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Slums, Land and Poverty: A Situational Analysis in the Five Largest Cities in Kenya

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Abstract:
At the international and national level, the commitment to improve the conditions of slums is well-intentioned and important, but the task is fraught with challenges. Firstly, there is little information and understanding of the scale and nature land and poverty issues in general, and the situation in slums in particular. Secondly, a whole generation of earlier efforts, to upgrade urban slums, starting in the 1970s has only been partially successful. Thirdly the scale of the slum problem is growing rapidly in most cities of the developing world increasingly complex-politically, institutionally, and, at times, technically-and therefore beyond the scope of simple and modest solutions. The 2010 Constitution of Kenya in Chapter Four (Bill of Rights) identifies access to adequate housing and to reasonable standards of sanitation as a basic right. (GOK, 2010). In the broad sense, decent housing connotes housing that is inclusive of basic services, such as clean and portable water, sanitation and waste management, energy as well as proximity to facilities such as markets, health facilities, schools and security posts. This paper draws lessons upon the second challenge, that is, unsuccessful implementation and replication of earlier slum upgrading efforts and the continuing complexity of these settlements. This is done as an attempt to fill gaps in our knowledge about slums in five major urban centres in Kenya, and to, hopefully, create a basis for similar studies in smaller urban centres.

Keywords: Kenya, informal settlements, slum upgrading, poverty and tenure insecurity

1. Background and Theory

"Slums in many cities are no longer just marginalised neighbourhood housing a relatively small proportion of the urban population; in many cities, they are the dominant type of human settlement, carving their way into the fabric of modern-day cities, and making their mark as a distinct category of human settlement that now characterizes so many cities in the developing world." (UN-Habitat,2003)

Informal or slum settlements are absorbing an increasing share of the expanding urban population and are home to the vast majority of the urban poor (World Bank, 2006). According to the United Nations, an estimated 870 million people in developing countries were living in urban slums in 2001 and that if the state current trends were to continue, the number of slum dwellers will grow to an estimated 1.43 billion by 2020 (UN Millennium Project 2005).

Slum living is a key indicator of urban poverty in many countries in Africa. As the World Bank report contends, the incidence of economic poverty is very high in Nairobi's slums. About 73 percent of the slum dwellers are poor, that is, they fall below the poverty line and live on less than US$42 per adult equivalent per month, excluding rent (World Bank, 2004). Urban residents who live in slums often lack adequate access to clean water and sanitation facilities. Water supplies may be unreliable, expensive or contaminated. Poor sanitation and drainage are crucial factors in the breeding of pathogens responsible for the spread of preventable diseases such as malaria and waterborne diseases. Overcrowding and poor ventilation in slum housing are associated with acute respiratory infections such as meningococcal meningitis and tuberculosis and the rapid spread of diseases such as diphtheria.

A key challenge to upgrading slums settlements is insecure land tenure. It is commonly understood that lack of secure tenure discourages household investments and also undermines long-term planning, and distorts prices for land and services and further reinforces poverty and social exclusion. It is evident that in most tenure upgrading and regularization projects, security of tenure has a direct positive impact on the mobilization of household resources at the settlement level.

However, it must be stressed that informality does not necessarily mean insecurity of tenure. Some forms of residential tenure arrangement can guarantee a reasonably good level of security. This is the case, for example, in sub-Saharan African countries, in communal or customary land delivery systems (even when these are not formally recognized by the state). Recognition by the community itself and by the neighborhood is often considered more important than recognition by public authorities for ensuring secure tenure.

2. A challenge in Definition

Slums, according to UN-Habitat (2003), display any of the following scenarios: lack of secure land tenure, inadequate access to sanitation, inadequate access to water and inadequate and poor shelter conditions, all which expose

the inhabitants to health, social and economic risks. Where 'slums' refer to informal settlements or unauthorised occupations, it is generally understood that the most important of these slum conditions is 'lack of secure tenure'. The land tenure issue is pertinent but so are other factors that influence the existence and growth of slums.

A more comprehensive definition of slums is provided by the World Bank (2006). While articulating the conditions of slums in Nairobi, the Bank, describes slums in terms of, (i) informality or legality of land tenure; (ii) housing units built with poor quality construction materials and methods; (iii) settlement layouts and units that are usually in violation of legally-specified minimum space and planning standards and regulations[1]; and (iv) physical infrastructure and services-such as water supply, electricity, drainage, sanitation, and street lighting-that are highly inadequate. The connection between insecurity of tenure and poverty is undisputed as observed by Aguilar and Santos (2011), that the precarious nature of dwellings with insecure land tenure is as serious and severe as is inhabitants' poverty according to their income and employment status. the poor conditions that exist in slums and daily struggles that slum dwellers face continues to be recognized as a global and ethical challenge. Many governments, regional and international non-government organizations (NGOs) have put in place legislation or systems recognizing the need to protect and improve the lives of slum. Goal 1 of the Sustainable Development Goals aims to reduce at least by half the population of all people living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions by 2030 (United Nations, 2015b, GOK, 2010)

3. Slum-Nization of the Kenya Cities

Land is a central category of property in Kenya. It is the principal source of livelihood and material wealth, and invariably carries cultural significance for many Kenyans[2]. The subject of land is complex, sensitive and contentious. According to the Constitution, 2010, land in Kenya is (should) be held, used and managed in a manner that is equitable, efficient, productive and sustainable based on among others the principles of security of land rights and transparent and cost-effective administration of land[3]. In urban areas, the dynamics of land ownership and access are exhibited not only by the high population densities but also the competing interests over its use and a scenario is more evident in the low income densely populated zones. Though land use dynamics in informal settlements mimic those in formal areas of cities and urban areas, the similarity ends in this identification. The planning standards for sizes and compatibility of use do not apply; space ownership is informally arranged and recognized; and improvement of investments is hindered by the non-recognition by formal institutions. It is futile to discuss land use dynamics without relating the same to the tenure issues.

Studies show that more than half of Nairobi's population live in squalid slum conditions; for instance, Corburn and Hildebrand contend that 68% of the city's residents live in slum conditions and have inadequate sanitation facilities. A casual look at a slum settlement in Kenya exhibits overtly distinguishable characteristics from other housing areas. The structures are largely temporary, made of mud-walls or timber-walls with cheap roofing materials, such as iron sheets, *makuti,* grass or paper or cartons. The infrastructure existent in these settlements is characterised by poor sanitation, poor accessibility, inadequate portable water and deplorable general physical environment. The literature on slums portrays them as a housing solution devised for the poor and, largely, by the poor themselves. This makes the understanding of their growth dynamics pertinent and interesting.

In Kenya, the five major urban centres accommodate about 13% of the national population, contributes the highest proportion of the Gross National Product (GDP) and dictates the social, cultural, technological and political transformations of the country and the region. The capital city, Nairobi generates 21.7% of the country's GDP. (KNBS 2018). Yet located within these centres are pockets of the highest levels of poverty, landlessness and poor housing conditions. Except for the informality and illegality of land occupation and use generally all settlements are characteristic of the following; (i) housing units built with poor quality construction materials and methods; (ii) settlement layouts and units that are usually in violation of legally-specified minimum space and planning standards and regulations[4]; and (iii) physical infrastructure and services-such as water supply, electricity, drainage, sanitation, and street lighting-that are highly inadequate.

Nairobi, Kenya's capital represents a good case study of the urbanization phenomenon and the plight of the urban poor as exhibited by the proliferation of slums. The bulk of the city's growth can be traced to the in-migration of poor migrants from the rural hinterland, many of whom end up in marginalized slum communities. However, in cities such as Eldoret and Kisumu slum formation has been as a result of annexation of rural areas into municipal areas of jurisdiction through boundary extensions. People living in informal settlements form substantial proportions of populations in the five major urban centres in Kenya; in Nairobi at 55 %[5], Mombasa at 80%[6] (covering over 90% of the land area), Kisumu 60%[7], Eldoret 30%[8] and Nakuru close to 40 %[9].) Living in informal settlements represents a legal status that enables the government to avoid providing physical and social infrastructure and services, including the most basic amenities such as water, electricity, appropriate sanitation, and garbage collection.

There are dynamics existent within the slums that make it difficult for policy makers to resolve the issue of land tenure insecurity. For instance, enumerations in Nairobi and Kisumu found that many tenants had lived in the settlements

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[1] e.g. regulations specifying plot and unit sizes, floor area ratios, building setbacks, public open spaces, space for facilities such as schools and community centers
[2] National Land Policy, 2005
[3] Constitution Land and Environment Chap 5 Part 1
[4] e.g. regulations specifying plot and unit sizes, floor area ratios, building setbacks, public open spaces, space for facilities such as schools and community centers
[5] Matrix development consultants, 1993. "Nairobi's informal settlements: An inventory." A Report Prepared for USAID/REDSO/ ESA. Nairobi: USAID.
[6] Mombasa, Informal settlements inventory for the PAMNUP consultative workshop
[7] UN-Habitat 2005, Kisumu informal settlements situational analyses pg
[8] Interview reports with council officials
[9] Interview reports with council officials

for many years (some for more than 20 years) and had invested far more in the structures than the structure owners. They felt they had an equal claim to resources from the state. This helps explain why associations of landlords and structure owners strongly opposed some of the earliest enumerations in Nairobi. (Karanja, 2010)

3. Methodology and Structure of Paper

Un-doubtly, literature on slums in Kenya abounds. Research for this article has been based on information derived from the following: existing studies on the topic; census data; a review of documentary material and urban planning regulations; fieldwork several informal settlements during 2008/09 and revised in 2016/17 within the auspices of new institutional and legal frameworks. This paper benefited from secondary sources available in government and no-government agencies. Such components of data included historical growth and evolution of the settlements, government policy and strategies on addressing the plight of slum dwellers and the concomitant land and planning issues. To collect primary data and information from the five cities, this study emphasized stakeholder participation in the rapid profiling of cities. Stakeholder interviews were conducted using interview schedules. Information was collected from a wide range of interest groups: municipal political leaders and officials; service providers; civil society organizations; and the private sector. Interviews took the form of focus group discussions (FGDs), drawing together small numbers of respondents to debate topics of interest. In most cases, FGDs generated substantial information and varied perspectives on city issues.

Conceptually, the paper explores the link between poverty, access to land and basic services; interrogates the flaws of past slum upgrading efforts. A brief description of the five cities is given focusing on the trends for slum growth and the drivers associated with their expansion. Finally, the paper pulls together the key findings together which form the basis of a number of policy recommendations.

4. Study Findings and Discussion

4.1. Historical Developments on Land, Shelter and Slum Issues

It is almost an accepted fact that slums have developed as a result of people migrating to urban areas and that due to lack of affordable housing, squat on vacant land that legally belongs to private owner or the government. Means of access to such land varies across areas and includes squatting with owners' permission or indifference, participation in organized "land invasions," and purchase of land through "illegal subdivisions" created by developers who acquire and subdivide land in violation of existing land planning and development regulations.

Nairobi's slum formation /informal settlements can be traced back to the pre-independence period when the urban layout was based on government-sanctioned population segregation into separate enclaves for Africans, Asians and Europeans. During this period, slums essentially developed because of the highly unbalanced allocation of public resources towards the housing and infra-structural needs of the separate sections of the city along racial lines. Nationally, the character of slums in Nairobi differ from those in other urban centres in some ways. First, rather than squatter-owners who invest to upgrade their housing, the vast majority of Nairobi's slum dwellers are tenants. The majority of landlords are "absentee" since they live outside the settlements and are only visible to collect rent. Second, there are limited incentives for either residents or absentee landlords to invest in improving housing. Most tenants are mobile, that is, move within and outside the settlements fairly frequently (World Bank, 2006). As non-residents, the landlords do not suffer the consequences of poor housing and living conditions and this coupled with lack of security of tenure[10] eliminates at least one of their incentives to invest. As a result, these slums have not been improving and upgrading interventions done previously have gone to waste.

In *Mombasa*, informal settlements cover over 90% of the land area and provide home to a substantial proportion of the city population (see Table C.1). There is proliferation of informal settlements which houses close to 70 percent of the population. Virtually all of the urban poor live in more than 50 such settlements across the city. Majority of these settlements are found on marshlands, utility way-leaves, oceanfront and public land. Some of the main city's slums include Mishomoroni, Tudor and Kisumu ndogo in Kisauni; ShikaAdabu and Ngomeni in Likoni and Bangladesh in Changamwe. Jomvu, Mvita and Kisauni sub-counties have the highest number of squatter settlements while Changamwe and Likoni sub-counties are reported to have a higher number of upgraded squatter settlements at 10% and 18%. The slum dwellers live in over-crowded houses made of poor-quality materials, devoid of basic infrastructural services and situated in such inappropriate locations exposing residents to disease, fire, flooding, indignity and other risks and dangers. What is evident and common in all settlements is that people have occupied the land, with no rights of ownership and this insecurity impacts negatively on economic enhancement of the inhabitants. Under what is referred to "tenants-at-will" system, privately-owned land is let to individuals who, in practice, enjoy considerable security of tenure. In situations where a 'tenant' decides to vacate or is required to leave, they are entitled to take with them their houses and crops (or the equivalent in compensation). Since the 1920s, this system has been recognized, facilitated and, in theory, regulated by the local authority through a system of "village layouts". This entails sub-division of land for rental uses, followed by[11] construction of rooming houses from traditional construction materials.

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[10] It is well understood that slum households are more likely to invest if they believe that their housing investment is secure and not subject to demolition.

[11] Rakodi, C. et al (2000) Environment & Urbanization Vol. 12 No 1 pg 167

Division	Population	% of Population in Informal Areas
Mombasa Island	223,505	41.8
Mombasa west (Changamwe)	23,688	4.4
Mombasa south (Likoni)	177,500	33.2
Mombasa north (Kisauni)	109, 861	20.6
Total	534,554	100

Table 1: Distribution of Informal Settlements within Mombasa
Source: Compiled from the Informal Settlements Inventory for the PAMNUP
Consultative Workshop Reports (1997)

Land transfers take place in through "agreements: in three forms: a structure owner who has lived in a settlement longer than others may "subdivide" his/her space and "sell" to a person in need (mostly a new comer); a landowner will allow a person to occupy the land and require to be paid an agreed amount of money (tenants at will); and older inhabitants who occupied the land without reference to any person or authority and have become structure owners.
The regulation for housing construction is that the space between each house is 50 metres apart. In practice, development control has been ineffective and therefore sub-divisions and developments are unauthorized. This has been exhibited by the increasing population and the high demand for housing, inability of the council to provide decent and adequate shelter and the government failure to address the issue of absentee landlords and therefore access of land to the majority of the poor. The map below shows the distribution of informal settlements in Mombasa. A smaller population live on government owned land, council owned and road reserves.
As the foregoing analysis shows upgrading efforts in Mombasa are complicated by the rather unique system of land ownership and use in the larger part of the town. For instance, spatial planning, infrastructure development and public facilities would only be possible when and if the landowners are agreeable and ready to lay no claim on their land. The land issue is therefore the most contentious and has been stated as a priority by the respondents and directly contributes to the high poverty levels.

Element	Mombasa	Kenya
Population	939,370	
Surface area (km^2)	219	12,368
Density (people per km²)	4,292	66
Poverty rate, based on KIHBS	37.6 (%)	47.2
Share of urban population	100.0 (%)	29.9
Urban population in largest towns - Mombasa	938,131	

Table 2: Mombasa County Statistics Comparison to National
Source: GOK Commission for Revenue Allocation, 2011

During the colonial period, most of the land bordering *Eldoret* town (plot 64) belonged to white settler farmers. The land changed hands after independence with the formation of land buying companies whose sole purpose was to provide land to their members. The town's boundary extensions in 1974 and 1988 incorporated these hitherto rural settlements into the municipal area of jurisdiction. Such settlements include Kamukunji, Munyaka, Huruma, Kimumu, Ya Mumbi, Turkana and Langas accommodating close to 30 % of the town's population[12]. Rapid subdivision of this land has continued unabated, creating irregular layouts[13] and with no spaces for public purpose[14].
In Eldoret, except for Kampi Turkana, which is a squatter settlement, majority of the people living in informal areas own the land and have secure tenure. However, the tenure is complicated by the fact that land buying companies have not regularised the land and ownership has remained under one title. This is the case in the large settlements of Munyaka and Langas.
Kamukunji, Huruma and Langas settlements were part of the Third Urban Upgrading Project funded and implemented by the Government and the World Bank in the late 1980s, targeting mainly roads, electricity, water supply and planning (for Langas)[15]. In spite of the upgrading efforts, the living conditions of the people have worsened with the deteriorating infrastructure and general decay of the physical environment, principally due to the inability of the council and the government to maintain and upgrade the facilities. The Kampi Turkana settlement is located on council land less than a kilometre from the town centre. Like all such other settlements, the occupants have no security of tenure. In Kamukunji, the land was registered in 1995, giving all owners title deeds. However, land registration and regularisation are incomplete in Munyaka[16] and Langas[17].
In *Kisumu* formation slum has been associated with the rapid expansion of the urban population (caused by migration and natural increase) in the absence of economic prosperity, income growth and the lack of affordable housing

[12] According to personal interviews with the council officials carried out on 2 July 2007
[13] According to Musyoka R, 2004, in 'Informal Land delivery Processes in Eldoret', this is the case in Langas Informal Settlement, page 26
[14] Ibid, as evident in Munyaka settlement area, page 27
[15] Actually, only apportion of Langas was upgraded
[16] Due to non-accountability by the company directors and alleged misappropriation of funds
[17] due to protracted court battles between title holders, it is alleged that the land has 2 titles

in the formal market. The inability of the Council and the formal private sector to respond to the housing needs of a growing, but poor population has also fuelled the expansion of slums. Typically, as in most other large Kenya n towns, the Council directs its planning efforts and resources to formal settlements, denying poor neighbourhoods the much-needed investments in infrastructure.

As a result of boundary extensions, a large area of rural land now falls within the city boundaries. Population densities are high, the average reported as 828 persons per square kilometre and up-to to 150 housing units per hectares in the informal settlements[18]. Much of this land adjoins the slum areas, providing a natural zone for the expansion of existing slums as land owners seek to benefit from the provision of cheap rental housing. This rural belt has limited access to urban infrastructure.
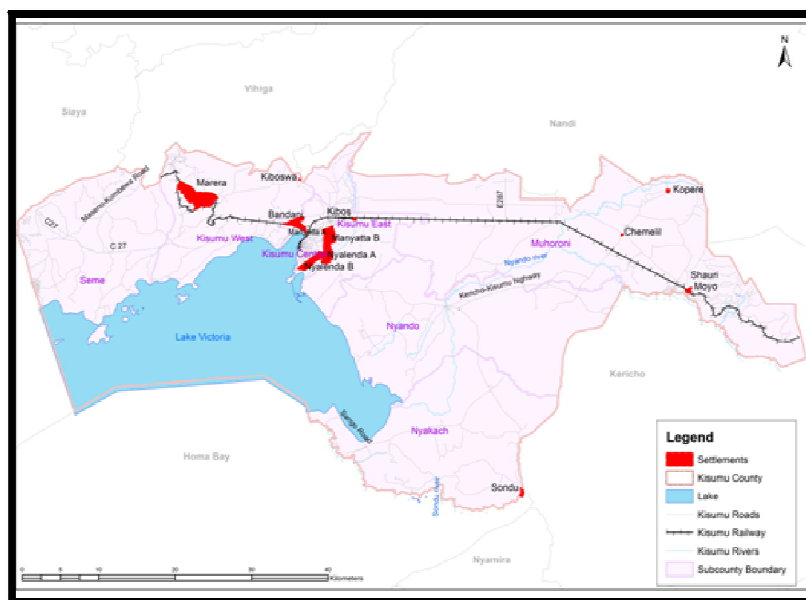

Figure 1: Selected Slums in Kisumu

Except for Manyatta Arab and Kaloleni which are squatter settlements, majority of the people living in slum areas own the land and therefore have secure tenure. The bulk of this land is under freehold ownership. However even under freehold land there are pockets of squatter settlement. A major challenge is the fact that owners are absentee landlords and this leads to difficulties in establishing contacts for consultations on land issues. The World Bank's Urban II slum upgrading scheme for Kisumu targeted Manyatta which included opening up roads and piped water and re-planning land was also set aside for public facilities for schools, markets and health care. Roads were paved with a proper storm drainage system although overtime however, the infrastructure in Manyatta has broken down and most roads have degenerated as the tarmac wore off over time.

One of the oldest informal settlements in Kisumu is Nyalenda bounded by Ring Road to the north and marshlands to the south and consists of two separate settlements, Nyalenda A and B. Land had been held under customary tenure arrangements which involved gifting or nominal payments. However, in 1978, the Government declared a registration area in Nyalenda under the Registered Lands Act through which the customary interests in land were systematically and converted to freehold interests. A number of are interventions evident in Nyalenda, for example, the Western-Fiveways-Nanga Road was opened up in 2015, easing connection between Nyalenda and Dunga Beach. Nevertheless, internal access still remains a challenge.

In Nakuru, squatter settlements are concentrated in the south-western part of the town located approximately 3 kilometres from the Central Business District. The settlement pattern is typical of the urban fringe of intermediate towns in Kenya. The land was originally owned by land buying co-operatives which later subdivided it for their members. These settlements include Kaptembwo, Mwariki, Ronda and Lake View which is located further south. Smaller settlements are found on the slopes of Menengai crater namely Nyamarutu and Wamagata which are located on government and private lands, respectively. A third cluster of informal settlements is Kiratina and Mugumo settlements located in the Lanet elective ward. These settlements have been undergoing intensive land subdivisions. Housing developments do not adhere to any housing design standards and regulations. A fourth category are slums located in the smaller towns of the county such Naivasha (Tara Mbete, Eburgon (Kasarani), where the former has benefited from upgrading efforts through the national government.

4.2. Impact of Tenure Insecurity on Quality of Life

Lack of secure tenure discourages household investments aiming to improve their environment and investments in home-based activities. Further, in most tenure upgrading and regularization projects, security of tenure has a direct positive impact on the mobilization of household resources at the settlement level. Lack of security of tenure hinders most

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[18] Kisumu report to the World Social Forum, June 2006

attempts to improve shelter conditions for the urban poor, undermines long-term planning, and distorts prices for land and services and further reinforces poverty and social exclusion.

However, it must be stressed that informality does not necessarily mean insecurity of tenure. Some forms of residential tenure arrangement can guarantee a reasonably good level of security. This is the case, for example, in sub-Saharan African countries, in communal or customary land delivery systems (even when these are not formally recognized by the state). Recognition by the community itself and by the neighborhood is often considered more important than recognition by public authorities for ensuring secure tenure.

This arrangement can deteriorate under some circumstances. For instance: when the customary system is in crisis; with leadership conflicts within the group of customary owners, especially between those who allocate the land and other members of the group[19]; when multiple allocations of the same plot generate a series of conflicts within the community (this may be the result of illicit land sales by unauthorized persons, a common phenomenon in the absence of any land information and record system); or when a major conflict arises between customary owners and public authorities about the ownership and use of the land, or about the legitimacy of the customary claim. In such cases, alliances often develop between customary owners and the community against public authorities. On the national and local fronts, slums and the security of tenure issue have undergone a significant transformation in public debate, from non-recognition in the 1960s, to repression in the 1970s and 1980s, to tolerance in the 1990s.

According to land and planning policy in Kenya, there are various rules, regulations and procedures that apply to management and governance of land. The land tenure systems describe the conditions of registration, occupancy and conditions for use. For example, there are procedures guiding evictions either by 'dwelling owner', landlord, or house demolition (either by public use of land such as road construction, open space etc). Mombasa presents a rather unique land tenure arrangement prevalent in informal settlements. Aspects of this system include:

- 'Land allocated "temporarily" to specific groups of people, such as customary owners displaced by government projects, and occupied by their descendants. Temporary tenure was accompanied by restrictions on house improvement,
- "tenancy-at-will" in privately owned areas, some with approved layouts. (this is the most prevalent form of occupation in informal settlements in mombasa). Many of the owners are absentee, living both elsewhere in mombasa and abroad, and housing construction is increasingly with permanent materials although this is prohibited by regulations.

4.3. Land Tenure and the Political Economy

The cities that best present the complex land tenure issues and the political economy of the cities under investigation are Nairobi and Mombasa. Nairobi presents a case of not only historical processes but also a highly polarised city along ethnic lines[20]. This is no better evident than in cases of ownership and habitation of spaces in lower class settlements. For instance, in a settlement like Kibera, with a population of more than 700,000, houses are mainly owned by Nubians and Kikuyu, yet the majority of the tenants are Luo, Luhya and Kamba – reflecting the history and character of different waves of migration into Nairobi from regions unequally developed. To the east of the city, *Jeshi la Embakasi* (The Embakasi Battalion), an amorphous group appears in land disputes with the most notable incident being an invasion of the 818-acre piece of land that sits between Umoja II, Kayole and Komarock Estates in Nairobi.

In Mombasa, privately owned land is normally let, to individuals who are commonly referred to "tenants-at-will[21]" who, in practice, enjoy considerable security of tenure and are entitled to take with them their houses and crops (or the equivalent in compensation) when required to leave. Since the 1920s, this system has been recognized, facilitated and, in theory, regulated by the local authority through a system of "village layouts". This entails sub-division of land for rental uses, followed by[22] construction of rooming houses from traditional construction materials.

4.4. Impacts of Poor Housing, Poverty and Vulnerability

For poor people, particularly women, the struggle for shelter and housing comprises one of the most fundamental elements of their daily survival strategy. Improved housing has a particularly positive impact on the well being of children and women, and is often prioritised by women above other forms of investment (UN-Habitat). Housing brings the rather personal/individual distinct issues of privacy, fear of accidents from cooking stoves, ailments from inhaling fumes, contagious and infectious disease due to the very congested conditions.

Perhaps the best illustration of what the perception of poverty is among slum dwellers has been summarised by Rakodi (2000), quoting the Participatory Poverty Assessment of 1997;
... Poor residents defined poverty as a state of living from hand to mouth, characterized by lack of money, leading to an inability to meet daily needs for food, shelter and education (hali ambayo mtu hajiwezi in Kiswahili). They also stressed that poor families had multiple problems and felt powerless and unable to improve their situation. Women, especially household heads, children and young people were considered to
Be particularly disadvantaged.[23]

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[19] This was reported in Eldoret in settlements such as Langas, Munyaka, Kamukunji
[20] Politicians sought to borrow their violence by playing down their own class interests and instead appealing to common ethnic identities
[21] 'Tenants –at –will' are basically structure owners who pay a monthly premium (rent) to the landowner or their agents
[22] Rakodi, C. et al (2000) Environment & Urbanization Vol 12 No 1 pg 167
[23] Rakodi, et al 2000, Poverty and politics in Mombasa, in Environment and Urbanisation Vol 12, No 1 pg 156

Poverty incidence, measured in terms of expenditure, in the slums is high. Although their incomes are lower than those of the non-poor, the poor incur similar absolute expenditures on basics such as rent and electricity, because the market does not offer cheaper alternatives. The table 2 below shows the distribution of residents below the poverty line (living below 1 US$ a day) in each town

%	Nairobi	Mombasa	Kisumu	Eldoret	Nakuru
% below poverty line WMS KIHBS	50.2 21.3	38.3 37.6	63. 4 3.47	43.5 42.3	40.6 50.2
%Female headed households below poverty line KIHBS	25.9	48.8	15.3	28.5	-
Average household size	3.8	4.5	4.8	3.5	3.6

Table 4: Poverty Indicators for the Five Towns
Source: GOK; WMS, 1997 and KIHBS, 2006

To cope, the poor are cutting back on expenditures over which they have more discretion—that is, food, water and "luxuries" such as transportation—and going without high-expense utilities such as electricity. Finally, non-monetary poverty is high as well and it is particularly evident in the poor access to higher education, jobs, infrastructure and decent housing.

4.5. Impacts of Inadequate Basic Urban Services
Urban residents who live in slums often lack adequate access to clean water and sanitation facilities. Water supplies may be unreliable, expensive or contaminated. Overcrowding and poor ventilation are associated with acute respiratory infections such as meningococcal meningitis and tuberculosis and the rapid spread of diseases such as diphtheria. Poor sanitation and drainage are crucial factors in the breeding of pathogens responsible for the spread of preventable diseases such as malaria and waterborne diseases. The case of Nairobi – where under-five mortality rates in slums are 151 per 1,000 live births, significantly higher than the average of 62 for Nairobi as a whole or of 113 for rural Kenya – gives some idea of what all this means in practice (APHRS, 2002: xvi).

Poor provision of basic urban services is evident in the slums and squatter settlements under-study. However, the unique climatic and hydrology conditions present may adversely or favourably compound the problem. For example in Mombasa, the total lack of drainage and storm water drains coupled with the unplanned alleys in between housing units has resulted to a number of problems particularly in Changamwe and Kisauni as follows; i) most houses dispose their sullage/grey water into public streets/alleys thus exposing the residents to precarious health risks or waste water is diverted into backyard gardens forming breeding grounds for mosquitoes responsible for the endemic malaria in many of these settlements, ii) the lack of planning and the zigzag nature of the narrow alleys in between the houses increase the temperatures between and inside the houses, while poor house ventilation and aeration increase the spread of respiratory track infections such as colds, pneumonia, coughing, iii) the narrow alleys also encourage the incidences of mugging, rape and insecurity in general.

The council's efforts on improving the living conditions have been minimal and, in some instances, completely lacking. The table below shows the council expenditures on key services.

Services									
Administration		Community		Social		Economic		All Services	
2003/04	2004/05	2003/04	2004/05	2003/04	2004/05	2003/04	2004/05	2003/04	2004/05
18.7	18.8	20.3	25.5	31.0	29.8	29.9	25.8	100	100

Table 51: Municipals Percentage Expenditure on Main Services, 2003/2004 and 2004-2005
Source: GOK, Statistical Abstract 2006

Infrastructure in the settlements is minimal, with unsealed roads that are impassable during the rainy season, no sewerage systems, no storm drains and limited solid waste collection system. Environmental degradation in the south-western settlements is not necessarily localized. Most solid waste originates from the upper settlements of Nakuru town such as the industrial area and "London" settlements, and is washed downstream. Actually, the main dumpsite is located within these neighbourhoods and very close to the Nakuru-Eldama Ravine Road.

5. Conclusions
Indeed, studies on the socio-economic situation of households living in irregular settlements indicate a strong correlation between urban poverty, tenure status, access to services, and citizenship. Tenure status is one of the key elements in the poverty cycle. In cities in developing countries, empirical observations show that the map of slums and informal settlements coincides with that of urban poverty. As underlined by John Turner nearly three decades ago,

interactions between poverty and insecure tenure contribute to further deterioration of economic situation of the urban poor (as quoted by (Durand-Lasserv, 2006).

6. References

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