptions regarding the characteristics of their places of origin that will be in focus.

1.3 OUTLINE

The dissertation has been outlined as follows in order to address different aspects that affected the research process as well as the migrants' situations. Chapter 1 aims to acknowledge different problematic aspects regarding migrants' movements. Furthermore, the purpose and the questions of the study are discussed. After the first chapter, it is important for the reader to get a better understanding of some of the theoretical frameworks that have been shaping the internal migration field. Therefore, Chapter 2 presents theories and frameworks that have been useful for internal migration studies. Some of the theories presented are not going to be used for analysing the data but they can help to create an awareness of different types of theoretical frameworks. The theoretical discussion includes the theoretical framework that will shape the analysis. The used framework will then set the headlines for the analysis. Chapter 3 will highlight methods that were of value for collecting the data. The interviewees will also be discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 explains how Kibera has developed during the last century. Introducing the background of Kibera before the analysis can provide further insight into the complexity of the issues concerning the respondents and their satisfaction in slum. The results that were found when interviewing the migrants are presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. As mentioned, the chapters follow the framework and Chapter 5 does this by presenting the migrants' pasts and the characteristics that were of value for their movements. After their pasts are presented, Chapter 6 addresses the migrants' attitudes for their current urban surroundings. The chapter seeks to explain if the migrants are satisfied with their residential status in Kibera. In Chapter 7, the migrants' thoughts about the future are in focus. By representing different time periods in the different chapters a better understanding of the respondents will hopefully be provided. Following the discussion of the past, present and future, Chapter 8 will provide the answers to the research questions. Furthermore, suggested future research will be discussed.

2 THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS

This chapter will present a brief introduction of classical migration theories. There are many theories that focus on internal migration and urbanisation and by presenting and discussing some of them, a greater understanding hopefully will be provided. However, although theories and frameworks that have been of value in the field are being presented they have not necessarily been used to collect or analyse the data for this dissertation. Hence, at the end of this chapter the framework that is of relevance to the study will be discussed. The aim of this theoretical discussion is to provide a framework that will be able to answer the research questions and purpose of this thesis. It is important to point out that not all of the theories that are presented will be able to do this in an effective way.

2.1 INTERNAL MIGRATION AND URBANISATION THEORIES

People have always been moving and migration has therefore been a studied subject for a long time. There are many different disciplines that are studying people's movements. However, in many cases, theorists have been inspired by, German-English geographer and cartographer, Ernst George Ravenstein's Laws of Migration. Ravenstein was active during the 19th century. His laws were focused on rural-urban migration in England. Ravenstein argued that work is the main reason for people's migration movements, and that migrants move when they expect higher salaries at their destinations (Castles & Miller 2009:21).

Ravenstein inspired Everett Lee, an American theorist that developed a migration theory in the 1960s. Lee tried to explain the volume of migration between places. This was done by using, so called, push and pull factors. The theory explains push and pull factors that are based on individuality. It was, therefore, seen as an upgraded version of Ravenstein's laws (Lee 1966). Lee argued that people respond differently to push and pull factors. The factors then decide if the migrant will move or not. The factors exist in the migrants' places of origin as well as at their destinations. For example, rural-urban migration has been taking place for centuries, but not all migrants want to end up in urban areas and although rural areas may often be seen as less developed some migrants want to move there too. Hence, rural areas have got their pulls, e.g. community life and relaxed lifestyles. Urban areas have their pushes (such as crime and congestion) and these can affect migrants' opinions regarding living in urban areas (Skeldon 2001:20). However, concentrating only on push and pull factors is too simplistic and can therefore be misleading (Castles & Miller 2009:25).

Another theorist that has been of great value for migration studies is the American economist Michael P Todaro. Todaro wrote many articles concerning urbanisation in Africa. In the 70s he published the article: *Income expectations, rural-urban migration and employment in Africa*. The article highlighted demographical changes (like a growing population) as an important factor for increasing urban migration (Todaro 1996:421). According to Todaro, urban migration has led to unemployment and underemployment in Kenya. A reason for this was that the country's modern sector could not provide work opportunities for a growing urban population. Under ideal circumstances, the modern sector should be able to provide a sufficient number of employment opportunities. These employment opportunities should then bring a more productive and efficient allocation of human resources to different sectors. As

long as salaries are expected to be higher at urban areas, migrants will consider moving. According to Todaro and Stilkind, the policies of neglecting agriculture in less developed countries for decades have had a great impact on internal migration flows (Todaro & Stilkind 1983:196 Todaro 1996:412,422)

In 2006, Sociologists Michael J. White and David P. Lindstrom published an article about internal migration. According to them, migration can be seen as a major symptom of basic social change. The social change is usually combined with a country or a region's fertility and mortality rate. When the rate changes, so will the population structures and this can lead to higher levels of migrants. Besides population composition the migrants attitudes and values are of importance for internal migration (White & Lindstrom 2006:311,315).

When White and Lindstrom studied internal migration they addressed two questions: '*Who moves?*' and '*What places grow?*' (White & Lindstrom 2006:311). Although the aim of this study is not to focus on the two questions it is very important to have an understanding of how they affect the movement to Nairobi, and Kibera in particular. The first question can be seen at an individual and at a household level. The answer to the question is often found in a set of individual traits that can be linked to socio-cultural context, economic activity, the life cycle, and policies that vary over space. Likewise, the answer to the second question can usually be found in comparative economic advantages across regions, demographic dynamics that shift either population composition, or the number of those likely to migrate. For this question, policy is also very important because it shifts the costs and benefits of location for people and employers (ibid:315).

Many Less Developed Countries (LDCs) have followed the rural-urban migration patterns that have been observed in More Developed Countries (MDCs). These patterns are sometimes determined by social and economic changes, and the changes are mainly occurring in urban areas, which make cities more attractive. In MDCs different technological changes freed up agricultural labour and that made it easier to focus on urban areas and for migrants to move. Many LDCs are still struggling and their rural sectors have not had the technological changes that can be necessary for a growing urban population (White & Lindstrom 2006:311-313).

White and Lindstrom argued that the rapid pace of internal movements is very complex. The urban migration rate that is occurring in LDCs makes the urban centres grow at a pace that is not necessarily good for the migrants, or the communities. In many cities the rate of infrastructure development is unable to match that of employment in the modern urban sector. Hence, this has created squatter settlements, highly concentrated poverty, serious problems of congestion and widespread deficiencies in vital services (White & Lindstrom 2006:316, 317). This is the case for Nairobi where there is a high concentration of government employment, financial services, commerce, and industry. Because of this high concentration, megacities are created and Nairobi can be seen as a megacity that is constantly growing because of in-migration. Much of the interest that has been dominating internal migration in LDCs during the last decades has arisen out of concerns about rapid urbanisation and its relationship with different economic factors (ibid:116).

2.2 RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION

In addition to the theories above, it can be of value to step away from the more economic approaches and their aim to generalise. In 1974, Alden Speare Jr. published an article on residential satisfaction. The article presented a framework, in which residential satisfaction acts as an intervening variable between individual and residence variables and mobility. The variables that are included in this model are age, education, occupation, life-cycle stage, home ownership, duration of residence, and location. These variables will affect how migrants act regarding their' movements (Speare 1974:173,174).

People are assumed to move if they think another place is able to provide better monetary benefits for the future. To be able to apply this model on migration patterns, one needs to assume that the migrants have knowledge about opportunities elsewhere, the cost of moving, and that they carefully think about the possibility of moving. A study in Taiwan showed that migrants were motivated by rational economic advantages. However, there were other factors that had an important impact on the migrants' movements. These factors were: the receipt of job information by word of mouth and the locations of friends and relatives (Speare 1974:173,174).

Speare is trying to answer the question: '*Why do some move when others stay?*'. He does this by developing an approach that is trying to state migration as a response to *satisfaction* and *dissatisfaction* (Speare 1974:174). To be able to understand this framework, the terms *dissatisfaction* and *satisfaction* need to be further explained. According to Speare, *dissatisfaction* can be seen as a result from a change of a household. The change can be in physical and social amenities offered by a particular location, or it can also be seen as a change in the standards used to evaluate these factors. The factors can be family growth, change in job opportunities, or changes concerning social bonds to other people in a particular area. The factors can then make an individual willing to move, but only if the person is unhappy with the current situation. The change from *satisfaction* to *dissatisfaction* can happen very fast. For example, people that are *satisfied* with work can change opinions if they hear that someone earns more money doing the same work somewhere else. When someone is *satisfied* with their situation they will not seek new places to settle down even if they can expect better opportunities. It is also possible for a person to become more satisfied without moving. This can happen when the person that heard about higher salaries elsewhere asks for a pay raise and receives it. Hence, if the person does not achieve the wanted adjustments, a change of location may be considered (Speare 1974:175,176).

According to Speare, people tend to be tied to places because of family members, other relatives and friends. They also tend to be attached to a certain place because of housing, job opportunities, and to a neighbourhood-based organisation or other local bonds. When people decide to move they are usually not satisfied with the factors that tie them to certain places. When the threshold for dissatisfaction has been passed, people will search for alternatives and they will evaluate these alternatives in relation to the current location. When and if a person finds a satisfactory alternative location they will probably try to move. However, it is very important to understand that not all movements start with dissatisfaction. In some cases the decision to move can be forced by job transfers, destruction of houses, breakups, etc. When this happens the migrant is forced to search for alternatives and then decides among them (Speare 1974:1975).

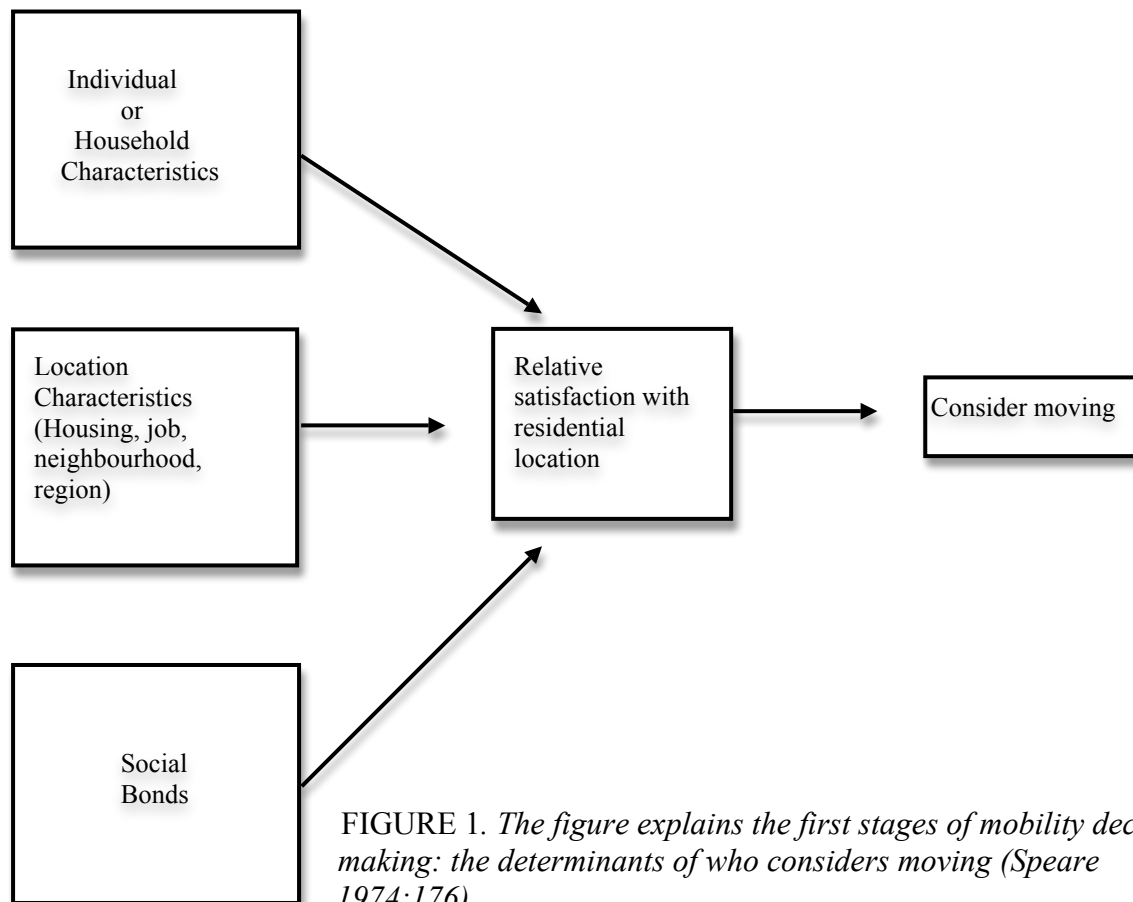


FIGURE 1. *The figure explains the first stages of mobility decision-making: the determinants of who considers moving (Speare 1974:176).*

When an individual or a household consider moving it can usually be based on a lack of satisfaction. *Location characteristics* are also very important when decisions regarding moving are made. The reason for this is that residential satisfaction is assumed to depend on: *characteristics of the household, the characteristics of the location, and on social bonds* (Speare 1974:176).

The social bonds that are of value in Speare’s framework can occur between household members, relatives, and other people that may be involved in the migrants’ lives (Speare 1974:176). *Social bonds* are very important when it comes to people’s levels of residential satisfaction and usually they take time to build. If people are living in an area for a long time it is more likely for them to have more friends there. A community spirit affects how satisfied residents are and if they feel like they are a part of an area and surrounded with people they like they are more likely to stay (Speare 1974:176). Besides friends, shopping and other local facilities and services will make people feel more satisfied with their residential area (ibid:176,177).

Migrants need to select an alternative *location* before they make the decision to move. According to Speare, the new location should have a variety of benefits that will make the move worthwhile. These benefits can include the advantages of a new and better job, housing unit, community spirit, a good relationship with neighbours, and the advantages of having more friends in the new area (Speare 1974:177). When studying peoples’ movement it can be important to include economic aspects and how they can affect decision-making. Speare explains that it is more likely for those who have experienced residential dissatisfaction and favourably evaluated the costs and benefits of moving to leave an area. The people that are

deciding to stay are either satisfied with where they are living or dissatisfied but are not considering moving because the costs outweigh the benefits (ibid.).

According to Speare, income and duration of residence are two other factors that are not directly connected with satisfaction. For residents that are earning salaries: income and seniority privileges tend to increase with age. This can lead to an element of satisfaction in itself and also enables older people to save and purchase housing. There is a pride of owning one's own home and those living in large houses are often more satisfied than those with small houses (Speare 1974:176,177).

2.3 RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION IN A DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

Speare's framework is focusing on a specific environment and to be able to use the framework in a developing setting it can be of value to use an updated version. In 2010, Netsayi Noris Mudege and Eliya M. Zulu updated the framework to understand migrants in two slum settlements in Nairobi. They were trying to focus more on individual and location characteristics (Mudege & Zulu 2010).

Individual perception of success or failure determines whether a migrant is satisfied or not. At the same time, factors at the origin may influence if migrants regard themselves as successful or not, consequently impacting satisfaction (Mudege & Zulu 2010:220,221). Therefore, to understand migrants' movements it can be of value to understand underlying aspects of their decisions before they moved to Kibera. However, Mudege and Zulu posit there is no direct link between satisfaction and background factors. Instead, individual perception of success or failure determines whether migrants are satisfied with their current situation or not (ibid:221).

Mudege and Zulu tried to explain slum dwellers satisfaction levels and they managed to see patterns that Spear's did not involve in his framework. For example, migrants in LDCs are not always able to move even if they are dissatisfied and want to move to find better opportunities and standards at another location. There are many reasons for why this can be the case. The lack of economic and related opportunities can tie migrants to certain places and it can therefore be very difficult for the migrants to move. In some cases people, usually wives and children, are tied to a place because of their relationship status. These migrants are more likely to be dissatisfied than independent migrants that made their own decision to move (Mudege & Zulu 2010:220).

Migrants can also fail to adapt to their new environments and they may therefore want to move back to their rural home or to other destinations. Even if they are dissatisfied, some migrants will also continue to reside in the host areas as they hope their living standards will improve in the future (Mudege & Zulu 2010:221). According to the framework, migrants' satisfaction levels will increase if they own their own house in the slum. To own a house can be seen as an economic aspect of success. For example, when people feel like they are economically successful they may stay for longer as they want to take advantage of the situation and generate saving for future investments (ibid:220).

When people migrate from rural areas to urban slums they might see themselves moving back to their places of origin in the future. Unfortunately, many rural-urban migrants in urban

settlements are suffering from high levels of under-employment and unemployment, as well as poor health and environmental conditions (Mudege & Zulu 2010:220). This means that it can become extremely hard for the unsuccessful migrants to return. Migrants might go back as failures or even in worse shape (both from a financial and a satisfaction perspective) than before they migrated. It may also be the case that the migrants are trapped in the slum and therefore do not have the opportunity to move back to their rural areas (ibid.).

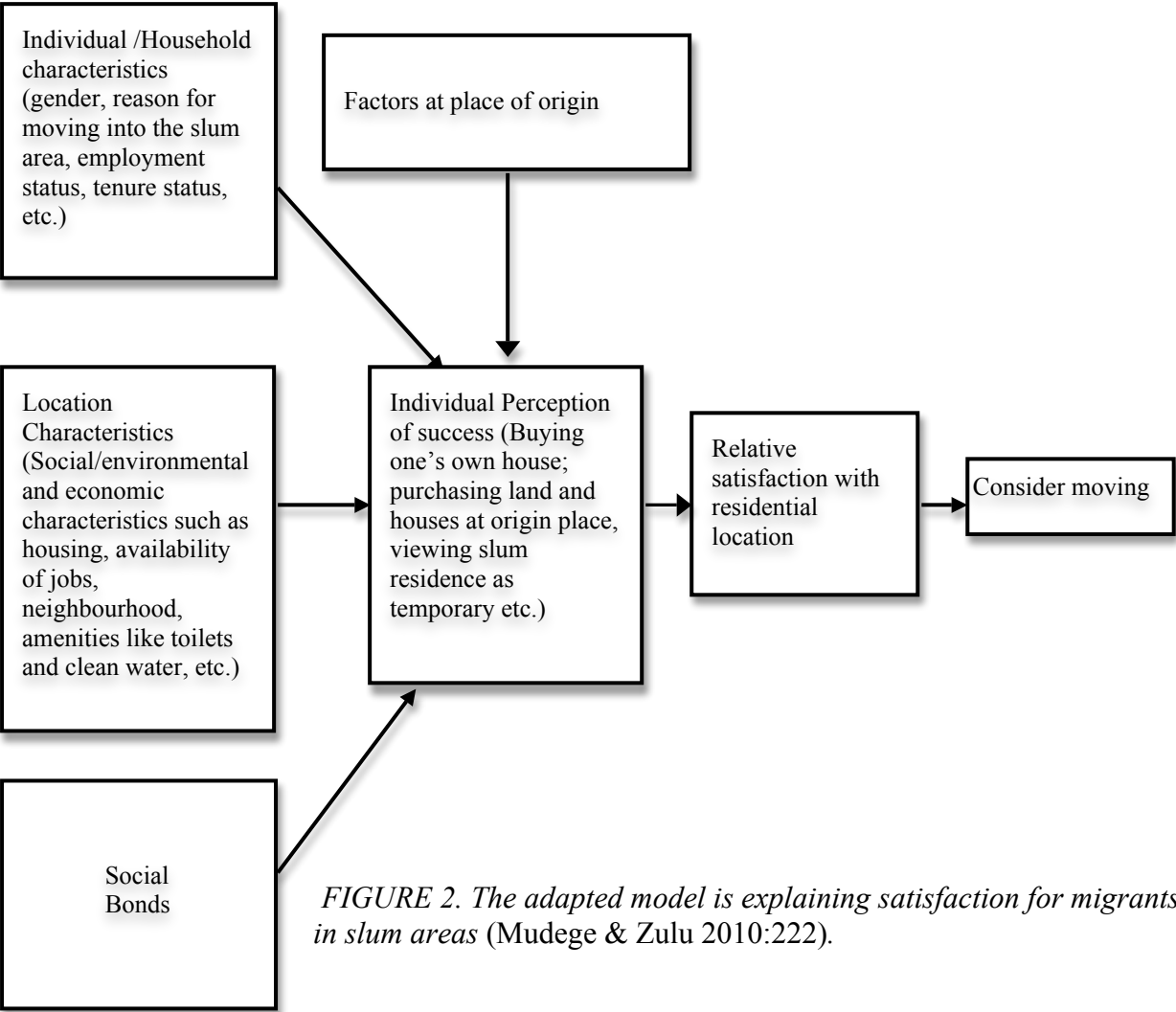


FIGURE 2. The adapted model is explaining satisfaction for migrants in slum areas (Mudege & Zulu 2010:222).

3 METHODOLOGY AND DATA

3.1 METHOD

There are many methods that could be of value for this thesis. However, to be able to achieve the purpose for this study it has been based on a qualitative method. Qualitative methods have their origins in social sciences such as sociology, history and geography and focus on micro-levels and this is one of the reasons why this method would be of value in this study (Mayoux 2010:116,118). Qualitative methods can make sure that underlying structures can be visible and that the migrants' feelings and experiences are in the centre. These types of methods are focusing on key informants, which is exactly what this study is going to do. The key informants are migrants and it has not been necessary to have a large and random selection of informants. Instead, certain migrants' stories have been highlighted. To use a qualitative method can also help to capture different local perceptions and this puts the migrants in focus throughout the study (ibid:117,120).

This study will also try to capture underlying meanings and sensitive issues and aspects and this is something that a qualitative method does (Mayoux 2010:119). Semi-structured interviews can help the informants to tell their stories and by doing this it can hopefully capture underlying attitudes and the issues mentioned above. These attitudes can be everything from taboos to personal feelings and they will all be relevant for the research questions.

The main source of information is interviews. To use semi-structured interviews can provide the thesis with necessary data about the migrants. It is important to be aware of challenges that might occur when using semi-structured interviews. For example, the interviewees might have hidden agendas and that can affect the study in different ways. Because of this it is important to make sure that the interview questions serve the purpose and help to answer the study's research questions. A semi-structured interview can create a discussion around a particular topic (Brockington & Sullivan 2010:58). This study is doing this by letting internal migration flows and residential satisfaction to be the main subjects. Hence, it is significant to let the interviewees tell their stories and some of the interview questions were therefore formulated during the interviews (Mikkelsen 2011:169).

3.2 THE RESPONDENTS

This study is based on 20 interviews that took place in Kibera during November 2012 and January 2013. The respondents were selected through snowball sampling, and the first respondent was found by contacting a local NGO. The NGO was in itself not important for the study but by contacting a respondent with a wide network other respondents were found. It is important to be aware of different aspects when using a snowballing technique, because it runs the risk of being very selective. For example, the interviewed respondents may want to exclude different people (Murray & Van Diermen 2010:43).

To be able to get valuable data more than 20 migrants were interviewed. Unfortunately, not all of the migrants were aware of the interviewee selection criteria. For example not all were from rural areas, and therefore the information collected from these interviews shall not be used for this study. Another problem that occurred was the fact that one informant could not speak English. An interpreter was therefore used during the interview. The respondent that could not speak English had moved to Kibera from Tanzania and she was one out of four that were not from the western parts of Kenya. There was no specific reason for this and it can be seen as a result of the usage of a snowballing technique.

The respondents were chosen because of their diversity in age, gender, and on when they first arrived to the slum. The study needed 10 female and 10 male respondents who all were over 20-and under 60-years-old. All the migrants had been living in Kibera for more than five years. By including a time aspect it was possible to get a better view of the migrants' relationship with the slum and their future thoughts on their residential status.

The interviews took place in Kibera and the reason was to create awareness for the informants and their environment. To interview people in their own home environment also helped to see how they act in their own setting. An interview is not only a verbal interaction, and it is important to be aware of behaviours, opinions, values, feelings, needs and background data (Mikkelsen 2011:171). By having knowledge about the aspects above, this study could provide an important understanding of the informants.

3.3 SECONDARY DATA

Although main source of information for this thesis was 20 interviews, a number of secondary data sources will be used. Collecting secondary data can be very useful when doing fieldwork (Overton & van Diermen 2010:42). The types of secondary data that have been used are articles, books, and reports. Most of the secondary data focuses on Kenya and Kibera, but in some cases more generalised data has been used. Two of the books, that have had an impact on the theoretical discussion, presented important migration theories. Besides these books, the reports that were used mainly focused on migration and information regarding slums. Some of the secondary data that has been used can be consider old. However, the reason for the use of the data is that theorists that have had a great impact on the fields of migration and development have written the books and articles. The reports and some of the articles have then tried to compensate by discussing current aspects of migration and development.

There can be a negative aspect of using secondary data of which one should be aware – someone else has shaped the material. For example, in 2008 the Kenyan Government published the Waki report on 2007 elections. The report had an impact on this study, and it is important to acknowledge that the Kenyan Government could have a political motivation underlying its findings. However, secondary data provides a better understanding of Kibera and Kenya and it therefore of great value to this study.

4 KIBERA SLUM

This section will provide an introduction to the history of Kibera. By understanding the history of the area one can get a better understanding for what the area is like today. Firstly, Kibera's history before independence will be presented. Although Kibera is in focus for this study, Nairobi's history will also be presented in this section. Secondly, after Kenya's independence in 1963 the country changed in many aspects, and so did Kibera. Therefore, it is important to present the dynamics of the area today. Thirdly, this section will also provide a better understanding of the concept of a slum. The concept is widely used in this study and it is therefore important to be aware of its definition.

4.1 THE HISTORY OF KIBERA

4.1.1 BEFORE THE INDEPENDENCE

Nairobi was founded by the British Empire around 1899. A reason for this was that the railway authorities thought that the central location could be of value for the rural economies and a railway could also help to build a successful trade relationship between Kenya and Uganda (De Smedt 2009:203). For this reason, the colonial authorities chose not to establish an industrial centre in Nairobi and the city was also thought to mainly be a residential place for non-Africans. However, in order to create the city they needed African construction and service workers and they therefore allowed male African migrants to stay temporarily in the city. To restrict non-workers coming into the city the colonial government decided to implement pass laws and the 1922 Vagrancy Act, which made it easier to demolish "unauthorised huts", and unemployed Africans were removed by force from the city (De Smedt 2009:203-204).

The African inhabitants that were working in Nairobi had to stay in designated areas (so-called "Native reserves") at the edges of Nairobi and these were in many cases separated according to ethnic groups. This was done as a part of a strategy to try and separate Africans, who were thought to have diseases, from healthy Europeans, and, also as an attempt to control all the migrants. However, the attempt to control migration flows to Nairobi was harder than expected and during the 1930s and onwards more rural migrants moved to the city as a result of them looking for wage labour. When the rural migrants moved to Nairobi more informal settlements were developed and Kibera slowly started to grow (De Smedt 2009:204,205).

The first residents in Kibera were from the Sudanese military service. The soldiers had been a part of Britain's East African colonial forces, The King's African Rifles (KAR). They had fought in different areas around the region to protect Britain's colonial power. By 1897, the amount of Sudanese, or Nubis¹, men in KAR were 256 out of 1050 and 15 years later the

¹ Many of the Sudanese soldiers belonged to an ethnic group called Nubi. The group was developed from an Islamized mix of Sudanese, Ugandan, and Congolese people (De Smedt 2009:203). The Nubis called themselves Sudanese so they could emphasize their claims to non-native status and military patronage. After independence they changed the label back in order to portray themselves as members of a Kenyan ethnic group (Parsons 1997:88).

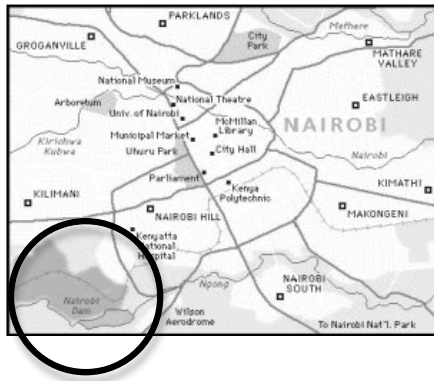
figure had risen to almost half of the entire battalion. Many of the soldiers were sent to guard the new railway in Nairobi, which made them settle in the city and in 1911 Kibera was founded. The area was named Kibera after the Nubian word for forest. The British Empire allowed 300 soldiers to settle in Kibera rent-free, as an “unofficial pension”, since they had been serving in the military for 12 years (Parsons 1997:88,89). Unfortunately, not all soldiers were welcomed in the area and the Empire tried several times to force people to move back to their rural homes. This was not successful and the Nubian soldiers saw Kibera as a settlement opportunity because they did not have legal right to claim land in the “Native reserves” and this led to them doing everything they could to claim their right to stay in the area. Many soldiers also thought that they had right to land because they had been fighting for the British Crown and that they therefore deserved to have somewhere to settle (ibid.). However, when more than the 300 soldiers settled in Kibera the tension between the residents and the government grew. The reason for this being that the area then was seen as too valuable and too near European settlements to be left for more than 300 Africans (Parsons 1997:91,92).

Parson argues that the Nubians’ control over Kibera can be seen as the main reason why the area still exists today. The Nubians had big families and many women and children moved to the area to be with their husbands and fathers. With more and larger families in the area it was easier for the tenants to define themselves as a group and they also started to identify themselves with Kibera (Parsons 1997:89). The higher number of family members also made the area grow. Another reason for Kibera’s rapid population growth was that the people living there did not have to pay any taxes before 1946 which made the area extremely attractive for a large number of rural Kenyans who were drawn to Nairobi in search of better life opportunities. Unfortunately, many of the rural migrants that moved to Kibera were forced into prostitution and crime due to a lack of job opportunities in the city (ibid:93).

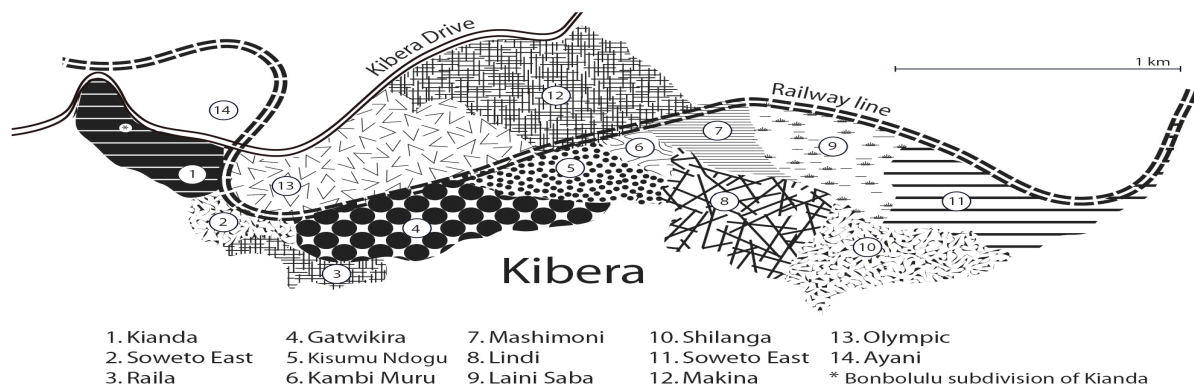
4.1.2 AFTER THE INDEPENDENCE

The independent Kenyan government had no intention of granting the land to the Nubians. After independence in 1963 they declared that the land encompassing Kibera was state property. Between 1963 and the mid 1970s the Kenyan government tried to eliminate slums throughout Nairobi, including Kibera. The Nubians continued to build and spread urbanization in Kibera by welcoming rural migrants from all over the country (Desgropes & Taupin 23). In this way, the capital’s population grew, as rural Kenyans wanted to be a part of the new urban Kenya. There are reports that estimate that Kibera’s population grew from 3,000 in 1960 to 8,000 in 1968 and to 15,500-17,000 by 1972 (Temple 1974:6, 23). The annual population growth rate is still high, and most of the people moving to the area are rural migrants (Schoutena & Mathenge 2012:818).

Today, Kibera is composed of 14 villages, namely, Gatwikira, Kianda, Mashimoni, Shilanga, Kianda, Lindi, Lini Saba, Soweto East, Soweto West, Raila village, Makina, Kisumu Ndogo, Olympic and Ayani (Schoutena & Mathenge 2012:818). Informally, different ethnic groups dominate specific areas within Kibera. For example, people from the Luo ethnic group mainly populate Kianda, Raila village, Gatwikira and Kisumu Ndogo areas. The majority of people living in Makina are Nubians while Lini Saba and Soweto east and west are mainly the homes for Kikuyus. Lindi and Mashimoni are both dominated by Luhyas (Kenya Institute of Governance 2008:198). All of these different areas are included in Kibera’s 250 hectares and together they provide homes for approximate 500,000 to one million people (Schoutena & Mathenge 2012:818).



MAP 1. Nairobi, indicating Kibera in the circle (KWAHO 2008)



MAP 2. Areas in Kibera (Dimova 2010:11)

Like most slums, a high population density - an average of 2,000 people per hectare - characterizes the area and this has affected Kibera in many ways because it does not provide the services that would be important for peoples' living standards. Lack of basic infrastructure and services like sanitation, water, solid waste management, roads, and electricity make it extremely hard for the area to function. Around 150 people share one pit latrine and up to 54% of the households do not have any type of bathing facilities. Because of poor sanitation people are using so called "flying toilets"; they do their needs in plastic bags and these are then wrapped and thrown like other solid waste (Schoutena & Mathenge 2012:818). Half of the population lives in female-headed single-parent households. The houses are usually 3 meters by 3 meters, with an average of five residents per dwelling. The tenants usually need to pay a monthly rent in order to stay in the slum (Itotia 2007:9).

Poor conditions and ethnical loyalties have led to rent disputes between the mostly Kikuyu landlords and the largely non-Kikuyu tenants. Some of the disputes can be seen as the most serious underlying causes of the clashes that happened in Kibera after the 2007 election (Kenya Institute of Governance 2008:195). After the election violence between ethnic groups broke out in the area and looting, destruction of property and arson became rampant forcing people to move to the "ethnic enclaves", because they were perceived as safe, as tribally aligned gangs took over and exercised total control over Kibera. Toi Market, that had been the main working and trading place in Kibera, located in Makina area which had housed over 3,000 traders before the election was burnt down and the social structures in the area were changed (ibid:198).

The post-election clashes were not only between tenants and landlords from different ethnic groups. Police officers have been criticised for their involvement in the violence in 2008. In the Waki report, published after the election, residents tell their stories about how they were abused by local police offices in Kibera. A pastor in Kibera stated how he had witnessed a police officer kicking goods left behind by some women, one of whom was asking him to stop, destroying her products (Kenya Institute of Governance 2008:202,203).

The pastor explained: *“As the argument ensued, I saw the policeman beating the woman with the butt of his gun. The woman fell down and the policeman stepped on her neck and started firing his gun upwards...since I knew her I rushed out towards them”*

The policeman asked the pastor if he was the Messiah who was trying to save the lady and that he should mind his own business and otherwise he would be shot. The pastor ignored the police officer but all of a sudden he fell down and woke up to find himself in hospital where he was told that he had been shot and had been in a coma for two days (Kenya Institute of Governance 2008:202,203).

Today, Kibera is still suffering from problems that were created in 2007 and the beginning of 2008. The ethnic tension is present and ethnic minorities sometimes are afraid that clashes will occur again. However, Kibera is much more than an area that suffered after the election.

The Economist describes Kibera as a “boomtown” slum where people are working hard to try and change their economic and social situations. Local residents provide most of the goods and services in the area such as tailoring, carpentry, accountancy and legal advice, which means that most of the economic growth stays in Kibera. However, life in Nairobi is usually hard. Because of poverty and bad living conditions the inhabitants are often seen as outcasts, as a lot of people from other areas in Nairobi do not wish to stay in Kibera and they cannot relate to the people living in the area. Another thing that scares people is the level of crime and illegal activities in the area. Shady types run all the electric power and the transformers, and they are often less scrupulous when it comes to safety and charge heavily. Today, Kibera has got electricity and that makes a huge difference for the area and its capacity to develop (The Economist 2012).

4.2 SLUM DEFINITION

The concept of slum is widely used and it is therefore important to address the definition that is used for this study. UN-HABITAT defines slums as urban households where a group of individuals are living under the same roof and where the slum households are usually suffering from one or more of the following:

1. Limited access to safe water at an affordable price and in sufficient amounts.
2. Lack of private or public toilets, and these are usually shared by an unreasonable number of people.
3. Lack of security that prevents the tenants from forced evictions
4. More than three people are sharing the same room
5. Limited protection against extreme climate conditions.

(UN-HABITAT 2011:3).

It is important to understand that slums are not homogeneous. Therefore, these aspects can change between different areas and even between people in an area. The degree of deprivation is dependent on how many of the five conditions that are lacking. UN-HABITAT argues that slums in Sub-Saharan Africa are the most deprived, with over 80 per cent of the region's urban slum households suffering from one or two of the deprivations above (UN-HABITAT 2011).

5 IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS BEFORE MOVING

The first part of this results section will focus on the factors that were important for the migrants when they first decided to leave their rural area for Kibera. Netsayi Noris Mudege and Eliya M. Zulu's framework from 2010 will be used to help analyse why the respondents settled down in one of the world's largest urban slums (Mudege & Zulu 2010).

5.1 INDIVIDUAL AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS AT RURAL AREAS

There are many reasons for why the migrants live in Kibera; some moved by their own will and other moved because they felt forced. When interviewing the informants it was very clear that they had great hopes for a better life in Nairobi before moving. The majority of the migrants moved in the late 1990s and early 2000s and all of the migrants had moved to Kibera from rural areas where most of them had been engaged in farming or fishing activities and looking after their families' livestock.

When interviewing the informants, different characteristics were found and these will be discussed below. It is important to understand that overlaps may occur across the characteristics that influenced decisions. For example, in some cases the reasons for the respondents' movements can be placed under more than one factor and the respondents will therefore be placed under the characteristic that had the largest impact on them.

5.1.1 ECONOMIC FACTORS

Economic factors were very important for most of the migrants before they considered moving. A few of the migrants were very young when they moved to Kibera and they therefore did not have an important impact on their movements. For example, Respondent 4 (M/23) explains that he does not know the main reasons for his family's movements in 1993. The respondent's mother was doing business in Ngong town outside Nairobi and also in Kibera. Therefore, he thinks her occupation led to them moving to the slum hoping that by them moving the business would be more successful. Even if the respondent was only 4 years' old when he moved he remembers it and he is grateful for the opportunities it has brought.

The rest of the interviewed migrants were over 14 when they moved to the slum and they therefore were more aware of the reasons that had the most effect when they decided to move. Many reasons related to economic factors. For example, when Respondent 11 (F/44) moved to Kibera, economic aspects were very important. The respondent's husband had been living in the area for some time without sending money to her and their children and she therefore felt that she had to move so all the children could go to school. Economic factors also had a great impact on Respondent 18 (M/37). The respondent left his rural area after suffering from

economic problems. A relative in Kibera helped the respondent to find work, and the respondent was able to start working in handicrafts as soon as he arrived in the slum.

In 1991, Respondent 8 (F/48) decided to leave her husband and children in their rural area for Nairobi. The respondent knew that they had to change their lives and she did not want her husband to leave their rural home so she felt that it was up to her to move. Her husband engaged in farming and he grew maize, sugarcane, banana and sweet potato. Respondent 8 (F/48) had helped with farming from a very young age and when she got married at the age of 14 she continued with farming but without good harvests and, after saving for the ticket for two years, she left. The respondent started to work in the informal sector in Kibera and every 6 months she visited her family in her rural home.

5.1.2 SOCIAL FACTORS

The social factors that had an impact on the respondents' movements were mainly related to their relationships with family, relatives and friends. For example, in 1995, Respondent 17 (F/37) came to Kibera from Tanzania to look for her husband who had been staying in the slum for four years. The respondent had not heard anything from him for months and he had stopped sending her and their children money. The respondent explained how hard it was to live in another country, not knowing what her husband was doing. She decided to leave Tanzania with her two children to find her husband. However, because of a lack of money, the respondent could not afford to buy tickets. A neighbour saw how the respondent was suffering and as she was also on her way to Kenya she purchased tickets for the respondent. The neighbour was moving to Kisumu, western Kenya, therefore the respondent went there with her. She stayed in Kisumu for a week and then she and the children took the train to Nairobi and made their way to Kibera. The respondent did not know where in Kibera her husband would be but thanks to the neighbour's friend she managed to find him. She was very happy to see him and by moving to Kibera she felt that her children would benefit from seeing their father. She also thought that her life would improve by being closer to her husband and having more money.

Respondent 9 (M/30)'s parents died when he was very young, his uncle therefore raised him in the rural area. The uncle of the respondent had lived in Kibera for 15 years when he was young so he helped the respondent to begin his new life in the slum. In 2002, when the respondent finally arrived in Kibera he was excited. His new life had just begun and the respondent finally felt that he would be able to contribute. The main reasons for the movement were that the respondent wanted to support his family, needed to work and he also thought it was time to start planning his life. The respondent has achieved his main goals and every month he sends money to his uncle who then distributes it to the whole family. He has also settled down and married a Tanzanian lady who lives with him in Kibera.

Respondent 5 (F/36) got married in her rural area but because of the lack of opportunities the husband moved to Kibera. A year after her husband moved, he called and told her to come with their son. Respondent 19's (F/30) story is similar: the respondent met her husband when she was working in a shop in their rural area. They got married and because they did not have enough money to create the life they wanted to, he decided to move to Nairobi. The respondent's husband was already a tailor and because of his skill he quickly found a job in Kibera. When he started to earn money the respondent felt that she could come and stay with him without being a burden. She therefore went to Kibera in 1998.

The first time Respondent 10 (M/29) came to Kibera was when he was a teenager. The respondent's school was closed and he went to Nairobi to visit relatives. At the time, his cousin was working for the government and the husband of his sister was working in Kibera. The respondent was inspired by the big city and its opportunities. When returning to his rural area he felt that he needed to change the way he was living in order to have economic resources to move. Together with a friend the respondent stole things belonging to the school. As soon as he realized that the teachers had found out they had to flee or their lives would potentially be in danger. Therefore, one Friday after school the respondent left the village and because he did not have anywhere to go he decided to take the bus to Nairobi. Because of his shame the respondent decided not to contact his relatives living in Nairobi. The respondent started to sleep on the streets of Kibera and his relationship with the slum quickly changed. After being alone without any money for weeks, life got harder and the respondent went to see his sister and her husband. The sister's husband worked in Soweto West and at first he insisted he must take the respondent back to the rural area so he could finish school but in the end they agreed that he could start working in Kibera.

Like many of the other informants, Respondent 14 (M/24), had relatives in Kibera before moving. The respondent had been staying upcountry at his parents' house. The rural community functioned in a way that the inhabitants helped each other and the respondent's daily task was to bring cows to the local river. But this disrupted the respondent's education. The parents of Respondent 14 (M/24) moved to Kibera when the respondent was very young and his grandmother had been left to take care of the children. However, with limited support from his parents the grandmother was struggling. Therefore, the respondent told his grandmother that he wanted to move to Kibera to be with his parents. His grandmother bought tickets and took the train with the respondent but returned to the village after a week in Kibera. The respondent continued studying in Kibera and he was happy with his education in the slum. The teachers and classrooms were much better than in his rural area.

After completing secondary school Respondent 12 (M/32) moved to Kibera. He was 18 years' old and thought that life would be cheaper and, that the quality of living would be better in Nairobi. Additionally the respondent moved because he wanted to help his mother but he also had an urge to live with people that were not from his own tribe and by meeting new people he felt that he lived in a more modern way. He was also tired of fetching water and firewood and wanted to find other work in Nairobi.

5.1.3 EDUCATION FACTORS

Education opportunities were lacking in the rural area of Respondent 1 (M/23) and in 2006 the respondent decided to move with his sister to Kibera. The respondent had heard about Kibera and it was thanks to a friend of his that he made it to the area. The friend was working at a school for orphans and he helped them to get access to free education (secondary school) in Kibera. The respondent did community service for six months after secondary school, and he started college when he was finished. The respondent graduated in November 2012 and is now looking for work in the formal sector but it is not as easy as he thought it would be. However, because of the lack of jobs in the rural areas the respondent knew that he had to stay in Nairobi once finished with the education.

Before moving to Kibera Respondent 2 (M/34) was living in Machakos district, in Eastern Province in Kenya. The father of the respondent was a hotel manager in Nairobi and he decided that his son was going to a secondary school in the capital. Because he had his father working in the city the respondent knew Nairobi quite well. The bus trip was only 30 shillings

(KES) back then – today it is 500 – and so he could go back to his rural area often. The respondent was happy when he was living in his rural area because he was used to the environment but he did not feel like he was moving to a worse place, only different. He already knew back then that he had to move. His rural area did not provide enough resources for him to live the life he wanted.

In 1991, Respondent 16 (M/30) moved with his parents and siblings to the slum. The respondent was not happy about the move and after a week he moved back to Nyanza province. The respondent stayed with relatives for years whilst going to school. When the respondent was old enough to start high school his parents told the respondent that it was time to move to the capital to continue his education. Therefore, when asking the respondent about the main reason for moving, education was definitely it. The respondent arrived in Kibera 1998 to start high school outside the slum.

5.1.4 HEALTH FACTORS

In 2004, Respondent 3 (F/43) moved from her rural area after being diagnosed with HIV. She had been working as a farmer and with deteriorating economic and health resources she felt that she had to move to Nairobi to get better treatment in order to survive. Like in many Sub-Saharan African Countries, AIDS-related stigma affects women who are poorly educated, have low self-esteem and live in rural areas with few income generating opportunities (Ganuck et al. 2013:2). The existing stigma regarding HIV/AIDS had a major impact on Respondent 15 (F/46) movements. The respondent was living in her husband's rural area where she engaged in farming. The respondent had been a part of his family for a long time but when he passed away, due to complications related to AIDS, she was not welcomed in the household and the husband's family chased her away. Because of the sickness she needed to move and she thought that it would be easy to find work in the capital. Unfortunately, this was not the case but she managed to work a little and by doing that she could provide education for her three children.

HIV positive Respondent 7 (F/38) moved to Kibera in 2003. The husband of the respondent had been living in Kibera for nine years but it was when she first started to be affected by the sickness that the respondent felt like moving would be the best option. Medical reasons made her move but she did not want to stay in Nairobi. At first, she thought she would go back to her rural area but when the respondent realized her health would need treatment for a long time she decided to stay with her husband in the slum. The respondent explained that it can be very hard to live with a man and that she therefore would prefer to stay with the children in the rural area.

“ Men control everything; money and even other things. This makes life very hard, because asking for money can lead to fights and other problems in a home”.
(Respondent 7 (F/38))

5.1.5 GENDER FACTORS

Gender issues have played a great part in why migrants decided to move and this is the case for both men and women. Gender roles can make migrants feel obligated to act in certain ways. In many cases, women are left behind to take care of agriculture when their husbands move to the urban sector (Momsen 2010:156). Even if gender has not necessarily been the main reason for all of the migrants' movements, many of the respondents' explanations involve the issue. For example, Respondent 20 (F/50) has lived in Kibera for 20 years. The

respondent moved to Nairobi to stay with her older sister. Her sister was working at a factory and the respondent was asked by her father and sister to go and help the sister to set up her life in Nairobi. She cleaned and cooked in her sister's household and after some years she met her husband and when the sister passed away they moved to the slum.

As was the case for second born Respondent 6 (M/47), gender can also have a major impact when men decide to move. In 1998, the 27-year-old respondent and his younger brother had to leave their families to search for better lives in Kibera. The respondent had never been to Kibera before, but he had heard about the slum and he knew that housing would be cheaper there than anywhere else in Nairobi. When arriving in Kibera he was happy. He felt that he had the opportunity to work and live in the area, which made everyday life easier. The respondent had been a farmer for his entire life but without much profit he had to start looking for something else to do for a living. When he first came to Kibera he worked as a barber in Gatwikira, earning around 1500 Kenyan shillings (KES) a month. The respondent mentioned that even if he felt satisfied with the decision to move, it was not easy to leave his wife in the rural area. However, when he had earned enough money he decided to bring her to Kibera.

Respondent 6 (M/47) explains: *“The village is not bad, but there is no money so I had to come and look for work. What else could I have done? I was not satisfied with our situation because I could not support my family.”*

5.2 FACTORS AT PLACE OF ORIGIN

As mentioned in the introduction, Kenya is often discussed as one of the most developed countries in East Africa, but this view is not necessarily based on living standards in the rural parts of the country. In 2011, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) published a report concerning development issues in rural Kenya. The report confirms most of the migrants' views of lacking opportunities. Nearly 79 per cent of Kenya's population lives in rural areas where they rely on agriculture for most of the income. Around half of the country's 40 million people are poor or unable to meet their daily nutritional requirements. The majority of the poor people live in rural areas. However, it is important to point out that some conditions have improved since the early 1980s, but even if that is the case the poverty rate has remained steady at about 48 per cent (IFAD 2011:1).

Because most of the respondents migrated from rural areas in Western and Nyanza Provinces, a better view of that part of Kenya will be provided here. Kenya's third largest city, Kisumu, is located in the western part of the country. Because the responding migrants' view of their rural area can be seen as biased it can be of value to show how the area is described by other sources. When reading about Kenya's development Nairobi is usually in focus. Nairobi can today be seen as a city that, according to economists and scholars, is heading in the right direction when it comes to economic development (IFAD 2011). Unfortunately, this might not be the case for the countries rural areas.

The rural economy depends mainly on smallholder subsistence agriculture, which is producing around 75 per cent of the country's total agricultural output. Western Kenya is good for agriculture and the sector provides the most jobs in the area. However, because of fertile soil the population density in good farming areas is more than six times the country's average of 55 people per km². The high population density makes it harder for the average farmer to invest and they therefore have to farm on limited areas of land (IFAD 2011:2).

The Western Province borders Uganda in the west, the Rift Valley is to the east, and Nyanza Province is to the south. Nyanza is home to the Luhya ethnic group, an ethnic group that is divided into various sub-groups. The Province consists of 19 districts. The rural parts of the Western Province are largely homogeneous, however there are parts of the province (mainly the urban centres) that have settlement schemes inhabited by people from diverse ethnic groups. Because of various reasons (e.g.: ethnic diversity, lack of land and poor living situations) several clashes have occurred in the province. One of the latest clashes was the post-election violence in 2007 (Kenya Institute of Governance 2008:162,163). Most of the migrants had already left the area when the clashes broke out, but some relatives were directly or indirectly affected by the violence. To live in areas where ethnic violence can break out can lead to movement because of a feeling of insecurity.

Nyanza Province, also known as Luo Nyanza, is located around Lake Victoria, which is Africa's largest lake. The lake is a biological hotspot with great biodiversity, which plays an important role in supporting the millions of people living around its shores. The climate is tropical and humid. The main economic activities in the region are fishing, animal husbandry and crop farming – focusing mainly on sugarcane, tea, coffee, and bananas. The Luo ethnic group dominates the area but there are some Bantu speaking ethnic groups including the Kisii, Kuria and a few Luhya living in the province. The province capital is Kisumu, Kenya's third largest city. Nyanza Province has 21 districts. Eleven of them are predominantly Luo, which is the ethnic group that most of the respondents belong to. The area has been politically active since pre-independence and its inhabitants tend to vote as a block for its candidate of choice, especially since the introduction of multiparty politics in 1991 (Kenya Institute of Governance 2008:173).

The informants describe the rural areas as underdeveloped and how the lack of opportunities has made them move. It is therefore important to acknowledge that many of the migrants would not have considered moving if their lives would have been easier in their rural areas. For example, when Respondent 4 (M/23) answers a question regarding his feelings towards his rural area he replies: *“That is my rural home. Why should I not be happy with it?”*. The respondent explains that his rural area is his true home and if the social, environmental, and economic characteristics were better he would have stayed. Respondent 2 (M/35) shares Respondent 4 (M/23)'s view, the respondent does not have a problem with the rural area. He explains that people get used to the environment in their rural homes but it is difficult to support a family.

Almost all of the interviewed men had finished primary school and secondary school before moving to Kibera, and some had also continued to study at higher levels in Nairobi. This was not at all the case for the interviewed women. Therefore, because of education levels, the interviewed men had better opportunities to succeed in urban areas where skilled workers are more attractive.

Generally, women are suffering more than men in rural areas and there can be many reasons for why this is the case. The book *Growing up in Kenya: rural schooling and girls* confirms the issues that were given by the female informants (Njeri Mungai 2002). Girls living in rural areas tend to drop out of school because of various reasons related to gender structures. The author Anne Mary Njeri Mungai highlights the clashes between the roles of women and traditional values on one side, and the school culture and expectations on the other. She argues that many of the traditional values still have a major impact on young girls in Kenya today and many girls are brought up to become wives, mothers, and cultivators. Doing daily domestic tasks can make it difficult for girls to meet education expectations and although

education is central to a woman's status, parents tend to have lower occupational aspirations for their daughters than for their sons (ibid). Respondent 20 (F/50) agrees with Njeri Mungai's view and when describing social structures in the village she focussed on gender aspects, and how they made her want to leave her rural area. According to the respondent, women are not a part of the development in the area and that makes it really difficult for women to change their social and economic status. Even if the law regarding women's rights to own land has changed, social structures prevent women from having their own land (The Constitution of Kenya 2010:24,42). Another characteristic the respondent thinks has an impact on women's movement is that fact that women always have to move to new places when they get married.

“Life was not easy when I was living in my father's county, he did not let me decide for myself. This is not only the way I feel, women and girls are not in a happy place when living in rural areas. The government has changed laws, so we [women] can inherit land, but it is still not easy – it is not the African way. Our culture is not easy, but maybe it will change.” (Women's situation according to Respondent 20 (F/50)).

Respondent 5 (F/36) and Respondent 11 (F/44) got married young and as a result they moved from their own rural areas to their husbands'. Their husbands moved to Kibera without them and they therefore had to stay to farm with their husbands' families. Poor harvests made it even harder to be without their husbands and in the end they both felt like it was time for them to also move to the slum. Rural problems and lack of opportunities in Kenya is not only felt at a grassroots level. In the 1980s, a reform process was set in motion and it led to significant changes in the Kenyan economy. Unfortunately, the pace of the progress slowed down in the second half of the 1990s and that affected the country's development in many ways. Besides that, population growth, the changing global climate, degradation of natural resources, and the political crisis of early 2008 have all contributed to worsening poverty levels (IFAD 2011:2).

Most of the migrants were smallholder farmers before leaving the rural areas. However, because they lacked economic resources, their needs were not fully satisfied. Respondent 12 (M/32) explains some of the local characteristics that made him feel like he had to leave. For example, even if there was food on the table there was not enough money to satisfy other needs, like education, health related, and housing needs. This view is shared among most of the migrants and, when asked questions regarding their rural houses, the migrants argued that their houses were not as poor as the houses in Kibera. Respondent 12 (M/32) described the housing situation:

“When leaning on a house in Kibera you will find yourself inside of the house”.

However, the majority of the informants did not have electricity in their villages, which restricted them in many ways. When it comes to amenities, the habits of the migrants were different from what they are when living in Kibera. A characteristic that was mentioned during the interviews was the fact that water is not free in Kibera. But, many of the migrants were not satisfied with their situations in the rural areas. There, they had to fetch clean water everyday and that in itself became a priority, which made it harder to complete other tasks. Because all of the respondents interviewed were from rural areas, the need for well functioning toilets was not that severe. The reason for this was that they did not have private toilet in their rural areas.

5.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL BONDS BEFORE MOVING

According to the framework, social bonds can be vital when people decide to move. As stated above, families and friends are extremely important and almost all of the interviewed informants shared strong social bonds with their families before moving to Kibera. In Kenya, it is quite usual for families to have two households: one rural and one urban. By having this, households allocate their labour resources between rural and urban areas to maximize net income. However, for this to be true the rural household should consist of the following: the husband (who most likely will move), his wife, their (biological) children, and other dependents living in the household (such as aunts, nephews, and so on). Generally, the wives remain in the rural area and engage in subsistence agriculture hoping to receive a monthly remittance from the migrant husband in the urban area. Men tend to have greater skills and they therefore have a higher probability of finding a job in the urban area and hence would migrate (Agesa 2004:162,168).

Many of the interviewed male migrants left their family members in their rural areas. The migrants agree that it can be good to divide family members to earn as much as possible. But at the same time a loss in social bonds was also described. Women who were left in their rural areas have not always been happy about their situations. Staying in the husband's village with his family can be stressful because of social structures that make the male family members the head of the household.

But not only men left families behind - it can also be the other way around with women moving to urban centres. When interviewing Respondent 8 (F/48), the respondent made it clear that leaving her family, husband and children, behind was the worst thing she has ever done and if it was not for their future the respondent would never have considered it. But the benefits of living in an urban area outweighed the costs for the respondent.

Even if people tend to earn more money in urban areas than rural ones, low skilled workers do not necessarily earn enough money to pay for food and rent. This can be seen as a major problem. In Kenya salaries are assumed to be the only monetary income for a household and when someone does not earn enough in the urban sector it will affect their abilities to live a satisfied life more than it would do if the person still was living in a rural area (Agesa 2004:164)

Social bonds had a major impact on all of the migrants. Many of the respondents moved because of pressure, they felt that they had to leave to help to improve their rural families' situations. Social bonds were also important for the location. Most of the migrants had some kind of social relationship with relatives or friends living in Kibera before they moved. Some moved with their core families, (parents, children, and partners), whilst others moved with uncles, cousins and friends. For example, Respondent 1 (M/23), an orphan, moved to Kibera in 2006 after a friend told him that he could help him and his twin sister with their education. Respondent 12 (M/32) also had a social connection to Kibera. He had heard about Kibera through his cousin and uncle that were living and working in the area. They told him that the location was very good (walking distance to the city centre) and that food and housing were cheap. According to Respondent 12 (M/32), if social bonds did not exist between him and relatives in Kibera the respondent would not have moved. This view is shared by a few of the migrants that mainly moved because of either husbands or other close relatives who lived in Kibera. Respondent 5 (F/36) moved because her husband had moved to Kibera as a result of

his cousin and brother living in the area. After the respondent moved, her sister decided to come to Kibera. Respondent 5 (F/36)'s sister Respondent 3 (F/43) moved to Kibera in 2004. The respondent had never visited her sister and her sister's husband, but when her husband passed away in her rural area, the respondent felt that she had to provide a better future for her children. Leaving her rural area was not very hard. Respondent 3 (F/43) was staying in her husband's village and, without him, she did not feel like staying and living under her parents-in-law's rules.

The majority of migrants (16 out of 20) were born in Western parts of Kenya (Western and Nyanza Provinces) and because of the distance to Kibera most of them took a bus or a train to reach their new homes. By settling down a "bus drive" away the respondents could maintain social bonds with their families left behind in the rural areas. For Respondent 17 (F/37), the trip from Tanzania was more difficult. She had to take the bus to Mara province, and from there the border could be crossed. Besides luggage, two small children also accompanied the respondent on the trip. By that time, a ticket for the bus to the border was 200 Kenyan shillings (KES) and to take the train from the Kenyan side to Kisumu was 800 KES. Because of the distance to Tanzania and her lack of money, it has been hard for the respondent to visit her family in Mwanza province and the social bonds that were once very strong are slowly disappearing.

For Respondent 13 (F/38) the social bonds with her rural area are gone. After moving to the slum, she lost all contact with her relatives in her rural area. Therefore, she does not have anything to go back to and when she travels upcountry she does not feel a sense of belonging. If the respondent would decide to move back to a rural area it would not be to her deceased husband's village. By moving to her own rural area Respondent 13 (F/38) is breaking a norm that would not be acceptable to many of the other migrants.

6 IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS IN KIBERA

After stating why the migrants moved to Kibera it can be of value to present their current feelings and attitudes for the area. Many of the migrants were looking forward to moving to Kibera. For them, Kibera was an area that would help them to live better lives with more opportunities. However, not all were satisfied with their movements and this chapter will therefore present different migrants' stories.

6.1 SOCIAL BONDS IN KIBERA

The existing community spirit has made it easier for the migrants to feel a sense of belonging to the area, and some of the migrants feel like Kibera is the place for them within Nairobi. However, all of the respondents think that the area is overpopulated. With new people moving in, the social structures can change and this is something that most respondents highlighted. According to Respondent 6 (M/41), conflicts often occur as a result of the inhabitants' pressured living situations. Apart from this, ethnic differences can also lead to clashes, such as the post-election violence in 2007. Respondent 12 (M/32) has had experiences with problems related to ethnic belonging. The respondent mentioned that to be a Kikuyu in Kibera can be hard, but it is getting better and today there is a major difference when it comes to respect between people. In 2007, the inhabitants of Kibera could feel that something horrendous was going to happen; this has changed. However, Respondent 7 (F/38) feels like it is harder for people with really dark skin to live in the area. Besides this, it can be hard to have friends from outside Kibera, and even more so "white European" friends. Many times Respondent 7 (F/38) has felt threatened by criminal gangs when having people from outside Kibera visiting. Respondent 10 (M/29) agrees with Respondent 12 (M/32) that the political climate has changed in Kibera and the people in the community think that they "are in it together". They feel like they have to help each other to overcome obstacles. When people can identify with each other they create a sense of belonging and the Respondent 12 (M/32) thinks this is of great value because, *"in a democracy, when you are many you usually also have an ability to influence different kinds of power"*. Other respondents recognise that many people living in Nairobi think that the inhabitants of Kibera are all criminals. The migrants argue that the feeling of not being a part of the rest of Nairobi makes them feel dissatisfied.

Even if the migrants think there are too many people living in the area, the community spirit is something that makes them feel at home. Having friends and relatives around can make life easier to live. As mentioned in section 5.3, friends and relatives can be helpful when needing to find a new job. Most of the respondents were satisfied with the people in Kibera. However, some respondents' feel like there are people in Kibera that can affect the community in a negative way. Respondent 4 (M/23) has got an Internet café in the slum and he therefore depends on his customers. Some of the customers, mostly inhabitants that were born in the slum, lack the interest to change the area. Instead, they are involved in criminal activities and they make the slum worse. According to the respondent, the inhabitants that were born in Kibera do not have the same desire to move.

Whatever reasons make the respondents in Kibera come together (outside people's opinions, the migrations flows, shared backgrounds, and shared present economic and social situations) the migrants describe a genuine community spirit. For example, according to Respondent 19 (F/30) Kibera is a place where people from the whole of Kenya, but mainly those from the western parts of the country, come together. Therefore, there are many factors that help the social bonds in the area. The respondents all state that social bonds are also very important for Kibera and without them it would be harder to settle down in the slum. The social bonds also help to create work for many of the respondents. When being new in the area the respondents did not feel like they belonged but because of the lack of space in between houses, the sharing of toilets and of water tanks people have to come together to make the area work as well as possible. Respondent 15 (F/46) acknowledges this and for her the interaction in the area is very important and she feels that it is working in a well-functioned way.

To interact with each other in Kibera can be of great value when it comes to work. Almost all of the migrants that were working during the time of the interviews worked in or on the boundary of the slum. Therefore, having strong social bonds provides the respondents with better work opportunities. All of the interviewed migrants except Respondent 2 (M/35) work in the informal sector in Kibera and for them the people around them can be their colleagues and more importantly their customers and clients. For example, Respondent 13 (F/38) worked as a hairdresser and her social bonds to people living in Kibera affected her ability to meet clients.

6.2 LOCATION CHARACTERISTICS IN KIBERA

Every inhabited area has got social, environmental and economic characteristics. The characteristics can be, amongst others, housing, amenities like toilets and clean water, availability of jobs, feelings regarding a neighbourhood and education opportunities (Mudege & Zulu 2010). By recognising the characteristics of Kibera, a better understanding of the migrants' attitudes concerning their new surroundings can be created. All of the migrants have got strong opinions about their surroundings and this section will discuss some of these opinions.

The migrants were concerned with the quality of the houses in Kibera. All of the migrants live in typical houses for the area: sheds with corrugated iron roofs. The respondents had very strong opinions about the quality of the houses. An issue for the migrants was paying rent for the houses in Kibera. They were all very concerned about the amount they had to pay every month for the very poor quality houses. For example, before Respondent 9 (M/30) arrived in the slum he thought that he would arrive to a metropolitan area in which there would be endless opportunities to reach economic stability.

“Nairobi was special for the people in my rural area. According to us, Nairobi was thought to be a clean place with fresh water. Houses in Nairobi were supposed to be of good standards and I even thought I would live in a house next to the president. I was happy when I first came with the bus downtown, but after taking a matatu [local transportation] to Kibera my feelings changed. It was raining, Kibera was muddy and houses were leaking. My first impression of the slum changed me, I was so depressed and for some time I could not eat”
(Respondent 9 (M/30)'s first experience with Kibera)

When interviewing the respondents, a reoccurring subject was the weather and how it affects the slum in an extremely negative way. Respondent 15 (F/46) lives in a one-bedroom house in Kianda with her three children. The house has not got any sanitation facilities such as toilets or running water. To live in a house without working facilities makes life difficult. During the rainy nights it is hard to go to the public toilets and they therefore have to make do with plastic bags. The respondent describes this and states that no human being should have to feel humiliated in their own home environment.

Most houses in Kibera are home to families with many children and that makes it hard to have privacy. The respondent shares a bed with her children. Besides this, the construction of the house affects the family. When it rains it leaks into the house and onto the bed. All of the family members are HIV positive and by having water leaking into the house the possibility for them getting sick increases.

There are just a few areas, for example Olympic, within Kibera that have got access to water that does not come from public tanks. When moving to Kibera the respondents were of the opinion that they would have access to different amenities like infrastructure and services such as water, electricity, sanitation services, roads and waste management. However, the area has poor availability of all of the above services (Schouten & Mathenga 2010:818). Unfortunately, the migrants' hopes of better living standards therefore were not achieved when moving to Kibera and this has led to great disappointment among the interviewees.

As mentioned in section 4, Kibera has changed in the last decade. Today, most households in the slum have electrical supply (The Economist 2012). This has changed the inhabitants' ways of living. For example, it is now possible to have lights and televisions, which make it easier for people to feel satisfied in their home environments. By having the ability to live in Kibera with some types of services, some of the migrants felt like there is a capacity for the area to develop further. One of the respondents that shared this view was Respondent 1 (M/23). The respondent has got a college degree in electronics and could afford to move to another neighbourhood in Nairobi. However, even though the respondent has earned enough money to move he does not wish to leave the slum.

When interviewed, at least 10 of the respondents were HIV positive and to live in Kibera has made their lives easier compared to their rural areas. The main reason for this is that the area has got several available health centres. When the respondents get sick they have the opportunity to get treatment. The health centres were located within walking distance from the informants' homes. However, the health centres are not open during the night so if the migrants were sick during the nights they had to travel to Nairobi Hospital or to private hospitals where they had to pay to get treatment. Respondent 7 (F/38) discussed the complexity to live with HIV in an area like Kibera. For example, even if there are health centres there are not enough to help all of the people in the area. Because of the high population density more centres should exist in the slum. According to the interviewee the attitudes towards people suffering from the disease are much better in Kibera. People talk freely about the virus and that helps the sick inhabitants.

Education characteristics had an indirect or direct impact on the migrants that were children or had children when they moved to Kibera. For them, the education opportunities were better in Kibera than in the rural areas. Respondent 1 (M/23) has not gone to school in Kibera but as the youngest respondent he feels that he knows what the schools in the area are like. According to the respondent, the schools in Kibera are much better than in rural areas. The reason for this is mainly because of the teachers. The teachers in Kibera are much better than

in the rural areas. Besides more qualified teachers, the short distance makes it easier for the pupils to walk to school. Respondent 20 (F/50) agrees with respondent 1 (M/23), but according to Respondent 20 (F/50) there is also a complexity regarding HIV positive children. These children need to go to schools that can make sure that their vulnerable situations are taken into account.

A topic that all of the female respondents discussed were school fees, however, Respondent 20 (F/50) shared her view by discussing orphans. Orphans (in this case, mainly girls) in Kibera do not always get the help they need to go to school and many of them sell themselves to so called “Sugar Daddies” for 100 to 200 KES. This is very problematic and can lead to the young girls getting infected by e.g. HIV.

The migrants that could afford to send their children to schools outside Kibera did so. For example, some of the respondents that worked on a regular basis sent their children to schools in their rural areas. By doing this they feel like their children will learn about the rural areas and the traditions that exist there. Respondent 16 (M/30) earns enough money to afford to send his children to a better school outside the slum. According to this respondent the education in Kibera is lacking compared to other schools in Nairobi.

Even if Kibera can be seen as a vibrant boomtown slum where economic activity is very high, the migrants recognised problems regarding jobs in Kibera. The reason for this is because the local residents provide most of the goods and services in the area (The Economist). 90 percent of the men were working when being interviewed and 8 of them worked in Kibera. For example, Respondent 2 (M/32) worked within Kibera for an NGO that is trying to create social awareness in the area.

Most of the interviewed men worked in the informal sector with handicrafts. Respondent 6 (M/47) explains that by working with handicrafts he could adjust his workload when needed. However, to be able to accept big orders the respondent’s family members had to help during hectic periods. The respondent is satisfied with both working and living in Kibera. By doing this, the respondent feels like big orders can be completed and, on top of this, time can be spent with family and friends. Respondent 18 (M/37) has got a workshop in Soweto East. The respondent is also working with handicraft (similar to Respondent 6 (M/47)), but by having a well-functioning workshop the customers can purchase the items directly from the respondent, which means the respondent earns more money than Respondent 6 (M/47). The respondent that earns the most money is Respondent 16 (M/30) – the only migrant that regularly works outside the slum.

The interviewed women did not share the men’s view of the availability of jobs in Kibera. According to all of the women it is hard to find jobs in the slum. The female respondents did not work on a regular basis but when they worked they did low-skilled casual work like cleaning, washing clothes and braiding hair. Respondent 17 (F/37) was not satisfied with the work situation in Kibera. The respondent washes clothes and cleans for people that live in estate buildings around the slum. However, because of the competition between casual workers, the respondent does not work daily. For a 6-hour working day, the respondent can earn around 500 KES.

Another respondent that is suffering because of hard working conditions is Respondent 15 (F/46). Because of the respondent’s health status casual work can be extremely hard. When washing clothes the water is usually very cold and once the result of washing led to the respondent being sick for weeks. The respondent has started working for different

organisations in the area a few times a month instead of relying on casual work. The organisations pay the respondent around 1000 KES per day when the respondent informs the inhabitants about HIV and AIDS.

6.3 INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS OF SUCCESS

This section will discuss the respondents' individual perceptions of success. The main focus will be on the informants' approach to success and their relationship with the concept. The main reasons for movements have been stated in section 5.1 and they will therefore not be deeply analysed. However, some of the factors can be important in order to get a better understanding for the respondents' perceptions of success in Kibera. The respondents discussed the lack of opportunities as the main reason for why they left their rural areas but they still thought there were benefits within the rural areas. For example, it was easier for the respondents to keep their living costs down. Although life could be easier in some aspects, all of the respondents were living with their relatives in their rural areas and they did not feel very successful with their working statuses. By studying individual perception of success it is possible to determine whether a person is satisfied or not. Besides this, factors at origin place may influence whether migrants regard themselves as successful or not, consequently impacting satisfaction (Mudege & Zulu 2010:221)

Netsayi Noris Mudege and Eliya M. Zulu's framework has different key aspects that will help to analyse when migrants feel successful (Mudege & Zulu 2010). An aspect that is highlighted is that the level of success increases when migrants are able to purchase land and houses in places of origin. Another aspect that can make the migrants feel successful is the fact that they view their slum residence as temporary. The two aspects are strongly connected. Not all of the respondents left their families behind in the rural areas. People that are able to purchase land in their rural area will probably view the slum residence as temporary. Hence, the migrants might have a special relationship with the rural areas when they think life could be better there than in the slum. Before they can return they have to have enough money and reach other variables, like education, that are lacking at their places of origin (Mudege & Zulu 2010:220-225).

However, some of the migrants describe their rural areas as places where life would be better now than when they left the rural environment. Respondent 13 (F/38) has not got any relatives in the rural areas and the result of less social bonds makes it hard for her to consider moving back in the future. The respondent analysed the issue and stated that it is hard for women to move back to their rural areas because of culture structures. As mentioned, women often leave their own rural areas when they get married which can result in weaker social bonds with their own place of origin. Besides this, land is traditionally given to sons and not daughters, which makes it hard for the female respondents to claim land.

All of the migrants do not have the opportunities to purchase houses or land in their rural area. However, many of them describe how important it would be to go back to show their success. Respondent 16 (M/30) is the most successful of the migrants, and he has the possibility to go back to do large-scale farming. The majority of the migrants feel like they will achieve success by moving back to their rural areas. For example, all the interviewed women wanted to invest in houses in their rural areas. Their rural areas are usually their husband's villages. Respondent 19 (F/30) is a widow and her home is her deceased husband's village in Nyanza. "*I belong to his village now*". Kibera is a temporary residence for the respondent and when it

is affordable the respondent wishes to move back to the western parts of Kenya. At the moment the respondent sends money to her mother-in-law but not to her own relatives that are still living in the respondent's home village.

When the interviews took place, most of the slum residents saw their living situations in Kibera as temporary. Respondent 14 (M/24) discussed some of the problematic aspects that can be associated with living somewhere temporarily. According to the respondent, people cannot be successful when living in the slum and nobody wants to live in Kibera. But the lack of resources makes it hard to leave the area. Therefore, *“most people will tell you that they are staying temporary [sic] even if they will stay here forever”*. Most of the migrants share this view and they do not wish to stay in the slum for a longer time.

Netsayi Noris Mudege and Eliya M. Zulu (2010) saw the same trend when using the framework in two other slum settlements in Nairobi. According to them, previous studies have been lacking data. The studies have shown that dissatisfaction with movements and poor living conditions will affect the length of stay in the host communities. Instead of agreeing with the statement above Mudege and Zulu believe that, because of a lack of economic and related options and opportunities, dissatisfied migrants may not be able to move even if they would like to (Mudege & Zulu 2010:202).

Besides the factors that Mudege and Zulu included in their framework, the migrants saw education as a vital perception of success. For many of the respondents that had children, their education was an important aspect for their own success. For example, Respondent 19 (F/30) is satisfied when it comes to her children's education opportunities. The children go to school in Kibera and by letting them complete secondary school the respondent feels like she has reached success for the coming generation. The informants with children all agree on the importance of education. By educating their children, they feel like they will be able to live better lives. Almost none of the informants would be satisfied if their children stayed in Kibera and by educating their children they could hopefully leave the slum in the future. However, Respondent 1 (M/23) and Respondent 16 (M/30) have completed college degrees but they are still living in the slum. Both of these respondents live in Kibera because they want to and they personally do not feel dissatisfied about their living situations.

6.4 RELATIVE SATISFACTION WITH RESIDENTIAL LOCATION

It can be very important to understand why people move and how satisfied migrants are when settling down in a new area. According to Mudege and Zulu, residential satisfaction studies in less developed countries have found a significant relationship between satisfaction and future migration flows. Migrants who are not satisfied with their current lives are more likely to express a desire to move and to actually move in the near future (Mudege & Zulu 2010:220). For the migrants, Kibera can be seen as an area that can help them to achieve some of the goals that they have set themselves, but the area can also make their lives more difficult.

Mudege and Zulu discuss how problematic it can be for migrants to leave a slum and this issue is particularly critical for understanding satisfaction with migration and residential location for rural-urban migrants in large slum settlements. High levels of unemployment,

underemployment, poor health and environmental conditions usually characterize slum settlements (Mudege & Zulu 2010:220). Some of the informants were happy about their new location because to live in the slum could help them to reach the goals that made them leave their rural homes. By moving to an urban area the migrants can live in a way that because of a lack of services and infrastructure would not be possible in their rural areas. Respondent 14 (M/24) saw benefits in the location of Kibera, which was very promising for the respondent's personal development. The respondent explains that Kibera is near the city centre as well as close to the Wilson airport and the National Park. Living in Kibera can therefore be of value for people's opportunity for employment as they can work in service related occupations that mainly exist in the capital.

Some of the informants felt like they lived in an area that was not a part of Nairobi. Reasons for this have been discussed earlier in this thesis but to get a better understanding some of the results that were found will be pointed out. By living in the slum some respondents felt like it was harder for them to get jobs outside Kibera. Respondent 7 (F/38) has been involved in local organisations that have been active outside Kibera and the respondent has felt ignored because of her origin. Unfortunately, that was also the case for Respondent 16 (M/30). When the respondent first moved to Kibera he did not inform his friends in Nairobi about his change of location. The respondent did not feel like they would respect him and the thought that his living situation would affect his personal life was unbearable.

Employment situations have been of importance for all of the migrants' satisfaction and dissatisfaction. The migrants that were employed during the time when the interviews occurred felt that Kibera was a good place for business and therefore a good place to live in. Almost all of the men worked daily in the informal sector. For this reason, they felt like they had a job that they could come back to which made them feel satisfied. For Respondent 6 (M/41) life is better today than it was in the rural area. The informant explains: *"In Kibera you can work and get money. Farming is hard and you will never be in full control of how the harvest turns out"*.

Another respondent that is satisfied in Kibera is Respondent 15 (F/46). After leaving the rural area the respondent did not have any money or anywhere to move and therefore the migrant needed to settle down in a slum. Because of dynamics in the area, the respondent felt like the slum is an area that will develop. An aspect that the respondent is highlighting is the inhabitants' work ethic. According to the respondent, people in Kibera work extremely hard. This can be seen as a result of the inhabitants' determination to overcome the poor structures that are making them face daily obstacles. Several times during the interview the respondent pointed out the importance of functional houses for peoples' satisfaction in the area. If the houses in Kibera were better, the respondent was of the opinion that the area could turn into an important place in Nairobi.

As discussed, unemployment, underemployment, poor health and environmental conditions were important for the migrants' residential satisfaction in Kibera. Generally, the migrants found it hard to be satisfied in the slum. There were too many negative aspects that made them feel like their lives should be easier than they turned out to be. Overall, Respondent 8 (F/48) is satisfied in Kibera. However, not having money causes a difficult living situation and if the respondent had more money she would probably consider leaving the slum. The respondent would like to move back to her rural area to build a house near the market. Then the respondent would have the opportunity to work near the household and this could help to make life easier. Except working at the market, the respondent would like to work for HIV

positive women. By giving women advice about the disease, the respondent hopes to make sick women's lives easier.

According to the migrants, paying rent was seen as a negative characteristic that made them feel a sense of dissatisfaction. For them the poor environmental conditions were a major source of concern. Besides this, the lack of social amenities and a decaying slum environment were frequently discussed as an aspect that made living in the slum difficult and unsatisfactory. Respondent 18 (M/37) had very strong opinions about paying rent in the slum. The respondent mentioned how hard it can be to have an irregular income that shall cover rent, school fees, health care and other requisites.

Community facilities and resources can determine migrants' satisfaction. Migrants who have access to facilities are more likely to be satisfied than those who do not have such access (Mudege & Zulu 2010:220). Respondent 13 (F/38) would be more satisfied if she had a house so that paying rent would not be an issue. If the respondent did not need to pay rent she could afford to give her children better education and therefore a brighter future.

7 CONSIDERING MOVING

The framework that has been used for this study argues that migrants will consider moving if not satisfied with residential situations. In this section the informants' attitudes towards their futures will be discussed. According to the framework, satisfied migrants are less likely to move even if by moving elsewhere their lives can improve further (Mudege & Zulu 2010:221).

All the migrants had considered moving but not all felt that they would leave the slum in the future. For example, Respondent 15 (F/46) does not have the economic resources to settle down in other areas in Nairobi. As mentioned in section 5.1, the respondent is a widow and was chased away from the husband's village. However, the respondent would like to own land in the rural area. If this were to happen, the respondent would have an urban and a rural home. In the rural home the respondent would farm but the respondent could also consider working in Nairobi during some periods. If she owned a house in Kibera, the respondent would rent it out and move to another neighbourhood in Nairobi. During the interview the respondent mentioned the impact the African culture can have on movements. According to the culture, rural areas are of great value for people and the result of that is that people want to live or at least be buried in their rural areas.

According to Respondent 7 (F/38) it is possible to move back to rural areas before getting buried. The respondent knew people that had returned to their rural areas and this encouraged the respondent to plan for the future. However, to know that others had left the slum also made the respondent dissatisfied. The reason for this was because the respondent felt envy for those who had moved. Respondent 11 (F/44) has not been satisfied in Kibera. The respondent has got strong opinions about moving back and says that *"Dead or alive, [she has] to move back to [her] home"*. The respondent's home is her husband's rural area and the respondent would bring her children. In the rural area the respondent would be happy for them to farm but because of poor opportunities the respondent is open to them temporarily moving back to Kibera to work. Even if the respondent wants to leave the slum for the rural area, she has not saved any money to do so.

Respondent 13 (F/38) has not got any relatives outside Kibera. Because of this, the respondent does not feel like going back is an option. Kibera can therefore be seen as the respondent's permanent home. The respondent has got a daughter that is paralysed and the respondent feels like the daughter would not survive without the respondent. When living in Kibera her daughter can get some help from local NGOs. The respondent wishes that she could take the children upcountry so they would learn about their culture and traditions. However, even if this is not possible the respondent still wants her children to go and bury her upcountry when she passes away. When the respondent passes away she needs to be buried in her own village because she does not feel like she belongs in her husband's village.

Respondent 1 (M/23) does not consider moving from Kibera. For the respondent, Kibera is an upcoming area where life is good. All of the respondent's friends are also living in the area and having them close by made the respondent satisfied about the living situation. Respondent 4 (M/23) shares the same age as the previous respondent. However, the respondent does not share the same attitude regarding the future. The respondent wants to leave the area as soon as possible. The reason for the respondent's dissatisfaction is mainly based on the respondent's economic situation. The respondent's earns enough money to leave the slum and therefore

feels like he has to move from Kibera. It emerged in many interviews that a lack of important alternatives “forces” people to stay in the slum settlement.

Another young migrant is Respondent 14 (M/24). The migrant has considered leaving Kibera but regardless of dissatisfaction cannot afford to move somewhere else. Most of the migrants would like to leave Kibera for other areas in the future but, as mentioned, not all of them felt dissatisfied in the slum.

Respondent 6 (M/41) thinks the government tries to develop Kibera to becoming a better area. Slum upgrading is therefore helping the respondent to decide his future. However, the government has not always been supportive of the inhabitants in Kibera. In 2004, the Guardian published an article on the problematic situations that the inhabitants were facing when bulldozers demolished houses in the slum. Already in 2004 the government had plans to upgrade the area by building new housing estates on the outskirts of the slum. However, this project targeted just one area of Kibera. Today, there are many local NGOs that are still working on trying to upgrade the area (Desgropes & Taupin 2011:23).

Many of the respondents with children were of the opinion that their children’s futures would always be the motivation for their movements. Even if the migrants were not satisfied in the slum they could not jeopardise their children's' futures by moving. Paying more money for another place could not be an option and moving back to a rural area where the education alternatives were lacking could be problematic for the children. Respondent 18 (M/37) wanted to stay in Kibera for two reasons; the main one being education for his children and the other was the work opportunities that existed in the area. Moving from Kibera could mean that the respondent would have to start over and this could involve building a new life. This was not an option for the respondent who instead of considering moving felt satisfied at being in Kibera.

Respondent 16 (M/30) has started a project in the slum. The project aims to make Kibera a cleaner place by letting its members collect waste once a week. According to the respondent “*the members are youths without future prospects*”. The interviewed respondent works outside the slum and could afford moving from Kibera. However, because of the importance of the project, both when it comes to making Kibera a cleaner place and to give the youths better visions of the future, the respondent chooses to stay in Kibera.

After being asked if the respondent was considering moving, Respondent 16 (M/30) replied:

“ I got a job offer in Dubai, I turned it down. I need to be in Kibera right now.... Helping the people in this community is necessary. I have got connections that can help the members. Former president Moi is a client and by staying in Kibera my members can get better lives. Last week I had a meeting with another client – he runs a college. Some members might get scholarships so they can start studying. By helping them I am helping myself.... I will leave Kibera in the future. I have been thinking about it and I can afford it. I might go upcountry [rural village] or abroad. I would do large-scale farming upcountry. I don't know when it will happen, I am still young and I think I have a bright future”

8 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this paper was to assess residential satisfaction among 20 respondents in Kibera. The respondents were found using a snowball sampling technique. By interviewing the same amount of migrants from different gender groups, 10 male and 10 female respondents, a better understanding of some of the problems they were facing in Kibera was provided. Besides snowballing - a qualitative method - made sure that the respondents were in focus throughout the research process. Besides the qualitative method, Mudege and Zulu's framework helped to give room for the respondents' histories throughout the study.

By addressing the individual/household characteristic presented in Mudege and Zulu's framework, different factors that were of interest with regard to the migrants' movements were provided. Together with factors at places of origin and social bonds the first research question, '*Which characteristics were important for the migrants when they took the decision to leave their rural areas for Kibera?*', was answered. As mentioned in the theoretical discussion, the migrants moved because they, in different ways, thought it would be beneficial for them. Almost all of the respondents were unhappy in their rural areas because they did not have the ability to live the lives they wanted to. Hence, the opportunities that were lacking in their rural areas influenced them to look for alternative places to live.

Five individual/ household characteristics were of importance when the migrants left their home villages. The migrants had strong opinions about these characteristics. It was therefore important to make sure that each of the respondents was in focus during the section of the analysis. The characteristics were *economic, social, education, health, and gender*. Even if all of the factors were of value, social and economic characteristics affected the most respondents.

The respondents that left their rural areas because of economic characteristics mainly did so because they, or the people around them, decided that Nairobi would be a better place to reach economic satisfaction.

Relatives and friends were of great value for the social characteristics. A few respondents left their families in the rural areas – a process that was described as necessary. Some of the respondents moved to the slum as results of their husbands' movements and their movements could therefore be seen as a result of existing expectations of gender roles. These expectations affected both female and male respondents and in many cases they felt pressured by family and relatives before moving to Kibera. However, as Mudege and Zulu explained the female migrants could be seen as tied to Kibera because of their relationship status and according to the framework tied migrants were more likely to be dissatisfied.

As mentioned, health and education characteristics also made people migrate from the rural areas of Kenya. Out of the respondents, three male respondents moved to Kibera to take advantage of education opportunities that were lacking in their rural areas. The lack of health care was also seen as an important characteristic for the respondents. As a contrast to the male respondents that were looking for education, three female respondents moved to Kibera primarily due to health related issues.

Besides these characteristics, different factors at the migrants' places of origin influenced them to move. According to Mudege and Zulu migrants will move from their places of origin

when there are more positive factors at the destinations. Most of the respondents described their rural areas as underdeveloped as they were lacking the five mentioned individual/household characteristics. The situations in their rural areas made most of the respondents feel dissatisfied. However their rural areas were often described as their “true homes” and most of the migrants shared special social bonds with people living in their home villages.

Mudege and Zulu also argued that social bonds could determine where migrants move. For example, it was easier for the migrants that had strong social bonds (to family, relatives and/or friends) in Kibera to settle down when they first arrived in the slum. Whenever possible, it was very important for the respondents to maintain a close relationship with relatives in their rural areas. For the majority of migrants, their rural homes were only a “bus drive” away and that made it easier for them to go back if needed. However, the lack of money made it hard for some respondents to visit their rural areas.

Mudege and Zulu also pointed out that migrants tend to move to slums when they seek employment and other important opportunities. As mentioned, this was the case for many of the respondents and for some of them social bonds helped them to achieve these goals. Besides this, social bonds also made it easier for the migrants to interact and establish business as they helped the respondents to get more clients. Some of the female respondents were occasionally working as hairdressers and for them it was important to have well-functioning social bonds.

The second question for this thesis tried to capture important perceptions by asking the following: *‘What kind of perceptions do rural-urban migrants have to their new surroundings, are they satisfied in Kibera or are they considering moving in the future? Were there any differences between the unemployed and employed, female and male respondents?’*. All of the interviewed migrants thought that Kibera was over-crowded. To live in an over-crowded area does not need to be negative, it can also be beneficial. On a daily basis, many people share public toilets and water tanks and the residents therefore need to cooperate to make all the public facilities work as well as possible. When a large number of inhabitants are living together they can have an impact on politics and other related subjects. This can, in turn, lead to the government acknowledging poor living conditions in the area. One of the respondents mentioned this and according to him the area is about to change as a result of the government’s slum-upgrading programs.

The major differences between the migrants were found when discussing the ability to work in the slum. The majority of the interviewed male respondents were working regularly. According to them, Kibera was an important place for business because of the opportunities that were created within the area. The female respondents did not share this view and for them living in Kibera overall had not been successful. However, gender was probably not the main issue for the differences. Instead, the work status affected the way they felt about their living situations. The majority of the women had according to the framework failed to adapt to their new environment. When this happens migrants may choose to return to their places of origin, move to other destinations, or continue to reside in the host communities even though they are unhappy because they hope that things will improve in the future.

However, the interviewed women shared another problem. The female respondents highlighted traditional structures at their places of origin as a negative aspect that made them move. When the women got married they moved to their husbands’ rural villages. In some cases that made their sense of belonging weaker as they did not share the same opportunities

as men. For example, in their rural areas they had to follow rules that were set by male family members. In some cases, the husbands had already moved away from their rural areas and the women therefore had to wait until they could move. Besides this the women did not have land in their rural areas and without an income they would face problems that they were already facing in the slum. The interviewed men had another type of problem. They felt like they could only move back when they had become successful. This added another type of pressure.

Generally, the respondents were not satisfied with their urban surroundings. Before moving to Kibera, most of the migrants were of the opinion that they were going to live better lives. For them the capital was thought to be an area where they could fulfil their dreams. However, upon arrival in the slum many of the respondents were disappointed. The houses were not as expected and poor sanitation facilities made it harder to accept the area as their new home. Another issue for the respondents was privacy. In their rural areas they had often had the opportunity to enjoy privacy.

The major problem that was recognised was the fact that the respondents needed to pay rent. For the respondents, paying rent made them extremely dissatisfied and was one of the factors that made them consider leaving the area for their rural homes. The respondents did not act according to the framework when answering the question if they would like to stay in Kibera if they owned a house in the area. Mudege and Zulu were of the opinion that slum residents would feel more satisfied in the slum if they owned their own houses. The interviewed respondents did not agree with Mudege and Zulu and they did not like to stay in Kibera even if they owned their own house. Therefore, for them, Kibera would probably never be a place where they wanted to grow old.

Even if there were characteristics that made the migrants feel dissatisfied there were also some aspects that made them more satisfied in the slum than in their rural areas. The access to health centres was an aspect that was mentioned and, even if the respondents would prefer to have an even greater access to medical care, they were satisfied in relation to their rural areas. Another social service that was discussed was schools. For many of the respondents the schools in Kibera were better than in rural areas. However, the respondents that could afford to send their children to schools outside Kibera did so. The schools can therefore be seen as better than some in the rural areas but when living in Nairobi the migrants became aware of better education opportunities elsewhere.

8.1 SUGGESTED FUTURE RESEARCH

This dissertation has tried to address the complexity that exists regarding migrants' movements to Kibera. As a result of the limited time frame, there are some aspects that this thesis has not been able to discuss. It could therefore be important for development researchers to continue to study people's movements, perceptions, migration patterns and how they can lead to rapidly growing slums.

A quantitative study could probably provide a larger amount of data on the reasons why people generally move to slums. Future research studies would also be able to highlight different perceptions the migrants generally have got regarding their movements. Besides a quantitative study, it could be of importance to include children. The reason for that is, a better view on how children can be affected by living in a slum settlement and how they feel about their futures, can be provided.

Another aspect that could be of value for future research is to interview people who have returned to their rural areas. By doing this, it would be possible to identify factors that made them move back. This could be of great value in a development context. Another interesting subject would be to compare different attitudes that were of importance for migrants who had left the slum with migrants still staying in a slum settlement. By doing this, slum-upgrading programs will probably be able to work in a more sustainable way. For example, a study of that kind could be able to point out how many of the interviewed slum residents would like to stay in urban centres (not in slum settlements), and how many that would like to move to rural areas. For the respondents in this study, living in a slum area was not the only aspect that made them dissatisfied. Having to leave their homes because of lacking opportunities was seen as an important factor that created negative perceptions of living in one of the world's largest slums.

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