

IDP profiling survey in Nairobi

December 2011

Overview of survey findings

Our final sample consisted of 869 respondents, distributed across the eight districts of Nairobi. Just over half (55%) were female, and half (50%) were heads of household.

In order to “profile” IDPs, we divided our sample into three categories:

- **Non-migrants** were those born in Nairobi or who had come as children. Of our sample, 305 (35%) met these criteria.
- **Migrants** were those not born in Nairobi and who had come as adults, including foreign nationals. Of our sample, 335 (39%) met these criteria.
- **IDPs** were those who met all of the following criteria:
 - They came to Nairobi from a violence-affected region of Kenya; and
 - They left during the period when violence was occurring, and
 - They were members of an ethnic group that was persecuted.

Of our sample, 229 (26%) met these criteria and were classified as IDPs.

A total of 564 or 65% of our sample were either migrants or IDPs. Given our IDP proportions we calculated the 95% confidence interval for a stratified sample with the assumption of a normal distribution. We used the 2010 administrative census to calculate our estimates.

According to our findings the 95% Confidence Interval for the proportion of IDPs in Nairobi is:

the CI lower-bound is 23% of the total population in Nairobi (720,457 individuals)
the CI upper-bound is 30% of the total population in Nairobi (933,464 individuals)

Distribution across Nairobi

All eight districts had high proportions of IDPs and migrants. Embakasi district had the highest proportion of IDPs: 35% of 250 respondents met our IDP criteria. High migrant densities were found in Central Nairobi (49%), Kasarani (43%) and Embakasi (40%).

Reasons for leaving

When asked why they left the place they were living before coming to Nairobi, we found the following:

- 52 (9%) of IDPs and migrants said they came for reasons related to violence, land disputes, government eviction or environmental problems. All respondents who gave these reasons fell into our IDP category: no migrants gave these reasons. Of the IDPs, 12% gave this reason.
- 314 (56%) gave economic reasons for coming (that is, they could not make a living, or to find work). Of the IDPs, 47% cited this reason, and 62% of migrants did.
- 86 (15%) said they came to join family in Nairobi. About 15% of both IDPs and migrants cited this reason.
- 53 (9.5%) came for education (either their own or their children's). Of the IDPs, 7% cited this reason, and 11% of migrants did.

Length of time in Nairobi

IDPs had come more recently to Nairobi than other migrants. Of the IDPs, 44% had come to Nairobi more than eight years ago, and 24% had come within the last two years. Of the migrants, more than half (56%) had come to Nairobi more than eight years ago, and 17% had come in the past two years.

Demographics

Sex: Of our total sample, 55% were women. Women constituted 65% of IDPs, 55% of migrants and 47% of non-migrants.

Age: On average, IDPs were a few years younger than migrants and non-migrants. IDPs' average age was 30 while migrants and non-migrants averaged age 33. Women tended to be younger for all categories.

Marriage: Both IDPs and migrants (71%) were more likely to be married than non-migrants (56%). Of the IDPs and migrants, 22% were single, compared with 35% of non-migrants. Of our total sample, 6% (51 respondents) were involved in a polygamous marriage.

Education

A key finding was that IDPs and migrants had lower levels of education than non-migrants. We divided education into "high" (i.e. had at least completed secondary school) and "low" (i.e. had only got as far as "some" secondary school or had other non-formal education). IDPs were significantly less likely to have "high" education than migrants and residents. Residents were significantly more likely to have high education than migrants. The relationship holds when controlling for sex, with females also less likely to hold a "higher" education.

Household size and composition

IDPs had a slightly larger average household size (4.2 household members) than migrant households (4) or non-migrant households (4.1); however the difference was not significant.

Number of children: IDP households had slightly more children, but overall the dependency ratio (the ratio of income earners to total household members) was about the same for all groups.

For all three groups the proportion of women income earners was around 16-18%.

Children not in school: Fewer than 3% of our respondents had children of school age who did not attend school. Of these, the main reason given (by 19 respondents, of whom one in three were IDPs) was that school fees were too costly.

Shared dwellings: About half of our sample said they shared their dwelling with other households, and of these, a larger proportion of both IDPs (49%) and migrants (56%) shared with other families than did non-migrants (41%). IDPs were less likely to have their own latrine (only 29% compared to 38% for migrants and 51% for non-migrants).

Of those who shared dwellings with other households, most (79%) said they did not have any economic relationship with the other households: they did not share rent, food, income, or bills with the other households.

Housing and access to water

Type of housing: IDPs and migrants were less likely than non-migrants to live in a freestanding house, and IDPs were more likely than either migrants or non-migrants to live in a shack settlement (slum¹).

Internally displaced households lived in a smaller number of rooms than migrants or non-migrants, and had slightly more people sharing with them.

High-risk areas: IDPs were more likely than non-IDPs to live in unsafe areas such as landslide prone areas on steep slopes; flood prone areas; garbage mountains; railroad/flyover; industrial areas.

Access to drinking water: Of our total respondents, 64% had a direct pipe connection, but IDPs were less likely to have one than non-migrants (68% compared with 59% of IDPs). About a third of IDPs (35%) had to purchase relatively expensive water from vendors and water kiosks, compared with 26% of migrants and 24% of non-migrants.

Employment

We asked respondents about their employment situation over the past year, and then grouped our data into “unemployed,” “part-time employment” and “full-time employment”. (For full descriptions of these variables, see section 2.7.1.)

We found that IDPs are less securely employed than either migrants or non-migrants. IDPs were significantly **more likely** to work part-time and significantly **less likely** to be employed full-time than migrants and residents. There was no significant difference in unemployment levels between the three groups (around 30%).

The total number of earners in the household was similar for IDPs and others, with just over half having one earner in the household, and around a third having two earners.

¹ The terms slum and informal settlement are often used interchangeably in Kenya and there is no official definition of slums or informal settlements.

Income and Assets

Household income fell into the following ranges:

- About 6% of IDPs and non-IDPs said they earn less than KSh3,000 per month;
- Another 8-9% of all respondents reported earning KSh3,000 – 5,000 per month;
- Only 8% of IDPs, compared with 15% of migrants and 18% of non-migrants said they earn more than KSh40,000 per month.

No household income: Of our total sample, 40 respondents (under 5%) were unemployed and had no other income earners in their household. Of these, 11 were IDPs, making up about the same proportion of all IDPs in the overall sample.

Assets: IDPs were less likely than either migrants or non-migrants to own “luxury” items such as a radio, a television, a computer or a vehicle, and less likely to have access to electricity or the internet. All three groups were equally likely to own basic items: a bicycle, a cell phone, tables and chairs, and a mosquito net. IDPs were much less likely to own their dwelling or land compared to either migrants or non-migrants. Of our respondents, 45 or 5% said they had abandoned a dwelling or land. Almost all were IDPs, including all 19 who reported having to abandon land.

Experience in Nairobi

In order to explore whether IDPs had a different daily living experience and attitudes, we asked about the following:

- **Experience of eviction or being forced to move in Nairobi.** We found no statistically significant differences between IDPs, migrants and non-migrants, about 12% of all three groups reported having been evicted in Nairobi. The main reason was not being able to pay the rent.
- **Future migration and return intentions.** 70% of both IDPs and migrants and 80% of non-migrants said they wanted to remain where they were or move elsewhere in Nairobi. Of IDPs, 10% said they wanted to return to their home areas. Very few respondents (2-3% in all categories) said they wanted to go to another country. More IDPs (15%) and migrants (13%) said they did not know, compared with non-migrants (10%).
- **Experience of crime and harassment.** IDPs experienced slightly higher rates of crime, although the differences between the three groups were not statistically significant. IDPs were more likely to mention theft (28%) and physical attack (10%), but less likely than non-migrants to mention harassment. All groups were equally unlikely to report incidents (45%). Most of these reported it to the police station, but only a smaller portion claimed to be satisfied with the results. A similar pattern was found with reporting of physical assault.
- **Social capital:**
 - A high proportion of both IDPs (78%) and migrants (71%) said they had **relatives or friends in Nairobi** before they arrived.
 - IDPs and migrants were significantly less likely than non-migrants to participate in community organisations, and had roughly equal (low) rates of participation in all groups except religious organisations. Participation rates of migrants and IDPs were somewhat higher for women’s groups (20%) and savings and credit associations (22%) but for all other groups – burial

- Levels of trust: About 73% of all three groups said they trusted their neighbours, and around 71% (80% for non-migrants) said they trusted people from their own tribe. For people from other tribes, and also “your chief”, levels of trust hovered around 45-50%. IDPs and migrants seemed more willing than non-migrants to trust government officials, but less willing to trust NGO or donor staff. Court officials were trusted by only about a third of all groups. Police and private security companies had similar levels of trust from all three groups, around 41-44%.
- Beliefs and perception: About 40% of all respondents felt that the court would resolve a crime fairly, and a little over half of the sample believed that the police are here to protect them. There was no discernable difference between IDPs, migrants, and non-migrants. A little under half of IDPs and migrants believed their access to food had improved since they moved to Nairobi. IDPs were more comfortable with the need for bribery in the government (65% of IDPs compared to 60% of migrants and 55% of non-migrants).

1. Internal displacement in Kenya

Internal displacement in Kenya is often traced back to the return to multi-party politics in the 1990s, when it became part of political strategies to retain or win power. The ethnic clashes that broke out then and continued throughout the democratisation process were seemingly the last bid by opponents² to multi-party democracy to prove that a country divided along ethnic lines was not ready for such a system³. The effects of land redistribution during colonial times have also been closely associated to the political strategies of the 1990s. Access to land became a major factor in the ethnic clashes as certain politicians exploited this issue in their efforts to establish loyal constituencies along ethnic lines. In the Rift Valley, most of the perpetrators were identified as belonging to pastoral groups who had been evicted from their land during the colonial period. On the other hand, most of the IDPs belonged to agricultural communities – mostly Kikuyus – who had been brought in from neighbouring provinces by the British rulers to cultivate the land⁴.

The major periods of violence and displacement centred around the 1992 and 1997 elections. Violence erupted in many parts of the country, including multi-ethnic regions in the Rift Valley, Coast and Western and Nyanza provinces. By 1993, in the Rift Valley, two years of violence had forced some 300,000 people to flee their homes, mostly tribal groups associated with the political opposition in the 1992 elections. Reports suggest that perhaps half of them had resettled by the mid-1990s, but further displacement occurred between 1993 and 1995. The 2002 electoral defeat of the Kenyan African National Union (KANU), which had been ruling since independence in 1963, raised the hopes of some 350,000 remaining IDPs for durable solutions to their displacement. The new government, however, downplayed the scope of internal displacement in the country in order to avoid addressing the highly controversial issue of land ownership⁵.

A few reports have also highlighted a history of violence and displacement in northern Kenya, a predominantly arid and semi-arid region. The region, inhabited by pastoral communities and characterised by chronic drought, has been neglected in national economic development plans. Research has highlighted that the creation of new administrative boundaries has increased competition among pastoralist communities, for resources including water and pasture; this has led to violence and displacement in the region. The proliferation of guns, the commercialisation of traditional cattle rustling, the political manipulation of grievances, shrinking economic prospects for affected groups and the inability or unwillingness of security forces to stem the violence have all contributed to aggravate tensions. However, further research is warranted to distinguish between those who have abandoned their traditional pastoral

² Mainly the Kenyan African National Union (KANU), which ruled Kenya from independence in 1963 to 2002 as a de facto one-party state (IDMC, 2006)

³ Human Rights Watch (1997), *Failing the Internally Displaced*. The UNDP displaced persons program in Kenya, available at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/06/01/failing-internally-displaced>

⁴ Global IDP Project (2004), *Profile of internal displacement: Kenya*, available at [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/\(httpInfoFiles\)/A7C2D6322766F7B1802570BA00529A80/\\$file/Kenya%20-November%202004.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/A7C2D6322766F7B1802570BA00529A80/$file/Kenya%20-November%202004.pdf)

⁵ UN OCHA (2004), *Affected Populations in the Horn of Africa Region*, available at [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/\(httpDocuments\)/280997103EC1511D802570B7005905DD/\\$file/Affected+Populations+Report+HOA++December+2004.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/(httpDocuments)/280997103EC1511D802570B7005905DD/$file/Affected+Populations+Report+HOA++December+2004.pdf)

ways of life and migrated to urban centres and those who have been displaced because of the violence in the region.

Though many of the people displaced in the 1990s were thought to have returned by the beginning of 2000, a few groups were still displaced. These included displaced landowners who had either lost land or whose legal rights to the land were considered invalid; displaced landowners with security of tenure but who could not access their land because of persisting insecurity; displaced “squatters” living on other people’s land, whose houses had been demolished; dispersed IDPs who were more difficult to target with return assistance; orphans; and displaced pastoralist groups who had to abandon secure water points and move to a more hostile environment with fewer survival alternatives⁶.

In December 2007, allegations of election irregularities and malpractice led to widespread violence that displaced up to 600,000 people⁷. As with previous elections in the 1990s, different factors heightened the risk of post-election violence: the identification of the two main contenders along ethnic lines, the likelihood of close election results, doubts about the impartiality of the electoral commission and the presence of armed militia.

The violence greatly varied by region. It erupted spontaneously in and around the cities of Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu, triggered by the anger of opposition supporters at the election results; in the Rift Valley, perpetrators mainly targeted communities of small farmers and landowners perceived to be government supporters; retaliatory attacks against communities of migrant workers perceived as opposition supporters were reported in Nakuru, Central Province and Kibera and Mathare slums of Nairobi⁸ (OHCHR, 2008). In the Rift Valley, violence fuelled by land grievances and related hostility towards Kikuyus resulted in massive displacement. Many of the people displaced in 2007-2008 in the Rift Valley had already experienced violence and displacement since the mid-1990s.

1.1 Nairobi’s displacement context

Information on internal displacement patterns in Nairobi is scarce and is mostly limited to short references in broader reports on election-related and ethnic violence in Kenya. Two distinct phases can be however identified: multi-party politics up to the early 2000s, and after the 2007 post-election violence. While information is generally scarce for the first phase, more is known on IDPs who found refuge in grouped settlement options in Nairobi after the 2007 post-election violence. Literature remains scarce, however, on post-election violence IDPs who chose more dispersed settlement options.

⁶ Jesuit Refugee Service (2001), The current situation of internally displaced persons in Kenya, available at [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/\(httpDocuments\)/56BEB1A41FCB71F6802570B70059408D/\\$file/JRS+REPORT+ April+2001 .pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/(httpDocuments)/56BEB1A41FCB71F6802570B70059408D/$file/JRS+REPORT+ April+2001 .pdf)

⁷ IDMC (2008), A profile of the internal displacement situation, available at [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/\(httpInfoFiles\)/AB0DBF9A3CBF8DA1C125752800345935/\\$file/Kenya%20-%20December%202008.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/AB0DBF9A3CBF8DA1C125752800345935/$file/Kenya%20-%20December%202008.pdf)

⁸ UN OHCHR (2008), Report from OHCHR Fact-finding mission to Kenya, 6-28 February 2008, available at <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Press/OHCHRKenya-report.pdf>

The violence that characterised the first multi-party elections in 1992 was to be repeated on a greater scale in 1997. While “inland” ethnic groups fled to other provinces up-country, “coastal” groups were mostly displaced because of the reprisals by security forces and found refuge in nearby towns and cities, including Nairobi. The Jesuit Refugee Service⁹ reported that many of those displaced did not subsequently achieve durable solutions. Rather, in the Rift Valley, those who had found refuge in grouped settlements were forcibly dispersed and resettled in Central Province – the “ancestral” homeland of the Kikuyus – without benefitting from proper resettlement help. Landless and in many cases separated from other family members, many found their way on the streets and in the informal settlements of the nearest market centre, Nairobi, where they could engage in low-paying jobs.

Mentions of intra-urban displacement in Nairobi can also be found in the literature. From the 1980s and with the increase of people settling in slum areas, Nairobi started facing an increase in criminal violence. With the involvement of police forces in criminal activities and the presence of the headquarters of all the political movements in the city, Nairobi faced recurrent tensions, with riots and looting breaking out and demonstrations violent repressed, especially close to elections¹⁰.

In December 2007, allegations of irregularities and malpractice in Kenya’s presidential elections led to widespread violence that displaced up to 600,000 people¹¹. Violence erupted in and around the cities of Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, and across the Rift Valley. In Nairobi, violence mostly affected communities living in slums like Mathare and Kibera where youths allied with the incumbent Party of National Unity and the opposition Orange Democratic Movement parties clashed. The violence in Nairobi was not organised: as soon as the election results were announced, youths took to the streets and caused mayhem and violence targeted mainly at Kikuyus¹². Reprisal attacks followed.

Victims of the violence fled to major towns in the Rift Valley and Central Province and to Nairobi’s western outskirts. The people displaced in Nairobi initially took refuge in City Park, in Jamhuri Park, the largest open area in the city for trade and agricultural shows, and at the compounds of chiefs and District Commissioners¹³. These camps were among the first to be shut down by the government despite protests from humanitarian agencies and the displaced people themselves. In 2008, around 34 official and unofficial (that is, with no formal camp management mechanisms in place) IDP sites were recorded in and around Nairobi¹⁴.

⁹ Jesuit Refugee Service (2001).

¹⁰ Agostini, Giulia; Chianese, Francesca; French, William & Sandhu, Amita (2007). Understanding the Processes of Urban Violence: An Analytical Framework, unpublished paper, Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics. Available at <http://www.eisf.eu/resources/library/Understandprocessesurbanviolence.pdf>

¹¹ IDMC (2008), A profile of the internal displacement situation, available at [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/\(httpInfoFiles\)/AB0DBF9A3CBF8DA1C125752800345935/\\$file/Kenya%20-%20December%202008.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/AB0DBF9A3CBF8DA1C125752800345935/$file/Kenya%20-%20December%202008.pdf)

¹² S. Bayne (2008), Post-election violence in Kenya. An assessment for the UK government.

¹³ IDMC (2008), A profile of the internal displacement situation, available at [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/\(httpInfoFiles\)/AB0DBF9A3CBF8DA1C125752800345935/\\$file/Kenya%20-%20December%202008.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/AB0DBF9A3CBF8DA1C125752800345935/$file/Kenya%20-%20December%202008.pdf)

¹⁴ Caritas (2008), Report 11th September 2008.

Information on IDP sites in Nairobi is fragmented and incomplete. The literature is mostly composed of agency assessments targeting only a few of the estimated formal and informal sites at a time. Virtually no data is available on urban IDPs who have chosen more dispersed settlement options in the city, although some information is expected to be found with religious organisations across the city that have worked with local administration chiefs and religious elders to coordinate assistance.

2. Study background

This report presents the findings of a household survey conducted in the eight districts of Nairobi during the month of September 2010. The purpose of the survey was to explore the living conditions and experiences of IDPs, migrants and non-migrants. The study was commissioned by IDMC, designed by Karen Jacobsen and Anastasia Marshak, and implemented in Nairobi by Eric Levron with the assistance of the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and Kituo Cha Cheria, and with technical assistance provided remotely by Karen Jacobsen and Anastasia Marshak. The data was entered in Nairobi then sent to Boston where it was analysed by Jacobsen and Marshak, and written up into this report. This report seeks only to describe the methodology and report the survey findings.

This study forms part of a larger ODI-IDMC study looking at the phenomenon of urban displacement. It recognises that the displacement experience is no longer predominantly played out in camps and settlements. Current humanitarian approaches and responses, however, are not geared to address this complex problem, and the issue of urban IDPs represents a growing challenge for both state authorities and humanitarian actors. While some research has been undertaken into issues of urban livelihoods and governance, there remains little understanding of how the displaced negotiate their way in the urban environment, their relationships with the host community and governance institutions, whether they are more vulnerable than other poor urban residents and what their specific vulnerabilities are. Humanitarian agencies, meanwhile, have failed to develop a coherent and strategic response to urban issues, either in general or specifically in relation to the displaced, despite some good individual agency work. It is hoped that better understanding of how the urban environment functions, especially in relation to displacement, will help in the formulation of better responses.

The survey presented here was carried out to inform a more in-depth qualitative analysis carried out immediately afterwards by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in partnership with IRC. Targeted and more in-depth interviews were needed to draw more definitive conclusions with regard to issues such as migration and displacement patterns, experience of harassment, discrimination as to housing or employment rights¹⁵.

The current study took the form of a quantitative survey that explored demographics, living conditions, livelihoods and protection issues of the IDPs compared with other non-IDP groups within the defined urban area of Nairobi, in line with the methodology developed for earlier studies in Khartoum, Abidjan and Santa Marta¹⁶.

¹⁵ The findings of that report can be found at <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/5943.pdf>

¹⁶ The studies can be accessed at www.internal-displacement.org/urban

3. Methodology and challenges

In order to compare the experiences of IDPs with those of other migrants and non-migrants living in the same locality, a survey that sampled from the population of all the districts of Nairobi was conducted. Through secondary data analysis, those who were most likely to be IDPs and migrants were then identified. The methodology followed that of earlier Tufts-IDMC studies: a household survey that used a random, two-stage systematic sample of about 850 respondents, based on stratification according to IDP densities (see below). The survey utilised a geographic information system (GIS) in the sampling strategy, and Google Earth to supplement map information.

The research in Nairobi took place in three phases between September and November 2010.

The first phase was devoted to:

- Meeting stakeholders with an interest in the study, including UNHCR and other relevant UN agencies, government ministries, and local community organisations working with IDPs;
- Identifying and gathering existing statistical or census data and maps from municipal offices and government statistics offices;
- Identifying a local NGO to assist with logistics and data collection;
- Adapting the questionnaire and sampling strategy to the local context.

Our consultant, Eric Levron, worked with government statistical offices and the UN Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN OCHA) to obtain existing statistical data and maps, in particular census lists of households in each district and sub-district, as well as detailed maps of the city. Our budget constraints did not allow us to buy data sets which would have facilitated the sampling exercise, and nor did we have the latest census data, as the 2010 census had only just been completed (in August 2010) and the data was not yet available¹⁷.

We worked closely with the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and a local community organisation, Kituo Cha Sheria, who both knew the city well and had experience doing household surveys.

The second phase comprised the design and adaptation of the questionnaire and the sampling strategy, the training and testing of the questionnaire and the data collection.

The questionnaire was designed to gather information about:

- demographics (age, ethnicity, marital status, education, household size, place of birth);
- housing situation and composition;
- migration experience (including date of arrival, reasons for coming, mobility within the city);
- economic situation (employment, income and assets, liabilities such as rent);
- experience in Nairobi (including social capital, perceptions about safety).

¹⁷ Access to the 2010 census data was only available in the course of 2011.

All questions were structured and fully coded. With the support of IRC and Kituo Cha Sheria, the questionnaire was revised and adapted to the local context. The codes used in the 2010 Kenya Census were used for areas of Kenya and districts and sub-districts of Nairobi. The questionnaire was translated into kiSwahili.¹⁸

The sampling strategy employed a two-stage, random systematic sample of households, with a goal of 850 households. This sample size aimed to achieve a significance level¹⁹ of .05, an effect size²⁰ of .2, and a power²¹ of .8. We over-sampled to address design effects and also because we anticipated significant attrition.

A first step was to stratify the city into areas of low and high IDP density. The city of Nairobi is divided into eight districts, each divided into sub-districts. Through meetings and consultations with local key informants and organisations we classified each sub-district as high, medium or low IDP density (see Annexe 1). The organisations included: UNHCR, Ministry of Special Programmes, Kituo Cha Sheria and Nairobi Population Settlement Network (NPSN). However, UNHCR and the national authorities did not have much information about urban IDPs.

Once the sub-districts had been stratified and mapped, our first sampling stage was to randomly distribute 168 GPS waypoints across the map, weighting the distribution so to have more GPS points in high density areas. The random distribution of GPS points meant that not all sub-divisions were sampled. Our sampling distribution is shown in Map 1.

In the second sampling stage, we used clustered sampling. During the survey, we used GPS handheld devices to navigate to the waypoints. Around each of the 168 waypoints we randomly (by spinning the pen on the clipboard then selecting the nearest household to which the pen pointed) selected five dwellings and solicited respondents from each dwelling. If no one was available in the selected dwelling, we selected up to two replacements from the next door.

The on-site consultant recruited the survey team with the assistance of IRC. The team consisted of ten enumerators, three supervisors (making two teams) and two data entry people. The consultant then conducted a three-day training session with the enumerators and supervisors. Field tests of the questionnaire and the sampling approach were conducted as part of the training.

Once training and testing were satisfactory, data collection began and lasted approximately 20 days. Due to the absence of street maps, all the waypoints were manually entered in the GPS units in order to help the supervisors locate their destinations. The survey route that the enumerators would take was plotted out ahead

¹⁸ The enumerators would have preferred to work directly with the English version, and translate ‘on the fly’ or as needed. They argued that this was preferable because spoken Kiswahili in Kenya sounds like slang and differs a lot to written Kiswahili, which is more formal. However, the senior researcher (Jacobsen) insisted that the questionnaire be translated to ensure a uniform approach.

¹⁹ The Confidence Interval quantifies the uncertainty of a measurement; usually reported at 95 percent, such that we can say that we are 95 percent sure that the true value for the whole population lies within the range of values defined by the confidence interval.

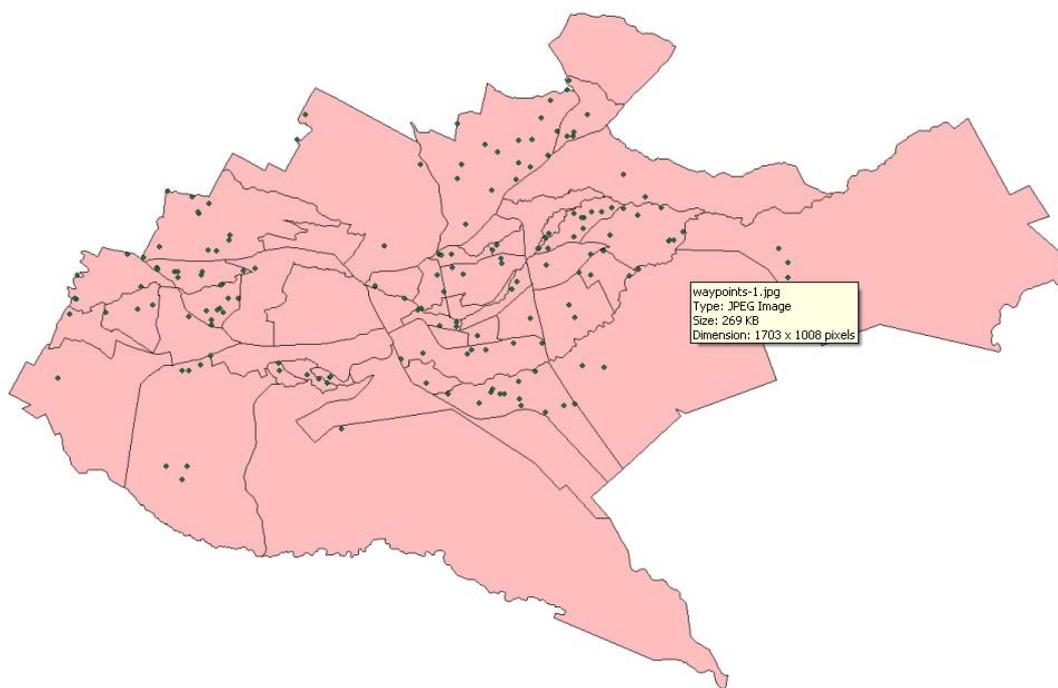
²⁰ The effect size is a standardised measure that represents the change (measure in standard deviations) in an average respondent’s response that can be expected if the individual is an IDP.

²¹ The power of a statistical hypothesis test is a measure of the test’s ability to reject the null hypothesis when it is actually false – that is, to make a correct decision.

of time using the maps of the selected sample areas. On a daily basis, the consultant accompanied the two teams to help locate the waypoints and make sure the teams followed the sampling strategy and interview protocol. Questionnaires were randomly verified in order to crosscheck the quality of the data collection with the supervisors. Every day, debriefings with the supervisors took place to learn about daily process and difficulties.

The third stage of the study comprised the data cleaning and analysis phase. The survey data were entered between September 21 and October 1 2010, using CSPro. The completed data were checked and then sent to Boston, where they were cleaned. We used Stata and SPSS to analyse the data. As we did not have access to the 2010 census data at the time, population estimates for IDPs have been calculated in the course of 2011.

Map 1: Distribution of waypoints in Nairobi



3.1 Study constraints and limitations of the survey data

The use of survey methodologies to explore the situation of urban IDPs compared to their non-IDP counterparts is still very much in its experimental stages, and our study findings are subject to a number of validity threats, including sample bias and response validity. As with all household surveys we had security concerns for our teams, but there were no incidents that affected our enumerators, and to our knowledge, no problems for respondents. Like all non-panel surveys, our data gave a “snapshot” view of the situation in the city, and given the dynamic and mobile nature of internally displaced populations, may soon be out of date.

Urban inaccessibility and logistics

A particular challenge in Nairobi was the size and impenetrability of the metropolitan area. According to the 2009 Census, the administrative area of Nairobi was 695 km² (269 sq mi) with a density of 4,514 people per km²²². Because of traffic congestion problems and roads that are seldom upgraded or repaired, travel to the fringes of the city (50 km separate the western part from the eastern part) could take more than two hours and finding the location of waypoints half an hour more. Since we surveyed 170 different locations, the time spent in travel was significant.

It was also difficult to navigate with a GPS in peri-urban areas, where “roads” are barely existent. The numerous valleys that cross the city (and the absence of bridges) also complicated and lengthened access to a GPS point. Access to the high-class residential areas (Westgate, Karen) was particularly complicated as many of these were totally closed (gated communities, private guards blocking access to any person without invitation from a non-migrant).

Validity issues

Our questions attempted to capture each respondent’s experience, including their migration history and movement within the city. Our data, however, were constructed from subjective recall, and we had few ways of validating the information. Like all surveys, respondents can be unwilling to reveal information that could potentially get them or their families in trouble, either with the authorities or locally dominant groups. Although the general response to our survey was good for most questions, there was some reluctance regarding both the survey itself (we could not hold a broad information campaign with community leaders) and the interview itself. “Survey fatigue” meant some people were reluctant to participate because prior surveys never made any difference to their lives. Some of our questions elicited suspicion and reluctance both from non-nationals and IDPs. In particular, our response rates were lower for questions that asked about security, ethnicity, and identity documents. Asking the date of arrival sometimes led to problems because most people do not have good date recall unless specific events are associated.

Given these constraints, it is likely that at least some of our respondents held back information about their displacement or migration experience, and about problems they were currently experiencing. We sought to monitor this by sensitising our enumerators to this issue, and asking them at the end of each interview whether they thought the respondent was holding back information. In only a few cases did the enumerator report this problem.

As a way to address the suspicion problem, it may be helpful to introduce the survey through a media campaign using the radio or posters. Such a campaign may not be possible or appropriate in all cities, and should first be checked out with local sources. Our Nairobi field team carried documentation that included a letter from an authority, a copy of all clearances from authorities, and a detailed description of the survey objectives. This documentation was available if respondents asked about the survey before they consented to be interviewed.

²² Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2010), 2009 National Population and Housing Census, available at <http://www.knbs.or.ke/Urban%20Population%20by%20Place%20of%20Residence.%20Sex.%20Number%20of%20Households.%20Area%20and%20Density.php>

Selection bias

Sampling problems arose because certain parts of the city were less accessible, either because of gated, no-access housing or because of difficult urban terrain. In addition, like many cities in Africa, Nairobi is not well zoned, and residential, administrative, commercial and industrial areas are often mixed together. Small shanty towns where IDPs live can spring up within settled residential areas, as well as on the outskirts of towns, or along highways, and these areas would not be included in our map. The sampling challenges from this complex mix of housing were aggravated by the difficulties of physical navigation discussed above. We found it helpful to use Google Earth to preview the areas where we intended to work. The available imagery from Google Earth is highly detailed, especially in urban areas, and the download is free, making it a valuable resource to assist with survey preparation. When the Google Earth imagery was not adequate or up to date, we visited the survey sites the day before, to ensure that no surprises would confront the enumerators.

4. Survey findings: IDPs, migrants and non-migrants

Our final sample consisted of 869 respondents, distributed across the eight districts of Nairobi as shown in Table 1. Just over half (55%) were female, and half (50%) were heads of household. Of the female respondents, 33% were heads of household, and of the male respondents, 67% were heads of household. The majority of respondents was born in Kenya (95%) and had Kenyan citizenship.

Table 1: Distribution of sample

District	Frequency	Percentage of sample
Central Nairobi	41	4.72
Dagoretti	125	14.38
Embakasi	250	28.77
Kasarani	153	17.61
Kibera	74	8.52
Makadara	45	5.18
Pumwani	60	6.9
Westlands	121	13.92
Total	869	100

We divided our sample into IDPs, migrants and non-migrants, and compared their experience.

We defined **non-migrants** as those who were born in Nairobi or had come as children. Of our sample, 305 (35%) met these criteria.

We defined **migrants** as those who were not born in Nairobi and had come as adults. Of our sample, 335 (39%) met these criteria.

We defined respondents as likely to be **IDPs** if they met all of the following criteria:

1. They came to Nairobi from a violence-affected region of Kenya; and
2. They left during a year when violent clashes were occurring in that region; and
3. They were members of an ethnic group that was persecuted.

Of our sample, 229 (26%) met these criteria and were classified as IDPs.

Table 2: Classification of sample

	Frequency	Percentage of sample
IDP	229	26%
Migrant	335	39%
Resident	305	35%
TOTAL	869	100

A total of 564 or 65% of our sample were either migrants or IDPs.

Given our IDP proportions we calculated the 95% confidence interval for a stratified sample with the assumption of a normal distribution. We used the 2010 administrative

census to calculate our estimates.

According to our findings the 95% Confidence Interval for the proportion of IDPs in Nairobi is:

the CI lower-bound is 23% of the total population in Nairobi (720,457 individuals)

the CI upper-bound is 30% of the total population in Nairobi (933,464 individuals)

We used the following equations to calculate 95% confidence interval for a stratified sample with the assumption of a normal distribution with the population proportion estimated from the sample and without replacement:

$$\text{Standard Error} = (1 / N) * \text{sqrt} \{ \sum [N_h^2 * (1 - n_h/N_h) * p_h * (1 - p_h) / (n_h - 1)] \}$$

where N = total population in Nairobi

N_h = individual strata population in Nairobi

n_h = number of observations in that strata

p_h = proportion of IDPs in that strata

$$\text{Margin of Error} = \text{critical value} * \text{standard error} = 1.96 * \text{standard error} = 0.033936 \text{ (3.4\%)}$$

(critical value is taken from the z score associated with a 95% confidence interval)

$$\text{Confidence Interval} = \text{IDP average in sample} + \text{margin of error} = .2635 + 0.033936 = 26\% + 3.4\%$$

As shown in Table 3, the main provinces of origin for IDPs were Western (34%), Nyanza (32%), and Rift Valley (12%). The most common province of origin for migrants was Central Province (44%), followed by Eastern (20%).

Table 3: Province of origin

Province	IDP		Migrant		Total Freq- uency	Significant difference ²³
	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent		
Nairobi	3	1%	20	6%	23	1%
Central	16	7%	145	44%	161	1%
Coast	6	3%	11	3%	17	none
Eastern	14	6%	66	20%	80	1%
North Eastern	3	1%	3	1%	6	none
Nyanza	73	32%	9	3%	82	none
Rift Valley	28	12%	9	3%	37	5%
Western	76	34%	29	9%	105	none
other country	6	3%	34	10%	40	none
Total	225	100%	326	100%	551	

²³ The relationship is significant if the alpha value is 10% or less. The percentage refers to the likelihood of the relationship occurring by chance. The lower the percentage, the more likely there is a significant relationship between variables.

4.1 Reasons for leaving

We asked migrants and IDPs why they left the place they lived before coming to Nairobi. The responses are shown in Table 4:

- 52 (9%) said they came for reasons related to violence, land disputes, government eviction or environmental problems (pink rows). All respondents who gave these reasons fell into our IDP category, i.e. no migrants gave these reasons. Of the IDPs, 12% gave this reason.
- 314 (56%) gave economic reasons for coming (that is, they could not make a living, or to find work). Of the IDPs, 47% cited this reason, and 62% of migrants did.
- 86 (15%) said they came to join family in Nairobi. About 15% of both IDPs and migrants cited this reason.
- 53 (9.5%) came for education (either their own or their children's). Of the IDPs, 7% cited this reason, and 11% of migrants did

Table 4: Reason respondents left their previous place of residence

Reason came		IDP	Migrant	Total
Violence	Count	28	0	28
	% reason came	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	% IDP or migrant	12.28%	0.00%	5.05%
Environmental problems	Count	13	0	13
	% reason came	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	% IDP or migrant	5.70%	0.00%	2.35%
Government evictions	Count	2	0	2
	% reason came	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	% IDP or migrant	0.88%	0.00%	0.36%
Land disputes	Count	9	0	9
	% reason came	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	% IDP or migrant	3.95%	0.00%	1.62%
Economic reasons	Count	107	207	314
	% reason came	34.10%	65.90%	100.00%
	% IDP or migrant	46.93%	63.50%	56.68%
Education	Count	17	36	53
	% reason came	32.10%	67.90%	100.00%
	% IDP or migrant	7.46%	11.04%	9.57%
To join family	Count	37	49	86
	% reason came	43.00%	57.00%	100.00%
	% IDP or migrant	16.20%	15.03%	15.52%
Other	Count	15	34	49
	% reason came	30.60%	69.40%	100.00%
	% IDP or migrant	6.60%	10.43%	8.84%
Total		228	326	554

4.2 Length of time in Nairobi

Overall, IDPs had come more recently to Nairobi than other migrants. As shown in Table 5 of our IDP respondents, 44% had come to Nairobi more than eight years ago, and 24% had come within the last two years. Of the migrants, more than half (56%) had come to Nairobi more than eight years ago, and 17% had come in the past two years.

Table 5: Length of time in Nairobi

How long have you lived in this city?	IDP		Migrant		Non-migrant		Total	Significant difference between IDPs and migrants?
	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	
Born here	0	0%	0	0%	212	70%	212	-
Came as a child	0	0%	0	0%	93	30%	93	-
More than 8 years	100	44%	186	56%	0	0%	286	Yes
5 - 8 years	48	21%	59	18%	0	0%	107	No sig diff
3 - 4 years	27	12%	35	10%	0	0%	62	No
1 - 2 years	43	19%	43	13%	0	0%	86	Yes
Less than 1 year	11	5%	12	4%	0	0%	23	No
Total	229	100%	335	100%	305	100%	869	

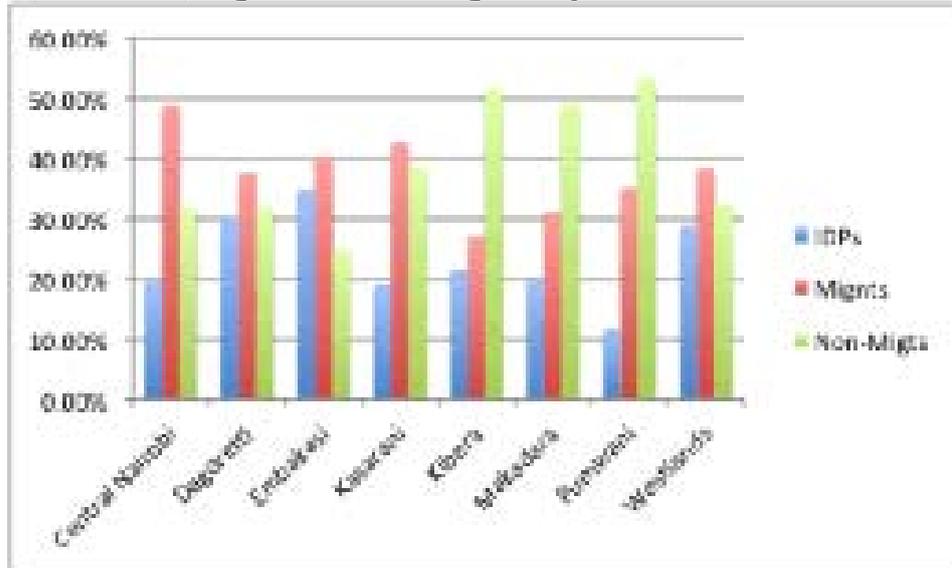
4.3 Distribution across Nairobi

IDPs, migrants and non-migrants were distributed across the eight districts of Nairobi as shown in Table 6 and Chart 1. All districts had high combined proportions of IDPs and migrants. Embakasi district had the highest proportion of IDPs: 35% of 250 respondents met our IDP criteria. High migrant densities were found in Central Nairobi (49%), Kasarani (43%) and Embakasi (40%)

Table 6: IDPs, migrants and non-migrants by district

District	IDP		Migrant		Non-migrant		IDP+Migrant	Total
	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Per cent	Frequency
Central Nairobi	8	20%	20	49%	13	32%	68%	41
Dagoretti	38	30%	47	38%	40	32%	68%	125
Embakasi	87	35%	101	40%	62	25%	75%	250
Kasarani	29	19%	65	43%	59	39%	61%	153
Kibera	16	22%	20	27%	38	51%	49%	74
Makadara	9	20%	14	31%	22	49%	51%	45
Pumwani	7	12%	21	35%	32	53%	47%	60
Westlands	35	29%	46	38%	39	33%	68%	120
Total	229	26%	334	38%	305	35%	65%	868

Chart 1: IDPs, migrants and non-migrants by district



Interestingly, we found relatively lower densities of IDPs and migrants in Kibera.

4.4 Demographics

Age, sex and marital status

IDPs were significantly younger than migrants or non-migrants: IDPs' average age was 30 while migrants and non-migrants averaged age 33. Women tended to be younger for all categories (Table 7).

Table 7: Average age by sex

	IDPs		Migrants		Non-migrants	
	Average	Standard deviation	Average	Standard deviation	Average	Standard deviation
Women	29.3	8.7	30.7	10.0	31.0	12.3
Men	32.9	9.8	36.8	13.4	35.2	14.3

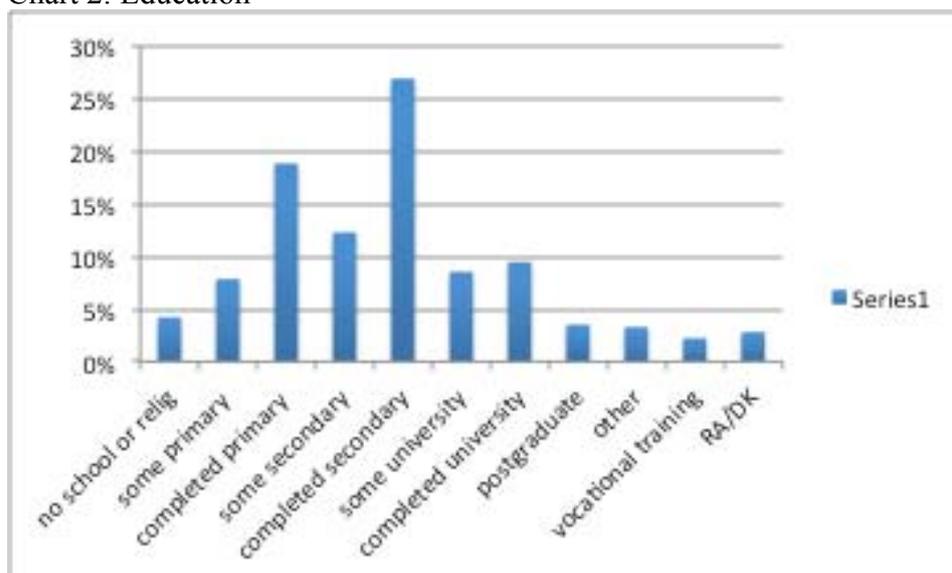
Of our total sample, 55% were women. Women constituted 65% of the IDPs, 55% of migrants and 47% of non-migrants.

Both IDPs (72%) and migrants (71%) were more likely to be married than non-migrants (56%). Of IDPs and migrants, 22% were single, compared with 35% of non-migrants. Of our total sample, 6% (51 respondents) were involved in a polygamous marriage.

Education

We asked respondents what level of education they had completed. Of those who answered (as shown in Chart 2), 4% had no school or religious education, 19% had only completed primary school and 27% had only completed secondary school. About 9% had some university education and another 9% had completed university and 4% had postgraduate education.

Chart 2: Education



In order to explore differences between IDPs, migrants and non-migrants, we divided these responses between “low” and “high” education:

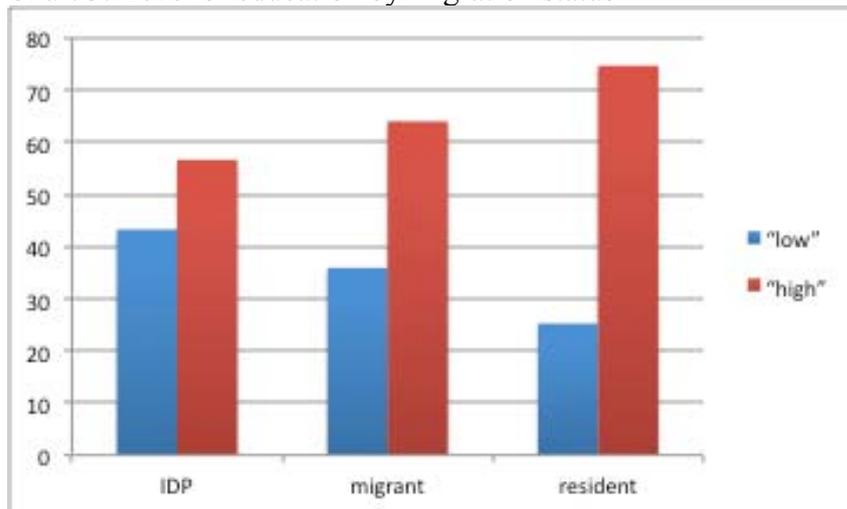
- “Low” education included those who indicated they had no school, only religious education, primary school or some secondary school. “Low education” included non-formal education (including adult education, bridge education, or an accelerated learning program) and vocational training.
- “High” education included those who had completed secondary school, had some university experience, had completed a university degree or postgraduate study.

We found that IDPs were significantly more likely to have low education and less likely to have high education than both migrants and residents. As shown in Table 8 and Chart 3. 43% of IDPs had only low education, compared with 36% of migrants and 25% of non-migrants.

Table 8: Level of education by migration status

Level of education	IDPs		Migrants		Non-migrants		Total	
	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency
“Low”	43.32	94	35.95	119	25.27	71	34.26	284
“High”	56.68	123	64.05	212	74.73	210	65.74	545
Total	100	217	100	331	100	281	100	829

Chart 3: Level of education by migration status



The finding that IDPs were significantly less likely to have “high” education than migrants or non-migrants holds true when controlling for sex and age. Women are also less likely to have “high” education.

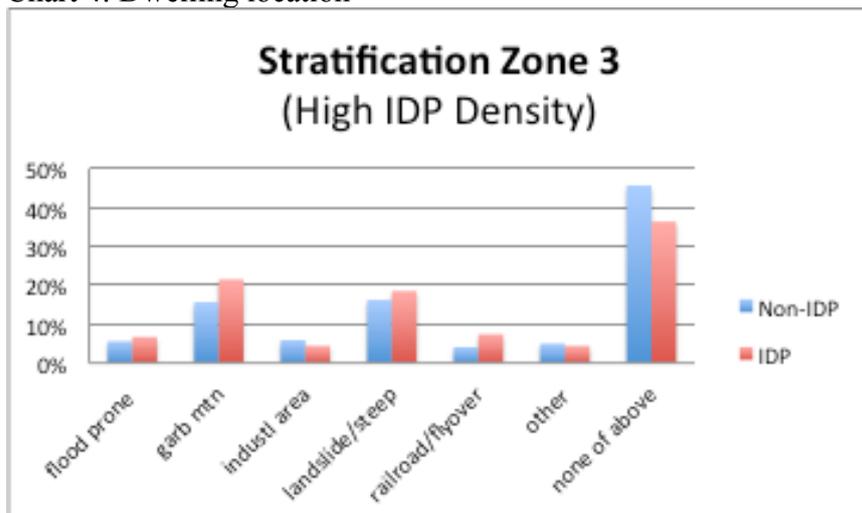
4.5 Housing location and type, and access to water

In Nairobi, a number of slums are located on land unsuitable for construction, especially of housing. According to the NPSN, 196 informal settlements are located across the city²⁴. Their location has largely been determined by their proximity to areas where residents are able to get employment or some other form of sustenance, such as garbage picking.

Our enumerators indicated whether the respondent’s dwelling was located in on in sight of any of the following high risk areas: landslide area/steep hill/slope; flood-prone area/ river bank; garbage mountain/pile; railroad/flyover; industrial area; or another dangerous site. These risky areas were significantly correlated with our stratification. In the stratum we identified as “high IDP density”, more than half of our respondents lived in risky areas; only 43% of respondents lived in non-risky areas. In the “low IDP density” stratum, 63% of respondents lived in non-risky areas. Within both of these strata, IDPs were more likely than non-IDPs to live in unsafe areas. Chart 4 compares our three groups in the high-density stratum.

²⁴ Interview with Mr Humphrey Otieno on 8 September 2010.

Chart 4: Dwelling location

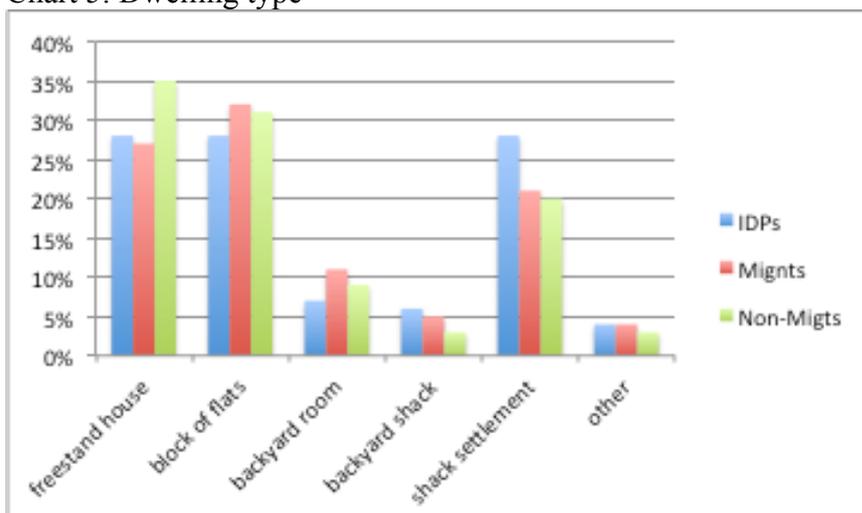


Enumerators also indicated the type of housing respondents lived in. Of our total sample, we found:

- 254 (29%) lived in a freestanding house;
- 253 (29%) lived in a block of flats;
- 74 (8.5%) lived in a backyard house or room, and another 38 (4.4%) lived in a backyard shack;
- 188 (22%) lived in a shack settlement (slum);
- 9 (1%) lived in a hostel or boarding house.

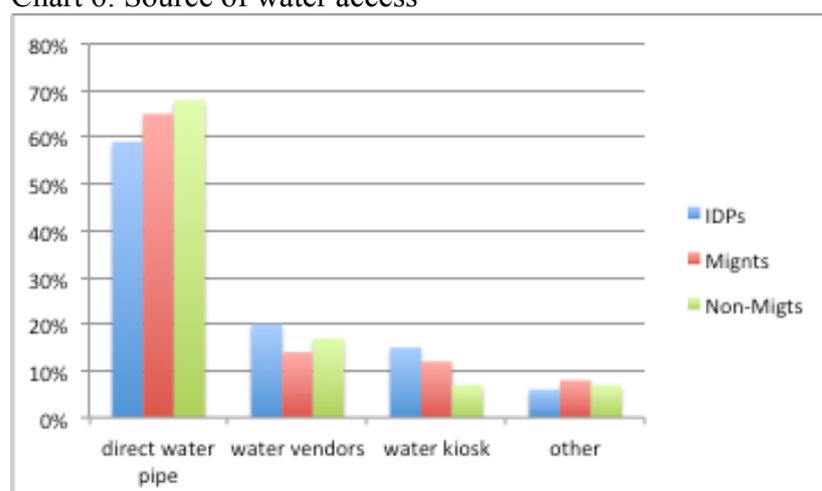
Chart 5 shows that both IDPs and migrants were less likely than non-migrants to live in a freestanding house, and IDPs were more likely than either migrants or non-migrants to live in a shack settlement. IDP households lived in a smaller number of rooms than migrants or non-migrants.

Chart 5: Dwelling type



Of all our respondents, 64% had a direct drinking water pipe connection, but IDPs were less likely to have one than non-migrants (59% of IDPs compared with 68% of non-migrants). About a third of IDPs (35%) had to purchase relatively expensive water from vendors and water kiosks, compared with 26% of migrants and 24% of non-migrants.

Chart 6: Source of water access



4.6 Household size and composition

Household size and composition is an important indicator of economic vulnerability: households with high dependency ratios (the ratio of income earners to total household members) are likely to be more vulnerable. Households with higher numbers of elderly people, disabled people or children are more likely to have higher health and education expenses, and to be less able to bring in income.

As shown in Table 9, there were no significant differences in household size between our three groups. IDPs had a slightly larger average household size (4.2 household members) than migrant households (4) or non-migrant households (4.1), however the difference was not significant. IDP households had slightly more children, but overall the dependency ratio was about the same for all groups.

IDP households had a lower percentage of elderly members (less than 1%) than non-migrants or migrants (6% and 8%). There was no difference in the proportion of households with disabled members (~2%). For all three groups the proportion of women income earners was between 16% and 18%.

Table 9: Household composition

	IDPs	Migrants	Non-migrants
Average number of household members	4.2	4	4.1
Average number of children under 16	2	1.4	1.2
Percent of household that are income earners	43%	47%	46%
Percent of household that are woman income earners	16%	17%	18%
Percent of household that are over 65	<1%	6%	8%
Percent of household that are disabled	2%	2%	2%

Less than 3% of our sample had children of school age who did not attend school. Of these, the main reason given (by 19 respondents, of whom IDPs were one third) was that school fees were too costly. There were no significant differences between the three groups in children's school attendance.

4.7 Shared dwellings

One coping strategy used by the poor is to share dwelling places, either because housing is scarce or to save on rent. Shared dwellings can thus be an indicator of poverty or vulnerability. We asked if respondents shared with other families, and as a validity check, asked whether respondents shared latrines and shared kitchens. We then asked about their economic relationships with those with whom they shared.

About half of our sample (421 or 48%) said they shared their dwelling with other households. Of these, a larger proportion of both IDPs (49%) and migrants (56%) shared their living quarters with other families than did non-migrants (41%). IDPs were less likely to have their own latrine (only 29% compared to 38% for migrants and 51% for non-migrants).

Table 10: Share with other households

	IDPs		Migrants		Non-migrants	
	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent
Own latrine	66	29%	128	38%	156	51%
Own kitchen	207	92%	305	93%	257	86%
Share dwelling with other household	111	49%	187	56%	123	41%

IDP households lived in a smaller number of rooms than migrants or non-migrants, and had slightly more people sharing with them.

Table 11: Number of rooms and other households

	IDPs		Migrants		Non-migrants		Sig. diff. btw IDPs & Non-migrants	
	Av.	St.d.	Av.	St.d.	Av.	St.d.	Migrants	Non-migrants
Number of rooms in dwelling	2.1	2.1	2.6	2.4	3.5	3	1%	1%
Number of people in your household living here	4.2	2	4.1	2.2	4.1	2.2	none	none
Number of other household(s) living here	10.3	10.8	9.8	10.1	9.9	12.2	none	none

We asked those who shared dwellings if they also shared rent, food, income, or bills with the other households and of the 404 respondents who responded, most (79%) said they did not have any economic relationship with the other households.

4.8 Economic situation

We compared the economic situations of our three groups across several variables: employment, income and assets (including housing), and liabilities (rent), and found relatively few differences between IDPs and others. Nonetheless, measures related to employment, income, housing and ownership of household assets all indicate that IDPs are worse off economically than either migrants or non-migrants.

Employment

We asked respondents about their employment situation over the past year, and then grouped our data into the following categories:

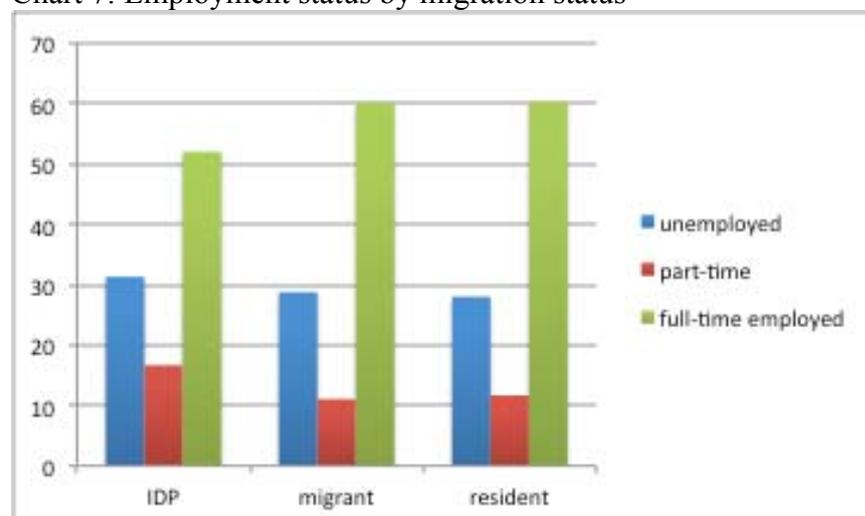
- “Unemployed” (defined as those who described themselves as unemployed). Just over a quarter (26%) of our sample were unemployed.
- “Part-time employment” (defined as those who described themselves as having “part time wages”) comprised 11% of our sample.
- “Full-time employment” (defined as those who described themselves as having their own business or having full-time wages or salary): about 51% of our sample fell into this category.
- Respondents that refused to answer or described themselves as “housewives”, “students”, or “retired” were excluded from the sample. 6% of the sample described themselves as housewives, 5% as students, and 1% as retired.
- The response rate was 95% for this question.

As shown in Table 12 and Chart 7, our results suggest that IDPs are less securely employed than either migrants or non-migrants. IDPs were significantly **more likely** to work part-time and significantly **less likely** to be employed full-time compared to migrants and residents. There was no significant difference in unemployment levels between all three groups.

Table 12: Employment status by migration status

Employment status	IDPs		Migrants		Non-migrants		Total	
	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency
Unemployed	27.93	62	24.76	78	25.09	72	25.73	212
Part-time	14.86	33	9.52	30	10.45	30	11.29	93
Full-time employed	46.4	103	51.75	163	54.01	155	51.09	421
Housewife	6.76	15	7.94	25	3.83	11	6.19	51
Student	4.05	9	4.44	14	5.75	16	4.73	39
Retired	0	0	1.59	5	1.05	3	0.97	8
Total	100	222	100	315	100	287	100	824

Chart 7: Employment status by migration status



We asked about employers, and between 6% and 8% of all three groups said they worked for an organisation. IDPs were somewhat less likely to work for the government (2% vs. 4% of migrants and 6% of non-migrants).

Income and assets

We asked about other household members earning income, and found similar patterns for all three groups. Just over half of our sample had one earner in the household, and around a third had two earners.

No household income. Of our total sample, 32 respondents (3.6%) were unemployed and had no other income earners in their household. Of these, nine were IDPs (about 4% of all IDPs), suggesting that IDPs were not unusual.

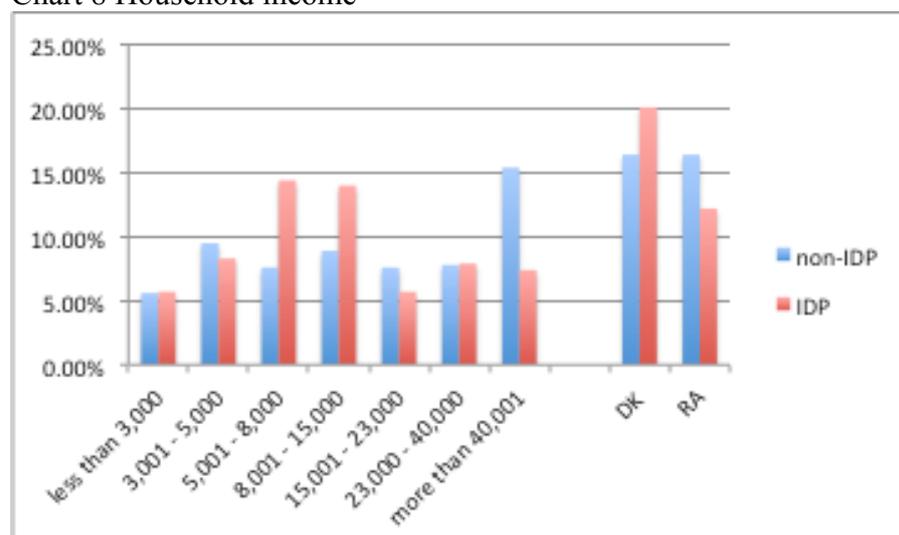
When asked whether any children in the household were earning an income, 25 respondents (3%) said they did, four of whom were IDPs (2% of all IDPs).

Household income and assets offer insights into economic vulnerability. Asking about income is a challenge in a survey and we treat our data with some caution. For this question our response rate went down, as expected, and 22% of respondents said they did not know, or refused to answer. As shown in Chart 2.7.2, non-IDPs were less likely to respond than IDPs to the question about household income. We assume that reporting inaccuracy is similar across all groups.

We asked respondents to indicate the range in which their household income fell, and our findings are shown in Chart 2.7.2:

- A similar proportion of IDPs and non-IDPs, about 6%, said they earn less than KSh3,000 per month,
- Between 8% and 9% of all respondents reported earning from KSh3,000 to KSh5,000 per month
- Only 8% of IDPs, compared with 15% of migrants and 18% of non-migrants said they earn more than KSh40,000 per month.

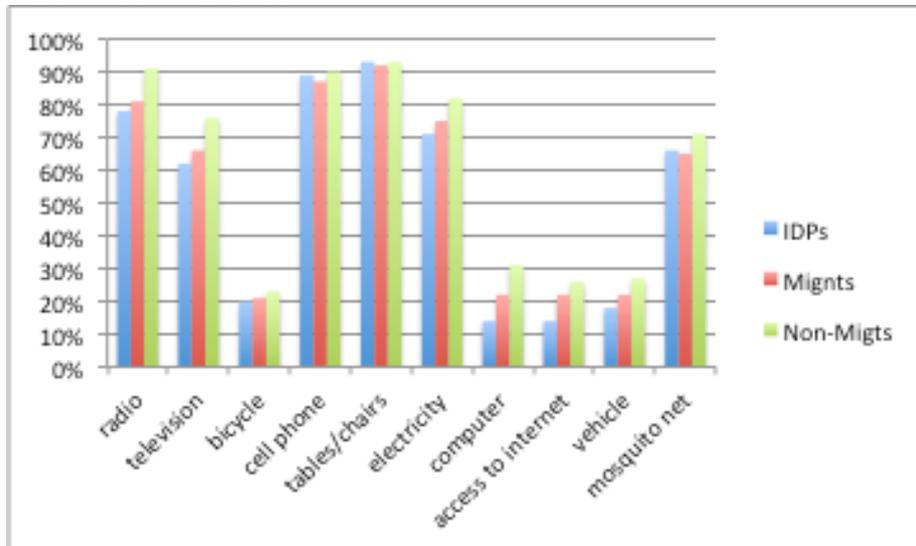
Chart 8 Household income



To explore household assets, we asked about ownership of, or access to a range of household assets. As shown in Chart 9, IDPs were less likely than either migrants or

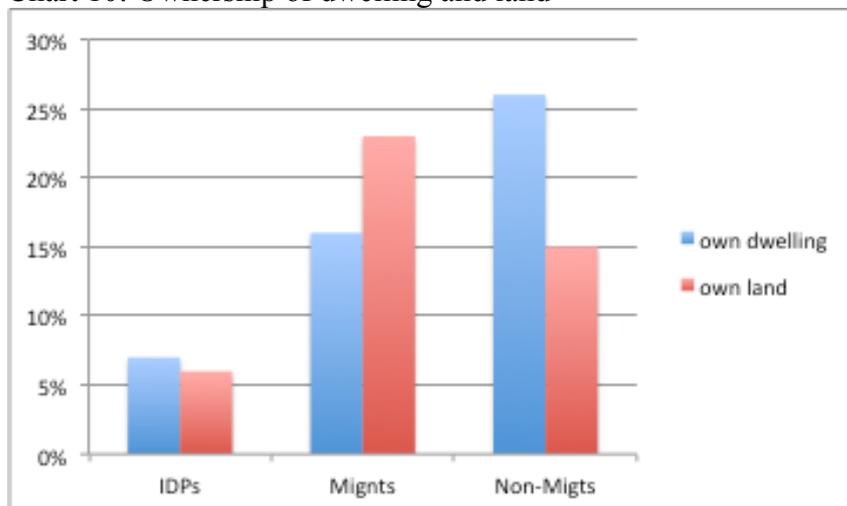
non-migrants to own “luxury” items such as a radio, a television, a computer or a vehicle, and less likely to have access to electricity or the internet. All three groups were equally likely to own the “basics”: a bicycle, a cell phone, tables and chairs, and a mosquito net.

Chart 9: Household Assets



Among the most important assets for a household are ownership of their dwelling and the land on which the dwelling is built. As shown in Chart 10, IDPs were much less likely to own their dwelling or land than either migrants or non-migrants.

Chart 10: Ownership of dwelling and land



We asked whether respondents had had to abandon any assets when they left home, and 45 or 5% said they had, of whom almost all were IDPs, including all 19 who reported having to abandon land.

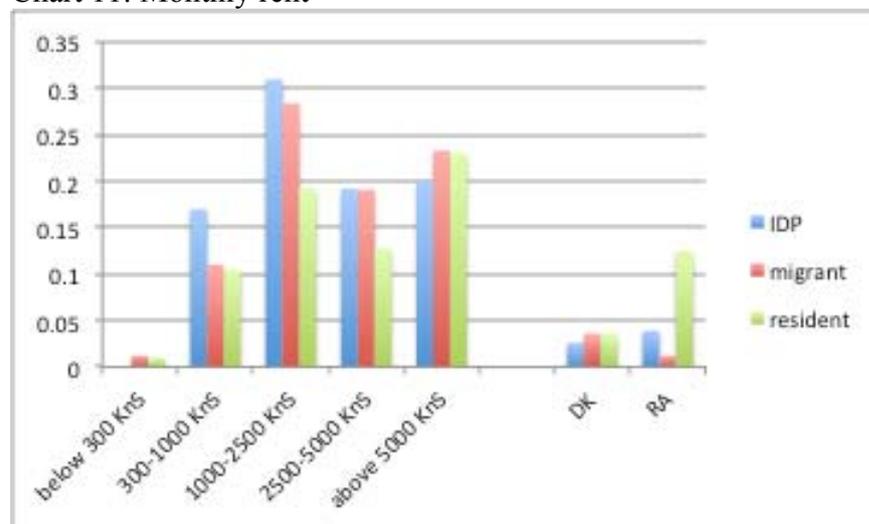
Rent

We asked respondents to indicate the range in which their monthly rent fell. As with income, this question had an overall lower response rate, particularly among non-migrants, of whom more than 12% refused to answer.

As shown in Chart 11, most IDPs and migrants paid between KSh1,000 and KSh25,000 per month, while most non-migrants paid more than KSh5,000 per month.

When we controlled for district, we found that IDPs and migrants tended to pay somewhat higher rents in Central and Pumwani districts. Rent costs were pretty evenly distributed in Dagaratti and Kasarani. Non-migrants tend to pay the highest rents in Embakasi, Kibera, Makadari, and Westlands.

Chart 11: Monthly rent



4.9 Experience in Nairobi

In order to explore whether the daily living experience and perceptions of IDPs differed from migrants or non-migrants, we asked about the following:

- Experience of eviction or being forced to move in Nairobi, as a measure of past difficulties;
- Return intentions, as a measure of satisfaction with their current location;
- Experience of crime and harassment, as a measure of present experience;
- Participation in community groups and level of trust, as a measure of social capital;
- Whether life has improved since coming to Nairobi, as a measure of current satisfaction.

Evictions

We found no statistically significant differences between IDPs, migrants and non-migrants, although, as shown in Table 2.8.1, slightly higher proportions of IDPs (14%) and migrants (18%) than non-migrants (9%) reported having been evicted. The main reason given by all groups was that they could not pay rent. Slightly more IDPs and migrants (12% of both groups) than non-migrants (10%) reported being forced to move because of violence.

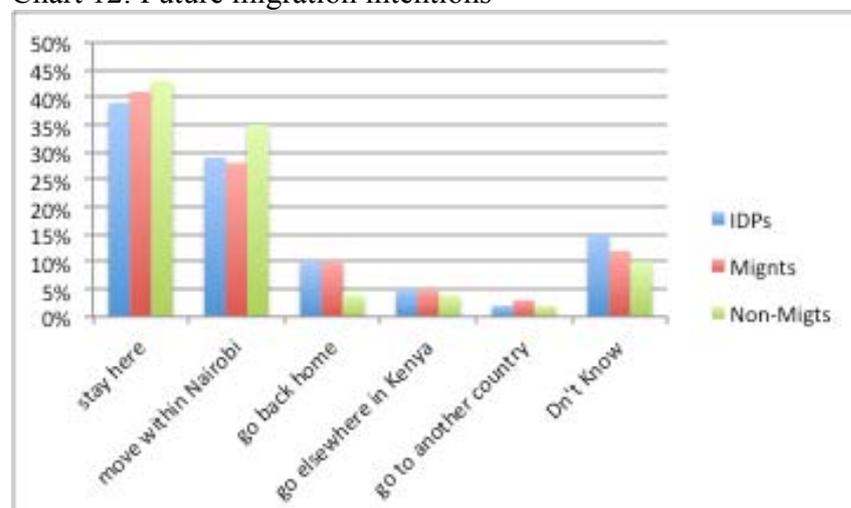
Table 13: Evictions and forced to move

	IDPs		Migrants		Non-migrants	
	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent
Evicted from their home	33	14%	60	18%	28	9%
Forced to move because of violence	28	12%	40	12%	32	10%

Future migration and return intentions

Future migration intentions are an indicator of current satisfaction. Just under 70% of both IDPs and migrants said they wanted to remain where they were or move elsewhere in Nairobi in the next two years, compared with almost 80% of non-migrants (Chart 12). 10% of the IDPs said they wanted to return to their home areas. Very few respondents (2-3% in all categories) said they wanted to go to another country. More IDPs (15%) and migrants (13%) than non-migrants (10%) said they did not know.

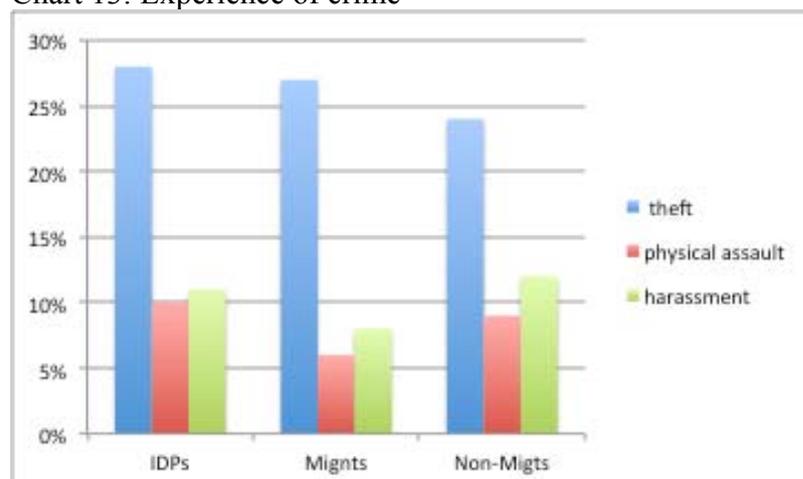
Chart 12: Future migration intentions



Crime, harassment and perceptions of safety

IDPs appeared to experience slightly higher rates of crime (Chart 14), although the differences between the three groups were not statistically significant. IDPs were more likely to mention theft (28%) and physical attack (10%), but less likely than non-migrants to mention harassment.

Chart 13: Experience of crime



When asked whether they had reported the incident, IDPs, migrants and non-migrants were equally unlikely to report it (45%). Of those who reported it, 45% reported it to the police station, but only a smaller portion claimed to be satisfied with the results. A similar pattern was found in the reporting of physical assault.

Neighbourhood safety

In order to explore how respondents perceived their neighbourhood safety, we examined responses according to administrative districts. Central Nairobi (which hosts the large slum of Mathare) was perceived to be the least safe by migrants and non-migrants, but most of the IDPs living there found it safe. Westlands, a relatively upmarket business and residential area, was perceived to be the safest. Kasarani was perceived safer by migrants than by non-migrants, but there were no other differences when looking at the District level.

Table 14: Safety by administrative district
(respondents who considered their district “safe”)

District	IDPs		Migrants		Non-migrants		Sig. diff. btw IDPs & Non-migrants	
	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Migrants	Non-migrants
Central Nairobi	7	88%	11	55%	6	46%	none	10%
Dagoretti	26	68%	28	60%	25	64%	none	none
Embakasi	54	64%	71	72%	35	58%	none	none
Kasarani	18	64%	53	84%	43	73%	5%	none
Kibera	8	50%	15	75%	26	68%	none	none
Makadara	5	63%	10	71%	17	81%	none	none
Pumwani	5	83%	14	70%	23	72%	none	none
Westlands	28	88%	38	84%	29	74%	none	none
Total	151	69%	241	73%	204	68%		

It would be preferable to examine perceived safety at the sub-district administrative level, however the low number of respondents in each sub-district made statistical analysis difficult. As expected, slum areas such as Mathare, Dandora, Korogocho, and Kibera were perceived to be the most unsafe (over 50% of all groups rated these areas as unsafe). All four sub-divisions house some of Nairobi’s biggest slums. (See table in Annexe 1)

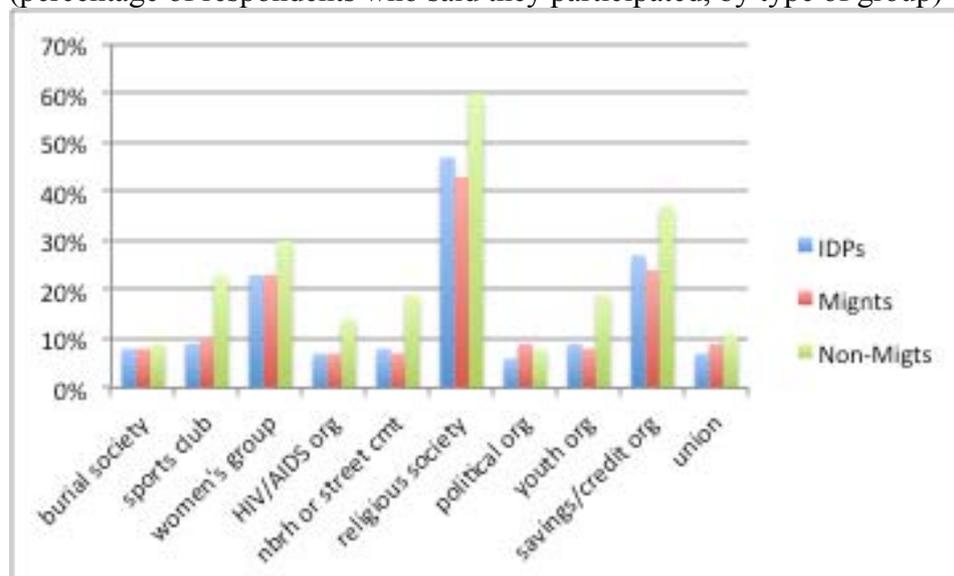
Social capital

Social capital is an asset that households can draw on for support. Social capital is derived from trust and norms of reciprocity and sharing, and takes the form of networks and community mobilisation. It is the social glue that holds communities together (for good or bad – social capital is not always a positive force), and can provide support to their members.

Relatives or friends in Nairobi prior to migration: We explored whether respondents had relatives or friends living in Nairobi before they came to the city. A high proportion of both IDPs (78%) and migrants (71%) said they did. Having family and friends gives new arrivals a network to help them get settled. It might also be one reason IDPs come to Nairobi.

Participation in community groups and level of trust: Participation in community organisations is an indicator of how connected people feel to their neighbourhoods and communities, and reflects the (non-family) social capital to which people have access. We found that IDPs and migrants were significantly less likely than non-migrants to participate in community organisations. As shown in Chart 15, migrants and IDPs had roughly equally low participation rates for all groups except religious organisations. Participation rates by migrants and IDPs were somewhat higher for women’s groups (20%) and savings and credit associations (22%) but for all other groups – burial societies, sports clubs, HIV/AIDS organisations, neighbourhood or street committees, youth organisations political organisations and unions – participation rates were below 10%. Non-migrants were twice as likely as IDPs or migrants to participate in most groups.

Chart 14: Participation in groups
(percentage of respondents who said they participated, by type of group)

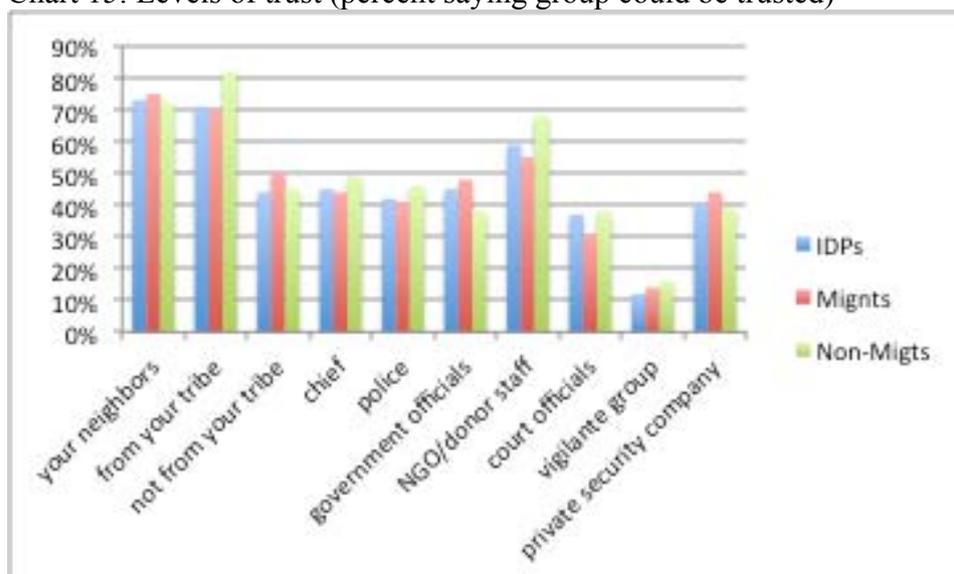


Levels of trust

We asked the following question to explore levels of trust: “I am going to read you a list of people, please tell me if you believe that they are trustworthy, or if you think you have to be careful when dealing with them?” As shown in Chart 16, the responses

of our three groups did not vary much. About 73% of all three groups said they trusted their neighbours, and around 71% of IDPs and migrants (but 80% of non-migrants) said they trusted people from their own ethnic group. For people not from the same ethnic group and “your chief”, levels of trust hovered around 45-50%. IDPs and migrants seemed more willing than non-migrants to trust government officials, but less willing to trust NGO or donor staff. Court officials were trusted by only about a third of all groups. All three groups had similar levels of trust in police and private security companies, around 41-44%.

Chart 15: Levels of trust (percent saying group could be trusted)



Although the data indicate relatively low levels of trust for official bodies, our measure was a rather blunt one, allowing no qualification of responses. Thus, if a respondent felt that some officials were more trustworthy than others, they could not express this, but had to choose “yes” or “no”.

We also asked several perception questions. About 40% of all respondents felt that the court would resolve a crime fairly, and a little over half of the sample believed that the police are here to protect them. There was no discernable difference between IDPs, migrants, and non-migrants (Table 15). Just under half of IDPs and migrants believed their access to food had improved since they moved to Nairobi. IDPs were significantly more comfortable with the need for bribery in the government (65% of IDPs compared to 60% of migrants and 55% of non-migrants).

Table 15: If a crime was committed, the court would resolve it fairly

	IDPs		Migrants		Non-migrants		Sig. diff. btw IDPs & Non-migrants	
	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Migrants	Non-migrants
Agree	82	43%	104	37%	123	47%	none	None
Indifferent	20	10%	40	14%	32	12%	none	None
Disagree	90	47%	137	49%	109	41%	none	None

Table 16: The police here protect my family

	IDPs		Migrants		Non-migrants		Sig. diff. btw IDPs &	
	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Migrants	Non- migrants
Agree	115	53%	159	49%	164	56%	none	None
Indifferent	11	5%	25	8%	18	6%	none	None
Disagree	89	41%	138	43%	113	38%	none	None

Table 17: In our country, it is normal to pay a bribe to a government official

	IDPs		Migrants		Non-migrants		Sig. diff. btw IDPs &	
	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Migrants	Non- migrants
Agree	140	65%	192	60%	168	55%	none	5%
Indifferent	4	2%	15	5%	5	2%	10%	None
Disagree	71	33%	112	35%	130	43%	none	5%

4.10 Conclusions

The study showed that differences between IDPs and migrants are small when it comes to their experience in Nairobi, but quite different from that of non-migrants. IDPs and migrants had lower levels of education than non-migrants and were less likely than non-migrants to live in a freestanding house. On the other hand, we found that IDPs were more likely than migrants or non-migrants to live in high-risk areas and less likely to own their dwelling as well as items such as television, radio, computer and to have access to electricity.

With regard to living experience in the city, we found no statistically significant differences between the experience of IDPs, migrants and non-migrants of being forced to move within Nairobi because of evictions. On the other hand, our measures of people's experience and attitudes suggest that IDPs and migrants' social capital is much lower than that of non-migrants. As mentioned, however, these indicators were very blunt measures. Further analysis of the findings presented in this report can be found in the study carried out by ODI and IRC entitled "Sanctuary in the city: Urban displacement and vulnerability in Nairobi"²⁵.

²⁵ Available at <http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/5943.pdf>

Annexes

Annexe 1: IDP stratification in Nairobi

Administrative division	Sub-division	Description	IDP density
Central Nairobi	Huruma	Low income residential area	medium
	Kariokor	Low income residential area	low
	Mathare	Slum	high
	Ngara	Low income residential and commercial area	low
	Starehe	Low income residential area	low
Dagoretti	Kawangware	Slum	high
	Kenyatta/Golf Club	Middle income residential area	low
	Mutuini	Middle income residential area	low
	Riruta	Middle income residential area	low
	Uthiru/Ruthmitu	Slum	medium
	Waithaka	Low income residential area	medium
Embakasi	Dandora	Slum	high
	Embakasi	Industry/Business area	medium
	Kariobangi South	Low income residential area	medium
	Kayole	Slum	medium
	Mukuru Kwa Njenga	Slum	high
	Njiru	Low income residential area	medium
	Ruai	Slum	medium
	Umoja	Low income residential area	low
Kasarani	Githurai	Slum	high
	Kahawa	Army barracks, university	low
	Kariobangi North	Low income residential area	low
	Kasarani	Middle income in progress	low
	Korogocho	Slum	high
	Roysambu	Low income residential area	high
	Ruaraka	Low income residential area	low
Kibera	Karen	Upmarket suburb and commercial centre	low
	Kibera	Largest slum of the city	high
	Laini Saba	Low income residential area	high
	Langata	Middle income residential area	low
	Mugumoini	Middle income residential area	low
	Nairobi West	Low income residential area	low
	Sera Ngombe	Low income residential area	high

Administrative division	Sub-division	Description	IDP density
Makadara	Makadara	Low/middle income residential area	medium
	Makongeni Makadara	Low/middle income residential area	low
	Maringo	Low/middle income residential area	medium
	Mukumu Nyayo	Low/middle income residential area	low
	Viwandani	Low/middle income residential area	medium
Pumwani	Bahati	Low/middle income residential area	medium
	Eastleigh North	Predominantly inhabited by Somali /Ethiopian refugees and immigrants	medium
	Eastleigh South	Predominantly inhabited by Somali /Ethiopian refugees and immigrants	medium
	Kamukunji	Low/middle income residential area	high
	Pumwani	Middle income residential area	medium
Westlands (relatively upmarket business & residential area)	Highridge	High income residential/business area	low
	Kangemi	Slum and commercial centre	high
	Kilimani	High income residential/business area	low
	Kitisuru	High income residential/business area	medium
	Lavington	High income residential/business area	low
	Parklands	High income residential/business area	low

Annexe 2: IDPs, migrants and non-migrants by administrative divisions

Sub-divisions with at least 15 respondents and IDP percentages of 30% or higher are: Kawangare, Dandora, Embakasi, Mukura Kwa Njenga, Njiru, Korogocho, Kibera, and Kangemi (highlighted).

Administrative Division	IDP		migrant		non-migrant		Total	
	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent	Freq- uency	Per cent
Huruma	2	40%	0	0%	3	60%	5	100%
Kariokor	3	30%	6	60%	1	10%	10	100%
Mathare	3	12%	14	54%	9	35%	26	100%
Kwangare	28	40%	27	39%	15	21%	70	100%
Kenyatta	2	40%	1	20%	2	40%	5	100%
Mutuini	2	40%	0	0%	3	60%	5	100%
Riruta	0	0%	5	100%	0	0%	5	100%
Uthiru	5	20%	7	28%	13	52%	25	100%
Waithaka	1	7%	7	47%	7	47%	15	100%
Dandora	16	29%	17	31%	22	40%	55	100%
Embakasi	10	50%	8	40%	2	10%	20	100%
Kariobangi South	2	20%	1	10%	7	70%	10	100%
Kayole	4	20%	10	50%	6	30%	20	100%
Mukuru Kwa Njenga	30	40%	33	44%	12	16%	75	100%
Njiru	19	48%	16	40%	5	13%	40	100%
Ruai	4	20%	12	60%	4	20%	20	100%
Umaja	2	20%	4	40%	4	40%	10	100%
Githurai	3	12%	15	60%	7	28%	25	100%
Kasarani	0	0%	2	22%	7	78%	9	100%
Korogocho	7	47%	2	13%	6	40%	15	100%
Roysambu	19	18%	45	44%	39	38%	103	100%
Karen	2	40%	0	0%	3	60%	5	100%
Kibera	5	33%	1	7%	9	60%	15	100%
Laini Saba	2	20%	2	20%	6	60%	10	100%
Langata	2	7%	16	53%	12	40%	30	100%
Sera Ngombe	5	36%	1	7%	8	57%	14	100%
Makongeni Makadara	1	20%	2	40%	2	40%	5	100%
Viwandani	8	20%	12	30%	20	50%	40	100%
Bahati	1	10%	6	60%	3	30%	10	100%
Eastleigh North	4	20%	7	35%	9	45%	20	100%
Kamakunji	1	4%	8	32%	16	64%	25	100%
Pumwani	1	20%	0	0%	4	80%	5	100%
Highridge	3	30%	2	20%	5	50%	10	100%
Kangemi	17	39%	18	41%	9	21%	44	100%
Kilimani	3	30%	3	30%	4	40%	10	100%
Kitisuru	11	22%	19	37%	21	41%	51	100%
Lavington	1	20%	4	80%	0	0%	5	100%
Total	229	26%	333	38%	305	35%	867	100%