



JENS JASCHEK & ANDRES HERZOG





KIBERA AS A CITY ETH Studio Basel and Andres Herzog, Jens Jaschek

THE NAIROBI STUDIO

ETHZ Studio Basel Contemporary City Institute Prof. Jacques Herzog Prof. Pierre de Meuron Manuel Herz Ligia Nobre Shadi Rahbaran

IN COLLABORATION WITH Harvard University Graduate School of Design and University of Nairobi School of Built Environment



KIBERA AS A CITY







TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION 11
DEFINITIONS OF THE TERM SLUM 13
THE SLUMS OF NAIROBI 15
LOCATION OF KIBERA IN NAIROBI 16

2. KIBERA AND ITS HISTORY 21

3 KIBERA AND ITS FEATURES 27 TOPOGRAPHY 28 BORDERS 35 THE TWELVE VILLAGES 37 ROADS AND PLACES 41 PHYSICAL STRUCTURE 45 OWNERSHIP SITUATION 57 RENT 62 GATED AREAS 69

4 KIBERA AND ITS BUILDINGS 73 MATERIALS & CONSTRUCTION 74 INTERIOR 77 FLOOR PLAN 79

5 KIBERA AND ITS INFRASTRUCTURE 81
WATER 85
SANITATION & DRAINAGE 91
WASTE 93
ELECTRICITY 94
ENERGY 97
TRANSPORTATION 98
COMMUNICATION 100
MEDIA 103

6 KIBERA AND ITS PEOPLE 105 ORIGIN & ETHNICITY 107 DEMOGRAPHY 111 SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURE 112 NUTRITION 115 LEISURE 117



7 KIBERA AND ITS INSTITUTIONS 123 ACTORS 125 RELIGION 129 EDUCATION 133

HEALTH 137

ADMINISTRATION & SECURITY 138

8 KIBERA AND ITS ECONOMY 141

INCOME 143

POVERTY 144

MARKETS 147

ECONOMY IN KIBERA 150

ECONOMY IN NAIROBI 154

9 THE TWELVE VILLAGES OF KIBERA 159

KIANDA 164

SOWETO WEST 166

RAILA 168

GATWEKERA 171

KISUMU NDOGO 175

MAKINA 176

KAMBI MURU 181

MASHIMONI 183

LAINI SABA 184

SOWETO EAST 186

LINDI 188

SILANGA 191

10 OUTLOOK 193

KENSUP UPGRADING PROJECT 195

PERSISTING PROBLEMS IN KIBERA 201



1. INTRODUCTION
DEFINITIONS OF THE TERM SLUM
THE SLUMS OF NAIROBI
LOCATION OF KIBERA IN NAIROBI



Developed without legal claims to the land and/ or permission from the concerned authorities to build; as a result of their illegal or semi-legal status. Infrastructure and services are usually inadequate.

Physical:

"Non-legal" status, has services and infrastructure below the "adequate" or minimum levels. Such services are both network and social infrastructure, like water supply, sanitation, electricity, roads and drainage; schools, health centres, market places etc. Informal networks for the supply of water may also be in place.

Social:

Belong to the lower income group, either working as wage labour or in various informal sector enterprises. On an average, most earn wages at or near the minimum wage level. But household income levels can also be high due to may income earners and part-time jobs. Squatters are predominantly migrants, either rural-urban or urban-urban.

Legal characteristics:

Lack of ownership of the land parcel on which they have built their house. These could be vacant government or public land, or marginal land parcels like railway setbacks or "undesirable" marshy land. Thus when the land is not under "productive" use by the owner, it is appropriated by a squatter for building a house."

Hari Srinivas

Informal: Substandard housing and squalor."

Merriam-Webster dictionary

Acontiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services.

Often not recognized and addressed by the public authorities as an integral or equal part of the city."

UN-HABITAT

Formal: Permanent structure on invaded land, formal house in an official subdivision. Informal: The land use is unauthorized. The settlement pattern is unauthorized, or not approved. Often this involves a high residential density, the construction is unauthorized and not to prescribed standards. The occupation originates from a land invasion (note there are many different processes of invasion)"

University of Witwaterand

Slums are neglected parts of cities where housing and living conditions are appallingly poor. Slums range from high-density, squalid central-city tenements to spontaneous squatter settlements without legal recognition or rights, sprawling at the edge of cities."

Cities Alliance Action Plan

Lack of basic services, lack of access to sanitation facilities and water being the most important feature. Substandard housing or illegal and inadequate building structures: buildings constructed not observing building standards. Overcrowding and high density.

Unhealthy living conditions and hazardous locations. Insecure tenure; irregular or informal settlements. Poverty and social exclusion: income or capability. Poverty is considered a central characteristic of slum"

National & local

Formal: Tenements

- hand-me-downs
- built for poor

Public housing, hostels, flophouses, etc.

Informal: Squatters

- authorized
- unauthorized

Pavement-dwellers (clochard)"

Mike Davis

Physically and socially deteriorated and in which satisfactory family life is impossible. Bad housing is a major index of slum conditions. By bad housing is meant dwellings that have inadequate light, air, toilet and bathing facilities; that are in bad repair, dump and improperly heated; that do not afford opportunity for family privacy; that are subject to fire hazard and that overcrowd the land, leaving no space for recreational use."

- Low-income settlements
- Semi-permanent settlements
- Shanty towns
- Spontaneous settlements
- Unauthorized settlements
- Unplanned settlements
- Uncontrolled settlements

Encyclopedia Britannica



- 1. Inadequate drinking water supply: Less than 50% households have improved drinking water supply (20 litres/person/day within acceptable collection distance).
- 2. Inadequate sanitation: Less than 50% of households have improved sanitation.
- 3. Poor structural quality: Households located on or near hazardous sites (geologically unstable, garbage mountains, industrially polluted, near energy transmission, rail and airport facilities).
- 4. Overcrowding: Proportion of households with more than 2 persons per room, or locally set standard (floor area per person)
- 5. Insecurity of tenure: Proportion of households with formal title deeds to both land and residence or either land or residence, enforceable tenure agreements/documents."

UN-HABITAT & World Bank

Areas where groups of housing units have been constructed on land that the occupants have no legal claim to, or occupy illegally. Unplanned settlements and areas where housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations (unauthorized housing)."

OECD

A squalid and overcrowded urban street or district inhabited by very poor people. A house or building unfit for human habitation."

The Oxford Pocket Dictionary of Current English

Structure owners have either a quasi-legal right of occupation or no rights at all. Structures are constructed largely of temporary materials and do not conform to minimum standards"

Matrix 1993

DEFINITIONS OF THE TERM SLUM

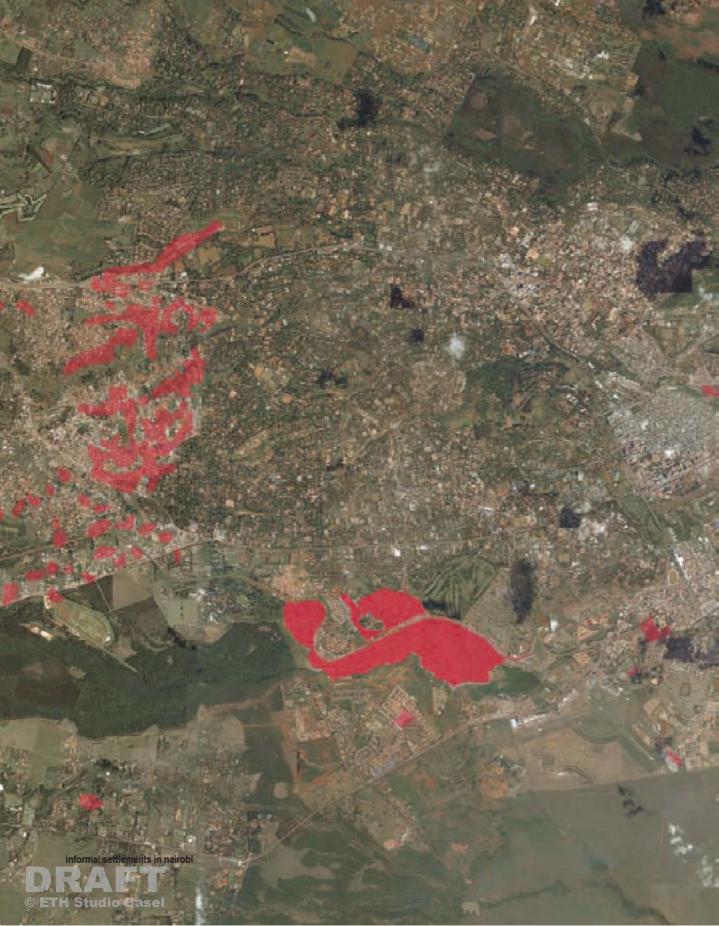
Synonyms

- Slum
- Informal settlement
- Unauthorized settlement
- Shanty town
- Squatter area
- Squatting
- Uncontrolled urban settlement

Elements

- Illegal and unauthorized
- High density
- Not adequate infrastructure
- Substandard housing and squalor
- Socially deteriorated
- Poverty and social exclusion: income or capability







THE SLUMS OF NAIROBI

Overview

In Nairobi 60% of the population live in slums. The two biggest slums are Kibera and Mathare. Apart from these two there are many other smaller slums distributed mainly in the Western and the Eastern part of Nairobi. In the East the slums are located near the industrial area where many residents work. In the West people are living next to a high income area which can be explained with the fact that slum dwellers often work in high income neighborhoods.

Topics

The history of slums and informal settlements in Kenya can be traced through three essential periods namely the colonial period, post independence period up to 1974, and mid 1970s up to now. The evolution of policies and interventions dealing with informal settlements in Kenya fits in five stages, namely:

- Clearance and forced migration
- Clearance and public housing
- Provision of minimum services
- Extension of tenure security and physical upgrading
- Recognition of the legitimate role of low income settlers and other stakeholders in urban development.

These periods and interventions have introduced shifts in the housing policy that have, in turn immensely contributed to the nature and extent of informal settlements today.

LOCATION OF KIBERA IN NAIROBI

Neighborhood

As we can see, the physical site is bounded by Kibera Drive to the North, the Royal Golf Course on the East, Nairobi National Park down to the South and some new housing developments and Kenya prisons to the West. Few places in Nairobi have the juxtaposition of poverty and affluence, modern Africa and the Savannah (National Park) so clearly visible. Indeed Kibera's mud houses from the foreground to the view towards the National Park from the French Embassy and one of the former president's personal houses. To an individual standing in central Kibera the impression of official housing estates advancing to enclose the site is unmistakable. The Golf Course Estate, Nairobi's latest middle-income tenant-purchase scheme is now only 100 meters from the mud and wattle structures of the urban poor. Such affluent estates often put pressure upon the administration to 'tidy up' their unpleasant vistas.

Advantages of the location

However to those unable to command entry to middle-income housing estates Kibera is seen as one of the better 'unauthorized' settlements in Nairobi. There are three reasons for this. Firstly, is the fact that Kibera's location within Western Nairobi offers easy walking access to Nairobi's industrial area, to affluent ex-European Nairobi for 'service' employment and finally excellent bus and matatu connections to Central Nairobi. At six in the evening the industrial labour force can be clearly seen walking along Mbagathi Way towards Kibera for the night. It is significant to note that much of Nairobi's and Kenya's formal industrial labour force lives in unauthorized settlements.

Prospects for redevelopment

As we have already suggested the site has high alternative usevalue which increases the prospects of its redevelopment. That an unauthorized settlement should exist on such a site is surprising, since conventionally squatters are conceptualized as occupying geographical and economically marginal sites such as areas liable to flooding or steep slopes. While the settlement includes such sites the majority of the area consists of flat plateau sites.

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury _____

DRAFT
© ETH Studio Basel









2. KIBERA AND ITS HISTORY







THE FOUNDING AND GROWTH OF KIBERA

Nubian settlement

The Nubians of Nairobi migrated from Sudan to Uganda where they worked for the "Crown Britain' imperial adventure in East Africa predominantly as soldiers or police for the colonial administration. From there they moved to Nairobi. They fought as troops in the 1914-18 war on the side of the British against the Germans in present-day Tanzania. The names of some of the earliest "African locations' in both Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam are a result of this war. The original Nubian garrison was based at Dandora in East Nairobi. It was then moved towards the hill area of West Nairobi, before finally coming to rest in 1913 in the area known today as Kibera.

1913-1928 Kibera as a military reserve

From 1913-1928 Kibera was a military reserve administered by the Kenya African Rifles. Soldiers who could prove 12 years service in the army were allocated a plot of land in the area. It is estimated that in 1917 the total population of Kibera was approximately 600. It is the relatives and descendants of these soldiers imported by the colonial government which forms the Nubian community in Kibera today. This early military nature of Kibera is reflected in some of the local names. Lineshaba, an area of Kibera for example, means ,rifle range in Kinubi. (Kinubi is the Swahili word for the Nubians' native languages).

The name Kibera itself means forest in Kinubi due to the fact that the original site occupied in 1913 was wooded. The Nubians had to clear the land for agricultural use which clearly involved a lot of labour. At this stage Kibera must have been something akin to a Nubian agricultural reserve. The exclusiveness of Kibera to the Nubian community is crucial since the Nubians effectively have no rural area to retreat to and thus they see Kibera as their land and indeed home. To the Nubian community it is "us and them"; Nubian vs ,outsiders'. This partly explains their reaction to outsiders which on occasions verges on the xenophobic.

1928 interference of the English Crown

In 1928 the civil administration took over control of the area, making it ,Crown Land', and new settlers were required to prove their relationship to the original Nubian servicemen. This measure clearly shows the colonial government's use of tribalism. It is unclear what sort of employment the Nubians had at this time but from informers' accounts much of Kibera was rural and so agriculture may well have been the most important activity. By 1933 the administration was pressing for the removal of the settlement and the Carter Land Commission recommended gradual eviction and compensation. From that time until today land-use has been uncertain in Kibera.

Kibera and its agriculture period

The history of this Nubian insecurity continues. At least since 1933 the land in Kibera has technically been Government owned and the Nubians have had some historic claim to it based upon equity rather than ownership. Nevertheless before World War II Nubian agriculture had evolved to the extent that additional labour in the form of predominantly Kikuyu herdsmen were required. With the increasing industrialization and growth of Nairobi during and after World. War II it would seem that the Nubian community increasingly became involved in industrial, or at least non agricultural activities. Thus, after World War II the population of Kibera was increasingly becoming integrated into the capitalist economy and was ceasing to rely on subsistence agriculture. So before 1952 - when the outbreak of Mau-Mau was officially signified by the declaration of a state of emergency - Kibera seems to have been a fairly homogeneous Islamic Nubian community of approximately 2,000 inhabitants combined with some mainly agricultural Kikuyu settlements on the fringes of the area.

Tribal segregation

Tribal segregation was a feature of colonial policy. Its aims were firstly to keep the Luos and Luhyas free from ,contamination by Kikuyus and Mau-Mau activists, and secondly to prevent detribalization which was considered to be destabilising. Indeed some housing estates were explicitly built for one tribal group (Emig and Ismail, 1980).

Growth of Kibera in 1950s

The legacy of all this is that even today Kibera exhibits an over-representation of migrants from Western Kenya and an under-representation of Kikuyus. It seems that this influx of new migrants in the 1950s was capitalized on by the established Nubian community who began to extend their houses and build new ones for rental purposes. Although this was officially forbidden it may well have had tacit approval. This was clearly a profitable activity especially since the Nubian landlords were not liable to tax and obtained the land free of charge. The Nubians consequently built as many of these houses as they thought the administration would tolerate on land which they technically did not own, but had been settled upon by the colonial authorities. The emergence of landlordism in unauthorized settlements thus goes back at least as early as the mid-1950s. At this stage the scale of capital involved was fairly small, judging by the size and number of rooms in the older buildings in Kibera.

Issue of ownership in 1972

ΓH Studio Basel

By 1972 the population of the settlement had grown to around 17,000 composed of predominantly Nubian landlords, their tenants and some squatters' on the periphery. Meanwhile the issue of Nubian land rights in Kibera became acute. Land ,ownership' in Kibera had to be classified before land could be acquired for official National Housing Corporation housing estates (In 1963, the boundaries of Nairobi had been extended to include Kibera). Hence at some stage between independence in 1963 and 1969, the Ministry of Lands and Settlement had to face the issue of whether the Government of Kenya (GOK) accepted the ,agreement' between the Nubians and the colonial government. The precise nature of this ,agreement' between the Nubian community and the colonial state was problematic. To the Nubians the agreement was that Kibera was their exclusive ethnic enclave,

their reserve. To the colonial state the Nubians were considered as ,tenants at will', such confusion over the legal aspects of land ownership in Kenya is extremely common. This stems in part from the existence of two essentially competing systems of law: namely a ,traditional' tribal collective system and a fundamentally English legal concept of private property. The Independent Government's ruling seems to have been that the ,agreement' meant that the Nubians had rights to the housing but not the land. The land is now formally owned by the GOK in one plot. Compensation for housing demolished seems to depend upon proving one's relationship to the original Nubian. While the GOK's interpretation accepts the ,letter' of the law Nubian eyes it does not reflect the ,spirit' of the original ,agreement', namely that Kibera should be exclusively Nubian. This and the subsequent redevelopment of Kibera seem to be the major reasons for the Nubian's preset-day bitterness. They feel as if they have been cheated and betrayed.

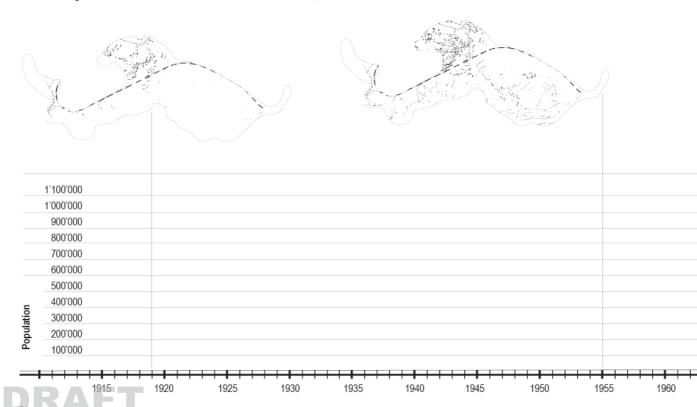
The unauthorized housing development occurring in the 1960s was partially uncontrolled and was predominantly associated with the Nubian community. During this period, i.e. the 1960s, Kibera's population increase was fairly modest: it rose from 10,000 in 1966 to 17,000 by 1972.

Commercialization of housing in Kibera in the late 1960s

It was around 1969 that the idea of building houses specifically for renting became more popular Thus as we have already noted it was sometime in the late 1960s or early 1970s that the Nubians began to build and expand their rental sector. This sector was expanding throughout Nairobi at this time. According to informants it was at this stage that big personalities, permanent secretaries' became interested in shanty housing as an investment outlet. Given the clientilistic structure of much of Kenyan politics it is not difficult to understand how powerful political individuals could achieve this. Thus each influential individual will have his people' who are connected to him who are operating for him within the shanty town. In such a client-patron system it is likely that ethnicity would be exploited - in this case by the Kikuyu.

Nubian a ethnic minority

Hence according to a Nubian informant, it was at this time that the Nubians became aware of being a special ethnic minority'. It would seem that these



big shots', (who would automatically be assumed by Nubians to be Kikuyus) began to unsettle the Nubian residents by telling or ,putting it around' that ,they were not Kenyan' and those born before 1963 i.e. the majority - were British and not Kenyan. The Nubians themselves tended to encourage such attitudes by their common refusal to see themselves as ,African'. This strategy as an informant admitted to me was clearly designed to unsettle them despite having no foundation in law.

It is unclear how much these threats affected the Nubian residents but they may well have been taken seriously and the subsequent expulsions of Kenyans and then Asians from Uganda would suggest that they were not unfounded. Clearly in such a political climate Nubians would not be inclined to invest in illegal housing.

Two points emerge from this. Firstly such threats tended to increase Nubian solidarity and encourage the ,retribalization process.

The second and central point is that to operate In the "underworld" or quasilegal world of unauthorized housing development on a large scale one must have political security from the occupant of a central and powerful political position or patron. It is only those who feel themselves to be politically secure and confident who are able to "get away with" large scale unauthorized landlordism

This, we would argue, is why the Nubian community did not become involved on a large scale in unauthorized housing development. Their insecurity derives from their loyalist role prior to independence.

"Property boom" and its profitability

Finally the profitability of this sector was and is important in this "property boom". This profitability is in part conditional upon the enormous "imbalance" within Nairobi, between demand for and supply of housing. This imbalance is in part dependent upon the rapid urbanization and rural-urban migration experience of Kenya, which is ultimately a function of capitalist development. It was the election of Mwangi Mathi as MP for Kibera in 1974 which appears to herald the spectacular final stage in the commercialization process in Kibera. It would appear that the MP (a Kikuyu) and the local administration (also mostly Kikuyu), were operating in union. Thus they were able to actively intervene in the land market by allocating informal permission to individuals

to build housing as opposed to the previous passive attitude by the local administration. At this stage the local administration takes effective de facto control over urban development in Kibera.

Between 1975 and 1980, 1,400 structures were built, the result of which was to more than triple the population of the area. Hence from an estimated population of 15,500 - 17,000 in 1972 the figure jumps to around 60,000 by 1980

While all such figures are estimates there is little debate over the rapid population increase associated with this commercialized unauthorized urban development. Over 40,000 extra individuals came to live in Kibera.

The key factor was that some time during 1974 the local administration gained effective control over land allocation and was thus able to informally intervene in the unauthorized housing market. The allocation of informal building rights access to a lucrative source of capital accumulation and is a major resource) controlled by the local administration.

These networks are often internal within the Kenyan public administration; thus in many cases the landlords are also from the same public administration. The local administration may be paying back favours, consolidating potential clients, or rewarding friends or fellow tribesmen by effectively giving out free land for urban development. Inevitably information on such matters is difficult to obtain but it is rumoured that bribes change hands as well.

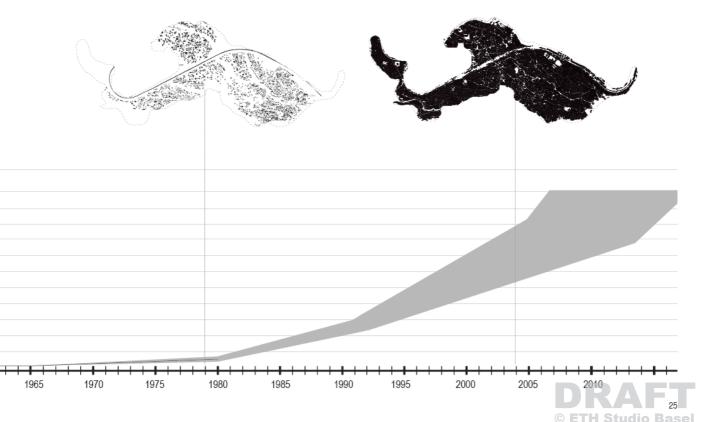
Kibera since 1970

So since 1970 Kibera started booming with an estimated growth ratio of 17% per year. The rural to urban migration quickened the rapid growth of Kibera's population. This is because people from rural areas have perception that Nairobi being the capital city, has more job opportunities. Furthermore, overall decline in agricultural productivity combined with a growing population.

The density leads to the current estimate of 800.000 to 1.000.000 people.

Source: "A Clark "Kibera" 1968

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury





3 KIBERA AND ITS FEATURES TOPOGRAPHY BORDERS THE TWELVE VILLAGES ROADS AND PLACES PHYSICAL STRUCTURE PUBLIC SPACES FENCES OWNERSHIP SITUATION RENT

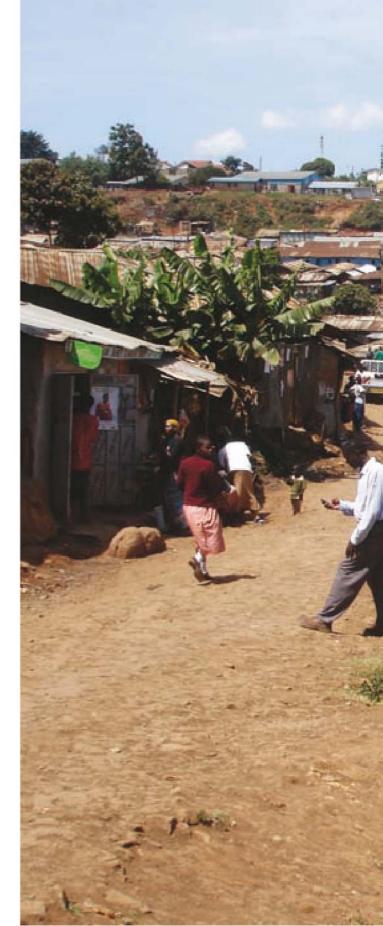


TOPOGRAPHY

Two valleys

The site of Kibera is bisected by the Uganda Railway which serves as the dividing line between Nubian Kibera which is called Makina and the more recent housing development. The railway is also used as a main road within Kibera. The "new" villages lie upon relatively flat ridge plateaux which are bisected by two rivers that run roughly eastwards towards the Nairobi dam.

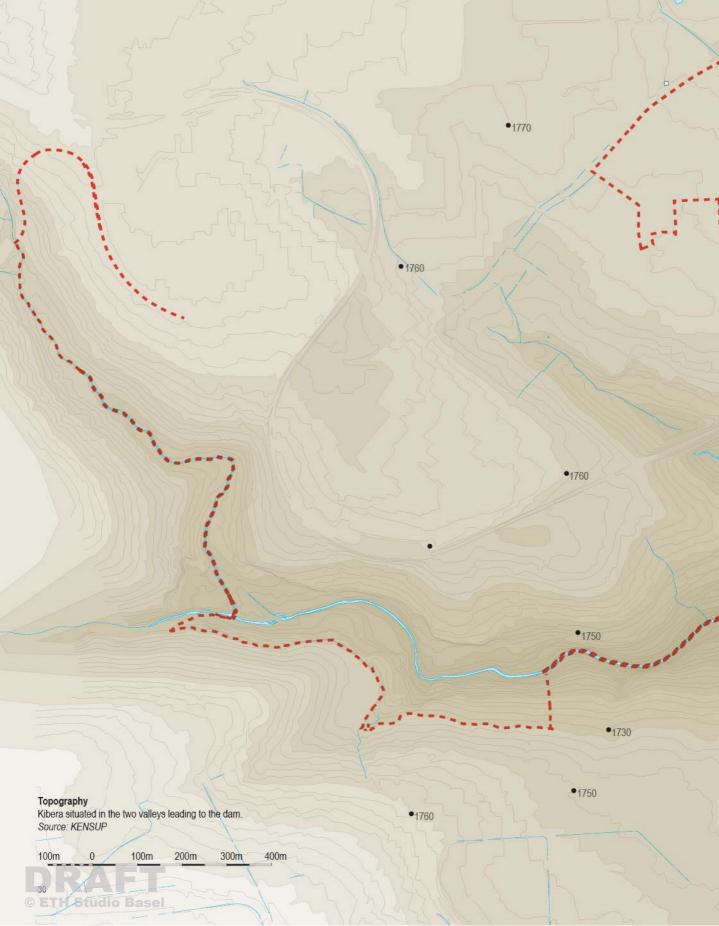
According to a World Bank study 49% of the site has slopes of 10% and above with 20% slopes fairly common. The increasing house construction in the last few years has utilized the steeper valley sides and poorly drained valley floors. Building on such sites is especially dangerous for sanitation and flooding reasons: flash-flooding is quite common in Nairobi during the rainy season. However, in general Kibera is a ridge rather than a valley site. The relative openness of the site partly explains why visually it is not as depressing as the more enclosed Mathare slum.

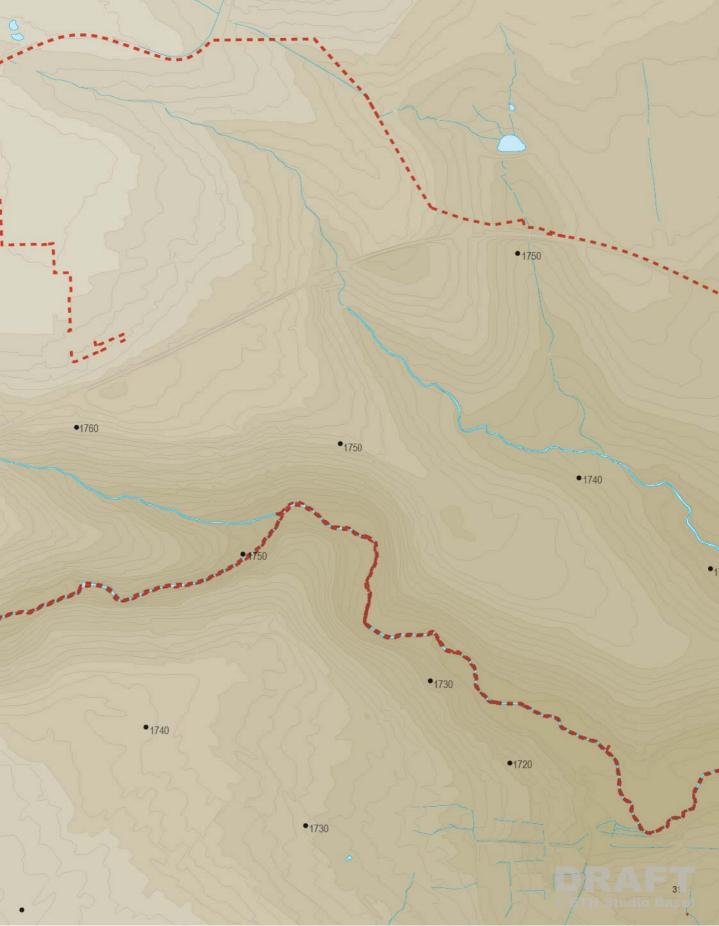


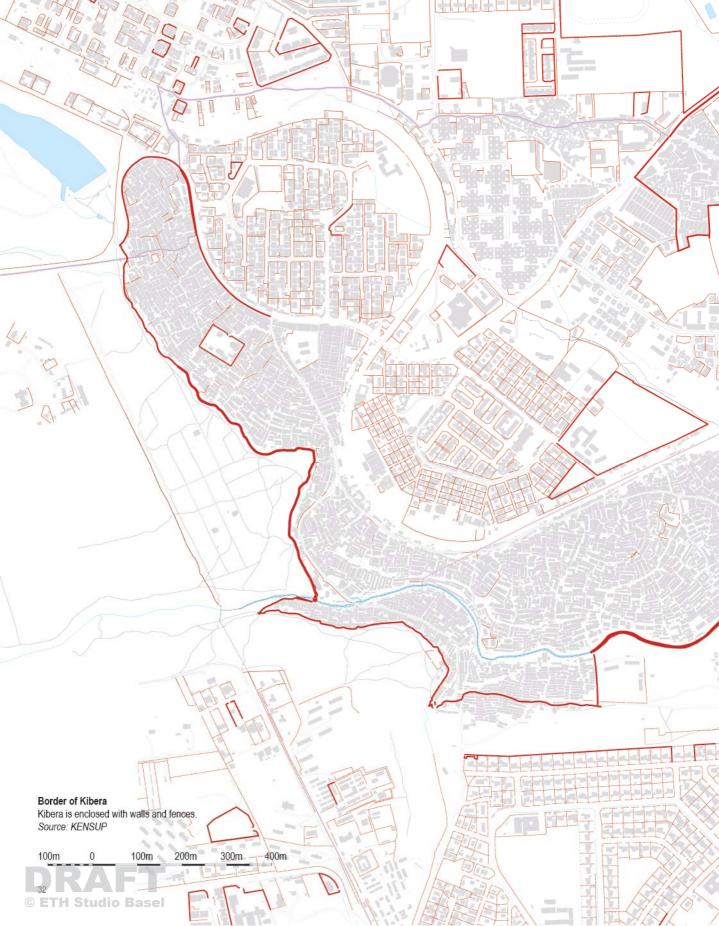
Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury _______

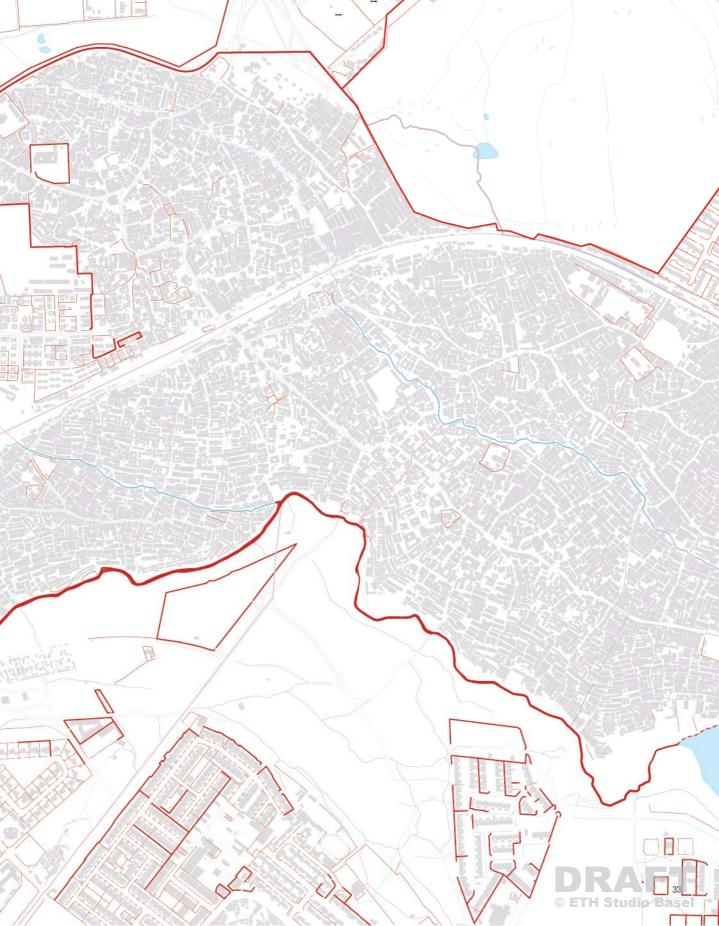
DRAFT
© ETH Studio Basel







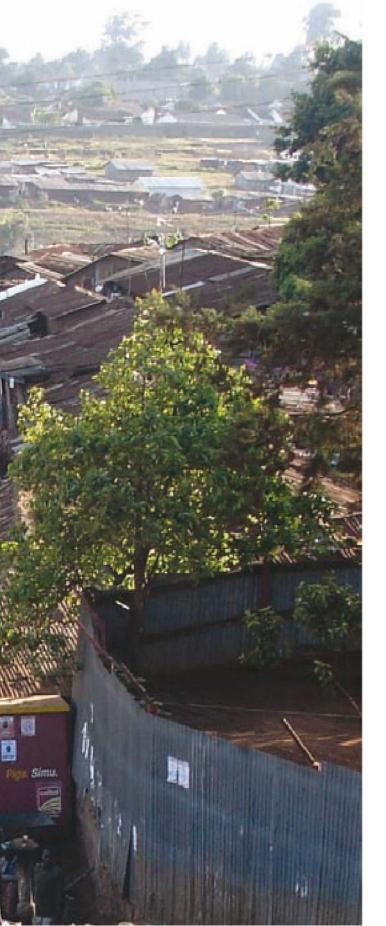












THE TWELVE VILLAGES

It is important to understand that the settlement is fairly well differentiated, so that each 'village' almost has a separate character. The main apparent axes of differentiation are the level of economic activity, ethnicity and the level of 'owner-occupation'. There is also a high level of intra-settlement residential mobility.

Many conditions are similar in every village and are true for all of Kibera. Other things are typical for each village. Therefore first all the general things of Kibera will be explained and in chapter 9 we will take a closer look at every single village.

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury

DKAF 37
© ETH Studio Basel



Villages of Kibera

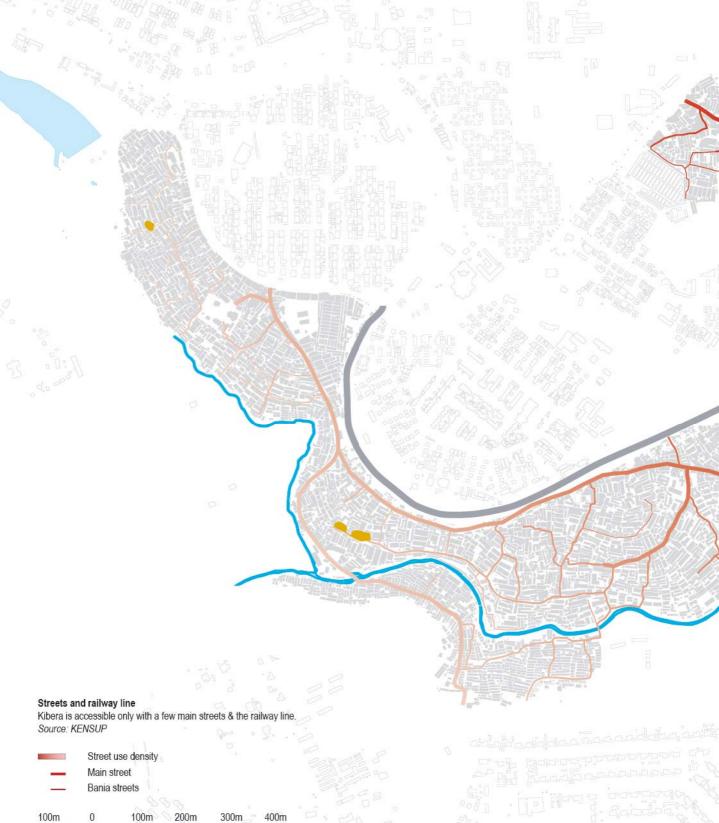
Kibera is divided into 12 villages. Source: KENSUP

0 100 200 300 400 500 m.

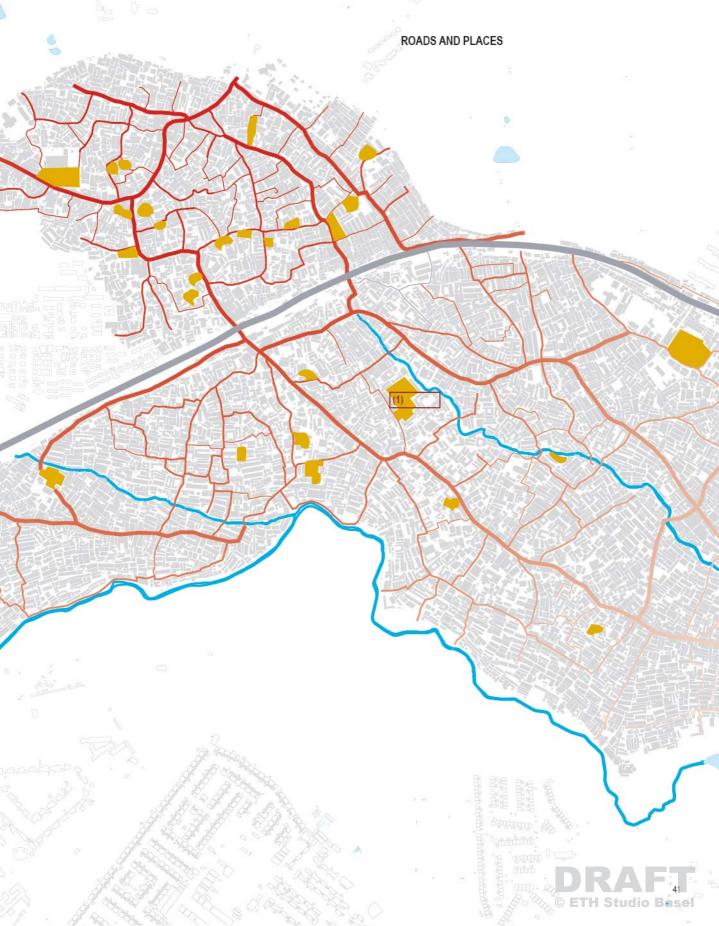








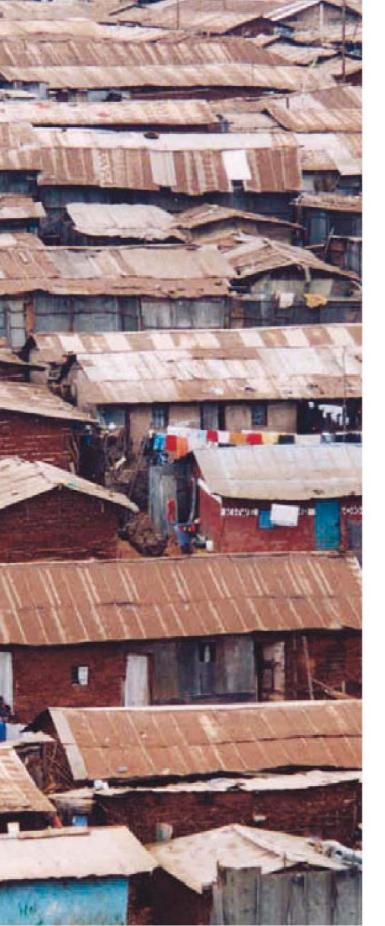
© ETH Studio Basel











PHYSICAL STRUCTURE

Kibera has a population of about 600'000 to 1'000'000 citizens living within land size of approximately 2.6 km² in one floor high houses. As a result of that Kibera is very dense structured. The distance between buildings varies from parts of Linishaba where blocks may be separated by only 0.5-1 metres to other areas like Makina where buildings may be over 3 metres apart. The increasing development within Kibera increases site densities and is of crucial planning importance, since above a certain residential density any form of squatter upgrading inevitably involves a lot of demolition.

Source: Investigation of Actors Operating in Kibera, Government of Kenya & UN-HABITAT, 2004

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury

DRAF₄₅
© ETH Studio Basel



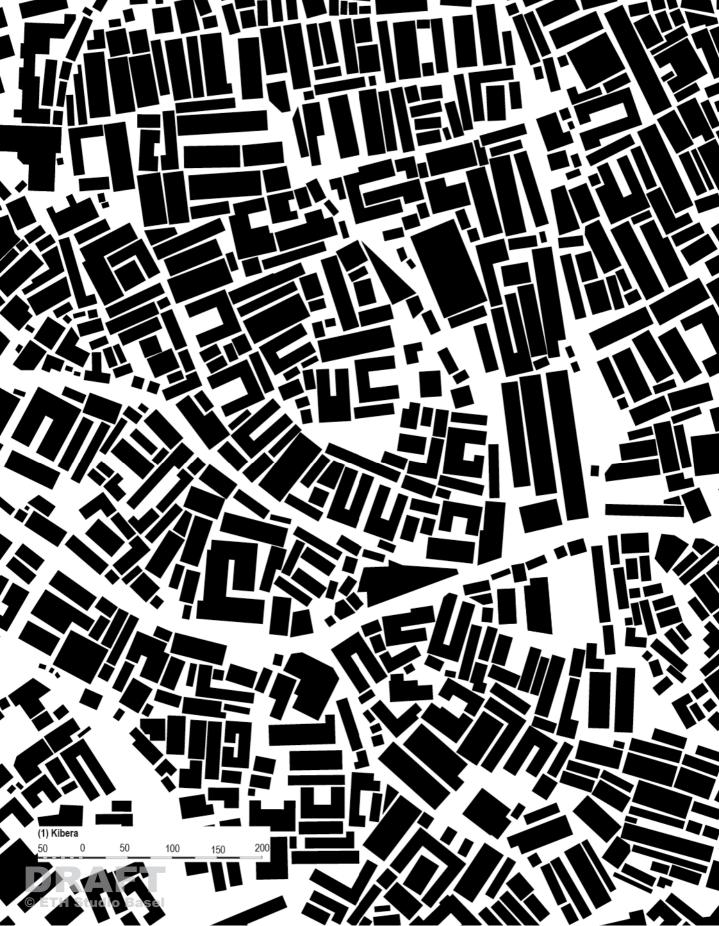






















OWNERSHIP SITUATION

Governmental land

The entire site of Kibera is owned by the Government of Kenya but there are important differences in people claims over the land. In the north of the railway line the land tenure is exceptionally complicated with the Nubians having some claim in terms of equity. In the area south of the railway line where most of the post 1974 housing development has occurred is entirely government-owned.

Structure owners & tenants

The relationship between structure owners and tenants oscillate from cordial to rough with occasional flare ups. The Nubians and other communities who have settled there have no "legal right" to the land apart from the Temporary Occupancy Licence (TOL) - informal, land rights given through the local administration.

There are five categories of groups of people with vested interest in land:

Nubians who lay claim to the land and who are currently pursuing the issuance of title deeds from the British Government. They claim certain areas of the settlement based on a letter of allocation give by the colonial authorities approximately seventy years ago. Among this group, are two interest groups: The Nubian Council of Elders that wants to be allocated only a portion of the land (350 acres) with title deeds through the British Government.

The "Young Turks" within the Nubian community who feel that the Coucil of Elders is not adequately representing them and they want the entire land allocated to the Nubian, a situation that is causing friction between the young and the old.

Purported structure owners who have title deeds, many of which were attained fraudulently.

Structure owners with unofficial but recognized allocation letters given by local officials. These structure owners are either absentee landlords or live within the settlement. Some of them are CBOs and NGOs and religious organizations working within the community.

The tenants make the fourth and largest group that is laying claim to the land.

Rental economy

A lot of capital invested in rental property comes from outside Kibera. To understand the growth of this rental sector we need to examine the three functions which landlords must fulfill. They are:

- (a) access to land
- (b) access to capital
- (c) estate management

The original squatter who starts to rent out a few rooms has no problems providing he has access to both land and capital (i.e. his own savings). This situation represents the emergent private rental sector in unauthorized settlements that has a long historical legacy within the African locations' of Nairobi. However, there is an inherent contradiction in the expansion of a small-scale landlord's operations. As his scale of operation increases and as access to land becomes politically controlled he may have difficulties securing land and capital, i.e. fulfilling functions (a) and (b). To solve this difficulty the small scale landlord must look elsewhere. Thus he must use links with patrons to gain access to land and/or look elsewhere for additional capital funding. The result of both of these processes is that the small scale operator loses his autonomy. Of course he can operate independently if he has (a) sufficient capital in relation to his venture and (b) access to lard via his personal social networks.

Similarly the political control of land in unauthorized settlements facilitates the emergence of large scale operations. This is because land may be directly allocated to those with sufficient capital but who do not live in the

area to invest in it. This allows for a scale of operation that is not restricted by the general poverty of the settlement. However, this is not to say that a small scale sector does not also exist; it does. These are the mechanisms which encourage the commercialisation of low-income housing and also its increasing dominance by large scale landlords.

Some of the landlord groups are from markedly different social backgrounds from their tenants. It would be fair to say that members of all Kenyan occupational groups are involved in some way or another with the Kibera housing market whether as landlords or tenants. It is important to understand the social inequality of Nairobi that is encompassed in these five categories. Category 1 represents 'middle-class' individuals as well as the Kenyan elite and the emergent bourgeoisie. These individuals might well frequent Nairobi's smart, modern international hotels. Fully 17% of the landlords in our tenant survey and 31% of the large landlords we could identify in our landlords survey are in this category. For example we found doctors, top civil servants and managers from both the parastatal (public) and private sector who were supplementing their incomes by quasi-legal (tax-free) landlordism. Indeed if some informants are to be believed extremely senior politicians in Kenya are also involved in this sector. It is worth noting the variety within the landlord population. Thus at one extreme there are doctors, top civil servants and managers from both the public and private sectors among the landlords. In the middle there are landlords who are policemen, prison officers and a professional photographer. However, as we mentioned earlier there is a significant landlords group from amongst the urban poor.

At the other extreme are tenants who are some of the poorest in Nairobi without a regular income and for whom each day represents a battle for survival. In the middle there is a degree of similarity between the circumstances of landlords and tenants.

The place of residence of the landlords in Kibera tells the same story. 64% of the large landlords (more than 20 room-units) lived outside Kibera.

Income generator

Most landlords only occupy one or two or occasionally three rooms. The average number of rooms per structure is 11.33 or approximately 8, 11, 12. Hence, even if we assume that a landlord owning a structure in Kibera will occupy three out of the average number of ten rooms, which is a generous estimate, seven will be available for rent. Such an activity would yield a gross income of approximately 8'000 Ksh to 10'000 Ksh a month, which is more than an unskilled worker's wage in Nairobi's industrial sector.

This income will also be tax-free, being impossible to declare. A landlord owning 30 units, will have a monthly income of 40'000 ksh, after the initial capital is recouped, which is equivalent to the salary level of some middle rank white collar jobs in Nairobi. However it is important to realize that for some individuals this sector represents their only source of income. In particular for those who are landless and without employment in Nairobi rental housing provides the income for their survival.

Partly in keeping with this there was a high level of absentee landlordism among those landlords who let out more than 20 units. No less than 64% lived elsewhere in Nairobi or Kenya - some lived in other cities and rural areas - while 14% were absentee but lived elsewhere within the settlement - itself an indication of multiple ownership - leaving only 22% living on site with their tenants as resident landlords.

Conflicts

Landlord-tenant relations in Kibera are generally poor, although there are significant differences between villages. There are two main sources of conflict; the payment of rent and the quality of the housing services provided. Here we shall start with the provision of services and then rent.

Housing quality and the provision of services represent a potentially major source of conflict; specifically in this context we mean the provision and maintenance of pit latrines. Conflicts over rent are a function of the commercialization.

By a view on the rent development and the wage development you can see that rent levels in Nairobi and Kibera are increasing faster than wages. When you compare what people normally earn and how much they have to spent for their rent, the difficulty in paying rent is obvious. This is true despite the fact that for the settlement as a whole rental payments represent approx. 25% of household income. As a result the rent is often not paid reguraly or at all.

The ultimate sanction ,encouraging the payment of rents is violence. But beside that during our research we found out that short of this landlords may remove a tenant's door or lock him out; such threats are not idle and we know of quite a few occasions when they have been carried out.

Thus when faced with a rent problem 70% of our tenant sample said they would, negotiate' with their landlord or rent collector or borrow some money. An interesting result of the commercialization of unauthorized housing is the residential mobility within the settlement. This is in strong contrast to subsistence shelter which has very limited mobility as individuals remain in the houses they have constructed. However high rates of mobility are compatible with the operation of a rental housing market: indeed the higher residential mobility of tenants compared with owners is a world-wide phenomenon.

Intra-settlement movement

56% of the people had lived elsewhere in Kibera. This is made up of 33% who had lived in two separate ,villages', 6% who had actually lived in three separate ,villages', and the remaining 17% who had lived in only one other ,village'. In part this high level of intra-settlement mobility may reflect landlord's eviction of their tenants together with differential rent levels within the settlement.

A related segregation and differentiation occurring within the settlement. Thus areas seem to be taking on reputations as ,good' or ,bad' villages. Indeed, while we do not have sufficient data to substantiate this, it does appear that individuals are moving between areas as their economic fortunes change. Hence some individuals we talked to had moved to cheaper accommodation in different locations when they were unable to meet their previous rent levels. However other individuals had moved ,up market' in keeping with their income levels as such property became available. Another interesting feature is that only 3% (3) of our tenants have come from other unauthorized settlements within is that there seems to be a process of residential Nairobi.

But there is another problem as a group some of them don't have houses (and) they have to rent them and as they don't have a permanent income so you find that sometimes the landlord locks their houses (rent arrears); that's the problem they see.'

Member of a Kibera Women's group.

Sometimes we have to face rent problems until the landlord threatens to kick us out. But whenever we turn to him, he normally provides ways and life contiunes the same."

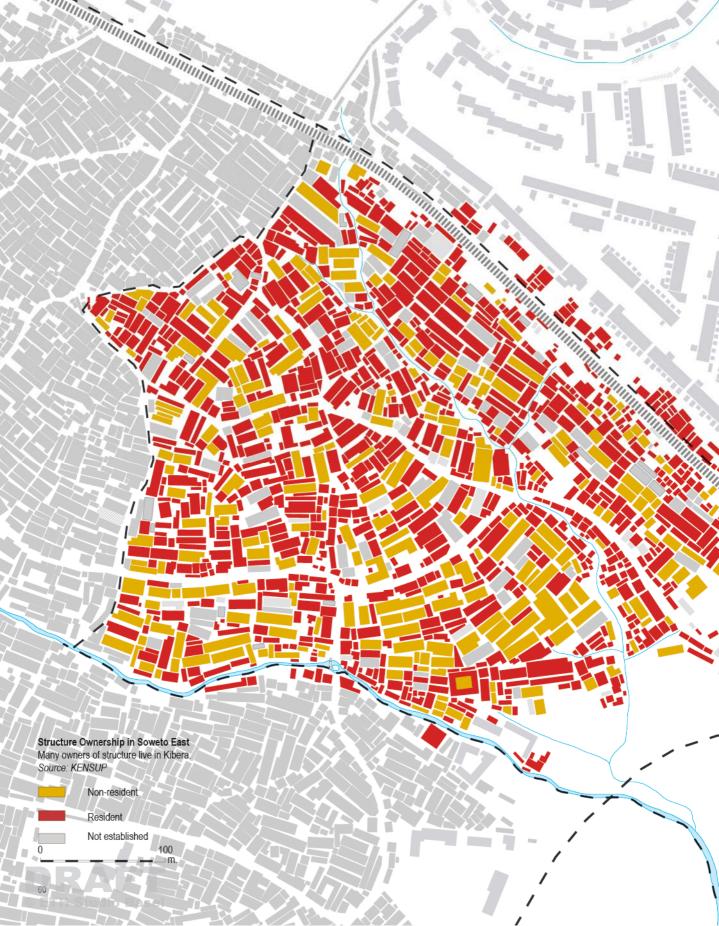
Vivian Atieno

Source: "Life in Kibera" John S. Branam 1994

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury









RENT

Profitability

The profitability of building such housing for rent can be seen from the potential rental income. In one month a structure of 10 rooms will yield a gross income of 15'000 KSh, assuming a rent of 1'500 KSh per room. Thus it can be seen that the initial cost would be recouped in about 8 months, after which the rental income would be pure profit. Needless to say such returns are always tax free since they are undeclared. The scale of these returns explains the involvement of capital in the unauthorized housing market of Kibera.

Rent levels

Whereas squatters used to get the benefit of free land, now the urban poor are tenants and as such no longer live in Nairobi rent-free. Clearly a key element in determining the high level of profits for rental housing is rent levels which in turn reflects the demand for housing within the settlement.

The rent level varies according to the size and quality or finish of the room, i.e. wether the floor is concreted and the wall plastered and the area where the house stands. However it is also worth noting that there is a fairly large amount of variation around these averages.

Share of Expenditure



Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, Gok/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury











Average rent

On average 20% of the household spent between 800 -1200 KSh on rent per month, while 52% spent between 400-800 KSh. The mean income expenditure on rent per month for a Kibera resident was calculated at 830 KSh per month, which are roughly 10% of the total income of a household. Rent, Food and transport are the main leading cost element in Kibera slum. Unlike food transport and education, which can be varied over time, rent remains the main expenditure cost that is fixed for a long period of time. In other word it must be the priority for the household before any other expenditure can be factored in.

Rent costs in Kibera compared to Nairobi

Typical shack in Kibera: Mud floor, 3 by 3 meter. 500 KSh/month

Better house in Kibera: Electricity, concret floor, better site. 1'500 KSh/month



Cheap house near Nairobi: 2 bedrooms, bathroom, kitchen, 10'000 KSh/month



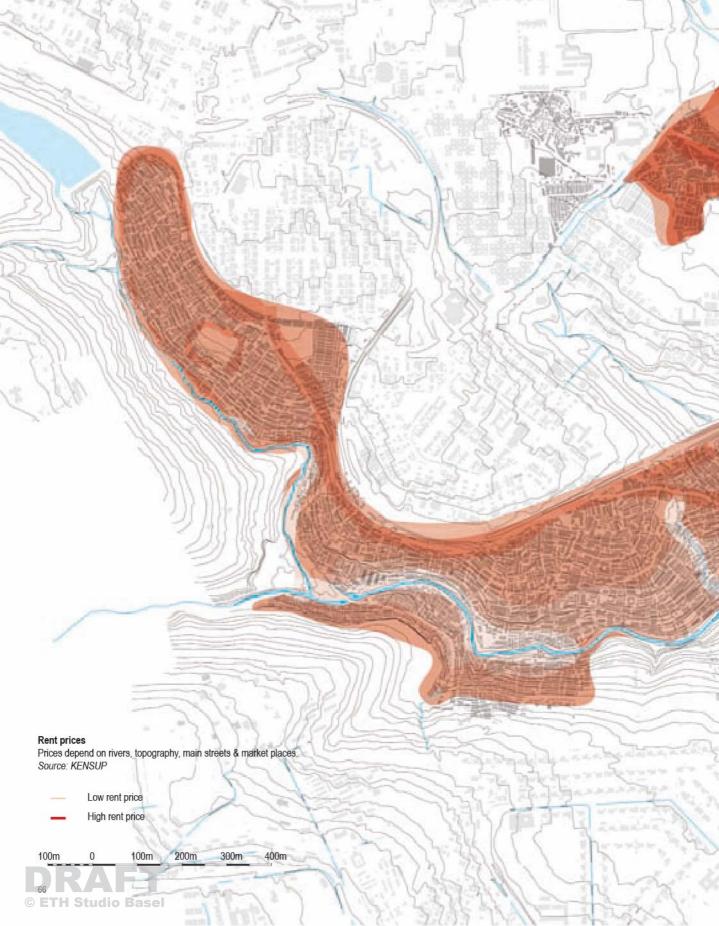
Flat Lavington: 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, pool, gated. 90'000 KSh/month

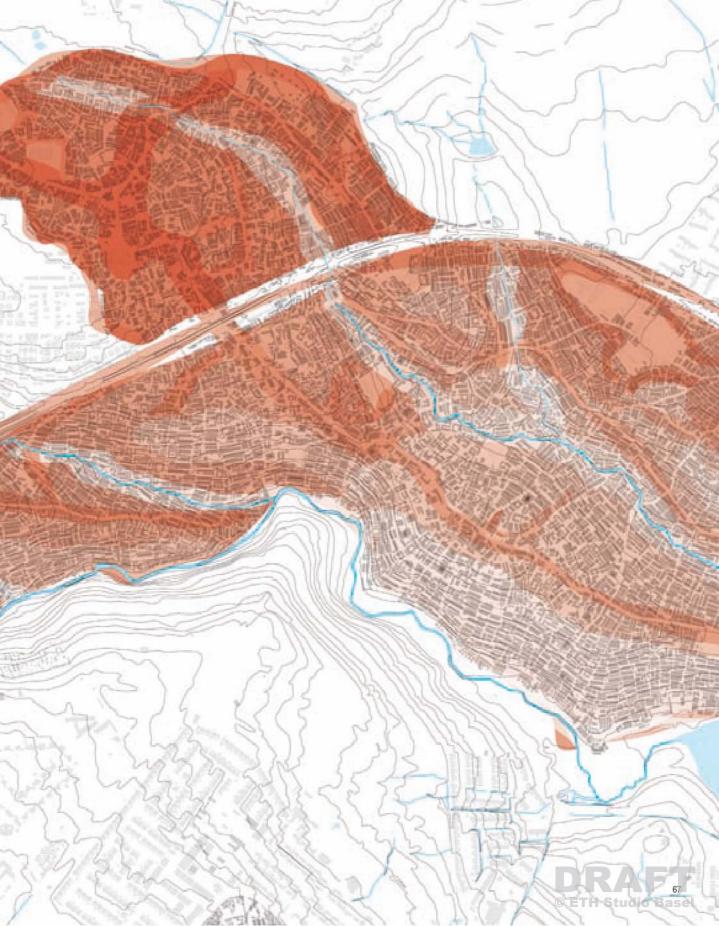


Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

Source: Interviews in Kibera, www.knightfrank.co.uk











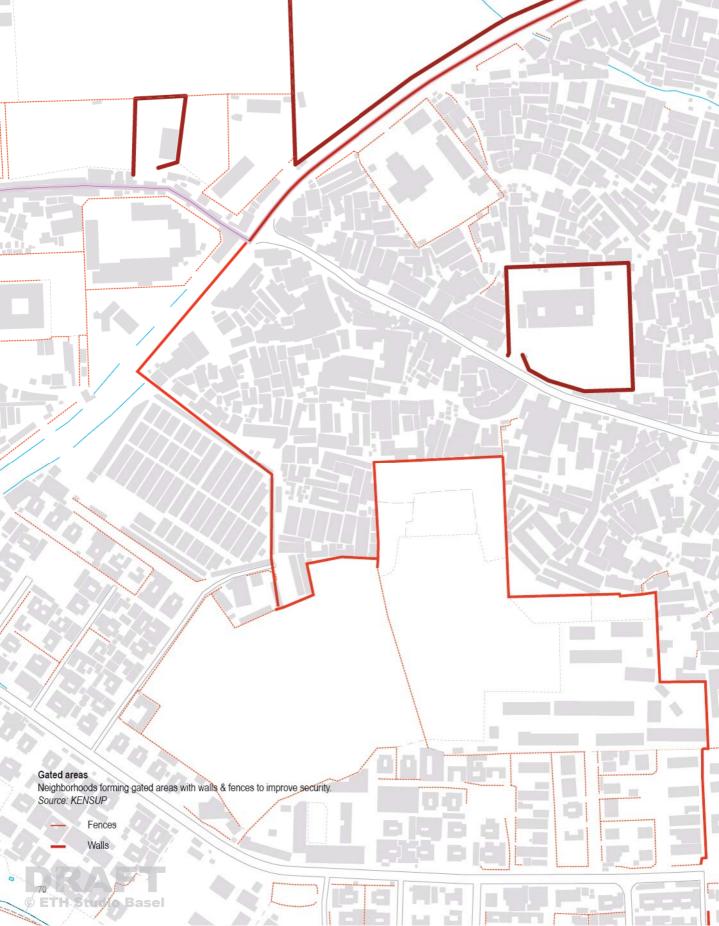
GATED AREAS

Security & privacy

During 1980 it was becoming common for owners to establish and define their 'patches' by constructing fences. In part this may have reflected a desire for security and privacy but it was also a way to establish control over adjacent land. So even in Kibera there are kind of gated communities. Within in a fenced area there are sometimes water tanks and toilets for the inhabitant who live there. Fences and such shared infrastructure tries to improve the living conditions in these areas.

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury

© ETH Studio Basel







4 KIBERA AND ITS BUILDINGS MATERIALS & CONSTRUCTION FLOOR PLANS INTERIOR



MATERIALS & CONSTRUCTION

Materials

As in the whole of Kibera with a few exceptions, houses are built from mud and wattle with a corrugated iron roof. Plaster and concrete for the walls and floor are an optional extra. There are also vast differences within Kibera in building quality and housing conditions.

Building the construction

The construction of a building will involve sub-contracting relationships with one or more informal companies which undertake the building of the wooden frame and roof, the application and consolidation of mud walls and the construction and digging of pit latrines. The division of labour in this production process should be noted. The owner is a different person from the builder in direct contradiction of the image of ,subsistence shelter'*or self-build. The existence of this specialization is an important pre-requisite for the emergence of capitalist relations of production in building. The structures often consists of ten rooms and it takes about two weeks to construct them.

For the construction a permission from the local administration to build and that the Administration Police (i.e. tribal police) is needed. This permission is often checked during construction.

Condition of the buildings

The best Nubian homes in Kibera four rooms for the family; they were rather like semi-affluent ,enclaves' amid poverty and the houses would not look out of place in ex-European Nairobi. However, other ,houses' or blocks were in a state of total disrepair and were often built extremely close to each other, sometimes on swampy sites upon the valley floor.

Urban structure

By looking at the structures and their position to each other you can see the traditional architectural form has been subordinated to the profit motive. The more 'traditional' U-shape with rooms arranged around an internal courtyard that was an adaptation of the Swahali architectural style used in the Nubian area of Kibera has been abandoned, and replaced by simple back-to-back barrack style structures. While these are slightly cheaper to build they are socially inferior since they offer no semi-public space. This is in sharp contrast to the more traditional style where the courtyard offers excellent semi-public space for outdoor use.

It's better now as they used to have carton (cardboard) houses and they used to leak, but nowadays some of them who have got these houses (mud and wattle) they are better because they don't leak. "

Levi Neiblu

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury









INTERIOR

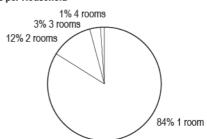
Furnishing

The closely spaced rooms ins Kibera lead to dimly lit rooms. Also that space in the typical 3 by 3 meter rooms is stingy. In most cases all the activities of a house take place in one room, for people with a higher income sometimes in two. In one corner there is a large size bed shared by all the family members. In the next corner there is the kitchen facility consisting of a wooden board plus some plastic pots and a gas cooker. In another corner you can maybe find a cupboard with a radio or a small television. Right next to the entrance there are a few small stools and perhaps a seat around a small table. Often the rooms is only lit through the entrance door and a small window with no direct sun light. The mud and wood walls are very thin and you can hear every noise of the neighbors. Also the roof is not water proof and people try to stop the water from running into the house with some blankets. In some cases you can find an empty bulb holder indicating that electricity even if paid for is often lacking.

Atmosphere

The atmosphere in the interior space is very soft and in complete contrast to the exterior sun lit and loud Kibera. The transition between these two kind of worlds is very clear and hard. You open the door, enter the room and find yourself in a very small place where all the private belongings of a family are stored. Although the place is lacking many things you get the feeling of a sanctuary or private environment. In the overcrowded Kibera this is the only place where a family can find calmness and shelter. So the meaning such a simple room has for an inhabitant of Kibera should not be underestimated.

Rooms per Household

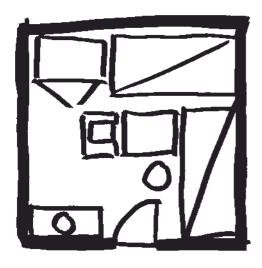


Source: Interview with inhabitants of Kibera

Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey

Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

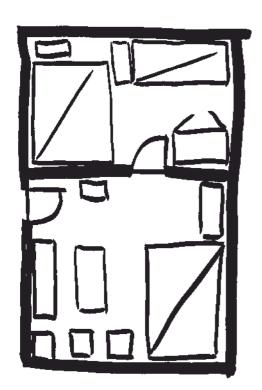




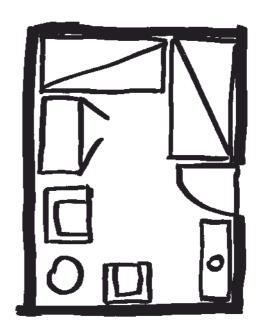
Typical 2 by 2 meter shack for around 500 Ksh per month without electricity and mud floor.



3 by 3 meter standard housing unit inhabited by a family as a multi purpose room.



Standard 3 by 3 meter housing unit extended with a small 2 by 3 meter sleeping room.



3 by 4 meter housing unit as a exception in Kibera.



FLOOR PLAN

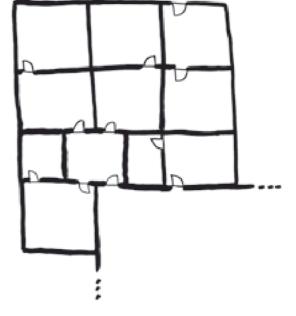
High density

Due to the high density the single-room houses in Kibera are situated very closely and often there is only a very narrow passageway between the houses called "bania" or rat roads. In many cases the houses are arranged in clusters forming larger building-complexes. In this situations the lighting conditions are even worse than in a free standing house. In these clusters there is a main entrance room from which all the houses are accessible. In that case the cluster is forming a kind of a gated neighbourhood where the access is under a clear control.

Flexibility

The floor plans itself are very simple based on a typical 3 by 3 meter room added to form a cluster. Because these type of buildings are very flexible there is no superior building rule. One can just say that every possible square meter that is free will be built. The lack of planning leads to uncontrolled and inhuman urban situations which are very difficult to get rid of because a hole building industry in behind it making good profits.





Combination of two higher-class 3 by 3 meter housing units for 1500 Ksh each including electricity.

Cluster of rooms





5 KIBERA AND ITS INFRASTRUCTURE WATER
DRAINAGE & SANITATION
WASTE
ELECTRICITY
ENERGY
TRANSPORTATION
COMMUNICATION
MEDIA







INFRASTRUCTURE IN GENERAL

Minimal infrastructure

The Administration provides the absolute minimum level of public infrastructure. It does not provide metalled roads, or a sewerage system and the water supply is limited and expensive. The fact that the water supply exists at all is directly linked to the health risks associated with cholera. More generally the lack of infrastructure is due to a lack of public expenditure which reflects the low political priority of such areas.

Absent government

The government on the one hand does not want to encourage slum growth, but on the other hand they have planned to eventually provide minimum services. Stuck in the middle, they have done virtually nothing; leaving the work for Non-Governmental Organizations.

Source: "Life in Kibera" John S. Branam 1994

Source: Investigation of Actors Operating in Kibera, Government of Kenya & UN-HABITAT, 2004

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury

DRAF₈₃
© ETH Studio Basel





WATER

Water distribution

Water is provided to the consumer in the following way. Water is sold by Nairobi City Coucil licensed kiosk owners who pay for the installation charges and pipes. Their profits are made in a middleman position between Nairobi City Coucil/Water Authority and the consumer. The level of water consumption in the settlement is extremely low. Water consumption is an interesting example of the disadvantages of providing a basic need via the market place. Thus since water is being sold explicitly as a commodity its consumption is extremely low even by third world standards. It is possible for the very poorest to spend nearly 10% of their incomes upon water.

Distribution means

The major sources of water supply community taps (69% of households), and water vendors (24% of households), Only 5% of households have house taps. 83% of the community taps are owned by entrepreneurs.

Prices

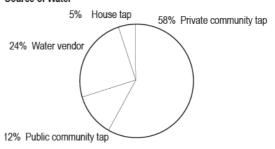
When you compare how much middle income inhabitants within Nairobi pay for their water it is quite astonishing that low income inhabitants pay more per liter of water as well as collect it themselves. 20 liters cost between 2 and 5 Ksh within Kibera at community water points. Water vendors charge inflated rates of between 10 and 20 Ksh for a 20-litre can

The cost of water is high with average households daily water expenditure of 13.40 Ksh. This translates to a monthly household water expenditure of 402 Ksh. This is considered too high an expenditure on water by the poor residents. The low-income households pay more for water to the vendors than the high-income groups with house water connection pay to the city water provider, the Nairobi city council. Most households only need about 60 liters of water daily for cooking and washing utensils. When families are financially pressed, they skip bathes, while laundry is done occasionally. Others are forced to use water from the adjacent highly polluted Ngong River and Nairobi dam.

Reliance on piped water

Many actors recommended that consideration should be given for alternative water sources such as sinking of bore holes to reduce over-relicance on piped water. The sector is well organized at the implementation level but lacks coordination at macro (Kibera-wide) level

Source of Water



Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

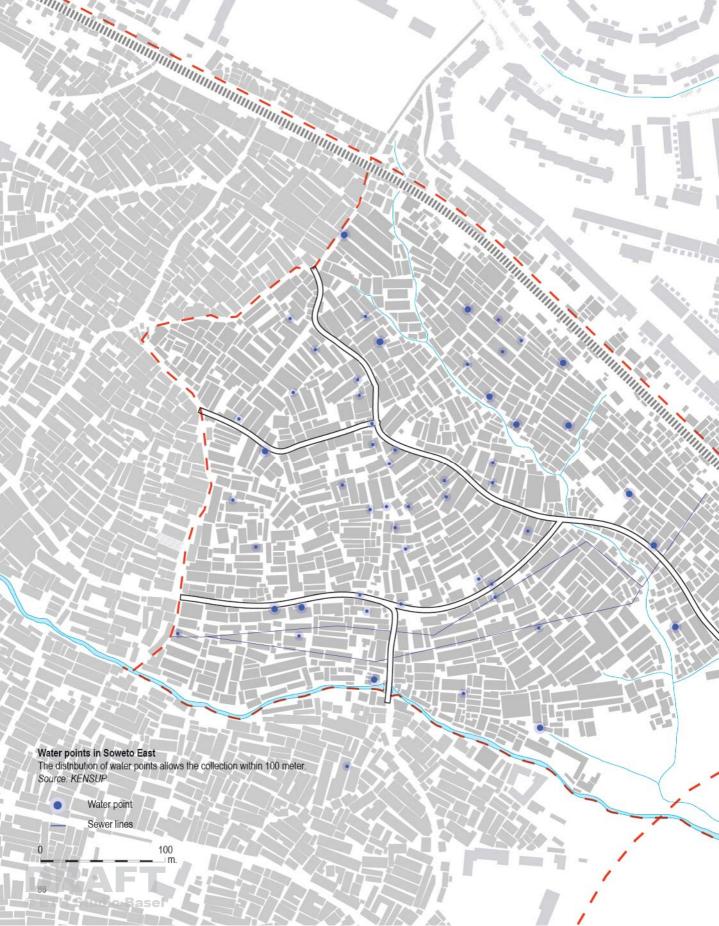
Source: Life in Kibera, John S. Branam, 1994

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury

DRAF 85













SANITATION & DRAINAGE

Responsibility of the government

The local administration has effectively abdicated responsibility for services and infrastructure provision. Consequently there is no public transport within the settlement, nor are there any public toilets.

Excreta disposal

In Kibera there are very few water-born sewage system. Thus excreta disposal is provided for by pit latrines constructed by landlords for use by their tenants. These pit latrines will be shared by the tenants. The problem of latrine's maintenance and replacement is acute since the working latrines become overutilized. The 'communal' use of latrines by tenants often results in poor level of maintenance and cleanliness since nobody has 'responsibility'. Those latrines which are in private houses are often in excellent condition.

Consequences

The sanitation problem of Kibera is thus not a technological one but a social one. The result of the present situation is that tenants use 'open' sites in the valleys of the settlement or sanitation facilities elsewhere in Nairobi. The health importance of the sanitation situation in Kibera cannot be overemphasized. Without improvement in sanitation or water provision cholera must remain an ever-present threat.

If I had the power, I would create a proper system of drainage, create more pipelines in order to provide clean water an would also not allow industries to dump their waste in the river"

Irene Esonga

© ETH Studio Basel

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury





WASTE

Refuse disposal

The overall sanitation situation is further exacerbated by the lack of an adequate refuse or rubbish disposal system. Refuse collection by the Nairobi City Council is minimal. Similarly there is very little burning of rubbish by the inhabitants of the settlement; consequently there are large quantities of refuse around the area. This fact is clearly a health risk. Traditionally the responsibility of solid waste collection, transportation and disposal has been vested with the Nairobi City Council. The council has miserably failed in this responsibility and is only able to collect less than 5% of the total waste.

Consequences

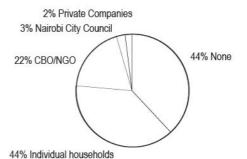
The generated waste is dumped in all the available spaces such as the open trenches, Ngong River, Nairobi dam, roads and pathways and all over the place. It rots and stinks noxiously and pollutes the entire environment on a large ecological scale. The dumping sites have become the breeding ground for houseflies, disease carrying vectors and rodents. They occupy a lot of space and are aesthetically and socially undesirable. The fact that the informal settlements have very high population densities translates to higher waste generation per unit area, which means more environmental pollution

Poor sanitation is another reason for pollution. Pollution is like a disease. Unless we all do something about it, it will destroy us and our society. People here in Kenya are careless. They just throw garbage and they do not care about other people"

Vivian Atieno and Linda Nyangasi

We can easily make our environment clean by stopping throwing rubbish everywhere but most people don't care and destroy the environment" Michael Maina and Frederick Ochieng

Waste Collection



... Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury

ELECTRICITY

Provision of electricity

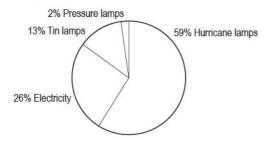
In most cases electricity is not or not properly provided in Kibera. Because people cant afford to pay for electrical power they often steal it from the main electrical cord by simply hooking up a wire to it. This leads often to blackouts and makes the provision of electrical current very insecure. On top of that these hand-made electrical cords are a severe danger to the people due to short circuit caused when it rains.

As in any other city today electrical power is needed in Kibera not only for lighting but also for electrical devices such as television, radio or mobile phones. Electricity is therefore a basic energy source for daily life.

Adopt a light

But electricity is also of importance for security reasons. There is no official street lighting in Kibera. This makes the night to even more dangerous time in the narrow roads of Kibera. People fear to go out at night. This drawback is targeted by the "Adopt a Light" program chaired by Ms. Esther Passaris. Ms. Passaris is running a private street lighting firm which is erecting street lights all over Nairobi financed by advertising panels on each of these street lights. With the profit of this business the firm now donated light masts in the villages Gatwekere and Kianda with more to come in the future. These masts light a huge area during night time and prevent crimes. Sadly the electrical cords to these masts are misused for stealing electricity as this happens all over Kibera.

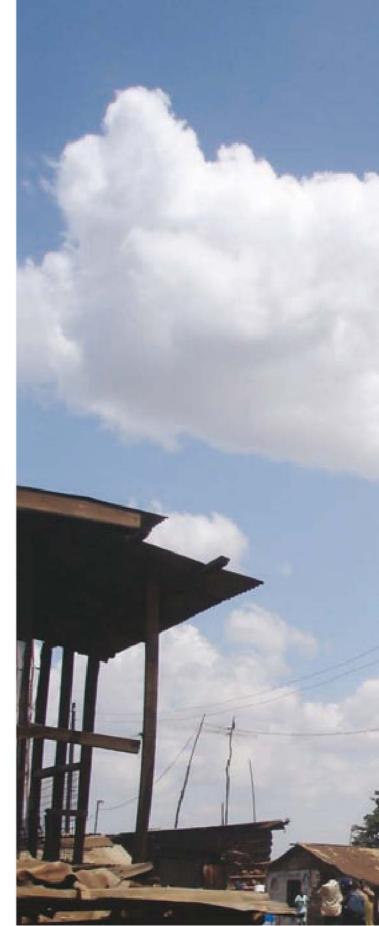
Lighting Energy Sources



Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, Gok/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

Source: interwie with local inhabitants and UN Habitat







MAFUTA

WHOLESALE

RETAIL

DRAFT



ENERGY

Coal

The main energy course in Kibera is coal which people buy in small buckets for around 20 KSh. The wood is collected in the rural areas and than transported by truck into Nairobi where it is retailed at numerous outlets; there were many of these in Kibera. It is rumored that influential individuals and large sums of capital are involved in this informal activity since the price mark-up and profitability are substantial. This activity has been the focus of some attention as the continual search for wood may produce environmental degradation, through deforestation. This is likely to exacerbate Kenya's problems of soil erosion and run off.

Other energy sources

Another important source is kerosene which is the cheapest fossil energy source used for gas cookers and oil lamps. People go and buy their kerosene in small amounts at the many gas stations in Kibera called "maputa taa". "Maputa" meaning oil and "taa" meaning light.

TRANSPORTATION

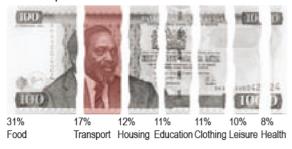
Main streets and banias

The road system which is important for provision of such public services as fire protection, police and ambulance is totally inadequate. The settlement is serviced by a hierarchy of murram (dried earth) roads and footpaths. Vehicles access is almost exclusively by Kibera Drive to the North or from Mbagatti Way into Lini Saba. From these two main entry points there are tracks along both ridges along. Running from this there is an elaborate and well defined network of footpaths. In the dry season the access is adequate although dusty. However in the wet season without appropriate storm drains the majority of routes are impassible. For example in many places the mud forms to a depth of one metre. In such situations vehicle access is impossible.

Transportation as main expenditure

Transportation cost is a key component of expenditure to anybody who works in Nairobi and resides in its periphery. Most of the Kibera residents work in Nairobi industrial areas. Even for those who do not work in Nairobi they must commute to their place of work. On average the household spends a significant share of their income on transport at about 1255 KSh. Only about 26% don't spend money on transport. Ultimately, transport expense, like food expenditure, takes large proportions of daily household income. The high cost in transport is currently motivated by reforms in the transport industry which have seen significant hikes on fares with public transport like buses and 'Matatus'.

Share of Expenditure



Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis University of Kent at Canterbury







COMMUNICATION

Mobile phone

The direct face to face communication is very important in Kibera and strongly related to the neighbourhood people are living in and the tribes they derive from. The main mean for indirect communication is the cell phone a technology that has been rapidly adopted also in Kibera. The advantages are clear: The cell phones are a very cheap and simple technology allowing even the poorest to stay in contact with their friends in Kibera or the relatives in the countryside where they come from. Therefore it is not surprising that you can find a cell phone shop just around the corner in Kibera. Another reason for the good and fast acceptance of the cell phone is the fact that there are no post offices in Kibera and the communication with a letter is much more expensive and complicated.



Source: interwie with local inhabitants and UN Habitat







MEDIA

Radio & television

The most important mean for information distribution in Kibera is the radio. Many people do have radio devices which allow to get new from all over the world with a cheap technology. There is even an attempt to reserve a radio frequency for a station in Kibera. Another more and more important source for news and entertainment is the television. Often you can find a public television room showing the live broadcast of the current football game in Europe. People pay a small fee to watch the games in these so called stadiums which are fed via a satellite dish.

Kibera Journal

The distribution of news via newspaper is very rare in Kibera. On the one hand this a more expensive way of getting information and on the other hand a good portion of the people is not able to read properly. To change this situation the Ghetto Development Centre founded by a Norwegian doctor started publishing the "Kibera Journal" in 2007. In the beginning they produce a newspaper every month for 20 cents and with a circulation of 1000 units. The paper is not only dealing with stories from Kibera it is also produced in Kibera except for the printing part.

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury



6 KIBERA AND ITS PEOPLE ORIGIN & ETHNICITY DEMOGRAPHY SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURE NUTRITION LEISURE







ORIGIN & ETHNICITY

Tribes

Ethnically Kibera contains representatives of all major groups in Kenya. Kibera has an over-representation of Nubians, Luos and Luhyas and an under-representation of Kikuyus and Kambas. This is a result of the historical development of Kibera. The Nubian historical involvement with Kibera and their lack of a rural, area is of particular importance for policy suggestions.

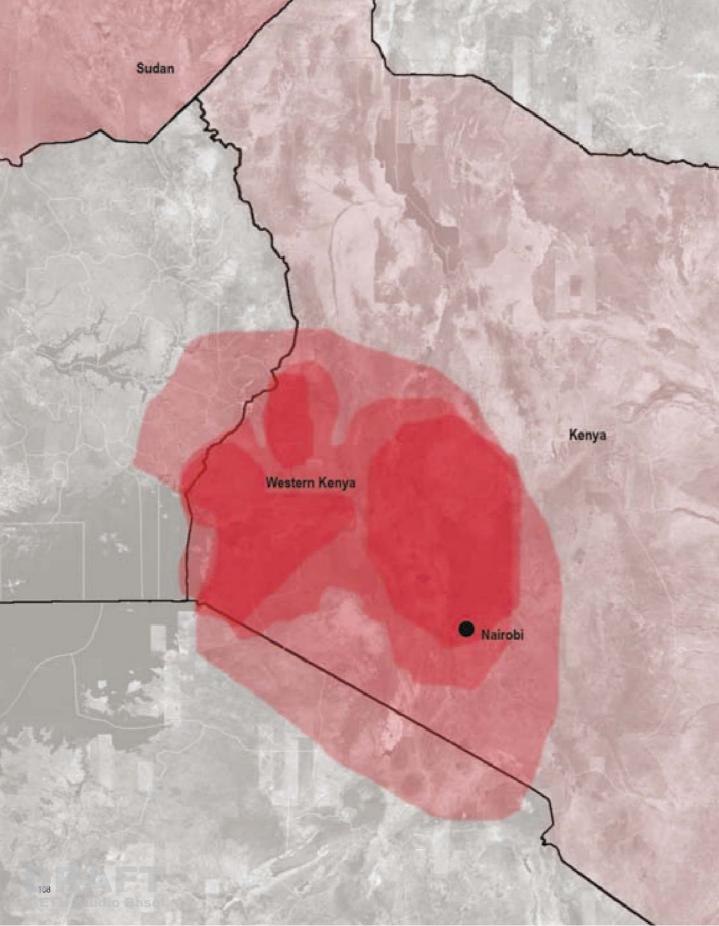
Rural area

Many People come from the rural ares. Consequently it should not surprise us that they maintain social and economic links with the rural districts they have migrated from. Indeed, such links are partly a function of economic necessity. The continuing existence and strength of urban-rural links suggests that the domestic economy may still function as an important source of economic security and that 'proletarianization' does not seem to be well advanced in Nairobi.

Reasons Why People Live in Kibera

Source: Investigation of Actors Operating in Kibera, Government of Kenya & UN-HABITAT, 2004

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury





Western Kenya

The majority of the tenant population come from the areas of severe land shortage in Western Kenya, where there is such a population pressure on land that it is almost an economic necessity for one member of the family to migrate to Nairobi. The simple answer to the question "Why did they come to Nairobi," is "to look for work."

Duration people stay in Kibera

We can see that there is substantial variation in the length of time that Kibera tenants have been in Nairobi. Thus while 29% have been in Nairobi less than 2 years we also find that 18% have been in Nairobi over thirteen years. This suggests that Kibera has a significant number of recent migrants.

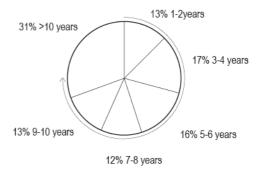
Rural origin

It is apparent from the data that while it is rare (5%) not to visit one's rural area at all; it is also not particularly common to visit one's rural area frequently i.e. more than once a month (16%). It seems that the majority only visits their rural area on their annual 'leave' (77%). This seems a likely conclusion as 70% come from Western Kenya (Western and Nyanza provinces, approximately 300 km from Nairobi). the expense and time of travelling (a 6-day working week is the norm in Kenya) must also mitigate against frequent visits.

,...ethnic enclaves are variously reported and with rapidly growing urban populations having- to rely more and more on self-built housing in ,unauthorized' areas, seem likely to increase...'

Parkin

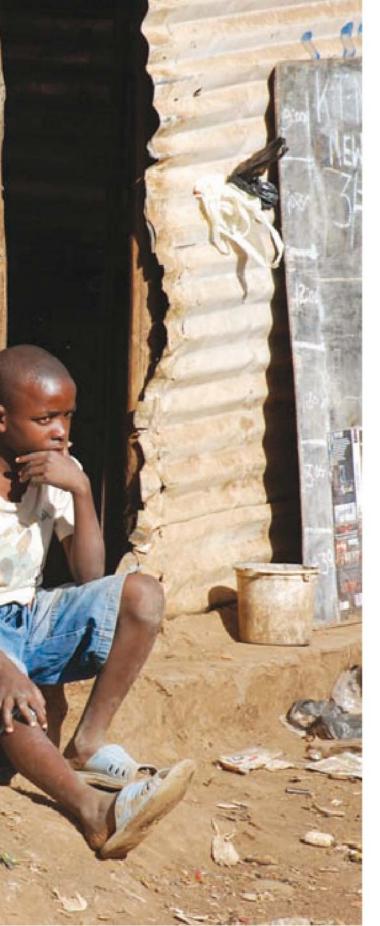
Nuber of Years Lived in Kibera



Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

DRAF₁₀₉
© ETH Studio Basel





DEMOGRAPHY

Population size

Recent estimates of Kibera's population vary widely, but it is most commonly figured at 700'000 inhabitants. Other numbers speak of up to 1'000'000 dwellers. In a fast growing population as Kibera precise numbers are always difficult to establish.

Young population

As it would be expected of a growing population, survey data show that the majority of the people are young. Half of the population is less than 24 years old, the bulk of this population is likely to be in schools or training institutions. This means that about half of the household members constitute dependent population who are taken care of by those working. It is also notable that the survey showed limited cases of people who considered as "old" in Kenya. Indeed, only a mere 2.3% was at least 54 years.

These findings confirm that urban slums are dominated by a relatively young population of people who have migrated from rural areas in search of better opportunities. And it is a well-known fact that those who migrate are the young and educated.

Domestic units

Such 'bottom-heavy' age structures are typical of developing nations and particularly those with a rapid population increase such as Kenya. This age structure implies a severe strain on the provision of primary education within Nairobi in terms of resource allocation. From the observation of room-occupancy there are two main domestic units in Kibera, firstly married couples with children and secondly single males sharing accommodation.

Age Distribution

>54: 2.3%	
44-53: 3.6%	
34-43: 11.8%	
24-33: 30.5%	
14-23: 20.6%	
4-13: 20.2%]
1-3: 11.0%	

Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002



SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Poverty & middle income

The socioeconomic structure in Kibera is not homogenous. Although poverty is a very big issue there is an astonishing high number of people from the middle income sector. It is therefore not surprising that you can meet well dressed people in Kibera walking to the office in Nairobi with their suite case. Also does an astonishing high number of structure owners live in Kibera even though they sometimes possess 40 ore more building. All this shows that people do highly identify themselves with Kibera as their place of living.

Economic pressure

A slum is often the first location for a rural person coming to the city because of economic pressure. Therefore you can find people from all the tribes in Kenya. In some villages there is a concentration of people from the main tribes in Kenya. A reason for that might be that a good relationship to the surrounding society is very important in cases of health services, and security. Many people identify them self with their tribes. A stranger coming from a rural area to the city often tries to get a place near is own tribes.

I live in a small pretty family of a mother and a child that is myself. My mom is a single mother and she works in the small business sector to make sure that I am well off. Despite the dangers we face such as house rent, foods and other basic needs we still have managed to live happily as a family"

Vivian Atieno

Source: Investigation of Actors Operating in Kibera, Government of Kenya & UN-HABITAT, 2004

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury











NUTRITION

Food insufficiency

Food comprises the largest proportion of household expenditure. The mean food expenditure is 2'300 Ksh per month per household. This translates into less than 100 Ksh a day for the entire household. Given that on average a household had at least five members, food insufficiency confronts the Kibera household. The implication is low food intake for the Kibera dwellers and it is not surprising that further finding on food intake in Kibera indicate that majority of the resident hardly have three meals a day. It is a fact that borrowing to bridge the food intake has become the order of the day for most of the residents in Kibera...

Nutrition & helath

Nutritional status is a result of complex interactions between food, consumption and the overall status of health and care practices. Poor nutritional status is one of the most important health and welfare problems facing Kenya today and afflicts the most vulnerable groups, women and children.

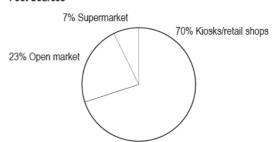
Skipping meals

At least 59% of households get enough food daily. A large proportion of 41% did not receive adequate daily food, both in terms of quantity and type. To deal with food insufficiency, people adopt different techniques. Many simply skip meals, which implies taking food once or twice in a day, others ration their intake and spread their meals the normal three times a day. Some people even borrowed food to bridge the meal deficit.

Typical dish

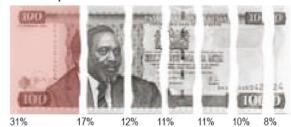
75% of the population manage a low-income cadre urban traditional breakfast of tea and toast or mandazi. The remaining 23% take either tea only, porridge, or last night's food remains. A traditional meal called Ugali is the staple food among the Kibera residents. Meat, fish, and chicken are a luxury foodstuff, and do not comprise a significant portion of food expenditure among the residents. Only 32% managed meaty food twice a week. The rest consumed meat once a weak (31%), less than once a week (28%). Again only 5% managed meat on daily basis.

Foot Sources



Share of Expenditure

Food



Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

Transport Housing Education Clothing Leisure Health

DRAF₁₁₅
© ETH Studio Basel

SENATOR EXTRA LAGER N HUT BAR REST

Have a Senator roday!



Studio Basel



LEISURE

Alcohol

The settlement has many bars and hotels (little cafes) catering the area's inhabitants. These hotels mainly cater for single male migrant workers. An important aspect of the area's local economy is the illegal distillation of alcohol. The drink produced (charkaa) is extremely cheap and potent. It is made from the distillation of traditional beer (busies) which is made from maize and aillet. This activity has many classic features of the informal sector; namely the ambiguous role of the state, high profits and social costs. There is both active police harassment for some outlets and tacit recognition for others. For example, one informant said that the regular customers at the bar in her room were the police. When a neighbor irritated by the noise complained to the police station about the bar's existence, a different group of police came to investigate. There then ensued an internal police discussion, presumably where rank was pulled, about what to do about this bar.

According to informants the profit margins for distilling are extremely high. In part this must reflect the risk and insecurity involved. Alcohol provides cheap escapism for the urban poor to numb themselves from the harsh reality they face. However, since this sector is illegal, there is no control on whether the alcohol produced is methanol or ethanol. While ethanol (C9H5OH) is what is normally consumed as alcohol, methanol (CH3OH) is poisonous (e.g. ,meths') and causes health damage, i.e. eye problems.

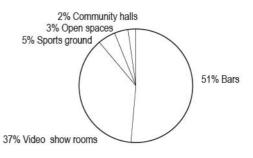
Television

In Kibera there are many so called television stadiums where people meet to watch tv for a small fee. Live broadcasts of football games especially from the European football leagues are very popular. For people with a bit of money television is also at home a mean for entertainment and information. It is therefore not surprising to see here and there a satellite dish between the iron roofs.

Free time is the time when everyone is through with his or her duties and can rest. This also the time when one can get together with his or her friends to share ideas play together and also so some chanty work. Many people abuse this time because they don't know the meaning of it. You find youths or even adults engaging into activities which instead of helping them they destroy themselves. Such activities are fighting, drinking beer or taking drugs. Such activities in the name of free time have made many people loosing their life or getting terrible injuries."

Vivian Atieno

Knowledge of Recreational Facilities



Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

DRAF₁₁₇
© ETH Studio Basel

Expenditure on leisure

Using a definition of leisure as an activity that requires expenditure, households in Kibera engage in a low level of leisure activity. The majority of households in Kibera spend a very small proportion of their income on leisure. The mean expenditure in leisure is 800 KSh per month. This means the leisure-work relationship in Kibera is skewed toward work. The perception here is, leisure is consumed after some level of income is attained. To this end, leisure is not considered as a basic good and consumption of leisure would mean misappropriation of income. In most cases household expenditure surpassed the available revenue or income resources

I love free time. We should use our leisure time so that we cannot be lazy people in the future. God commanded people to use their leisure time so they can earn a living. A good example of leisure activity is playing football which has promoted the youths fighting against drug abuse."

Robert Kyalo

According to my income I am not supposed to have any entertainment, except the church."

inhabitant in Kibera

Free time is the time where you don't have to do anything. It is also called leisure time. At my free time on Monday I read a story book and I told my friends at school about it and they were really interested in it. On Tuesday I didn't have free time because there was so much work to do for me, at class and at home. The rest of the week I didn't have any free time because there were so many things to do, too. But at the weekend I had my free time where I was watching films and I was very happy to spend my time with that."

John Chege

Share of Expenditure



 31%
 17%
 12%
 11%
 11%
 10%
 8%

 Food
 Transport
 Housing Education Clothing Leisure Health

Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002







QUESTIONARY

KIBERA RESEARCH

1. Housing	
1.1 Where Soweto.	
1.2 House	1
1.3 Room	
1.4 Family/Clan Solo.	
1.5 Rent 400. Der month.	
1.6 Frequency of paying	
1.7 Owners YES.	
1.8 Homeliness NOT ADEQUATE.	
1.9 Origin VILLIGA DISTRICT - 4	h .
1.10 Tribe LUHYA.	
2. Working	
2.1 Where OLYMPIC ESTATE.	
2.2 Type of work	
2.3 Earnings SOME DAYS NOTHING	
2.4 Permanent Job TEMPORARY	
2.5 Hours per day 15 Hrs.	
2.6 Support for how many people	
2.7 Transportation WALKING MAT	ATU (NOT OFTEN).
2.8 Costs for transport 30/ - 40	
2.9 Preferred/future work BRIVER -	
2 10 How often you change working place	NOT TOO OFTEN WHEN OPPORTUR
	ARISES.
3. Administration	Marie B.3.
3.1 Education	
3.1.1 Location Attended	
3.1.2 Duration	
0.4.0.0	
3.1.4 Number of pupils per class	
3.1.5 Subjects/courses	
3:1.6 Do you like School?	
3.1.7	
3.2 Registration	
3.2.1 Office for registration VINIGA	METRICT - EMULAYA MULLION
3.2.2 Office for election OLYMPIC PAI	
3.2.3 Which party you vote for/why Ob	M.
3.2.4 Contact person from administration	MIN.
3.2 Transportation	
3.2.1 Means of transportation	
3.2.2 Responsibility for streets 3.2.3 Who decides	
J.Z.3 WIND DECIDES	

* GENERAL FEELING THAT AID DOESN'T GET. TO THEM.





2.2.1	
3.3 Health	¥.
3.3.1 Hospitals CAROLINA	_
3.3.2 Alternative possibilities PRIVATE CHEM (STS.	
3.3.3 Costs FREE EXCEPT FROM THE PRIVATE CLINICS.	
3.3.4 Location SARA NGOMBE LOCATION.	_
3.3.5 Diseases	
	_
3.4 Cemetery	
3.4.1 Costs	_
3.4.2 Organizations	
3.4.3 Locations	_
3.5 Security	
3.5.1 Organization YES. 3.5.2 Neighborhood watching YES.	_
3.5.2 Neighborhood watching YFS.	
3.5.3 You feel secure YES TO A CERTAIN EXTENT, NO AT NIGH	T.
3.6 Criminality	
3.6 Criminality 3.6.1 What kind THIEVES	
3.0.2 Dangerous location	
3.6.3 Police NONE GO INTO THE SLUWS ONLY THE PERIPHERY.	
3.6.4 Solving problems POLICE PRESENCE	
4. Religion	
4.1 Believe CHRISTIAN - ANGLICAN.	
4.2 Churches	
4.3 Religious places	
4.4 Responsible person	
4.5 Change your religion No.	
4.5 Change your religion No- 4.6 Different religious areas/yillages	
4.7	
5. Communication	
5.1 Relation to Neighborhood LESIDENT FOR MYRAES	
5.2 News media TV - KTN , RADIO - EASY FM.	
5.3 Interest in local politics YES.	
5.4 Interest in worldwide politics YE c.	
5.5 Means of communication	
6. Leisure /	
6.1 Time/regularity RUNNING MILY EXCEPT SUNDAY. MORNING.	
6.2 What kind	
6.2 What kind	
6.4 Money for leisure 1, 200 /= per month.	
6.5 Music REGGAE, 6.6 Football WATCHING - ARSENAL FAN-	
O.O. FOODBILL WATCHING MESERAL PAR-	

1200.





7 KIBERA AND ITS INSTITUTIONS ACTORS RELIGION EDUCATION HEALTH ADMINISTRATION & SECURITY



CAFS AMDA MRAMMA UNICEF Faula Kenya Pamoja Trust Makina mosque Nyumbani Children's Home Glory Church and School **African Divine Church** Ushirika wa Usafi **Shelter Forum**

> St Gabriel **Undugu Society**

HACI

Oxfam-GB University of Nairobi UN-HAE Kenya Medical Research Inst Education department of the N Salvation Army Church Maji na Ufani **Provincial Administration**

French Embassy Childr Ministry of Gender, Sport

CordAid Nat Kenya AIDS NO

Sw

Ministry of Trans Christ the King Ca Kibera Community Se Ministry of Roads, Public

Pumwani Hospital Kenya Women F

African Medical Research Foundation Wo National Housing Corporation Holy Trinity Parish Ushirika wa Maisha na Maendeleo, Kianda Agence Française de Développement Department for International Development United Nations Development Programme Provincial Administration Department of Housing Kibera Childhood Education Programme

> Centre for Disease Control Kibera Silanga Youth Group Kituo Cha Sheria **Ghetto Child**

Actors in Kibera

Actors listed in the "Investigation of Actors Operating in Kibera" from the Government of Kenya and UN-HABITAT from 2004

Governmental ministries Governmental organisations Local non-governmental organsations International organisations Religious organisations Other Organisations



SITAT itute airobi City Council si MSF-Belgium , Nairobi Area

inance Trust

rld Vision

Curch

en's Legal Aid Network

s, Culture and Social Services

ional AIDS and STDs Control Programme

Os Consortium Ministry of Lands and Settlement

Intermediate Technology Development Group - East Africa

Kibera Community Self-Help Programme Department of Lands

edish International Development Agency **Rent Restriction Tribunal** sport and Communication ActionAid Women Fighting AIDS in Kenya

Ministry of Local Government Kenyatta National Hospital tholic Church

If-Help Project Water and Sanitation Program-Africa region of the French government Works and Housing

Presbyterian Church of East Africa Department of Urban Development ChristianAid

Ministry of Water Resources Management and Development Nairobi City Council Kibera Community Educational Programme

Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme Ministry of Health Family Health International

Missionaries of Christ The World Bank National Aids Control Council

Africa Network for Protection and Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect

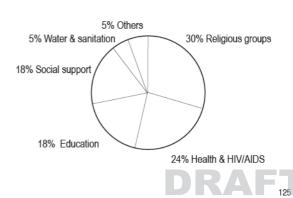
Poverty Eradication Programme Department of Physical Planning Kibera Urban Environmental Sanitation Project Child Rights Advisory, Documentation, and Legal Centre

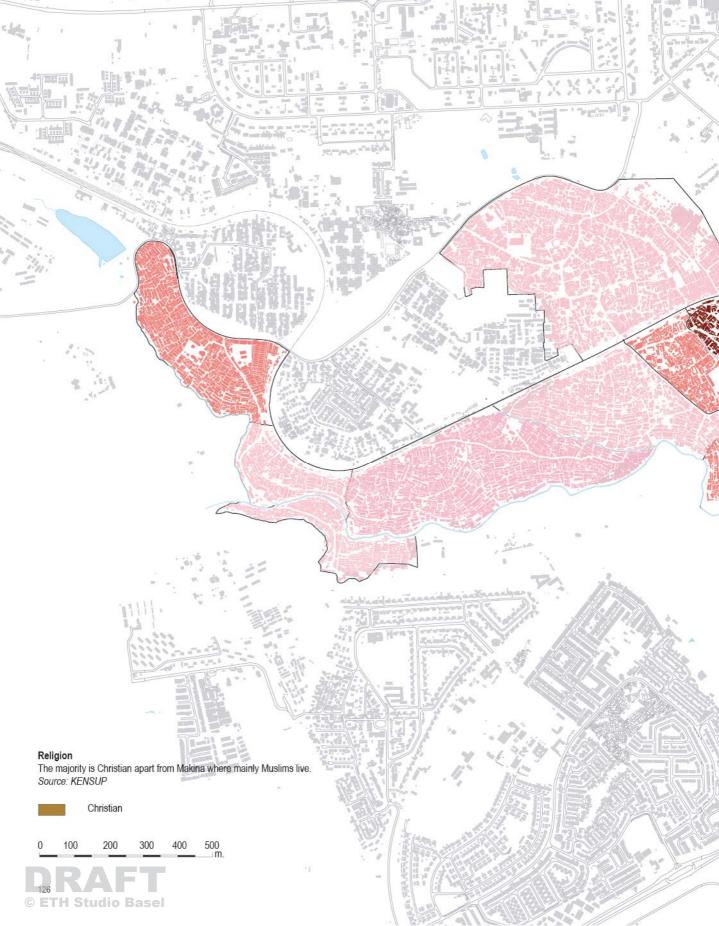
Kibera Water Distribution Infill Component

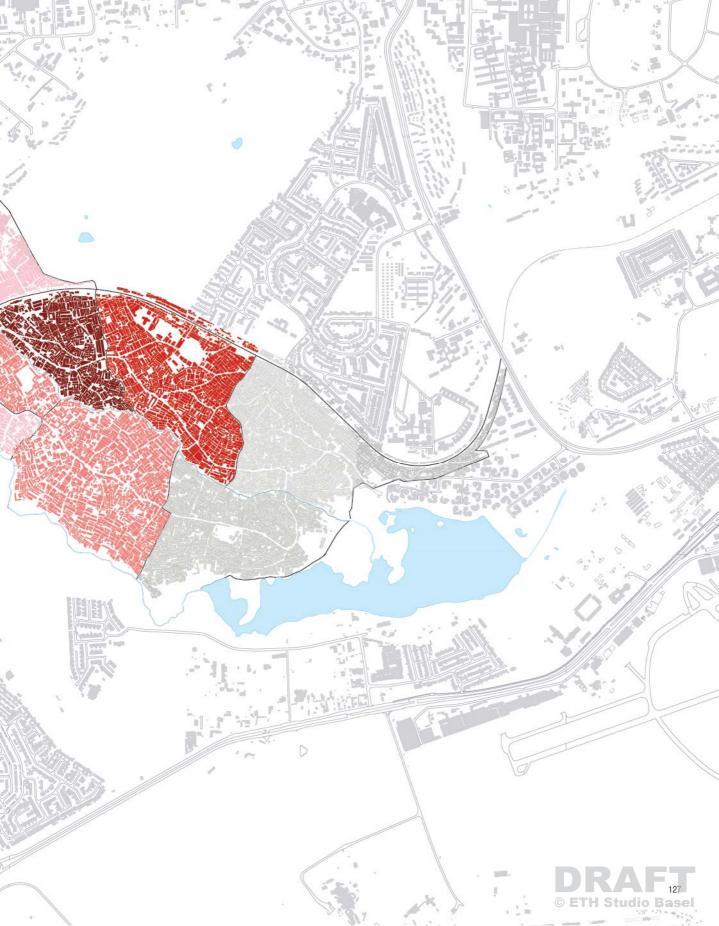
Kibera Landlords Multipurpose Cooperative Society

Kibera Rent and Housing Forum Muungano wa Wanavijiji

Actor Groups in Kibera











RELIGION

Christian & Muslim

On Saturday and Sunday Kibera is full of the noises of religious meetings. This shows the important role of the churches and the strong belief in Religions of Kibera's society. Beside Makina where the majority Muslim most people in Kibera are Christian.

Appearance

Churches are spread all over Kibera. The construction of the churches is often the same as the houses. So it is often difficult to distinguish a church from a normal house.

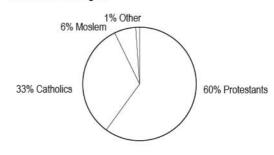
Denominations

More than half of the people are Protestants who were from different denominations. The Catholics constituted just about a third of the population. The recent emergence of many evangelical churches (constituting various denominations of the Protestant Church) targeting the poor in Kenya probably explains why there are more Protestants than Catholics in Kibera. The Moslems only constituted 6% of the population, these are likely to be Nubians who are predominantly Moslems.

My mom is a God fearing woman and this has also turned me into becoming a true Christian since whenever we face problems my mom normally turns to God and her prayer"

Vivian Atieno

Distribution of Religion



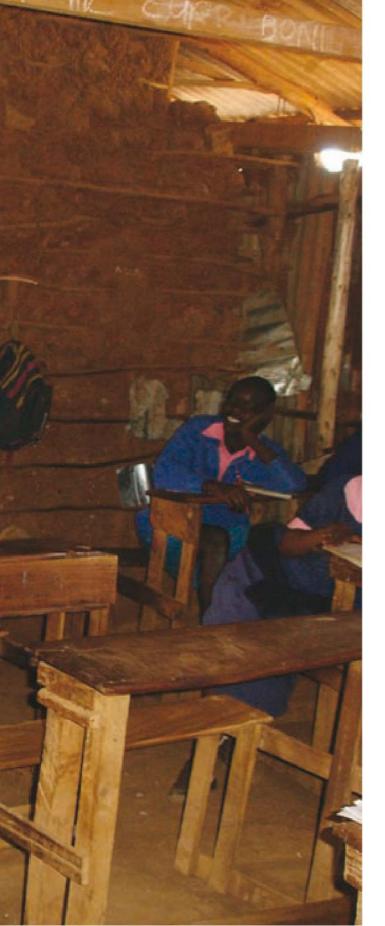
Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

DRAF₁₂₉
© ETH Studio Basel









EDUCATION

Level of education

Traditionally education in Kenya has been seen as the 'escape route' from poverty. The first point about the table of survey is the wide range of the formal education of the inhabitants of Kibera. Hence while 27% have had less than four years education we also find that 18% have had more than ten years education. Clearly, to some extent, the fact that the younger tenants have had more education than their older counterparts reflects the success of Kenya's educational policy.

Rising qualification levels

However unfortunately the data also tells another story; thus if we can make the approximate assumption that the inhabitants of Kibera occupy roughly similar occupational and income niches in Kenyan society, then it is clear that the new arrivals are considerably more educated than their elders. This is because the qualifications needed for a given job are continuously rising which reflects the inability of the Kenyan labour market to absorb the output of its education system. Many rural peasant funds, mainly from kin, are being mobilized for secondary education in the belief that recipient of the education will gain a good job to pay back this 'investment'.

Schools

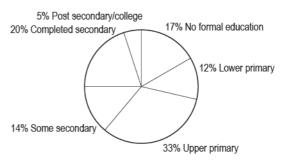
The study found that almost all the initiatives in this sector are by NGOs, churches and individual business people. The Ministry of Education Science and Technology is providing only regulation and licensing. Efforts in education, while well meant, lack central coordination. Space for school building and play fields is critical for development of learning institutions. The current arrangements where children from the settlement seek opportunities in schools outside the settlement should also be strengthened. This allows them to interact with privileged counterparts from the upmarket neighboring estates.

The government of Kenya has come up with initiatives like free primary education so that every children has access to education. That increases the power of knowledge in the society. On the other hand it worsens the quality of the education if finances are limited.

My mother could not cater for all of us, because we were four children and she had no job. I stopped going to school. At that time I was in class six."

Ferderick Ochieng

Level of Education



Source: MYSA Organization Nairobi

Source: Investigation of Actors Operating in Kibera, Government of

Kenya & UN-HABITAT, 2004

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent

at Canterbury

DRAF₁₃₃
© ETH Studio Basel

Expenditure on education

The amount of income devoted to education is relatively low as compared to food, transport and food. The mean expenditure for education falls at 900 KSh of the households that spent money on education. The introduction of free primary education in the country may have helped to decrease this expenditure. Most important, most of household members are young adults who are working and hence have no budget for education. This is further supported by 44% who have no budget for education.

Education is the process of learning for both, girls and boy. The government has said that primary education is for free now."

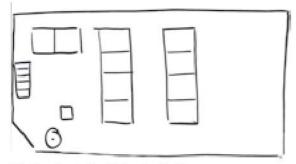
John Chege

Girls in most communities were not supposed to go to school but time is changing now and we as girls go to school and have access to education. You find classes with pupils sitting on the floor with only one teacher. Will they really learn anything?

John Chege

Share of Expenditure





Situation plan sketch private school in Kibera

Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, Gok/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury







A ROAD MED OSE & THROAT AL TREATMENT ELLING PDANNING SATURNES ATORY SERVICE



HEALTH

Diseases

Because of the very bad environmental conditions in Kibera health is a serious problem. The most frequent diseases are Malaria, infections, stomach ache and fever. Most of the health problems are due to the very bad sanitation, sewage, drainage and water infrastructure. Another reason is that people do not have enough money for proper health care.

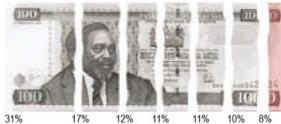
Expenditure on health

With a mean of 600 KSh per month Households spend proportionally less on health than on food. Surprisingly the expectation of higher mean budget in health expenditure due to poor environmental condition of the Kibera slum was reversed. This does not mean that health problem is absent in Kibera, it only points to the idea that health services in Kibera could be receiving some form of subsidies. This relatively low expenditure could be due to the availability of public health facilities, which are highly subsidized by the government. Further it can be argued that, Kibera residents benefit from religious or non-governmental organizations that offer clinical services at low prices.

Institutions

Most of the actors in the health sector are private health service providers. The Ministry of Health is involved only in provision of training, licensing, and regulation. The founding of a hospital is quite easy in Kibera. The doctor doesn't need a licence nor a graduation. The private hospital often consists of one doctor and sometimes of a view assistants. The hospital is often the house of the doctor where he lives. Beside private and public hospitals there are traditional health care shops and traditional medicine men within Kibera.

Share of Expenditure



31% 17% 12% 11% 11% 10% 8% Food Transport Housing Education Clothing Leisure Health

Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

DRAF₁₃₇
© ETH Studio Basel

ADMINISTRATION & SECURITY

Absence of the official police

As the attached Kibera Journal articles show security is a very big issue in Kibera. The official police is only very rarely present in the settlement. The chief offices which are located in every village are more for respresentational purpose than for solving the daily problems. Many officers are even not willing to go into the narrow streets in Kibera because they fear the violence. If people have enough money like many NGOs they organise private security companies to guard their property. Another big issue in Kibera is the stealing of public or private infrastructure for example of the copper cords for telecommunication. Also the distribution of water or electricity by NGOs is interfered often by illegal activities trying to hook up the electrical cord or steal water from the pipe.

Private security initiatives

It is not surprising that there are advertisements from the companies responsible for these infrastructure holding out rewards for people who catch someone stealing.

Political dependencies

Nevertheless is the role of the Provincial Administration paramount in every aspect of life in the settlement. The elected councillors, on the other hand, have multiple relations with the city authorities and political leaders. The chiefs, their assistants, and elders have their own extensive network that influence relations and community organization at neighbourhood and village levels. This patron-client web is also borne out by the findings of this study where ownership of structures and the structuring of institutions are to a considerable degree, influenced by Chiefs, Coucillors, and Members of Parliament.

Negative role of the government

ln

Most Kibera inhabitants were extremely cynical about their politicians, the government, the police and the local administration. This reflects these institutions' and individuals' generally repressive instrumental and neglectful nature. The police are often seen to be involved in raids on distillers and in harassing individuals. To many inhabitants the law and government seem actively against them. Certainly very few individuals would see the state in a protective or providing role. Similarly the politicians' self-interest is apparent to most.

Opinion on the Condition of Social Amenities

good condition		In bad condition
	Banks Roads NCC offices	
Ä	Police Sanitation	
	Social halls Gov. offices	
	Schools	
	NGO offices	
	Health facilities Water points	
	Telephone Religious halls	
	Shops	

Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002





REWARD! REPORT CABLE THIEVES

Any reports leading to an arrest will be rewarded

0800 2211110

or the rearest police station



DRAFT
© ETH Studio Basel



8 KIBERA AND ITS ECONOMY INCOME POVERTY MARKETS ECONOMY IN KIBERA ECONOMY IN NAIROBI







INCOME

Nubian people

Nubian inhabitants are employed in such skilled occupations as computer programming, professional photography and even professional golf! This over representation of Nubians in the higher occupational groups is a function of the loyalty to the area by well-off Nubians. However, at the other end of the scale some members of the Nubian community are tenants and are engaged in low paid formal sector employment and in such survival professions as prostitution.

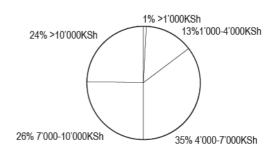
Occupation range

The tenants' occupations range from skilled manual jobs like aeromechanics and clerical jobs down to those involved in basic survival or those involved in the so-called informal sector. The most common occupational group is unskilled Labourers, industrial manual workers, night watchmen and domestic servants. The clerical category would involve junior jobs in government, banks and international hotels. The skilled formal sector would include such jobs as mechanics or machine operators.

I'm trying to make enough money through my work and start running a business like opening a tea kiosk. shoe shining or cooking mandazi."

Frederick Ochieng

Distribution of Household Income per Month



Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury

Source: Investigation of Actors Operating in Kibera, Government of Kenya & UN-HABITAT, 2004

DRAF₁₄₃
© ETH Studio Basel

POVERTY

Income distribution

The income distribution of the population in Kibera ranges from middle income inhabitants right down to those on the lowest possible subsistence level. The Nubians in particular as we have already seen are over-represented in the higher occupations while also exhibiting significant internal stratification. Some smart Nubian families own houses or even estates, e.g. these may include a shop, a water kiosk, and say, 40 room-units for renting. The population is not homogeneous. The income distribution within the settlement is highly skewed. It is important to understand what these income levels mean at an individual level. For the majority of the Kiberians the opposite is true: they live in extreme poverty.

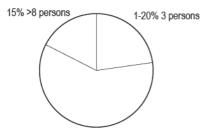
Absolute poverty level

The proportion of people living in extreme poverty-defined by the Word Bank per capita consumption of US\$1 (63 Ksh) a day or less has decreased from 29% in 1990 to 23% in1999, although this masks significant regional differences.

The trends that emerged from the Kibera survey portray a community living below the poverty line. Poverty is a deprivation of essential assets and opportunities to which every human being is entitled. Poverty can be defined with either monetary or non-monetary indicators. Poverty mapping in Kenya adopted the monetary absolute poverty line derived from the 1997 monitoring survey. This measure compared individuals' consumption expenditure with a defined threshold for being poor. In other words, the poverty line is conceptualized, as a minimum standard required by an individual to fulfil his or her basic food and non-food needs.

In Kenya the absolute poverty level has been set at 2'648 Ksh per month per adult equivalent in the urban areas and at 1'238 Ksh per month per adult equivalent in the rural areas. Kenya estimate for the rural income concurs with the World Bank figures suggesting that majority of the rural household in Kenya are living in extreme poverty.

Persons Depending on an Income of one Household



52% 4-7 persons

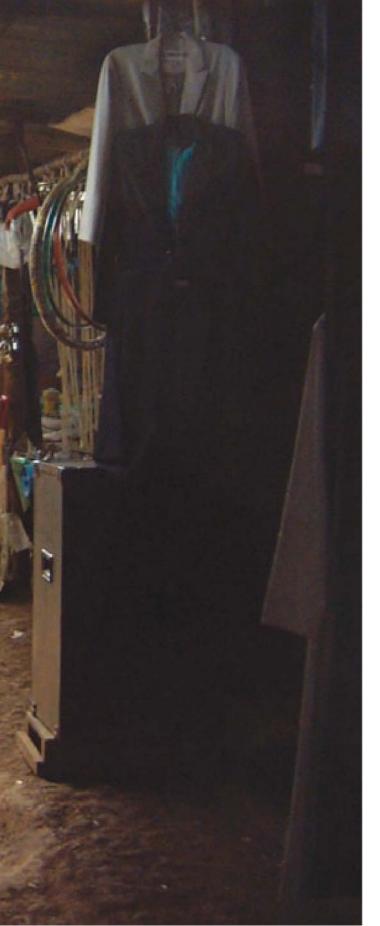
Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury

Source: Investigation of Actors Operating in Kibera, Government of Kenya & UN-HABITAT, 2004









MARKETS

Economic activity

The major food retailing in the settlement involves vegetable selling both informally i.e. marketing and in 'official' markets. The 'new' part of the settlement contains areas that approximate to 'dormitory housing estates' with economic activity mainly located in a strip or ribbon development along the main access routes on the ridges. This is well illustrated from our approximate map of the centres of economic activity within the settlement. In 1980 the 'official' vegetable market in Kibera was moved from Makin to a site in Lindi. This move was allegedly for health reasons.

Formal markets

The new market in Lindi does not have running water consequently the health advantages of the move are at best marginal. However, what is certain is that the local administration will benefit from the move by the relocation of market stalls as a form of patronage. Market stalls are an important economic resource whose allocation is controlled by the local administration and Nairobi city council. In part this reflects the potential profitability of this sector. An informal vegetable seller admitted that the mark-up was 100% on sukumawiki (a popular spinach-like vegetable).

The Toi Market at the border of Kibera to Makina is one of the biggest markets in Nairobi. Here are all kind of goods sold be it food, clothing, cars, or energy supply. The market is important for people from Nairobi but also for merchants from within Kibera who are reselling the goods within the settlement.

Some formal sector companies have their official retail outlets in such settlements. For example in Lindi there is an outlet of Bata shoes.

Informal markets

As well as this official market there are informal hawker's vegetable markets in Linishaba, Lindi and Katwikira where the vegetable sellers (almost exclusively women) will lay their produce on the ground for sale. Many butchers in the area represent a health risk given the lack of refrigeration or a. regular water supply.

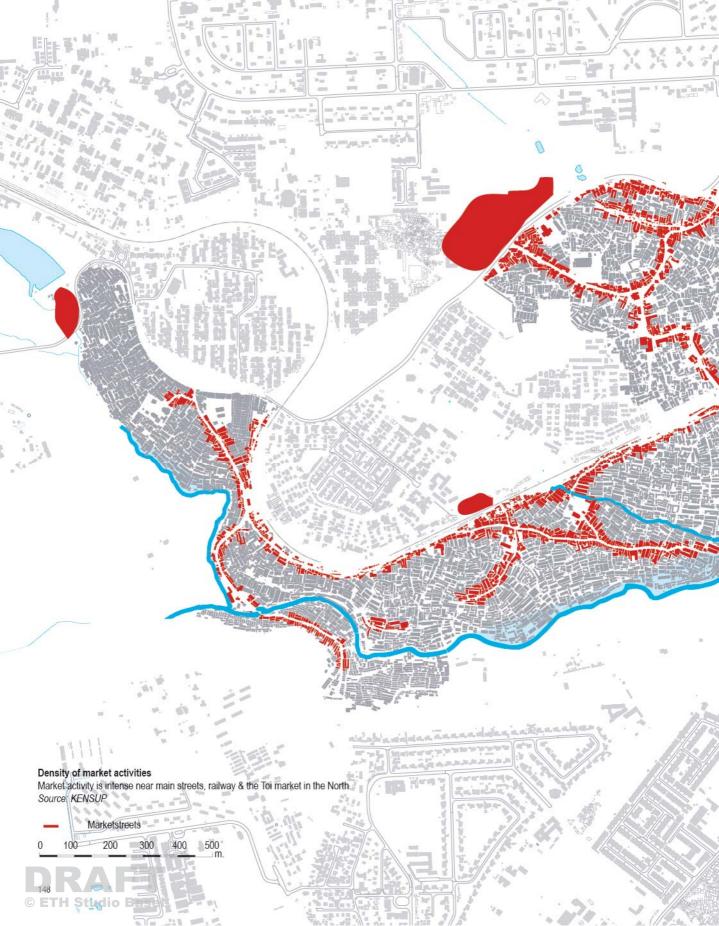
Share of Expenditure



31% 17% 12% 11% 11% 10% 8% Food Transport Housing Education Clothing Leisure Health

Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

DRAF₁₄₇
© ETH Studio Basel





ECONOMY IN KIBERA

Informal sector

One of the first things to strike an outsider in Kibera is the staggering level of visible economic activity. We shall see that many of these informal sector operations are highly capitalistic and profitable, Within Kibera there are local carpenters, builders, cobblers and tailors among others who are involved in production. The majority of these are small scale informal sector enterprises but in the clothing industry there is a significant amount of out-working for the formal sector. For example, school uniforms were made in Kibera upon sewing machines that were on loan to the outworkers from the formal sector Asian retailers in central Nairobi who marketed the uniforms.

The link between the two formal and informal sectors is particularly important and exploitative within the clothing industry. In contrast the small scale carpentry workshops seemed to be economically autonomous. Indeed informants complained about the difficulty they had in marketing outside of the settlement. Within this sector the degree of product uniformity is interesting. For example, the wooden schools, tables and tin lanterns are of uniform design throughout Kenya.

Source: Investigation of Actors Operating in Kibera, Government of Kenya & UN-HABITAT, 2004

Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury











ECONOMY IN NAIROBI

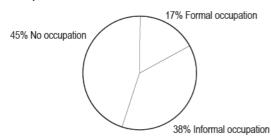
Industrial area

Most of the Kibera residents work in Nairobi industrial area as casual workers for jobs mostly on a daily basis. Usually they leave Kibera in the early morning and walk about one hour to the industrial area where they try to find work for one day. Because of the insecurity of income they cannot even spend 20 cents for the Matatu. So they simply walk the way in hope to earn a bit of money.

High income neighborhoods

Another important place of work are the high or middle income estates where many residents from Kibera work as housemaids or gardeners. This explains the general concentration of slums near high income quarter. From this point of view Kibera or generally slums in Nairobi are a source for cheap labor.

Occupation



Source: "Life in Kibera" John S. Branam 1994

Source: Investigation of Actors Operating in Kibera, Government of Kenya & UN-HABITAT, 2004

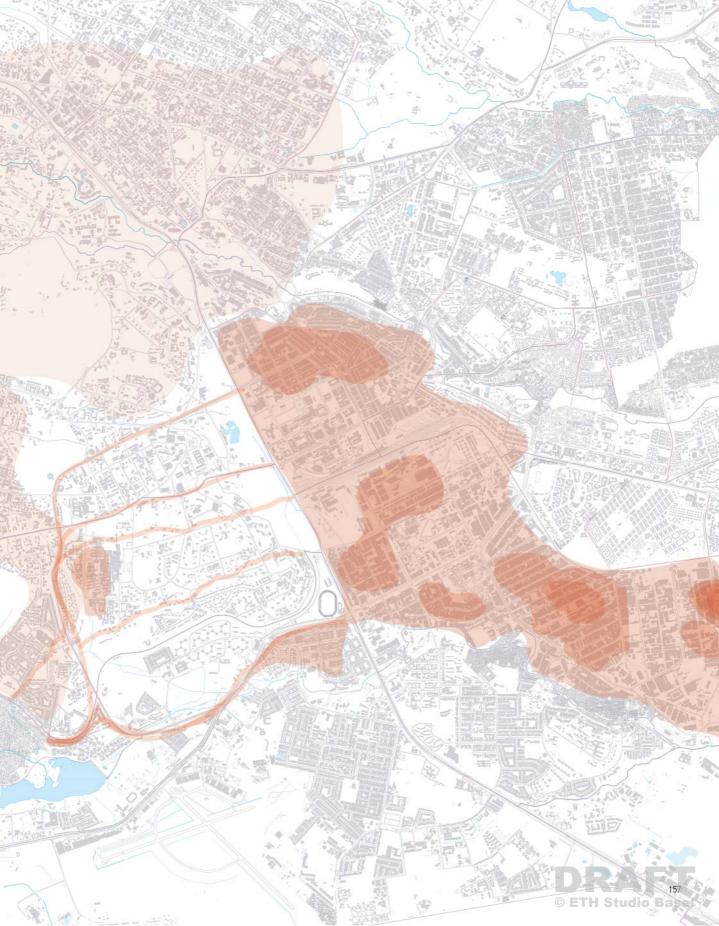
Source: "A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi, Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury











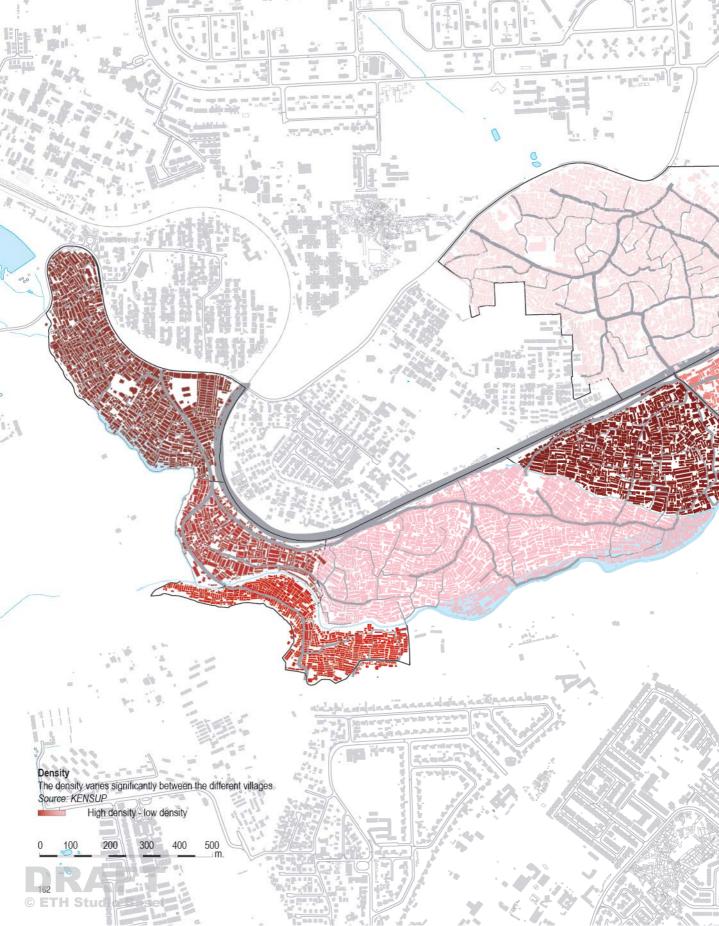


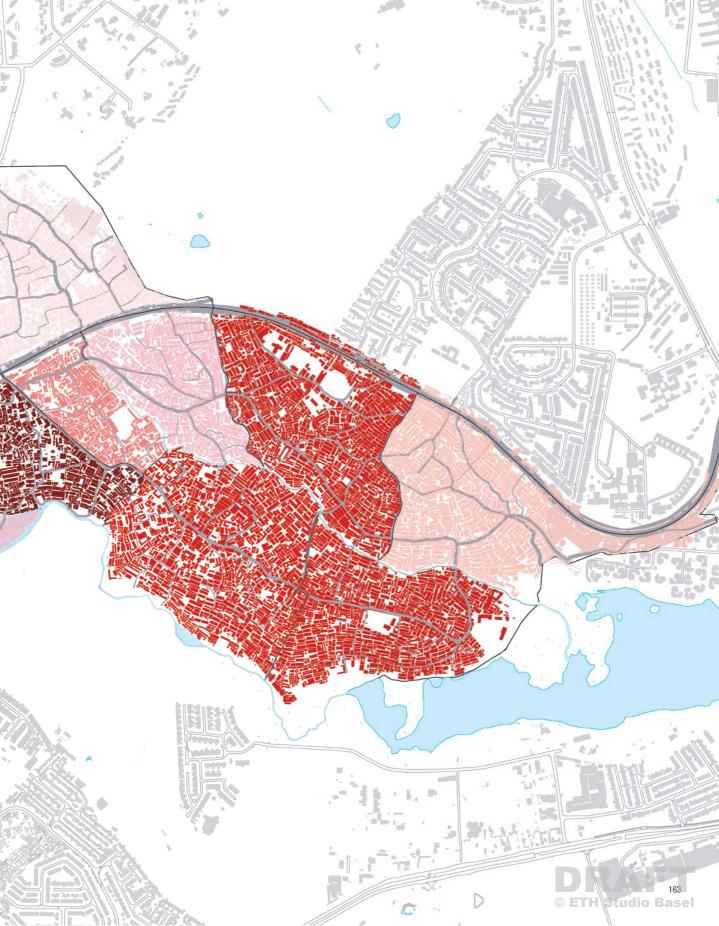
9 THE TWELVE VILLAGES OF KIBERA ELEMENTS LACKING KENSUP UPGRADING PROJECT















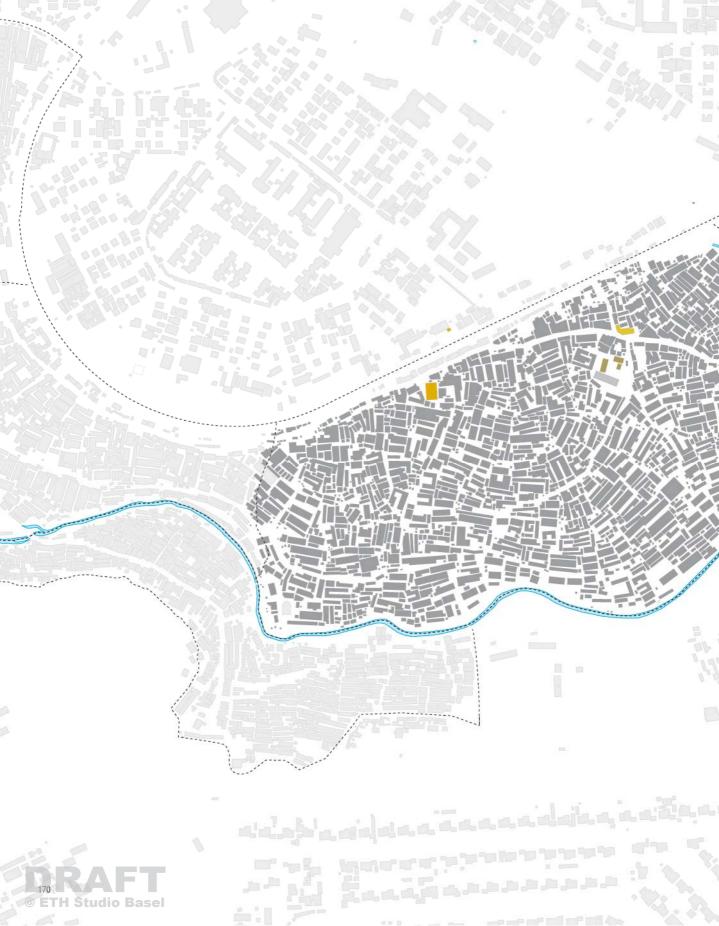






D. RAFT
© ETH Studio Basel



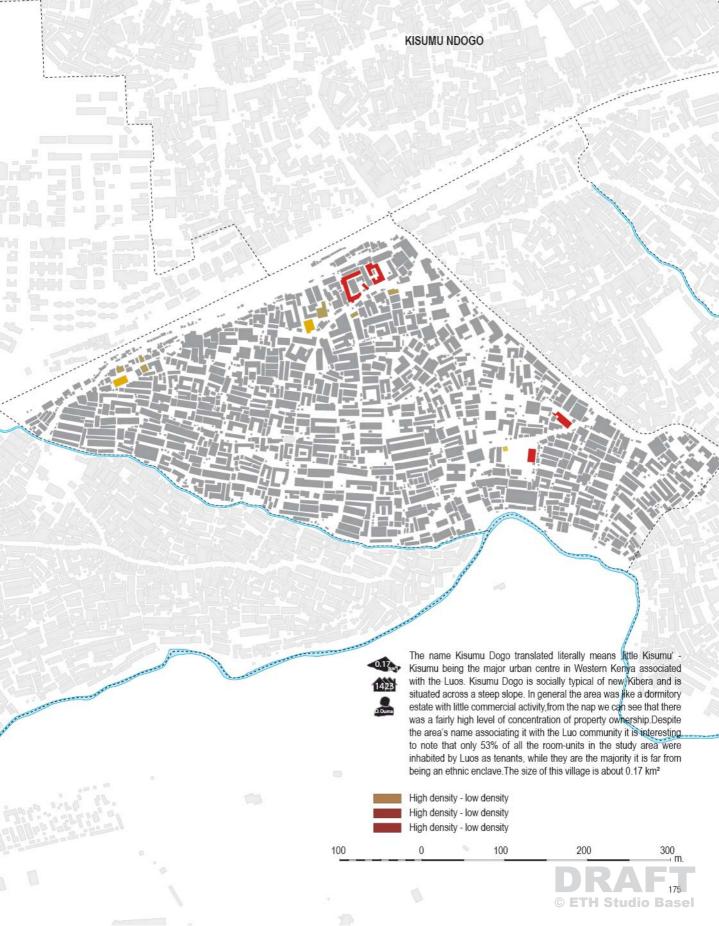














in 1913. It is thus one of the oldest areas of continuous settlement within Nairobi. Today it remains as the focus of Kibera. It contains a mixture of fairly large houses which are owner-occupied by well-off Nubians, interspersed with 4, 6, 8 room structures built for renting. The big Nubian owner-occupied houses are sometimes built around a central courtyard in an adaptation of some architectural styles that are traditionally associated with the Suwahili coast of East Africa.

Indeed the visual appearance of Makina is slightly reminiscent of the old Swahali towns within Mombassa, Lamu and Zanzibar. Makina is an area of mixed functional uses which gives it a feeling of activity. In particular it contains shops, a market, bars and a fair amount of informal sector activity, in particular carpenters, tailors and cobblers who often practise in companies with such unlikely names as Biafra or Soweto. Most of this activity is centered along a main street running West-East through Kibera that ends as a square with the Nubians' Mosque as its focal point. Makina is a lively, bustling urban district containing both commercial and residential uses together with fairly large differences in income. In many ways Makina represents an African version of the classic features of urbanization, neighbourhood and community that have spawned an entire school of thought among sociologists and architects in the US and the UK concerning the ,organic' quality of urbanism. Similarly it would seem the sort of place which would convince people that squatters are the solution and not the problem.

Hospitals Churches
Schools Other institutions

It contains a mixture of fairly large houses which are owner-occupied by well-off Nubians, interspersed with 4, 6, 8 room structures built for renting. As in the whole of Kibera with a few excecptions, houses are built from mud and wattle with a corrugated iron roof. Plaster and concrete for the walls and floor are an optional extra.

Makina is an area of mixed functional uses which gives it a feeling of activity. In particular it contains shops, market, bars and a fair amount of informal sector activity, in particular carpenters, tailors and cobblers. Most of this activity is centered along a main street. Makina is a lively, bustling urban district containing both commercial and residential uses together with fairly large differences in income.

Generally the rental accommodation was in a moderate state of repair and the landlords' own houses were some of the best in Kibera. These often had glass windows, concrete floors, with intern or nearby water and often they have electricity.

The Nubian landlords seemed predominantly elderly and were involved in the following occupations: university technician, Kenya Bus Service driver, employment on local golf course, together with those who were professional landlords' or were retired. All these landlords, as would be expected in a close-knit ethnic group like the Nubians, knew each other. Their general presence was very apparent in the area; since Makina is in every sense, their home' this should not surprise us.

The Nubians have been involved in the construction of room-units for rental at least since 1971, when the earliest survyed block in our survey was built. The construction of extra-houses and noom-units by individuals who do not intend to live in them themselves or allow their kin to live in them suggests an economic (exchange-value) orientation.

300





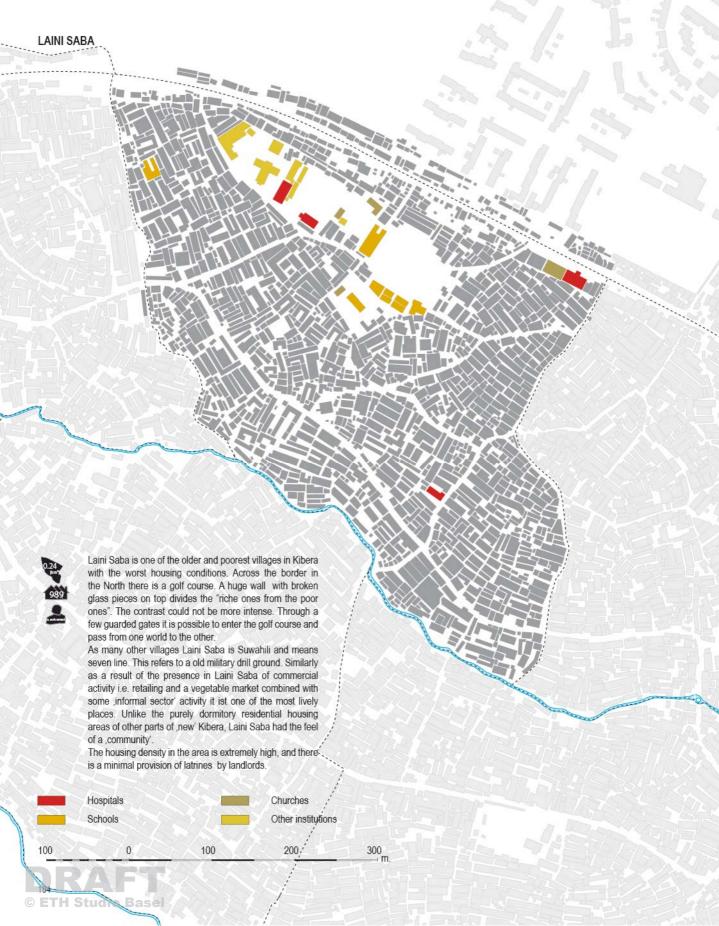














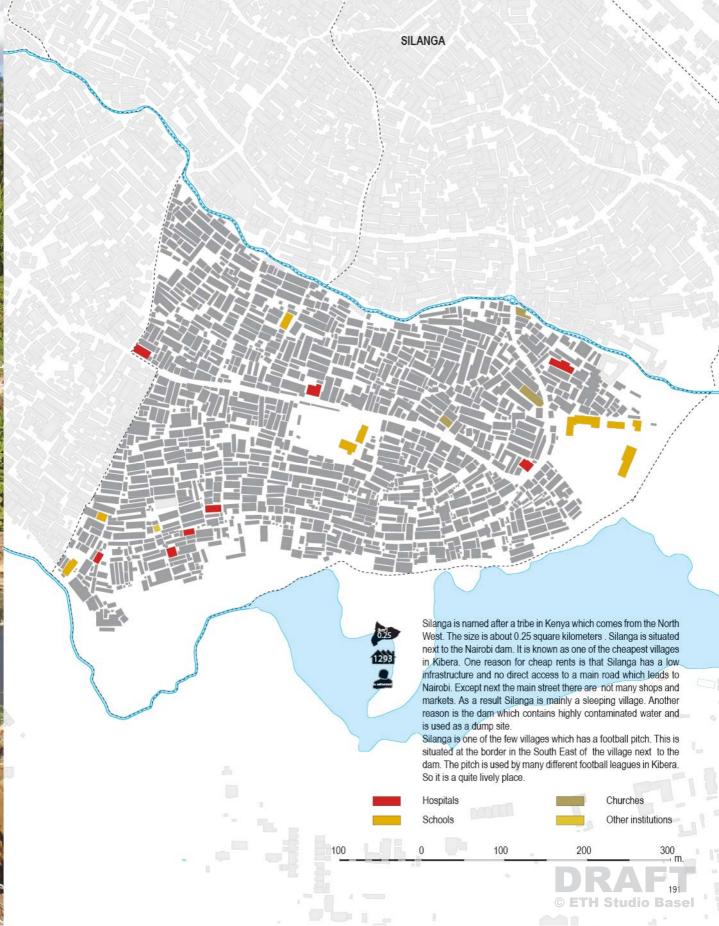














10 OUTLOOK ELEMENTS LACKING KENSUP UPGRADING PROJECT KIBERA AS A CITY?







KENSUP UPGRADING PROJECT

The Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) is the result of a meeting in November 2000 between the then President of Kenya and the Executive Director of UN-HABITAT at which the Executive Director offered to spearhead a slum upgrading programme for Kenya starting with Nairobi's largest slum, Kibera. The programme was jointly funded by the UN-HABITAT/World Bank Cities Alliance and the Government of Kenya. The Grant agreement was signed in July 2002. A Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the Minister of Roads, Public Works and Housing and UN-HABITAT's Executive Director in January 2003. This marked the starting point of the Preparatory Phase of the programme, which is jointly funded by the Government of Kenya and the Cities Alliance. The objective of the programme is to improve the overall livelihoods of people living and working in slums through targeted interventions to address shelter, infrastructure services, land tenure and employment issues, as well as the impact of HIV/AIDS in slum settlements.

The construction of the Langata decanting site began in 2006 and will be finished in early 2008. In these 5 floor houses residents of Kibera will live temporarily while the part of Kibera where they lived will be upgraded. The first villages which will go through this process is Soweto East.

The floor plans are somehow related to the kiberian shack. People will be able to rent a 3 by 3 meter large for one family. One unit will comprise three rooms plus shared toilet and kitchen facilities. By next year over 600 housing units will be constructed for relocating more than 20'000 people. The hole decanting area will be gated with a wall around the 24 buildings.

Even though the buildings follow some typical kiberian rules of living the question remains if the people will be able to pay the higher rents. Many smaller upgrading projects with the same intent failed because the people sold their right for the flats because they couldn't afford the higher prices.

It is very unsure if the project will be successful after all. It is not clear what kind of an impact the new houses will have on Kibera and its economy. The ecosystem of Kibera may will not cope with these rapid changes.

The two common governmental responses to the existence of slum have been either to burn them or to ignore them. Unfortunately neither of these are acceptable, responsible, or sufficient; thus the problem has multiplied.

Because of Kibera's immensity, the only appropriate response is an attempt at legitimizing it as an "estate" as opposed to a slum. Initially this will require substantial improvement in public health provisions coupled with other basic human services. This should be followed by a well thought out plan of building homes, roads, schools, and marketplaces while systematically and simultaneously removing the existing temporary structures.

Nyayo High-rise was meant for slum dwellers but look who is staying there now," said Mr Benson Lihanga, 34, a father of four who works as a watchman in Industrial area and a resident of Soweto village.

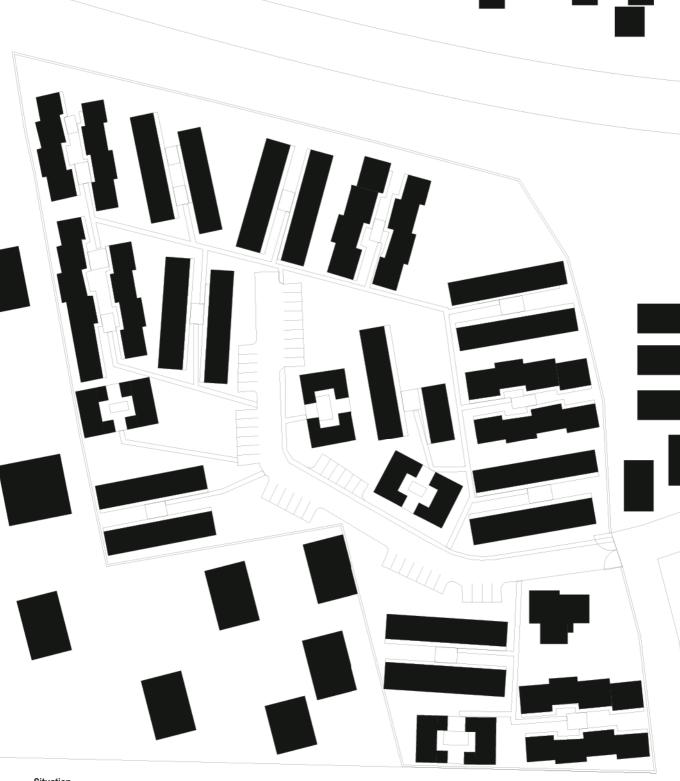
Source: "Life in Kibera" John S. Branam 1994

Source: Kenyan Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) Report, 2006

Source: Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey

Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

DRAF₁₉₅
© ETH Studio Basel



Situation

Scale 1:1000

20 — m.





SELF-HELP UPGRADING PROPOSAL FROM 1976

It is evident in Kenya, as almost anywhere in the developing world that one of the major problems facing the Government is the insufficient provision of housing for the lower income groups. It is quite as evident that this problem cannot be solved by limited public means alone and that consequently a new methodology must be found.

A pragmatic attitute found in many developing coutries is to set standards, to build as much as the limited public funds permit and to leave the rest to the private sector. This method introduces of course a larger element of uncertainty into the planning, but worse, it ignores the importance of incentives, guidelines and legalization for private initiative.

Given security of tenure, a modest incentive and proper guidance, such as approved type plans and work manuals, this considerable potential could be channelled into more desirable, acceptable and legal housing.

It seems evident that the attention given need not necessarily be in terms of funds. It often appears that mere planning and above all a supporting policy lead to a considerable improvement.

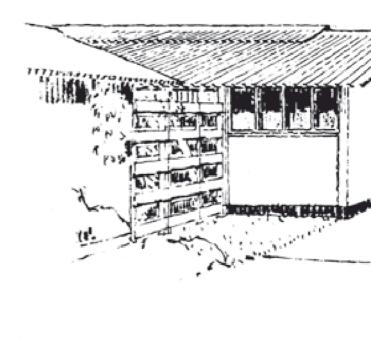
In order to reach the maximum out-put of dwelling units, an integration of public and private economic and administrative efforts must be established. The basic principle of the self-help scheme being that plots, serviced by public authorities are allocated to members of the scheme who are then responsible fore erecting the super-structures.

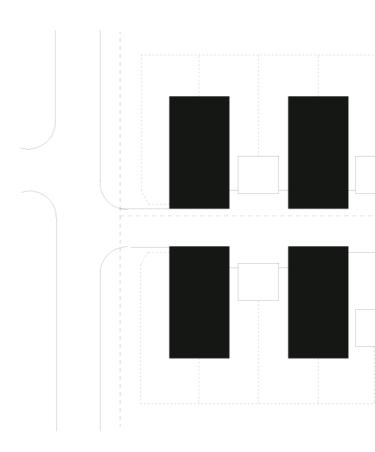
It is realized that the cheapest form of shelter at minimum standards of acceptability have already been discovered by the squatters themselves, in spite of the lack of public support. It must at the same time be realized, however, that the lack of planning of these shelters in many cases makes future improvement of the structures and the environment difficult.

The plotholders will be encouraged to form self-help groups in order to facilitate the construction work for the individual developer and reduce material costs through bulk purchasing.

All the infrastructure is planned to basic but improvable minimum standards. The planning is based on the requirements of modern sanitation and all-weather access roads for a low income residential area developed to a high density. The construction of infrastructure will be phased so that the occupants of the existing structures can be rehoused within the scheme.

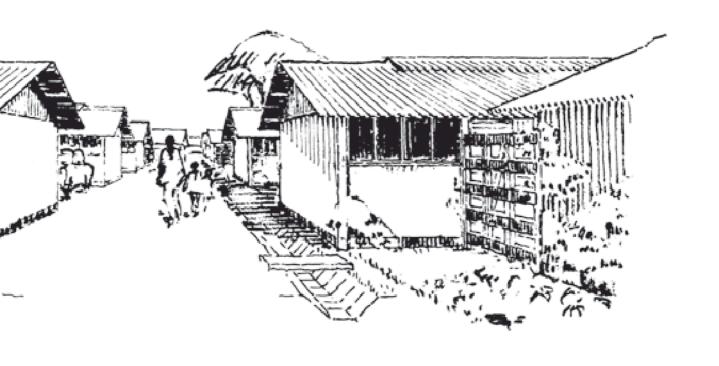
The plots are planned to accommodate 3 to 4 habitable rooms, a toilet, shower and kitchen block and a fenced out-door area with a small garden for cultivation in most cases. The usefulness of a well fenced outdoor area of an appropriate size, adjacent to the rooms, can not be over estimated when dealing with low-cost housing. The importance of such an area being well protected is clear form user-reaction surveys which repeatedly have shown that physical security of the surrounding is of great concern to low income groups.

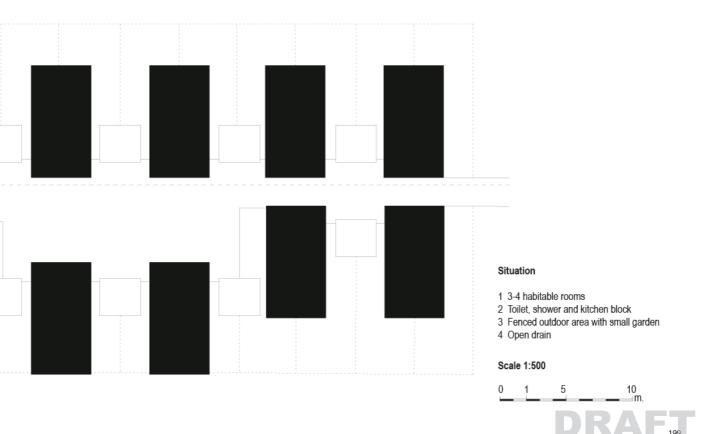




Source: The Kibera Experimental Self-Help Scheme, Housing Research and Development Unit - University of Nairobi, 1976

RAFT
© ETH Studio Basel





© ETH Studio Basel





PERSISTING PROBLEMS IN KIBERA

1. Poor access roads:

The roads are impassable most of the time, but worse during the rainy season. This hinders movement of goods, school attendance, use of health facilities, collection of garbage and the emptying of latrines.

2. Poor availability of water:

Kibera is served by isolated water points owned by individual owners who sell it to the residents at about 2 to 5 KSh per 20 liter measures. The points are served by small calibre pipes resulting in low water pressure and irregular flow.

3. Garbage/sewage disposal:

There is no system of garbage disposal. Refuse litter the whole place. The only toilets available are pit latrines and there is no organized system of emptying when full. Often sewage overflow from the toilets and run along pathways mixing with run off water from households washing.

4 Lack of educational facilities:

There are not enough primary and secondary schools in Kibera. Although officially, many schools are listed as in Kibera, most of them are actually outside the area.

5. Inadequate health facilities:

There is no health center inside Kibera shim itself except for a few NGO operated dispensaries. People have to travel to Kenyatta National Hospital for treatment. Several clinics are available but are privately owned, and charge fees for service. Health education to the public is minimal. Public Health Offices do not take action promptly where problems are reported. Food, sanitation is therefore very poor. No ambulance is available to transport sick people to hospital.

6. Poor security:

There is no street lighting in the whole of Kibera. This is a major security risk resulting in severe assaults and even death. This is made worse by absence of a police post.

7. Drunkness:

Bare are numerous in Kibera, some of which are illegal. All kinds of alcoholic drinks are sold, such as chibuku, nyuki, muratina, beer, busaa and chang'aa. Many people especially men spend most of their time drinking, thus contributing very little to family welfare.

8. Poverty and unemployment:

There is a highly unemployment rate in Kibera and many residents live in abject poverty.

9. Flooding during rains:

Earth roads with absence of drainage lead to the roads and paths getting flooded during rainy seasons. Many become impassible.

10. Road accidents and lack of playgrounds for children: Due to lack of playgrounds, children play on the road, resulting in high accident rates.

11. Poor community organizations resulting from:

Unstable families with high delinquency rates, lack of commitment to community efforts, difficult leadership. The coordination between the villages therefore is difficult and not well organized.

Source: "Life in Kibera" John S. Branam 1994



KIBERA AS A CITY? sanitation is ina

The characteristics of urban slums are obviously stigmatizing. Would those who live in urban slums like Kibera readily identify with their slum? Do those living or working in Kibera perceive themselves as true members?

It is surprising that 90% of the people living in Kibera consider themselves as members of Kibera. The overwhelming majority of the respondents confirmed that they identified themselves with Kibera, they had a sense of belonging to Kibera community. There are two main reasons: Either people considered themselves as "living in Kibera" or "being born in Kibera." This is not surprising given that the place of birth has always been used as a marker of one's identity in Kenya. "Owing a business in Kibera" or "owning any other assets" are less popular reasons to justify one's membership to Kibera slums.

On the other hand a few people (10%) did not consider themselves as residents of Kibera. The majority of this group argued that since they were not born in Kibera, they disqualified themselves as members of Kibera. Others argued that they were in Kibera temporarily."

Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, GoK/ UN-HABITAT, 2002

such as carpen the tourist mark

Kibera there are

all the tribes are

enough engaged in the community dif in Kibera because of the lack of publ leisure time in Kibera the streets netw in society because of the lack of c outside goes to work in Kibera there a there are anarchistic conditions many the population is extremely young city people spend their leisure time i with Kibera there are no cemeteries

there is a community organization in

dequate products are made in Kibera ter works or souvenir products for et there are no playing grounds in e nearly no governmental buildings e represented the government is not ferent economic income groups living ic health facilities people spend their ork is insufficient Kibera has a variety ommunity halls nearly nobody from are many religious groups & buildings market activities take place in Kibera in comparison to a normal growing n Kibera people identify themselves Kibera is home for 700'000 people every village there are no cemeteries











BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kibera Social and Economic Mapping: Household Survey Report, Government of Kenya & UN-HABITAT, 2002

"A shanty town of tenants: The commercialization of unauthorized housing in Nairobi", Philip Henry Amis, University of Kent at Canterbury

Investigation of Actors Operating in Kibera, Government of Kenya & UN-HABITAT, 2004

"Life in Kibera" John S. Branam, 1994

The Kibera Experimental Self-Help Scheme, Housing Research and Development Unit - University of Nairobi, 1976

Kenyan Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) Report, 2006

Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA), Shootback Project, 2007





Our thanks go to

Embassy of Switzerland in Nairobi, Ambassador Mr. Georges Martin, Winnie Mittulah, Alfred, Joel, Agnes, Wagayu, Hemorike Okuta, Turbani, Richard Amwayi and Frederick Onko from Kibera Community Youth Programme, Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP), UNHABITAT, UNEP, George from GIS, Pastor Evans from Baptist Church, Climate Network of Africa, Survey of Kenya, Peter from the Goethe Institute Nairobi, Douglas Namale Kibera Journal/Gehtto Development Centre, MYSA Organization, Olympic Primary School, Nairobi Ministry of Land, University of Nairobi, Matatu crew, Hannes, Atsuko and everyone that made this project possible.

(C) ETH Studio Basel Spitalstrasse 8 4056 Basel Switzerland +41 61 2731685 studio-basel@nsl.ethz.ch http://www.nsl.ethz.ch/basel/

