

# Evaluating the Potential for Improving Child Safety and Security Through Housing and Human Settlements Programming in Kenya

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*The Evaluation Team*

# Executive Summary

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This study looked at the safety and security issues confronting children in relation to housing in 8 slums and informal settlements in Nairobi. This study was carried out under the Evaluation Challenge Fund – Children & Violence – in order to test out the following evaluation hypothesis: Improved tenure security, housing and living conditions and co-op/community development activities contribute to reducing family stressors and the risk of violence to children through better physical security of the dwelling, larger and separate living spaces for children, safer access to external facilities such as toilets and lighting, improved family savings and livelihoods, as well as more sustainable communities. The evaluation provided the resources to test these assumptions, which emerge from experience and anecdotal testimonies on previous National Cooperative Housing Union of Kenya (NACHU) programming efforts. The evaluation was supported under Category 3 of the Evaluation Challenge Fund, which targets “specific components of programmes not directly designed to prevent violence but potentially having an impact in terms of violence prevention for children”.

Quasi-experimental in design, and drawing on the both qualitative approaches, especially those that were highly participatory in nature, and quantitative, the study aimed to discern the effect of NACHU housing and settlement upgrading efforts on children’s safety and security in targeted settlements by comparing PHCs (Primary Housing Cooperatives) who are acquiring tenure security and housing improvement with those PHCs who have not. Between September and December, 2012 more than 100 children, mostly between the ages of 8 and 11, participated in the initial arts-based workshops where they drew, created maps, and took photographs of how they saw the issues of safety and security within their dwellings and the neighbourhoods. In total 240 adults from the PHCs completed a household survey, with 73 PHC members, 25 youth between the ages of 14 and 25, and other stakeholders participating in focus group discussions. The study also involved a validation process in August 2013 where more than 300 children from 5 of the communities, and 30 community leaders from all participating PHCs participated in validation sessions.

Notwithstanding some of the limitations to evaluation design and methodology, statistical differences between the pre and post-test PHCs were found to be significant with regard to children’s safety and security in the home. As such, the study’s hypothesis - that improved tenure security and housing improves child safety and security - has been upheld by this research. At the same time, there appear to be many threats to children’s physical and emotional safety and security in Nairobi’s slums and informal settlements, regardless of the nature of the housing and tenure situation. Risks include environmental, social, health and physical threats in the neighbourhood and in the home. These risks vary by the age and the sex of the child, with younger children more at risk in and around the home and older children more at risk in the neighbourhood, as autonomy and mobility increases. Girls are more at risk of sexual violence, with early pregnancy, marriage and prostitution threatening their well-being. Boys appear more at risk of physical violence, drug and alcohol abuse, as well as enticement into criminal behaviour. Boys and girls appear to have little access to social services in the slums and informal settlements, with very low school retention rates beyond primary level.

All of these risks are born of deep-seated inequality, social and economic deprivation, and marginalization. Violence in the home and violence in the neighbourhood are seen by residents as symbiotic, with one feeding on and influencing the other. Early sexualisation, sexual violence, domestic abuse and neglect of children in the home are fuelled by and exacerbate risks in a community context characterized by impermanence and insecurity, ethnic tension and violence, transience, overcrowding, environmental hazard, lack of basic sanitation or social services, electricity or running water. Girls and boys of all ages are growing up in contexts, both inside and outside the home, where violence is an important factor in their daily lives. The effects of one form of violence cannot easily be isolated from the others given prevailing living conditions.

In spite of the risks and dangers in the environment, the home is perceived as somewhat safer than the neighbourhood by adults and children alike. Even allowing for the fact that child participants in their drawings and photos identified domestic relations as unsafe (corporal punishment, sexual violence, excessive labour), they nonetheless were more likely to identify the home, as opposed to the neighbourhood, as a safer place. PHC members also expressed the view that home was safer than the neighbourhood and that keeping children inside the home was often seen as a strategy to protect them from the physical and social threats present in the neighbourhood.

While tenure security and improved housing appears to have a positive impact on children's safety and security, it is very important to acknowledge the symbiosis between home and neighbourhood discussed above when considering where and how tenure security and improved housing should be provided. When asked to choose between a better home and a safer neighbourhood, PHC member participants in this study overwhelmingly opted for a safer neighbourhood for their children, even if it meant continued existence in impermanent housing. The weight on parents of trying to protect their children in a physical and social context as challenging as the slums cannot be underestimated. The quality of their house cannot protect their children from the perceived threats outside their door. The immediate solution would appear to be the provision of improved housing in a safer and more secure neighbourhood. As the cost of land and construction increase rapidly in Nairobi, providing both in the new settlements such as Ruai, is seen to be beyond the reach of the very poor; NACHU's new programme strategy provides a financing structure for resettlement and housing targeted at the "economically active poor". Whether a strategy of less permanent forms of housing and a more incremental path for housing improvement in the new settlements such as Ruai could help poorer families escape the violence of the slums remains to be explored.

With regard to housing, it appears that access to safe toilets inside or close to the home and separate sleeping spaces for adults and children are among the basic elements, which would improve children's safety and well-being. With regard to the settlement neighbourhood, it appears that the PHC contributes to some level of cohesion and solidarity among residents which could provide a foundation for more collaborative action with a cross-section of community actors to better promote children's safety and security.

What this study has demonstrated clearly, however, is that neighbourhood safety trumps house safety when it comes to child safety and well-being. Beyond that, the economic imperative of earning revenue to provide for their family's basic needs trumps all. Even when PHC members are provided with a new plot of land and a new house far from the slums, they and their children are often forced to remain in their impermanent dwelling located in the slum, in order to continue earning revenue to pay off land and housing loans, at least in the short to medium-term. The economic activity in new settlements such as Ruai is nascent at the moment and will take some time to emerge before residents can develop viable income generating activities close to their new homes.

Investigating the decision-making process by families with regard to housing, income generation and relocation with regard to the family's safety and security would be an important avenue for NACHU to explore, as it refines its goals and loan products for different client groups. The same could be said for analysing the level of stress placed on families as a result of NACHU's financing structure for savings and loan services.

Finally, this study revealed the need for further research, reflection, collective discussion and practical action with settlement communities on violence against children in the home and neighbourhood. Adult, youth and child participants were not reticent to address these sensitive issues and the majority welcomed the opportunity to examine the phenomena collectively. Adults underscored the power of having the issues brought home to them by children themselves, through their drawings, photos and verbal depictions.

## **Suggestions and Recommended Follow-up**

This study, while limited in scope, has revealed a number of important findings worthy of further research, discussion, reflection and eventual action.

### **1. What the children suggested to improve their safety in the settlements:**

The children through their drawings produced during the validation workshops offered many suggestions for what could be done. The children were, in a sense, "speaking back" to the issues they had highlighted in the original data collection workshops. Each validation workshop session included an opportunity for the older children present to also talk about their drawings and ideas in group settings. In some cases, their suggestions highlighted what they themselves could do. For example, the children acknowledged that they could improve the sanitation of toilets by cleaning them themselves and by picking up litter around the toilets. At the same time they also highlighted the significance of the collective action of children and young people, something that can be seen in their depiction of the Kibera Youth Development project. Their 'speaking back' drawings also addressed such issues as sexual abuse and the need to try to address these issues in the community through education. As one child wrote as part of her drawing: "The whole family is being taught. We can control child labour and abuse by educating parents."

## 2. What PHC members suggested to improve the safety of children in the settlements:

PHC members and leaders who participated in this study saw, based on the images and quotes produced by children, that more is required of them with regard to their responsibility for protecting children in their homes and in their neighbourhoods. During the validation workshop, many suggestions were discussed on what PHCs could do to improve child safety and security in the settlements. Participating PHC members saw the security of children in the settlements as something that could potentially unite the community, build solidarity and produce collective action around a shared goal. There was also discussion on the potential role of PHCs in improving dialogue with police and developing some form of community-based strategies for monitoring children at risk of violence. This could involve establishing collaboration between police, teachers, health workers, chief, and parents to support the children victims and perpetrators most at risk of violence. Other PHC members suggested the idea of community-organized policing which would be accountable to community leaders and residents. Community policing is currently being implemented in all counties of Kenya. However without a strong structure in place, police penetration remains under-developed. In some communities, it is not even seen as desirable to improve the presence of police, especially if the livelihood options include the brewing and selling of illicit beer or prostitution.

Several recommendations were made on the need for providing training to parents in PHCs and in PHC neighbourhoods on child rights, parenting skills, conflict resolution and child protection, possibly through collaboration with other NGOs or CBOs possessing the right skills.

Almost all groups in the validation workshop spoke of the need to build a perimeter wall around their community to better control access to the settlement. Some PHC members spoke about the importance of cleaning up the neighbourhood's physical environment and improving infrastructure - building a community hall, shopping centres, schools and churches. Finally, several respondents also spoke of the importance of building playgrounds and consulting with children on how and where this should be built.

## 3. Suggestions for NACHU and its PHCs on what can be done to improve the safety and security of children in the settlements.

NACHU should consider how, through on going policy and programming, it can provide targeted support to PHCs to address the safety and security of children and youth in the home and the neighbourhood. It must be recognized that PHCs are often established on pre-existing social networks in the slums, representing a precious resource and potential platform for community action in contexts where social capital and cohesion are in short supply. The PHCs represent a relatively rare social grouping upon which to build for the promotion of child safety and security both in informal settlements and in new resettlement areas. There are, therefore, initiatives NACHU

can take internally as well as other efforts it can support among its PHC members to improve children's safety and security:

- NACHU could consider including children as a legitimate constituency and integrate a “Do No Harm” approach for girl and boy children into all of its programming components - including NACHU staff and PHC training, NACHU advocacy efforts, NACHU technical inputs to house design and estate planning, as well as NACHU procedures for assessing PHC member loan carrying capacity. NACHU could also integrate the promotion and protection of the rights of girl and boy children within its gender equality policy.
- NACHU should continue to promote Neighbourhood Associations with PHCs and other actors. In its Neighbourhood Association Policy/Guide, NACHU and its PHCs could consider including an objective on the protection and promotion of child rights within the constitution of each neighbourhood association. At the same time, PHCs could adopt an internal by-law promoting the safety and security of children at home and in the neighbourhood.
- NACHU and its PHCs could develop partnerships and linkages with like-minded local authorities and civil society organizations focused on child and youth protection, in order to support programming which responds to the needs of children and youth in communities where NACHU PHCs are active. In particular, NACHU and its PHCs could work with local groups to ensure more youth involvement in community development, skills training, income generation, and community policing. NACHU and its PHCs could also collaborate to improve relations with and the presence of the police with regard to safety and security of children and young people in the settlements.
- NACHU and the PHCs could consider instituting a campaign against domestic violence within their ranks and in the settlements, with a focus on children's safety and security. This could be inspired by a model developed by Canadian housing cooperatives.

#### 4. Suggestions for other development actors on what can be done to improve the safety and security of children in the settlements.

Organizations such as Rooftops Canada and other northern organizations should be encouraged to continue using and testing the results and materials, produced in the course of this study, in an expanding set of collaborative programs to respond to family and child violence and to improve child safety and security. To this end, stakeholders to this study will disseminate the resulting deliverables as broadly as possible.

## 5. Suggestions for researchers on what can be done to improve the safety and security of children in the settlements.

- The issue of childcare for infants and very young children in slums and informal settlement is an important area of study requiring further research, given the critical issues confronting parents, and especially unmarried mothers in these settlements, in ensuring security and well-being. Fires, abductions, and general safety issues were key. Child labour issues also emanate from childcare concerns, with very young children often caring for infants. These findings call for the testing out of new models and approaches to childcare that are locally relevant in responding to the physical and social dangers, and that are affordable, given the high levels of poverty.
- Strengthen research efforts on the relationship between housing, human settlements and the safety of girl and boy children. This is one of the first studies identified which focuses on the link between housing and child safety in Africa. Training more social scientists at the graduate level in Africa to undertake participatory research generally, and participatory research with children and youth specifically, would be particularly useful to this end.
- Conduct tracer studies that look longitudinally across a component of the life span of new PHCs as a way deepen an understanding of the factors affecting security and other social concerns.
- Develop and research ‘tracing strategies’ for exploring the ways in which child-led and youth-led initiatives can influence policy dialogue related to housing in communities and schools. Participatory visual research is an area of research where clearly there are contributions to be made to influence policy dialogue but there is a need for further research to document the possibilities and the limitations.
- Further develop and refine age and gender-based analyses of children’s issues of safety and security. Children as young as eight years old were able to express their concerns through drawing and photos. Both boys and girls found the environment in which they live to be dangerous although the types of issues raised often differed depending on their sex and age. While it was not always easy to tease out the differences because of the nature of reporting, both boys and girls highlighted sexual violence. More research, especially intervention-based work in this area is critical, both in terms of exploring how boys can be (or already are) allies in the fight against domestic violence, and how boys can avoid becoming perpetrators. More research is also needed on age, especially in terms of working with children even younger than eight years in relation to issues of safety and security.



- Further develop and study partnerships with community organizations and NGOs in order to enhance the possibilities for sustainable outcomes in social research. In the interviews with various stakeholders it was clear that there are other initiatives being carried out by various community-based NGOs and government organizations, which could have an impact on child safety. Strengthening ties between NACHU and these organizations could contribute to making neighbourhoods safer.
- Develop interdisciplinary projects in relation to what might be described as “the geographies of childhood”. Too often the child is perceived as just the ‘student’, ‘the off-spring’, or ‘the recipient of social benefits’, with the result that researchers only look at the child’s life in a uni-dimensional way. Researchers in the areas of housing, education, health, and social work should be working together, rather than in isolation, in order to create a more holistic approach to child safety.
- Given the significance of violence in the everyday lives of children, researchers must take on an advocacy role with ethics boards and other bodies regulating national and international standards of research to involve children and parents more directly in social research and to develop specific policies and recommendations for ensuring that the findings are disseminated in community-accessible and responsible ways. At the same time it is critical to ensure that REBs and funders also look at safety and security issues for those involved in conducting this research. As an example, the role of community ‘gate keepers’ in supporting research activities and ensuring safety on the research site was critical to this study and warrants further analysis.
- The effects of this kind of in depth and place-specific research on the researchers themselves is also an area that would benefit from further exploration. Close to twenty masters and doctoral students at Kenyatta University participated as data collectors in this study as did two members of NACHU staff. Although an unanticipated effect, participating in this study undoubtedly contributed to strengthened capacity for participatory research among these individuals and could potentially influence further academic or career choices. Anecdotal evidence suggests that participating in this work touched the ‘on the ground’ research team in ways that go far beyond the child and community evidence reported here.

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## 1.0 Introduction

In response to a call for proposals by the Evaluation Challenge Fund on Children & Violence in 2011, Rooftops Canada-Abri International submitted a proposal for the evaluation of a housing and human settlements programme implemented with its long-time partner in Kenya, the National Cooperative Housing Union of Kenya (NACHU). Rooftops Canada and NACHU partnered with evaluators at McGill University in Canada and Groupe-conseil INTERALIA based in Montreal, Canada, and Kenyatta University based in Nairobi, Kenya.

### 1.1 Program Description

The National Cooperative Housing Union of Kenya (NACHU) is a national apex organization of over 600 Primary Housing Cooperatives (PHCs) with over 200,000 members across Kenya. It provides housing microfinance, housing support and settlement upgrading services to its PHC members. Rooftops Canada has been collaborating with and supporting NACHU for over 20 years.

In 2010, Rooftops Canada renewed its program support to the realization of NACHU's five-year strategic plan (2010-2014). The expected outcomes of the program intervention for this period include:

- At least 2,000 low-income urban households living in housing co-ops in Kenya, particularly women, youth and people living with HIV and AIDS, will have improved housing in more sustainable communities;
- NACHU and the PHCs will be able to provide housing microfinance and housing support services to housing co-op members on an increasingly sustainable basis; over 6,000 people will be trained in areas such as governance, finance, gender awareness, and HIV and AIDS responses; and
- NACHU and its members will be increasingly influential in local and national housing policy forums and as partners in housing and local development.

The key activities of NACHU programming include the provision of housing microfinance (savings and loans) and technical support (land purchase and preparation, house design and construction, settlement and housing upgrading.) This helps low-income primary housing co-ops (PHCs) and their members to incrementally acquire land, install services and build or improve their homes step by step as resources permit. In addition, training and community development activities integral to the intervention include: PHC governance and financial management; gender awareness and analysis with regard to women's participation and empowerment within PHCs; community responses to HIV and AIDS; youth engagement; and, peace and conflict resolution. (The last was a direct response to the 2008 post-election violence, and directly linked to the issues of ethnic diversity in Kenya.) Previous evaluations of NACHU reported that these ongoing programs have resulted in increased engagement of women and youth in PHC leadership, and reduced stigma towards people living with HIV.

## 1.2 Evaluation Purpose, Scope and Focus

The **evaluation purpose** under the Evaluation Challenge Fund – Children & Violence was to test the following hypothesis in the context of the Rooftops Canada-NACHU programme described above:

**Evaluation Hypothesis:** Improved tenure security, housing and living conditions and co-op/community development activities contribute to reducing family stressors and the risk of violence to children through better physical security of the dwelling, larger and separate living spaces for children, safer access to external facilities such as toilets and lighting, improved family savings and livelihoods, as well as more sustainable communities. The evaluation was to provide the resources to test these assumptions, which emerge from experience and anecdotal testimonies on previous NACHU programming efforts.

In terms of **evaluation objectives and focus**, it is important to note that this evaluation was supported under Category 3 of the Evaluation Challenge Fund, which targets “specific components of programmes not directly designed to prevent violence but potentially having an impact in terms of violence prevention for children”. As a membership organization, NACHU’s services are designed to improve the access of adult PHC members and their households to affordable housing through savings and loan programmes, technical services and training. Any programme effects related to the prevention of violence against children in the home would necessarily be indirect and unanticipated.

This evaluation aims to discern: 1) how NACHU’s support to its PHC members may indirectly be affecting the safety and security of children in communities where NACHU PHCs are active; and 2) which factors related to NACHU’s programming may be contributing, either positively or negatively, to the safety and security of children in targeted communities.

In terms of **evaluation scope**, Rooftops Canada’s current five-year programme support to NACHU entails technical assistance, housing loan funds and direct financial contributions towards the realization of NACHU’s organizational strategic plan (2010-2014). This evaluation is focused on the first two years of this current five-year programming cycle. This evaluation exercise focuses on one modest component of a much broader, organizational support programme to NACHU – that is, NACHU’s support to a small sample of primary housing cooperatives with regard to savings and loan services for land purchase, house upgrading, construction and settlement upgrading and resettlement. Eight NACHU PHCs, based in Nairobi and fitting the sample criteria (**see Methodology section below**), were selected to test the evaluation hypothesis.

## 2.0 Evaluation Approach and Methodology

### 2.1 Evaluation Approach

It is challenging to define the overall evaluation approach taken. As explained above, the programme under review was not designed with child protection in mind so that any effects on violence against children in the home would necessarily be indirect and unanticipated. As such, this exercise must be seen as a goal-free evaluation that in no way seeks to assess the overall performance of NACHU's intervention against expected objectives and outcomes.

It might be best to describe this evaluation as a [social assessment](#)<sup>1</sup>, which aims to understand key social issues and risks to determine the social impacts of an intervention on a particular stakeholder group. Where adverse impacts are identified, the assessment attempts to determine how they could be mitigated. This approach has obvious implications for the design and methodology of the study, which are discussed below.

### Original Evaluation Design

In its original proposal to the Evaluation Challenge Fund, the evaluation team put forth a non-experimental design, testing the evaluation hypothesis and describing the relationship between the NACHU intervention and its unanticipated effects on violence against children at a single point in time. The evaluation design was to rely on a modest use of quantitative survey methods to establish and confirm the “what” (nature and frequency of the experience, correlations between variables) with a more prominent component of qualitative data collection to nuance the “how and why” of safety and security issues for children in the slums. This design was proposed given the sensitive nature of the subject matter under review - violence against children in the home and in the surrounding very marginalized and transient communities. It was felt, in this context, that qualitative data collection techniques were likely to be more culturally sensitive and more effective in eliciting more nuanced and reliable data than broader-based, quantitative surveys. While the Fund was encouraging the use of a quasi-experimental design with comparison group, it was felt by the evaluation team that respondents with no direct link to NACHU's programme under review would likely be reticent to discuss sensitive issues related to violence against children and thus bias or limit survey results.

In its original proposal, the evaluation team also emphasized participatory research with children as a component of its evaluation design that was innovative and was intended to bring a new voice and new perspective into the housing and human settlement arena. The study was intended to go ‘thick and deep’<sup>2</sup> in relation to hearing the voices of children and young people firsthand. To date not enough is known about how children and young people experience issues of safety and security and these are areas of everyday experience that are not

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<sup>1</sup> Linda G. Morra Imas and Ray C. Rist. *The Road to Results: Designing and Conducting Effective Development Evaluations*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Geertz, C. (1987). *Interpretive anthropology*. In H. Applebaum (Ed.), *Perspectives in cultural anthropology* (pp. 520-524). Albany: State University of New York Press.

easy to probe. Children and young people often cannot easily put into words what they experience in a straightforward one on one interview or even a focus group. The choice of using visual methodologies to get at issues of safety and security draws on a burgeoning body of work within the areas of human rights, child and youth participation and the idea of 'research as social change'<sup>3</sup>. These methods are meant to elicit visual data (photographs, drawings and maps) with the resulting images having the potential to contribute to rich dialogue in the community as a type of child-led 'from the ground up'<sup>4</sup> approach to policy making', and at the same time communicate in ways that might not cause undue anxiety.

### Revised Evaluation Design

In its comments on the original proposal, the Evaluation Challenge Fund strongly encouraged a quasi-experimental design with comparison group and a statistically significant quantitative survey methodology that would permit inference of results to the wider population. The use of qualitative methods could be maintained but their relative weight within evaluation would necessarily be scaled back to accommodate a more statistically rigorous and quantitative design. There was also a recommendation by the Evaluation Challenge Fund to adopt a pre/post-test comparison over a one-shot design.

In response, the proposal was modified to accommodate these requirements within the limit of available resources, logistical feasibility and cultural sensitivity in the Kenya context. The evaluation team adopted a quasi-experimental design although it was decided that the comparison would be internal to NACHU's program in order to address the evaluation team's concern over cultural sensitivity and the risks of involving an external comparison group in a study of this nature, given the marginalization of the population involved. This internal comparison is similar to a wait-list control – i.e. one that was affiliated with the NACHU programme but which had as yet received minimal services. This internal comparison satisfied the need for a valid comparison group while addressing the Fund's desire for a pre-post-test design within a context of limited time and resources.

The intention was, therefore, to test the validity of the evaluation hypothesis by comparing the experience of children's safety and security between pre-test or comparison primary housing cooperatives against intervention or post-test PHCs. Eight NACHU PHCs were selected as the evaluation sample, with two considered pre-test or comparison and six considered post-test or intervention. The two pre-test or comparison PHCs were very recently established, had only begun their savings program with NACHU and consisted of members who had no security of tenure, no house ownership, and who currently rented their dwellings. These pre-test PHCs had then received relatively limited inputs from NACHU in the form of loans, training or support services. Six NACHU PHCs were selected as post-test or intervention groups because members in these cooperatives were all actively engaged in loan activity with NACHU regarding land purchase, house upgrading, new house construction and/or resettlement. The six post-test PHCs were further distinguished in terms of their length of establishment, degree of engagement in loan activity and extent of their house and settlement upgrading. The intention was then to compare quantitative and qualitative data from the pre and post-test states, with the aim of assessing the effects of

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<sup>3</sup> Schratz, M., & Walker, R. (1995). *Research as social change: New opportunities for qualitative research*. New York: Routledge.

<sup>4</sup> Choudry, A, A., & Kapoor, D. (Eds.). (2010). *Learning from the ground up*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

NACHU services related to housing and slum upgrading on child safety and security. Please refer to section 3.4 for a description of the eight sample PHCs.

## 2.2 Ethics Approval

An ethics application to work with human subjects was submitted to McGill University in May 2012, with the ethics approval granted in June 2012. An application to do research was submitted to the National Council for Science and Technology in Nairobi, with approval granted in August 2012.

## 2.3 Data Sources

Data sources included documents, people and site visits:

**Documents:** Rooftops Canada - NACHU programme documents were reviewed (proposals, workplans, reports, previous evaluations), NACHU programming documents related to the governance and administration of PHCs, and NACHU policy papers on HIV/AIDS, gender equality, youth leadership, and neighbourhood associations. In addition, a literature review was conducted on subjects related to this study (housing and domestic violence).

**People:** Stakeholder categories for this evaluation included: NACHU staff, PHC executive and members, youth, children and local authorities from targeted communities.

**Site Visits:** Site visits were made by the evaluation team to five communities where the eight NACHU PHCs are situated, in and around Nairobi. These included Kinyago-Kanuku, Kawangare, Makina-Kibera, Soweto East and Ruai.

## 2.4 Data Collection

Data collection took place between September 2012 and August 2013. The methodology involved a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods.



## Exhibit 1: Data Collecting Procedures

Data Collection Method	Timing, Role & Responsibility	Description
Qualitative data collection with children	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>August – October 2012</u></p> <p>Led by Claudia Mitchell of McGill University, eight doctoral students from the School of Education at Kenyatta University were trained in the data collection techniques of drawing, mapping and photo-voice. Data collection techniques were then field tested and children’s workshops supervised by Fatuma Chege and Lucy Maina from Kenyatta University.</p>	<p>In each community, workshops were held for 10-20 children between the ages of eight and thirteen years who were the offspring of NACHU PHC members. Children were asked to depict their neighbourhoods and their homes – through oral narrative, drawings and photography - in terms of what they considered safe and unsafe. Workshops were a half-day long and approximately 100 children participated in total, from 8 sample PHCs. Prior consent for their participation was provided by parents or caregivers.</p>
Qualitative data collection with youth	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>May to July 2013</u></p> <p>Led by Margot Rothman, focus group interview protocols were developed. Kenyatta Masters and PhD students were oriented in the leading of focus group discussions and two students participated in each FGD under the supervision of a lead evaluation team member.</p>	<p>Four focus group discussions were held with 25 youth (aged 14 to 24 years) in four PHC communities located in Kinyago and Kibera slums. Fewer than one third of the youth were the sons and daughters of PHC members; the remaining youth lived were residents in the targeted community. The focus groups were arranged by PHC members who identified youth participants, depending on their interest and availability. The focus of discussions was on factors influencing the safety and security of children in the neighbourhood and in the home. The youth perspective proved very important as it was markedly different from that of the adults while being more articulated and nuanced than the perspective of the children.</p>
Qualitative data collection with adult PHC members	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>May to July 2013</u></p> <p>The collection of this data was coordinated by Fatuma Chege and Lucy Maina who also compiled the reports. Students were note-takers.</p>	<p>Eight FGDs were held, one with members of each of the eight sample PHCs. The aim was to deepen analysis around the quantitative survey results and further nuance the relationship between NACHU programme inputs and any unanticipated effects on the safety and security of children at home and in the neighbourhood. Focus groups ranged in size from 4-15 members, with PHCs self-selecting participants based on availability. In all, 73 PHC members participated in the eight FGDs.</p>
Key informant interviews with local authorities	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>May 2013</u></p> <p>Led by Margot Rothman, supported by graduate students at Kenyatta University.</p>	<p>Key informant interviews were also held with local authorities in PHC communities with the aim of triangulating data on factors affecting the safety and security of children at home and in the neighbourhood; in total, four district development officers, child protection officers, and child care workers were interviewed.</p>

<p>Quantitative PHC member survey</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>August – December 2012</u></p> <p>Led by Fatuma Chege and Lucy Maina, a survey questionnaire and enumerators’ training guide were developed collaboratively by the evaluation team. The survey was translated into two additional local languages by Fatuma Chege and a doctoral student. 10-12 enumerators were selected from among Masters’ students in the School of Education at Kenyatta University. Masters students were chosen to carry this out because of the complementarity of the methodology to the research methods with which they were already familiar. Enumerators were trained by McGill and Kenyatta evaluation team members in the administration of the survey; they tested the survey instrument in one pilot PHC community and the survey was revised subsequently. Noteworthy in the revision was the inclusion of more direct questions about the nature and frequency of sexual violence in the home based on pilot respondents’ feedback.</p>	<p>Because of the level of violence/physical insecurity in several of slum neighbourhoods involved, it was not feasible for enumerators to administer the survey at the household level. Instead, PHC members were invited to a common venue and the survey was administered by enumerators to individual PHC members sequentially. Out of a sample of approximately 300 PHC members, 240 surveys were completed (80% response rate).</p>
<p>Validation Process</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>August 2013</u></p> <p>Led by all evaluation team members collectively. Claudia Mitchell produced a short video, “<b>More than Bricks and Mortar</b>”: (see also 2.6). Margot Rothman compiled the preliminary findings documents. Validation workshops were animated collectively by the team.</p>	<p>Five validation workshops were held with children from all eight PHC communities. Child participants viewed the video produced on the basis of previous children’s workshops and provided input into how their slum communities and homes could be made safer. A validation workshop was held with senior decision-makers at NACHU and with PHC executive members who viewed the video and discussed findings in order to make collective recommendations with regard to the future.</p>

Data collection instruments can be found in Appendix A.

## 2.5 Sample Selection

NACHU is supporting approximately 250 PHCs in and around Nairobi. It was determined that the sample selected for this evaluation would include eight of these PHCs, involving approximately 300 individual members and their families. Two PHCs were deemed pre-test and six PHCs were deemed post-test, according to the following criteria: length of establishment; size; location; nature and degree of savings, loan and housing activity. All sampled PHCs were located in Nairobi, for reasons of logistic feasibility, cost and similarity of community characteristics to ensure adequate equivalency. Safety for data collection was a key factor, taking into account extreme characteristics of poverty, insecurity and violence.

There were a greater number of post-test PHCs selected in the sample than pre-test PHCs, as it was assumed that documented effects of NACHU programming on children would be more significant in the former communities where PHC members were actively acquiring security of tenure and upgrading their housing. Exhibit 2 below provides an overview of the PHCs selected for the sample and the eventual response rate achieved by PHC for the survey questionnaire.

## Exhibit 2: Sample PHCs

PHC	Number of Members	Survey Response Rate	Respondent Category
1. Emmanuel Kanuku	25	7	<u>Post-Test Level 1:</u> Housing coops in existing slums that access individual & group loans for house upgrading, basic infrastructure and eventual security of tenure
2. Akwana	60	58	
3. Soweto Kayole	35	21	<u>Post-test Level 2:</u> Housing coop members who have secure tenure and are actively engaged in incremental housing improvement, house construction and infrastructure upgrading
4. Rehema	13	11	
5. Faith Foundation	52	45	<u>Post-test Level 3:</u> Group resettlements where housing cooperative members have collectively secured land and relocated with housing construction and infrastructure development well underway
6. Jasho	10	9	
7. Royal	60	53	<u>Pre-test:</u> Renters of dwellings only with no tenure security or house ownership – savings towards land purchase.
8. Razaak	45	36	
<b>Total</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>(Response to survey 80%)</b>

## 2.6 Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis included:

Inductive analysis, particularly at the start of data collection, was used with the aim of identifying and analysing emerging themes, patterns, and areas of analytical insight from document reviews, key informant interviews, focus group discussions, and the visual data (drawings, maps and photos). As themes and insights emerged, lines of inquiry were adapted accordingly.

Deductive analysis was used to deepen and confirm or disprove these insights in line with key evaluation questions.

Content analysis was used to analyse the contents of documents and narrative notes from qualitative data collection. Time and resources were limited on this evaluation for the use of computer-assisted content analysis and the data entry required for such analysis. As such, content analysis of documents and narrative notes from interviews and focus groups was analysed manually and by evaluation question. All ideas and opinions raised with regard to each evaluation question were documented, categorized and counted for frequency and magnitude. On this basis, evaluation findings emerged based on recorded commonalities and differences in ideas, opinions, and concepts raised.

Quantitative data from the questionnaire survey was described and analysed using descriptive statistics, including percentage and frequency distribution for each variable. T-test and Chi Square tests were also used to compare pre and post-test responses as well as to determine statistical significance.

Triangulation of sources was used, where different respondents were asked similar questions, to increase the accuracy of the data. This was used to a significant extent at the level of PHC members to determine the extent to which perceptions were shared. This was also used among youth respondents, PHC members and local authorities, to assess the convergence and divergence of perceptions with regard to factors affecting the safety and security of children in different communities. Triangulation of methods was used, between qualitative data collection and the quantitative survey administered to PHC members, to increase the accuracy of findings.

Validation. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, emerging findings and conclusions were validated with respondents in the field, including children, PHC members and NACHU staff and Board members. This was done to ensure the validity of study findings and conclusions but also with the aim of collectively developing recommendations for NACHU and its PHCs on how to mitigate against any negative effects of its programming on children and how best to integrate children's safety needs in its future programming.

As a prelude to the validation phase of the study, the evaluation team worked with the analysis of the visual images produced by the children to produce a short 'digital dialogue' video tool entitled "More Than Bricks and Mortar". This 7-minute video production organized the drawings, maps and photos into seven main themes, six on "feeling not so safe" (child labour, domestic violence, sexual violence, toilet safety, environmental security, gangs), and one main theme on "feeling safe" as seen through the eyes of children. In addition, a summary document of preliminary findings was produced. The purpose of both the video and summary document were to elicit responses from children, PHC members and NACHU representatives on the issues as seen "through the eyes" of different stakeholders including children.

Five participatory, validation workshops were held in August 2013 were held for children of participating PHC members in the community setting. To the extent possible, efforts were made to assemble the same children who had participated in the original data

collection workshops. This was not always possible and it is estimated that approximately a third of those who attended the validation workshop had also participated in data collection workshops. Child participants first viewed the “More Than Bricks and Mortar” video and then were asked to draw their suggestions on ways to improve safety and security in their homes and communities. In total more than 200 children participated in these workshops. It is clear, from this level of participation that PHC members and others in the surrounding communities perceived immediate and tangible benefits from these workshops for their children - a safe educational activity, and a snack.

For the adult validation workshops, executive committee members of the eight sample PHCs and senior managers at NACHU were brought together for a half-day validation workshop, which involved viewing the video and discussing preliminary findings and conclusions, in both small group and plenary sessions. The purpose was to ensure the relevance and validity of study findings and conclusions as well as come up with recommendations on how the negative effects of housing and human settlement upgrading could be mitigated for children and their safety and security improved.

## 2.7 Evaluation Team

The evaluation team was multi-faceted as proposed to the Evaluation Challenge Fund. Evaluation team members worked collegially and held collective responsibility for evaluation design, work planning, data collection, analysis, validation and report writing. Specific roles and responsibilities related to their particular areas of expertise were as follows:

- **Claudia Mitchell**, James McGill Professor at the Faculty of Education of McGill University in Montreal, Canada – Responsible for participatory data collection with children, developing related tools, training workshop animators, analysing workshop data, developing the “More Than Bricks and Mortar” video, developing the data collection guide and animating the validation workshop with PHCs and children.
- **Fatuma Chege** of the School of Education, and **Lucy Maina** of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences of Education of Kenyatta University in Nairobi, Kenya. Responsible for: testing and finalizing the quantitative survey; selecting, training and supporting the graduate student enumerators and workshop animators; overseeing data entry and analyzing the quantitative data; and contextualizing the emerging findings and conclusions from all data sets. Fatuma Chege and Lucy Maina also supported and supervised student researchers during the focus group discussions with four PHCs. Finally, they also helped animate validation workshops with NACHU and the participating PHCs.
- **Margot Rothman**, Senior Evaluator from Groupe-conseil INTERALIA was responsible for focus group discussions with PHC members and youth, triangulating data analysis across quantitative and qualitative data sets as well as developing preliminary findings, conclusions and recommendations for validation and discussion.

## 2.8 Challenges and Limitations

In a study of this magnitude, given the complexity of the issues and multiplicity of voices to be heard, there are inevitably both strengths and limitations. As noted throughout the report, the participation of children and their voices with regard to the perceived dangers all around them – in the family, in the home and in the community - are a critical contribution to knowledge. This study is thought to contribute to filling a knowledge gap with regard to the safety and security of children in settlements that are developed or supported through cooperatives in Africa, through the lens of housing and through the eyes of children themselves.

Despite the relevance of the study's focus and content, there were, inevitably, several limitations with regard to the evaluation design and methodology:

- The changing internal context at NACHU, sample selection of PHCs, selection bias and threats to internal validity

NACHU was in the midst of significant organizational change with the adoption of its new strategic plan in 2010-11. This change involved a new business model with more emphasis on financial cost recovery in its housing micro-finance activities, entailing loan products, which target the economically active poor who wish to resettle in groups in newly emerging communities outside of the slums. This is in contrast to an earlier model of support to PHCs which provided more modest, individual loans on scattered sites within informal settlements and/or areas where families had some level of tenure security and supported incremental housing improvement over time. The evaluation hypothesis upon which this study was designed – including the different categories and characteristics of sample PHCs selected for both pre and post-test comparison – were more relevant to the “former” NACHU program model. While sample selection criteria and actual PHC sample selection were developed and undertaken in close collaboration with NACHU and Rooftops Canada, NACHU has embraced its new program model and progressed more quickly with its implementation than anticipated at the beginning of this study. NACHU is rapidly reducing its activities with scattered site lending and actively targeting a new client base of the economically active poor. With this new program strategy, new house construction and resettlement take on greater importance than incremental house improvement in existing slum communities; the transition to this new program model and progress with new PHCs are moving faster than anticipated, with a clientele that has greater economic power and savings capacity. As a result, several of the intervention or post-test PHCs selected largely fall into the “old” NACHU model while comparison or pre-test PHCs largely fall into the “new” NACHU model.

During the six months of data collection for this evaluation, several of the intervention or post-test PHCs opted out of the study in part because of their changing relationship with NACHU. It was a challenge to find other PHCs, which were sufficiently similar in size, maturity, and willingness to participate. At the same time, the comparison group or pre-test PHCs (the “new” model at NACHU), were

originally selected because members were to have been uniformly comprised of renters, without tenure security or house ownership. These PHCs progressed much more quickly in terms of savings and loans in 2012-2013 than NACHU anticipated so that many pre-test PHC members started to acquire tenure security and house ownership over the course of 2012-2013. As a result, some of the basic assumptions, which were foundational to the quasi-experimental design, and comparison of pre and post-test PHCs did not hold for the duration of the study. This poses threats to the internal validity of the quasi-experimental methodology, and has limited the statistical significance of pre and post-test comparisons with regard to the evaluation hypothesis (see [Finding 1 under Chapter 4](#)). Despite these design limitations, important findings and conclusions have emerged with regard to the evaluation hypothesis and factors influencing the safety and security of children in targeted PHC communities. These are presented in chapters 5 and 6 below.

- [Respondent availability, participation and response bias](#)

It must be recognized that at the outset, child protection was not an explicit component of NACHU's programming or a focus of the work of the PHCs. As such, NACHU staff and PHC respondents had some difficulty discerning tangible benefits to participation in this evaluation. This affected both the tenor of discussions and respondent participation rates. In addition, and as raised above, NACHU is in a process of strategic redirection, creating significant internal discussion and some dissension among PHC members. There is some possibility of response bias by PHC members to the quantitative survey, as there appears to have been a false assumption by some respondents that their participation in the survey would positively influence access to NACHU loans for land and housing. In terms of qualitative data collection, the internal discussion on NACHU's new organizational strategy was continually raised by PHC members and, in several instances, dominated the focus group discussions and discussion at the validation workshops. This was despite painstaking efforts by evaluation team members from Kenyatta University and NACHU staff to explain the purpose and expected results of the evaluation to PHCs prior to data collection. This contextual reality undoubtedly influenced the response rate to the quantitative survey and participation in focus group discussions. It must be recognized that PHC respondents to this study, slum dwellers in Nairobi, are a marginalized population. The time they spend in donor-driven data collection processes is time not spent in attending to revenue generation and the satisfaction of their families' basic needs. In order to devote several hours or days of their time to surveys and focus group discussions, participants must perceive a tangible and immediate benefit to the exercise.

- [Location of interviews with PHC members](#)

The original idea for conducting interviews with PHC members was to have these take place in the privacy and familiarity of their own homes, as opposed to having these interviews take place in a public space. The home setting could be a very important factor in terms of overcoming inhibitions in relation to discussing family violence, parent-child violence, or other forms of non-physical violence. Conducting a household survey in the home allows the researcher to also observe and to relate what is being said to the surroundings, and gives the respondent a firsthand

reference to his or her world. Because of issues of safety, the home interview idea was abandoned – something that could be a limitation to the quality of data.

- Other respondent availability: Local authorities

The availability and willingness of local authorities in PHC communities to participate in the key informant interviews was also limited. Because the focus of the study was outside of NACHU's general programming purview the request for interviews was met with a certain degree of ambivalence and suspicion by informants. Some informants agreed to an interview with the evaluation team members but then proved unavailable or refused to be interviewed citing lack of prior approval by Ministerial authority. The evaluation team possessed an approved research permit for Kenya and had provided a written introduction to the study including an interview protocol to the relevant decision-makers. Despite these efforts and initial approval of interview participation, local officers proved reticent, unavailable or unwilling to discuss violence against children in the home. Local authorities were interviewed in two of the five targeted communities.

- Coordination and Communication among Partners

Undertaking a collaborative evaluation process, which involved five different partner organizations based in three cities on two continents, was a challenge. This challenge was exacerbated by weak telecommunications in Kenya and differing (conflicting) academic calendars at McGill and Kenyatta universities. This study was one among many professional responsibilities for all the partners concerned, so that ensuring ongoing and effective communication while juggling schedules among the five institutions did contribute to some coordination challenges and resulting delays in data collection, analysis and report writing.



## 3.0 Violence Against Children

### 3.1 Children in the Family and Community

According to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (article 27)<sup>5</sup> every child has the right to a standard of living adequate for his or her physical mental, spiritual, moral and social development.<sup>6</sup> Adequate housing, food and clothing underpin the adequacy of a child's standard of living. UNICEF estimates that one out of every three children, or 640 million children around the world, live in inadequate housing.<sup>7</sup>

Despite the world's commitment to child rights, little appears to be documented on the safety and security of children<sup>8</sup> with regard to housing generally, and related to slums or informal settlements more specifically. Research has been undertaken on the prevalence and causes of violence generally, and domestic violence in particular, in slums and informal settlements. Research also exists on the impact of the physical landscape of slums on the physical and mental health of children. In research focused specifically on violence against children and child protection, reference is made to the importance of adequate housing but it is not generally explored in any in-depth way and it does not include the voice of children themselves.

This study then attempts to fill a knowledge gap with regard to the relationship between the safety of children and adequate housing in slums and informal settlements. The study is also innovative in that it gives voice to the opinions and experiences of children themselves on what, in their homes and communities, they perceive as contributing to their safety and security and what more can be done to improve their safety and security.

As the United Nations Study on Violence against Children has noted<sup>9</sup>, violence against children in the home and family receives comparatively limited media and research attention compared to other issues affecting child rights, such as commercial sexual exploitation or child labour. The home and family are considered a private domain. Using participatory research, with children acting as respondents and co-researchers, is increasingly perceived as an effective means to "challenge the silence surrounding family violence".<sup>10</sup>

In terms of the UN Study conclusions, a combination of personal, familial, socio-economic, cultural and environmental factors appear to contribute to violence against children in the home and in the community:

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<sup>5</sup> Convention on the rights of the child. (1989). *United Nations*. Retrieved on July 20, 2014 from <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/crc.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> *Idem*, P. 8

<sup>7</sup> Bellamy, C. (2005). The state of the world's children: Childhood under threat. *United Nations Children's Fund*. Retrieved on July 20, 2014 from <http://www.unicef.org/sowc05/english/sowc05.pdf>.

<sup>8</sup> Children are defined as girls and boys of 0-18 years of age for the purposes of this study as per the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

<sup>9</sup> Pinheiro, P. S. (2006). World report on violence against children. *United Nations*. Retrieved on July 20, 2014 from [http://www.unicef.org/lac/full\\_text\(3\).pdf](http://www.unicef.org/lac/full_text(3).pdf).

<sup>10</sup> *Idem*, p. 88.

- Studies from various countries demonstrate that low parental education, lack of income and household over-crowding significantly increase the risk of physical and psychological violence against children in the home. Families who live in communities characterized by high levels of unemployment, overcrowded housing, rapid population turnover and low levels of social cohesion are at an increased risk of family violence. At the same time, parents with poor impulse control, low self-esteem, mental health problems and substance-abuse are more likely to use physical and psychological violence against their children.<sup>11</sup>
- Little is known about what prevents families from becoming violent. Research on the links between socio-economic conditions and violence against children suggest that efforts are needed to alter the underlying conditions that put extreme economic, social and emotional stress on families, including parenting education, livelihoods support and community cohesion and development. Communities with strong social cohesion, thriving social networks and neighbourhood connections are seen to have a strong protective effect and may even lessen the risk of violence when other family risk factors are present.<sup>12</sup>
- The physical environment of a community – its layout, population density, availability of services and amenities for families – have an important bearing on social relationships in a community and on whether or not adults and children are subject to violence. The physical design of public spaces can also determine whether they are potential settings for violence.<sup>13</sup>

The UN Secretary General's Report on Violence against Children does not address the situation of slums and informal settlements explicitly. Many of its findings, however, point to contributing factors, which characterize urban inequality and are ever-present in the slums and informal settlements of the developing world, including Nairobi, Kenya. The section below examines the situation of children in informal settlements more specifically, with a focus on the slums of Nairobi.

### 3.2 Children and Housing

Children living in impoverished environments are exposed to a myriad of health risks. Poverty has forced children to live in unsanitary, overcrowded environments with high levels of insecurity and violence, and exposure to fatal infections. These realities combined with reduced access to preventive interventions has resulted in high mortality rates, particularly for children under five years old.<sup>141516</sup> For instance, Agarwal and Taneja (2011) found that in Nairobi the under-5 mortality rate in slums is 151 per 1000 live births, which is 2.5 times higher than the average of the city. In two other Nairobi slums, child mortality rates were

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<sup>11</sup> Idem., p.68.

<sup>12</sup> Idem., p.72.

<sup>13</sup> Idem., p.303.

<sup>14</sup> Awasthi, S. & Agarwal, S. (2003). Determinants of childhood mortality and morbidity in urban slums in India. *Journal of the Indian Academy of Pediatrics*, 40(12), 1145-1161.

<sup>15</sup> Victora, C. G., Wagstaff, A., Schellenberg, J. A., Gwatkin, D., Claeson, M., & Habicht, J-P. (2003). Applying an equity lens to child health and mortality: More of the same if not enough. *The Lancet*, 362(9379), 233-241.

<sup>16</sup> Mitlin, D. & Satterthwaite, D. (2013). *Urban poverty in the global south: Scale and nature*. Oxon: Routledge.

found to be 254 and 123 per 1000 live births.<sup>17</sup> To date, there is a relatively limited body of work on housing and children's perceptions of safety and security in the Global South. The following provides a short review of the existing literature on the burdens young children living in slums and in informal settlements face on a daily basis.

### Housing and Children's Physical Well-Being

In a study conducted by Mishra (2007), children living in the slums of Delhi informally discussed their everyday experiences. The children identified their homes to be one of thousands of loads of cartons. Throughout their discussion, the children pointed to problems of inadequate living space, filth and dust, air pollution, to name a few. The children felt that "the filth and dust in the area was at the root of all the diseases."<sup>18</sup> In fact, studies illustrate how poor housing conditions in the Global South leads to varying physical health burdens on young children. Children living in poor-quality housing suffer primarily from respiratory diseases, which are the leading cause of premature mortality in impoverished areas.<sup>19,20,21,22,23</sup> According to Bartlett (1999), respiratory diseases are prominent as "Overcrowding and poor ventilation encourage the spread of infection, and both dampness and poor indoor air quality, resulting from open fires or poorly vented stoves, increase susceptibility to respiratory illness."<sup>24</sup> Corroborating evidence is found in Sverdlick's (2011) research, which reveals that "Contributing factors for pneumonia were inadequate, overcrowded shelter and indoor air pollution."<sup>25</sup> Moreover, as the typical housing structures of slum areas and informal settlements are made up of either timber walls, mud walls, or plastic materials and cartons, children are also not adequately protected from the harsh climate. In the study by Nyamongo-Amuyunzu and Taffa (2004), one mother from Nairobi explains, "These iron sheet houses are a problem because they make the child to get colds since there are no beddings. And the cold stays in the child..."<sup>26</sup>

Research also shows how the poor housing conditions of developing countries lead to diarrhoeal diseases, which, after respiratory diseases, are the leading cause of premature

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<sup>17</sup> Awasthi, S. and Agarwal, S. (2003). p. 233 (see footnote 7).

<sup>18</sup> Mishra, A. (2007). Everyday life in a slum in Delhi: Views of the children. In Deepak Kumar Behera (Ed.). *Childhoods in South Asia* (pp. 249-260). India: Pearson Education India.

<sup>19</sup> Bashir, S. A. (2002). Home is where the harm is: Inadequate housing as a public health crisis. *American Journal of Public Health, 92*(5), 733-738.

<sup>20</sup> Sikolia, D.N., Mwololo, K., Cherop, H. Hussein, A. Juma, M. Kurui, J. Bwika, A. Seki, I., & Osaki Y. (2002). The prevalence of acute respiratory infections and the associated risk factors: A study of children under five years of age in Kibera Lindi village, Nairobi, Kenya. *Public Health Research, 51*(1), 67-72.

<sup>21</sup> Kyobutungi, C., Ziraba, A. K., Ezeh, A., & Yazoume, Y. (2008). The burden of disease profile of residents of Nairobi's slums: Results from a demographic surveillance system. *Population Health Metrics, 6*(1), 1-8.

<sup>22</sup> Rauh, V. A., Landrigan, P. J., & Claudio, L. (2008). Housing and health: intersection of poverty and environmental exposures. *Annals of the New York Academic of Science, 1136*, 276-288.

<sup>23</sup> Ye, Y., Zulu, E., Mutisya, M. Orindi, B., Emina, J. & Kyobutungi, C. (2009). *American Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, 51*(5), 770-775.

<sup>24</sup> Bartlett, S. (1999). Children's experience of the physical environment in poor urban settlements and the implications for policy, planning and practice. *Environment and Urbanization, 11*(2), 63-74

<sup>25</sup> Sverdlik, A. (2011). Ill-health and poverty: A literature review on health in informal settlements. *International Institute for Environment and Development, 23*(1), 128

<sup>26</sup> Nyamongo-Amuyunzu, M. & Taffa, N. (2004). The triad of poverty, environment and child health in Nairobi informal settlements. *Journal of Health and Population in Developing Countries, 1-14*.

mortality among young children.<sup>272829303132</sup> As drainage in homes is poor, footpaths and play areas are covered with feces and uncollected refuse and waste from households. According to Bartlett (1999), children's diarrhoeal diseases are a direct result of inadequate sanitation and children's contact with excreta. As children are in closer contact with the ground and are less concerned with hygiene they are more likely to be infected.<sup>33</sup> This may explain why "Under-five children experience more than 80 per cent of the global burden of diarrhoeal disease..."<sup>34</sup> Moreover, Pickering (1985) highlights how diarrhea leads to other afflictions such as measles, malaria and malnutrition.<sup>35</sup> In a study using visual research methods with children, Mitchell (2006) uncovered other physical health problems. While the adults in the study described diarrhea, fever, and asthma to be the most prevalent child health problems, through their drawings, children in the Central Philippines brought to light other physical pain such as aching teeth, cut feet, legs and arms scarred from scabies and frequent headaches.<sup>36</sup>

### Housing and Children's Mental Well-Being

The quality of housing not only impacts the physical health of children, but it also directly affects children's mental health. Research on the mental health of children living in impoverished environments, however, seems to be lacking, particularly research that includes the voices of those children suffering from mental illnesses. The existing literature shows that a hostile and impoverished physical environment can negatively affect a child's social, emotional, and cognitive development as poor-quality housing negatively affects children's psychological well-being. According to Bartlett (1999), the overcrowding of a household is one factor related to increased psychological stress among children living in poverty.<sup>37</sup> As stress is heightened from dealing with tight spaces, unsafe conditions for play, and feelings of restrictions, children experience anxiety, depression, insomnia, fatigue, and problems with concentration, all of which undermine their capacity to cope with the burdens of their everyday lives.<sup>38</sup>

Studies show that poor quality housing conditions also lead to behavioral disorders. This is evident in a study within a Spanish slum, Badia del Valles. Ezpeleta et al. (2007) found a prevalence of psychopathology among preadolescents, with high frequencies of attention-deficit/ hyperactivity disorder, oppositional-defiant disorder, and specific phobia.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Pickering, H. (1985). Social and environmental factors associated with diarrhoea and growth in young children: Children health in urban Africa. *Social Science and Medicine*, 21(2), 121-127.

<sup>28</sup> de Melo, C. M., Taddei, J. A., Diniz-Santos, D. R., Vieira, C., Carneiro, N. B., Melo, R. F., & Silva, L. R. (2008). Incidence of diarrhea in children living in urban slums in Salvador, Brazil. *The Brazilian Journal of Infectious Diseases*, 12(1), 89-93.

<sup>29</sup> Kyobutungi, C., Ziraba, A. K., Ezeh, A., & Yazoume, Y. (2008). (see footnote 14)

<sup>30</sup> Bartlett, S. (1999). (see footnote 17)

<sup>31</sup> Sverdlik, A. (2011). (see footnote 18)

<sup>32</sup> Mitlin, D. & Satterthwaite, D. (2013). *Urban poverty in the global south: Scale and nature*. Oxon: Routledge.

<sup>33</sup> Bartlett, S. (1999). p. 66 (see footnote 17)

<sup>34</sup> Sverdlik, A. (2011). p. 127 (see footnote 18)

<sup>35</sup> Pickering, H. (1985). p. 121 (see footnote 20)

<sup>36</sup> Mitchell, L. M. (2006). Children centered? Thinking critically about children's drawings as a visual research method. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 22(1), 60-73.

<sup>37</sup> Bartlett, S. (1999). p. 71 (see footnote 17)

<sup>38</sup> Bartlett, S., Hart, R., Satterthwaite, D., de la Barra, X., & Missair, A. (1999). *Cities for children: children's rights, poverty and urban management*. UK: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

<sup>39</sup> Ezpeleta, L., Guillamon, N., Granero, R., de la Osa, N., Domenech, J. M., & Moya, I. (2007). Prevalence of mental disorders in children and adolescents from a Spanish slum. *Social Science and Medicine*, 64, 842-849.

In a comparative study with adolescents from slum and non-slum areas of Dhaka City, Izutsu et al. (2006) found that male adolescents living in the slums showed higher conduct disorders, which is “known to associate with future anti-social personality disorder, substance-related disorders and crimes.”<sup>40</sup> Such disorders are not exclusively a result of overcrowded housing. Evans and English (2002) found that as low-income children live in noisier households, with more violence, housing problems, and family turmoil they are exposed to cumulative, adverse stressors.<sup>41</sup> Their research with 8 to 10 year old children growing up in poverty suggests that multiple-stressor exposure contributes to socio-emotional difficulties that may lead to long-term psychological distress.<sup>42</sup>

### Housing and Children Facing Instability

Fear of personal harm, crime and violence can lead to increased insecurity among children, particularly those living in environments vulnerable to home evictions and natural disasters. According to Bartlett et al. (1999), a high proportion of families living in the South live in constant fear of eviction or forced removal.<sup>43</sup> Children who face violent evictions may experience trauma with long-term consequences for their psychological health. With the presence of heavily armed police, bulldozers destroying their homes, and family members wounded or killed, children are said to experience difficulty sleeping at night and fear people in uniforms long after the event.<sup>44</sup> In addition to potential home evictions, children living in the slums or in informal settlements are also vulnerable to natural disasters that may destroy their homes. According to Mitlin and Satterthwaite (2013), many informal settlements can be found on land at high risk of disaster as they often exist on hills prone to landslides, in deep ravines, and on land prone to flooding or tidal inundation.<sup>45</sup> Loss of housing due to natural disasters creates further instability and insecurity for children. It is thus important to provide safer and more secure housing to protect children from losing family members, friends, and assets from such disasters.

### 3.3 Children in the Informal Settlements in Nairobi

Urban growth in the developing world is set to be virtually synonymous with the expansion of slums and informal settlements. There are currently 199 million slum dwellers in Africa.<sup>46</sup> Urbanization in developing countries is characterized by growing poverty and inequality where it is estimated that the level of deprivation among slum dwellers is equivalent to or can be much greater than that experienced by the rural poor. The incidence of disease and mortality is much higher in the slums. Slums are characterized by significant inequality in access to services, housing, land, education, health care, and employment

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<sup>40</sup> Izutsu, T. Tsutsumi, A., Islam, M, A., Kato, S., Wakai, S., & Hurita, H. (2006). Mental health quality of life, and nutritional stature of adolescents in Dhaka, Bangladesh: Comparison between an urban slum and a non-slum area. *Social Science and Medicine*, 63, 1477-1488.

<sup>41</sup> Evans, G. W. & English, K. (2002). The environment of poverty: Multiple stressor exposure, psychophysiological stress, and socioemotional adjustment. *Children Development*, 73(4), 1238-1248.

<sup>42</sup> Idem., p. 1245

<sup>43</sup> Bartlett, S., Hart, R., Satterthwaite, D., de la Barra, X., & Missair, A. (1999). p. 70 (see footnote 31)

<sup>44</sup> Idem, p.71

<sup>45</sup> Mitlin, D. & Satterthwaite, D. (2013). *Urban poverty in the global south: Scale and nature*. Oxon: Routledge, p. 141

<sup>46</sup> Tibaijuka, A. K. (Dec. 2007). Supporting towns and cities to achieve the MDGs: Improving the lives of slum dwellers. United Nations Chronicle, XLIV(4). Retrieved on July 20, 2014 from <http://unchronicle.un.org/article/supporting-towns-and-cities-achieve-mdgs-improving-lives-slum-dwellers/index.html>.

opportunities. Repercussions of this inequality include rising (ethnic) conflict, urban unrest, environmental degradation and under-employment.<sup>47</sup>

Children are seen among the first casualties of this inequality because of their dependency and vulnerability. Slum children experience high rates of malnutrition while the prevalence of diarrhoea, malaria, measles and respiratory illnesses and HIV/AIDS than their urban counterparts. UN Habitat estimates that child deaths in the slums are attributed, not to lack of immunization, but rather as a result of inadequate living conditions:

Under 5 mortality rates are higher in slums...[these] are not so much related to immunization but rather they have more to do with environmental factors such as overcrowding, indoor air pollution, poor wastewater treatment, and lack of drainage, sewerage and sanitation facilities. The use of solid fuels combined with poor ventilation and overcrowding increases the chances of children contracting acute respiratory illness...Many slums are located in or near hazardous or toxic sites, which expose children to additional environmental and health hazards.<sup>48</sup>

The research on informal settlements in and around Nairobi tends to mirror these observations on slums generally. In Nairobi, Kenya, urbanization and urban inequality have progressed quickly since independence. Today in Nairobi, slums house 65% of the city population while occupying only 5% of total residential land.<sup>49</sup> Nairobi slums have their roots in the British colonial period when residential areas were demarcated as white, Asian or native. This segregation created the basis for land and resource distribution in Nairobi today. Most slums are located in lands previously reserved for “natives”. After the country’s independence in 1963, restrictions on travel and settlement between previously segregated areas were removed. Rapid rural to urban migration began after independence and continued in response to rural poverty. The population of Nairobi grew from 120,000 to three million between 1948 and 1999, leading to numerous illegal squatters and informal settlements.<sup>50</sup>

With limited capacity for urban planning, increasing urbanization and deepening poverty through the 1970s and 1980s, the Kenyan government was challenged to deal with sprawling urban slums. With the advent of multi-party democracy, land was increasingly used to purchase or reward political favours. The ruling elite and their friends grabbed urban land, leading to mass forced evictions and the rapid growth of a class of slumlords. As a result, there is a complicated ethnic component to the development of the slums with the politically powerful Kikuyus making up the majority of land and structure owners; other ethnicities making up the majority of tenants in the slums. This polarization is a source of conflict and on-going tension, which culminated in violence and death in the wake of the 2007 presidential elections. Distinct ethnic enclaves continue to exist within the Nairobi slums, which are easily manipulated by politicians on all sides of the political spectrum to fuel

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<sup>47</sup> State of the World's Cities. (2006/07). Children, slums' first casualties. *United Nations Habitat*. Retrieved on July 20, 2014 from [http://www.csun.edu/~vasishth/UN-State\\_of\\_the\\_World's\\_Cities\\_2006\\_07.pdf](http://www.csun.edu/~vasishth/UN-State_of_the_World's_Cities_2006_07.pdf)

<sup>48</sup> Kenya Jubilee (n/a). *Impact of slums on women and children*. Retrieved July 20, 2014 from [www.kenyajubilee.org](http://www.kenyajubilee.org)

<sup>49</sup> Kenya Jubilee (n/a). *History of slums*. Retrieved July 20, 2014 from [www.kenyajubilee.org](http://www.kenyajubilee.org)

<sup>50</sup> An inventory of the slums in Nairobi. (n/a). Retrieved on July 20, 2014 from [http://www.irinnews.org/pdf/nairobi\\_inventory.pdf](http://www.irinnews.org/pdf/nairobi_inventory.pdf)

tension, discrimination and violence. Observers describe a “deeply embedded political culture of violence.”<sup>51</sup>

Slumlords and land owners in the slums are loathe to erect permanent dwellings, improve the quality of existing structures or invest in infrastructure of any kind for fear of land grabbing, forced eviction and demolition. As a result, as is highlighted in the Kenya Jubilee Study<sup>52</sup>, it is estimated that only 24% of slum residents in Nairobi have access to toilet facilities at a household level. Up to 100 people can share one public toilet that costs about 50 KSh to use and sees no regular maintenance. There is a lack of steady water supply, no drainage or sewage system and uncollected garbage, contributing to the risk of cholera outbreaks, dysentery and other water-borne diseases. For the same reasons of insecurity, few medical clinics exist in the slums and schools are few and far between. There are two primary schools in Kibera (estimated population anywhere between 200,000 to 1 million residents) and only a 10% retention rate to form 4 (the end of secondary school). It is estimated that rates of child illness and mortality are much higher in the informal settlements than the rest of Nairobi, as a result of poor living conditions rather than due to lack of income.<sup>53</sup>

Socially, the problems in Nairobi’s slums are described as precarious. A 2006 survey indicated that 63% of slum dwellers do not feel safe inside their settlement and one member of every household had been either a witness to or victim of violence in the previous 12 months<sup>54</sup>. Crime is seen to be on the rise in the majority of informal settlements in and around Nairobi. Lack of access to roads and security lights are seen to predispose women and girls to sexual violence and rape. Trade in drugs, drug abuse, child prostitution, robbery with violence, burglary and murder are also seen to be on the increase. At the same time, the informal settlements and slums are considered the most poorly patrolled areas of the city with very limited police presence. Ethnic militias and community vigilantes have grown in numbers - to fill a void left by a weak police presence and to do the bidding of powerful politicians and economic interests.

It is estimated that, for women and girls living in Nairobi slums, poverty is a cause and a consequence of on-going violence. In a recent report by Amnesty International, a majority of women interviewed said they faced the greatest threat of violence within the confines of their homes while 40% of married women in 2003 Kenya Census reporting physical violence in their homes. Outside the home within the slums, women said they felt the threat of on-going the violence mostly at night but also during the day.<sup>55</sup> Perpetrators of violence were generally unemployed male youth and men who are criminally active, although employers and government security personnel were also named. Women were the targets of violence in the slums because of their gender but also because of their ethnicity at times.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> O, Sana. & Okombo, O. (2012). *Taking Stock of the Socio-Economic Challenges in the Nairobi Slums- An Inventory of Pertinent Issues Between January 2008 and November 2012*. Nairobi: Friederich Ebert-Stiftung.

<sup>52</sup> Kenya Jubilee (n/a). *Impact of slums on women and children*. Retrieved July 20, 2014 from [www.kenyajubilee.org](http://www.kenyajubilee.org)

<sup>53</sup> Kenya Jubilee (n/a). *Impact of slums on women and children*. Retrieved on July 20, 2014 from [www.kenyajubilee.org](http://www.kenyajubilee.org)

<sup>54</sup> Amnesty International. (2010). *Insecurity and Indignity: Women's Experience in the Slums of Nairobi*. Retrieved on July 20, 2014 from <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR32/002/2010/en/12a9d334-0b62-40e1-ae4a-e5333752d68c/af320022010en.pdf>

<sup>55</sup> *Idem*, p. 12

<sup>56</sup> *Idem*, p. 13

### 3.4 Nairobi's Informal Settlements Under Review

The eight sample PHCs selected for review under this study are located in four impermanent settlements in and around Nairobi. Two PHCs are located in Kinyago-Kanuku, two others are located in Makina-Kibera while the remaining four are found in Soweto East and Kawangare. (Faith Foundation PHC members, although resettled, were living in Kawangare). These settlements are briefly described below, followed by a description of each sample PHC in the following section below<sup>57</sup>.

The settlements covered by this study vary significantly in size, population density, tenure security, level of infrastructure, ethnic origins and socio-economic status of residents, as well as level of violence and physical insecurity.

#### Kinyago-Kanuku

These are two sister settlements, established by landless squatters at independence in 1963. Inhabitants of Kinyago settled in the 1970s when it was a very informal settlement of almost 500 residents living in very makeshift homes, extremely poor but very close-knit. Kinyago was attractive because it is very close to city centre. Residents now describe the neighbourhood as uncontrollable, very violent and intolerably congested. It attracts many criminal elements because it is surrounded by middle class neighbourhoods and affords an easy place for thieves and criminals to disappear. The population of Kinyago has grown at an exponential rate; people don't know their neighbours because of transience or out of fear. Congestion and poverty create an explosive situation. It is also close to the well-known Eastleigh settlement, mainly populated by people of Somali origin, and is a major hub where both legal and illegal trade thrive.

The neighbourhood now has an estimated population of about 20,000 people. The slum contains 900 structures made mostly of mud and metal sheeting, with rooms of 100 square feet per family. The vast majority of residents are tenants. The land is attractive given its proximity to downtown so that forced eviction is a distinct threat. The neighbourhood has five shared latrine blocks and three shared water points. A sizeable portion of the population has permanent employment with others engaged in casual labour or micro-businesses; income levels are comparatively low at 100-300 KSh per day.

#### Makina-Kibera

The name Kibera is derived from a Nubian word meaning forest. The British colonial Government awarded this land to former Nubian soldiers when they returned from World War I service. The population of Kibera remained relatively homogeneous until the early 1980s as the Nubians fought to protect their land title from land grabbing by the post-independence government. Kibera now has an estimated population of one million people with a much more heterogeneous population and significant overcrowding. Makina is comprised of 20 acres of land owned by the government, with a population of 50,000, 65% being children. It is estimated that there are 9000 rooms in Makina of 100 square feet each, built of mud and iron sheets. The ratio of house owners to renters is 1:10. There are only two public toilets in the settlement, no waste disposal and the houses are prone to flooding.

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<sup>57</sup> Pamoja Trust, Op. cit. <http://pamojatrust.org/>



Most residents are casual labourers, with a small proportion running micro businesses, with average daily earnings of 100-200 KSh per day.

### Soweto East

The settlement is located on 15 acres, with an estimated population of 50,000. Most families live in 100 square feet rooms, in multi-room structures made of iron sheets and timber. The ratio of owners to renters is 1:25. There are no public toilets, no waste disposal, but there are a few privately owned water standpoints only. Most residents are casual labourers although some are small business owners, and the daily average earnings vary from 100 to 1000 KSh.

### Kawangare

This settlement is located on 15 acres of privately owned land, with a population of 25,000 people. 60% of families live in 100 square feet rooms, in multi-room structures made of iron sheets and timber. 40% of the structures are permanent. There are two boreholes, and all plots have toilets or latrines. The majority of residents are small business owners and salaried workers as well as some casual labourers. Daily revenues vary considerably from 100 to 3000 KSh.

## **3.5 A Description of Sample PHCs**

A Primary Housing Cooperative consists of individuals who join together to meet very specific needs that are easier to address collectively. PHCs at NACHU vary considerably with regard to size, purpose, history, geographic proximity of members, level of cohesion, nature and scale of activity. While PHCs can be generally grouped into categories associated with the nature and scale of their involvement with NACHU, it must be recognized that there remains considerable variation between them and within members of the same PHC.

### Razaak PHC (Pre-test)

Established in 2012, the Razaak PHC is located in Makina, and is formed of 45 women residents whom are small business owners living in the same neighbourhood of Kibera. These women were already cohesive, securing group loans for their businesses. They approached NACHU to secure loans specifically for land and housing. Membership is mixed – some are descended from the original Nubians who settled Kibera and others are more recent arrivals to the slum. Their intention to join NACHU was driven by their fear of what would happen to their current homes if violence were to break out during the March 2013 elections. Their primary intention is resettlement and new house construction. At sample selection, all members were renters. In terms of savings, however, they are one of the fastest saving societies in NACHU. A plot of land was bought collectively in Ruai in 2013, acquired much more rapidly than originally anticipated, and house construction is currently under way. This plot of land and house construction are open to all PHC members from Razaak, Royal and another PHC. Land has been purchased and house construction by NACHU is under way for the first wave of members.

### Royal PHC (Pre-test)

Established in 2012, the Royal PHC includes 60 members as part of their phase one. Membership was initially church-based, so members are a cohesive group although they come from a variety of neighbourhoods but nearer and far from Mukuru, including Mariakani, Mlonlongo, Hazina, Ngong road, Mwiki, Maringo, Dandora, and Githurai 45, Huruma, Kinoo, Ndandora, Kasarani, Kayole, and Riruta. Initially all members in 2012 were renters but, like Razaak, their savings accumulated more quickly than anticipated, enabling them to purchase a plot of land collectively in 2013. House construction is currently under way for several members. This plot of land and house construction is open to all PHC members from Razaak, Royal and another PHC. Members' access to housing depends on their individual eligibility for loans and the rapidity of their savings. Land has been purchased and house construction by NACHU is underway for the first wave of members.

### Emanuel Kanuku PHC (Post-test, Level 1)

This PHC was established 2011, has a current membership of 25 and is located in Kinyago-Kanuku. These are younger community members in the same neighbourhood as Rehema PHC. They were inspired by Jasho but decided to create their own PHC. All members live in the Kinyago-Kanuku neighbourhoods. They initially came together to access business and education loans from NACHU, which were of more interest than housing loans. The intent is to increase their family revenue through business loans or adding a rental room to their current dwellings so that, with additional income, they can save incrementally for resettlement and house construction. Members are saving for collective land purchase although motivation is mixed and there is no specific time frame; resettlement is not their immediate priority.

### Akwana PHC (Post-test, Level 1)

Akwana PHC is one of NACHU's oldest, established in 1988 and comprised of Nubian members living in Kibera. The PHC is located in Makina, Kibera. Akwana originally started with 600 members and currently has 60 active members. The membership has decreased overtime and has had a high turnover due to past issues around leadership and conflict over land rights. Although only 60 members are active, many more members are registered even if they do not attend meetings regularly. Today, the membership remains steady and some members, who have saved for land purchase and house construction, have moved to other parts of Nairobi. Since 2010, the PHC has been regenerating with new members who are actively saving and securing loans for business, land and some house upgrading. Membership is geographically spread and cohesion is limited, as current members do not live in close proximity or know each other well.

### Rehema PHC (Post-test, Level 2)

Established in 2000 with 13 current members originally from Kinyago village. Kinyago is a very precarious slum with inhabitants living under a threat of constant forced eviction. Because land tenure in Kinyago is not a possibility, the PHC was formed by members with the aim of buying a plot of land for resettlement. Four members immediately purchased land in Ruai and acquired loans for mbatu (corrugated iron sheet) house construction from NACHU. Another 10 members have constructed stone houses in Ruai although not all have

resettled, as they are not in a position to leave their businesses behind in Kinyago so they are renting out their new houses in Ruai for income.

### Soweto Kayole PHC (Post-test, Level 2)

Established in 1992 with 35 current members living in Kayole, an informal settlement on the outskirts of Soweto East. There has been lots of change in membership over time. Original members left after securing loans for incremental house upgrading. The PHC chairperson estimates around 37 members over time secured loans. This is a large settlement, very diverse population, not as congested as Kinyago, further from the city centre and with slightly better living conditions. Still there are many problems with sanitation, water, sewage, waste disposal, poor house construction and overcrowding. This PHC was established long ago when the government allocated land from the city council and put in basic infrastructure. PHC members received plots of land with water and sanitation so there is some form of tenure security. Members came together as a PHC to access loans to build or upgrade houses. PHC members have made use of varying NACHU products – loans for business, education, house upgrading, and building new houses. With more tenure security, this PHC was more focused on incremental house upgrading.

### Faith Foundation PHC (Post-test, Level 3)

Faith Foundation was established in 2010 by those displaced from the Rift Valley by post-election violence in late 2007. There are 150 current members living in Kawangare. Members form a tight-knit community in the slum and tend to be slightly better off than the majority of their neighbours, with a greater capacity for savings. Since its establishment, the PHC has been saving towards group resettlement. They already had acquired a plot of land in Ruiru before coming to NACHU for house construction loans. At the time of the evaluation, 52 members had already taken house construction loans from NACHU, houses had been constructed and members were resettling to Ruiru. As a result of this activity, membership in the PHC rapidly increased. Phase 2 members recently acquired two acres of land on another plot in Ruiru and have begun house construction. Phase 3 members are saving to acquire land.

Phase 1 houses were finished in December 2012 – so far 30 of the 52 households had moved to Ruiru, while 20 are remaining in Kawanware. The houses consist of a sitting room, a kitchen, a bathroom and one bedroom. The area is peri-urban, very quiet, and sparsely populated although there is visible construction around. The Faith Foundation is about six km from the main road with matatu (collective taxi) access. Of the households remaining in the Kawanware slum, they spend weekends in Ruiru and some among them are saving to expand their new house and add additional bedrooms to accommodate their children. There is no running water yet in the new housing settlement because the government power company has to hook up the electricity to the borehole to pump water. It normally takes about 3 months for the Kenya Power Company to make a connection once the installation fee as been paid. The borehole was installed with a collective loan from NACHU.

### Jasho PHC (Post-test, Level 3)

Established in 1990 with a current membership of 10 people from Kinyago-Kanuko village (see description under Rehema above). This is one of the older NACHU PHCs formed in a very unstable neighbourhood living under the threat of constant forced evictions. The PHC was created for group purchase of a plot of land in Ruiruso that members could then access individual loans for house construction (corrugated iron and timber or stone depending on the savings capacity of each member). Six members initially accessed NACHU loans, and constructed houses in Ruiru with another three following later. Most members continue to live in Kinyago and rent out their homes in Ruiru for income. There were problems with members defaulting on repayment and the PHC has largely been inactive for several years as loan repayment is a collective responsibility.

## 4.0 Evaluation Findings

During data collection for this study, it became clear that, in the informal settlements under review, violence in the home was inextricably linked to and influenced by violence in the neighbourhood, and vice versa. One context fuels the other in a milieu characterized by extreme material deprivation and inequality, over-crowding, poverty, social marginalization and family breakdown. Respondents to this study tended to structure their analysis on children's safety and security around what happens in the home and what happens outside of the home, while recognizing the inter-dependency between home and neighbourhood. The findings below are structured along the same lines.

**Finding 1:** All children growing up in the informal settlements live in contexts characterized by significant levels of violence and insecurity, although the nature of their experience varies based on age and gender.

As described in chapter 2.0 above, violence is endemic in the communities under review. According to the survey conducted with NACHU PHC members for this study, 65% of respondents agreed that in the last twelve months, they had witnessed violence in their neighbourhood towards adults while 57% agreed that they had witnessed violence in their neighbourhood against children. These perceptions on violence in the settlements are in keeping with survey results obtained by other international organizations cited previously.<sup>58</sup> Approximately 80% of NACHU PHC respondents reported that youth drug and alcohol abuse puts children's safety at risk in the neighbourhood and this is in contrast to only 40% of respondents who felt that their neighbourhood was becoming safer for children.

Child protection officers covering the Kamukunji settlements (total population estimated at 92,000 including Kinyago-Kanuku) report that they receive approximately 1000 cases per month of child neglect, rape, sodomy, delinquent behaviour and school absenteeism, in order of priority. According to these local authorities, the abuse of younger children (under eight years) generally happens in or around the home and is generally perpetrated by someone known to the child – a family member or neighbour. Older children (eight years and above) are at greater risk of abuse and violence in the neighbourhood, as they become more independent and mobile. Perpetrators may not be known to older children and abuse often takes place on the way to and from school, when running errands, when using public toilets or while playing with friends. The risks for older girls include rape (see Figure 1), enticement into prostitution and teen pregnancy, while older boys are at risk of sodomy, enticement into drug use or dealing, petty crime and gang-related violence.

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<sup>58</sup> Amnesty International. (2010). *Insecurity and Indignity: Women's Experience in the Slums of Nairobi*. Retrieved on July 20, 2014 from <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR32/002/2010/en/12a9d334-0b62-40e1-ae4a-e5333752d68c/af320022010en.pdf>



**Figure 1:** Sexual violence against a young girl

“ This girl was coming from her house. When she left there, she found a man holding a knife and he wants to rape her. ”

### Exhibit 3: PHC Member Perceptions on Children’s Safety in the Neighbourhood

Type	Post-test, Level 1		Post-test, Level 2		Post-test, Level 3		Pre-test	
	Emmanuel Kanuku	Akwana	Soweto Kayole	Rehema	Jasho	Faith Foundation	Royal	Razaak
Girls in my neighbourhood are safe	28%	50%	28%	27%	22%	46%	36%	31%
Boys in my neighbourhood are safe	14%	52%	38%	36%	22%	53%	40%	31%
I worry about the safety of children playing outside	43%	62%	57%	90%	67%	73%	75%	79%

According to PHC survey respondents (see Exhibit 3), 33% felt that girls in their neighbourhood were safe. Interestingly, only 35% of respondents felt boys were safe. While the threats facing girls and boys are different, risks to their safety and security outside the home are recognized as equally serious. There was variation in responses to the questions above, by PHC and between pre and post-test groups, although much of this variation is likely more a function of the differences in settlement areas. PHC membership can be relatively modest in size relative to the population size of the settlements so that its influence

on overall levels of insecurity in the settlement is likely to be modest or insignificant. At the same time, there are real variations among settlements in terms of the homogeneity of the population, length of residence, degree of poverty, level of overcrowding, crime and violence, and these characteristics are largely a function the settlement's specific history, ethnic make-up, physical environment and geographic location.

According to the child participants in this study, children of all ages and both sexes appear to be at risk of violence, both in the home and in the neighbourhood. Children's depictions of violence in the home include such issues as the following: beatings by parents (see Figure 2), rape and other forms of sexual violence, harmful child labour (see Figure 3), verbal abuse, denial of food, and denial of education. Children's drawings and photo-voice depictions also describe incidents in the neighbourhood of gang violence, abductions and environmental hazards.

“ Parents beating their own children until they break them, their own hands and even burning them. The child might go and take drugs, and even destroying their own lives. So we should blame the parents. ”

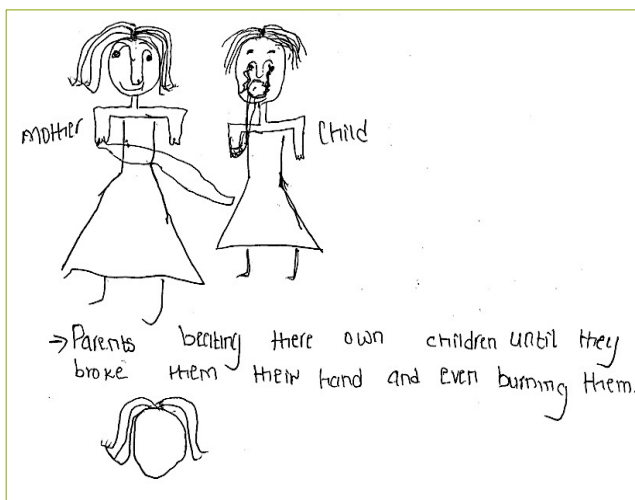


Figure 2: Domestic abuse of children

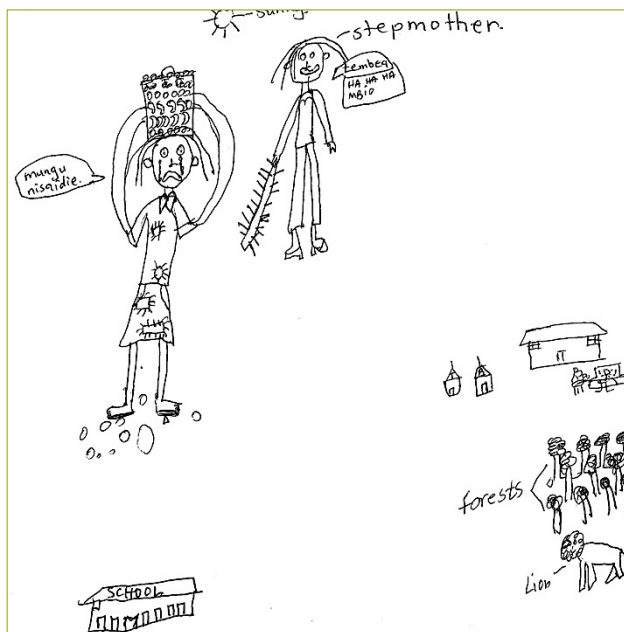


Figure 3: Child abuse and harmful child labour

“ My picture is talking about the stepmother who beats the child every day with a stick with thorns. She does not give her water for bathing and she tells her to do everything. ”

Respondents to this study generally agree that it is girls and boys of 10-16 years of age who are most vulnerable and whose safety and security are at greatest risk in the informal settlements. This is an age when children are more mobile and independent, but also one where they are at their most vulnerable sexually and emotionally. When girl and boy children complete primary school at 13-14 years of age, they have nowhere to go and little to do in the settlements; secondary school is inaccessible for the majority and there are few jobs or skills' training opportunities available. These young people have no space or privacy at home and so they spend much of their time out in the neighbourhood with peers. Idleness, lack of opportunity and social pressure leave them prey to enticement, abuse and exploitation at the hands their peers and adults. For reasons related the actual physical safety of the house, some parents opt to leave children outside playing with peers during school holidays. Leaving them indoors could expose the house to various forms of thuggery.

“ “ *Girls of 14-15 years are the most vulnerable, after Class 8. When they leave primary, after one year they are all pregnant. They have no opportunity for high school so they just hang around and see where the boys are, waiting for somebody to give them something.* ” ”

PHC member, Kinyago-Kanuku

“ “ *Children are empty receptacles. They see drunks. They hear abuse next door. They see violence everyday in this neighbourhood. And then they imitate and it continues.* ” ”

PHC member, Kawangare

“ “ *Even younger children are being enticed by adults, taken and abused - as young as seven or eight years old. They are taken on their way to and from school and enticed with snacks then taken to a hotel and raped. It happens on a daily basis and it's not reported. Often the parents and the perpetrator make a deal afterwards for money. Boys are used to collect scrap metal and to transport firearms. They can also sell sex. Parents have adjusted to this environment as normal.* ” ”

Local official, Kinyago

## **Finding 2: The physical safety and security of children outside of the home are seriously compromised in a myriad of ways in the settlements where NACHU is active.**

In terms of the children's workshops held in each PHC community, children were asked to identify safe and unsafe places in their neighbourhoods through mapping, drawing and photo-voice. There was general consensus among child participants on areas of their neighbourhoods they considered both safe and unsafe. Safe areas most often included



schools, places of worship (see Figure 4), play spaces, police stations or administrative offices, and community gathering places where their parents stopped to chat with others (in front of shops, community halls, etc). Unsafe places generally included areas which were poorly lit, unhygienic or where there was a lot of traffic or transience – roads, bus or railway stations, under bridges, in forests, beside rivers, around public toilets, and along the valleys where human waste flowed. Younger children tended to depict more environmental or health hazards as unsafe (see Figure 5) while older children (above 10 years) were more conscious of violence and human threats to their physical safety in the neighbourhood. The perceptions of child participants on children’s safety in the neighbourhood generally support the data provided by adults through survey and focus group discussions.



Figure 4: A mosque as a safe area

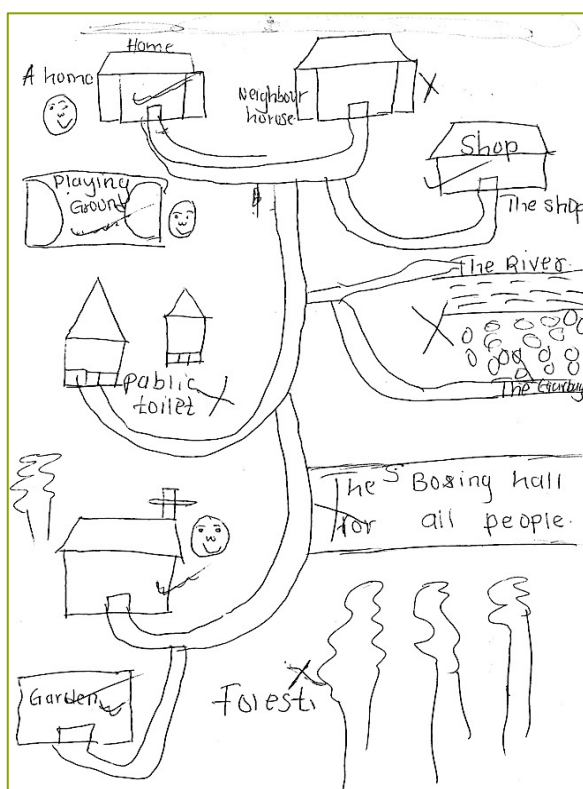


Figure 5: Environmental dangers

“ This is close to home. This is about a place that is not safe. Close to us there is a small stream - close to home. The main river is further away. People dump a lot of garbage in the small stream. A child can fall into feces as he goes along. He just wipes his hands and his mother gives him food without realizing it. So the child gets sick. People dump filth and even poop there. People have no manners. I would have it cleaned up and ask people to stop doing this sort of thing here. Also thieves are common here at night. Just the other day one of them was lynched here. Yes. Thieves are very common here. ”

Boy, 13

According to PHC members, children and youth interviewed and surveyed for this study, girls and boys of all ages face serious and constant threats to their physical safety and security outside of their homes. Approximately 70% of PHC members surveyed said that they worry about the safety of children playing outside in their neighbourhood. According to respondents, younger children are at more risk for health and environmental threats while older, more mobile children seem to be at greater risk of physical and sexual violence. More specifically:

- In terms of health and environmental threats (see Figure 6 & 7), the congestion in slum neighbourhoods and lack of sanitation (open sewers, pit latrines serving 100+ families, improper waste disposal, limited access to clean water) mean that children are vulnerable to disease and infection. This is especially true for younger children (under five years), whose physical constitution is more fragile and whose manner of play increases their exposure to environmental threats. This finding mirrors studies by the United Nations and Kenya Jubilee cited in section 2.0 above, on the increased incidence of child illness and death in the informal settlements due to unsanitary living conditions rather than a lack of access to medical services. In addition, PHC members remarked that the quality of the physical environment outside of the home puts an added burden and stress on parents in terms of child supervision while severely limiting the space available to children for safe play.

“ My picture is about not being safe because it is very polluted by people. ”



Figure 6: Environmental threats to health



Figure 7: Environmental hazards

“ Where can children play outside after school, on the week-end? All we have is open sewers, construction sites, open holes, toxic waste, a polluted river. It smells and the air is bad. It is all very dangerous for children. ”

PHC member from Soweto East

- Fire represents a significant threat, particularly for younger children. Illegal electrical hook-ups and coal fire stove cooking inside slum dwellings represent significant risks for smoke inhalation, burns and fire-related death. The proximity of houses and the building materials used in many slums mean that fire can propagate extremely quickly across a neighbourhood. Young children are especially vulnerable as they may find it difficult to escape when fire breaks out because of the congestion of people and dwellings. Parents are forced to make difficult decisions with regard to the safety of their children; many parents lock their children inside the home to protect them from violence and abuse in the neighbourhood, while putting them at extreme risk if fire breaks out.

“ My story says that there [was] a woman cooking. That woman went to a shop to buy something. She left the baby in the house so he was playing mejiko (cooker). Suddenly mejiko (cooker) fell and started the fire. ”

Boy, 10

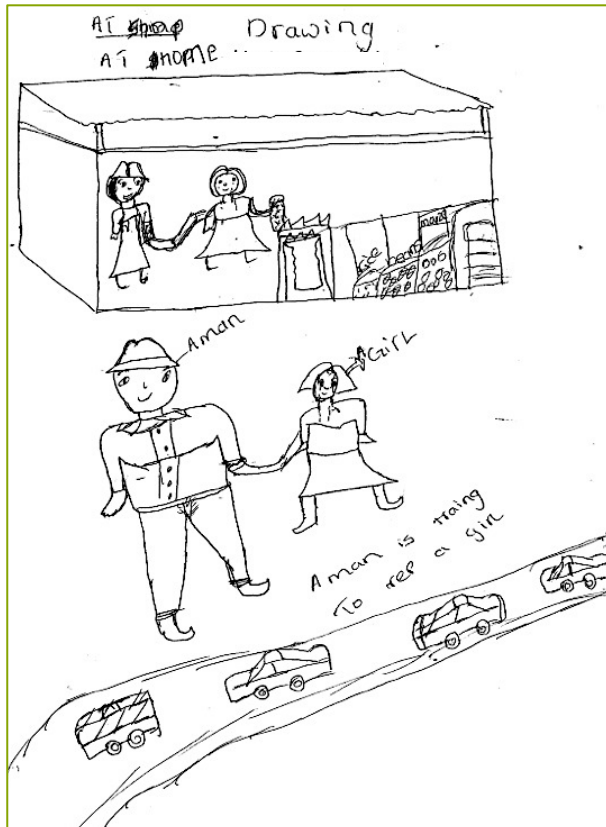
- Older children who move and play more independently in the settlements are at greater risk of physical and sexual violence from criminals, street gangs and other exploitative adults. As mentioned in the finding above, the incidence of rape (see Figure 8), solicitation and coercion into prostitution is widespread, for girls as young as eight years old according to child protection authorities. In terms of threats to children’s physical security, these are neighbourhoods characterized by high levels of violence due to criminality, alcohol and drug abuse, pornography as well as gang-related activity. For boys, rape is also a threat as is physical violence, crime and coercion into street gangs. Child participants to this study depicted many areas in their neighbourhoods where they felt unsafe and at risk due to physical violence from strangers. The vast majority of children are clearly exposed to scenes of verbal and physical violence and abuse in the neighbourhood from a very early age.

“ The unsafe place is the shortcuts - the railway road and the road heading to Darajani. When you pass through that road at night, you can be robbed by the robbers and you might be killed. ”

Girl, 13

“ The other places are railway nearby which I feel I am not safe - only because there are people there. There are thieves. There are drugs - people who take drugs there. There are also kidnappers. They can also take you somewhere where it is not safe. [...] There are a lot of men who stay there. They take advantage of young girls. They can ruin your life. Like rape. Even during the day. So it is not that safe. ”

Girl, 14



“ I do not feel safe because there is a footpath here which is unlit and unsafe at night. Over here, where there is some garbage, there is no lighting at night. You have to pass here. If you pass here, you can find some boys hanging around here and they can rape you. ”

Girl, 14

Figure 8: "A man is trying to rape a girl."

Community infrastructure (or the lack thereof) was seen to have significant effects on children’s physical safety and security in the settlements.

- Child participants often depicted areas of their neighbourhood as unsafe due to poor lighting, and darkness at night. Certain children depicted places in their neighbourhood, which had previously been unsafe as now safe, once public lighting had been installed. While over 60% of PHC members surveyed felt that street lighting was inadequate in their neighbourhood, the same PHC members were unanimous with regard to the importance of street lighting to improving the safety of neighbourhood children (96% agreed).

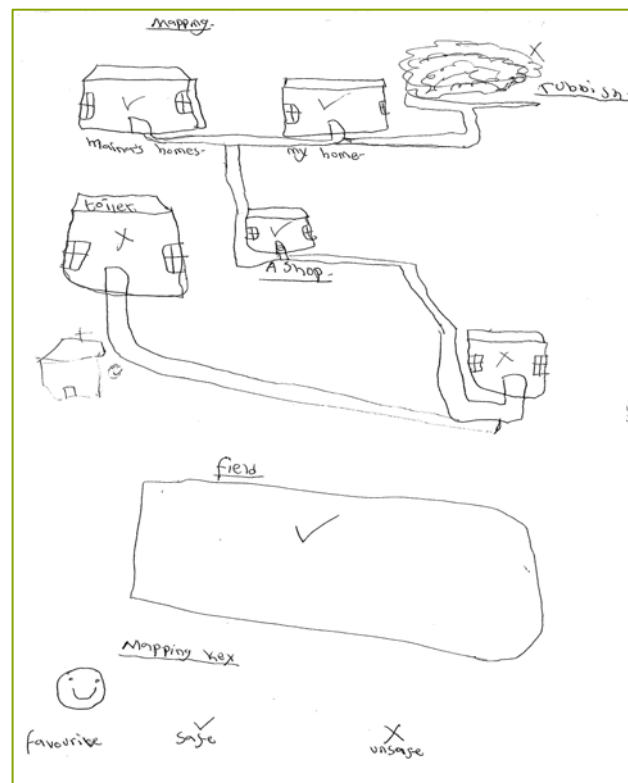


Figure 9: Toilets as unsafe places

- Better sanitation in the form of indoor toilets was universally perceived as having a positive impact on children’s safety and security; 80% of PHC members felt that having a private toilet in the home was very important to child safety and security. In their mapping exercises, child participants systematically depicted public toilets as among the least safe places in their neighbourhoods (see Figure 9). In most slum neighbourhoods, toilets can be far from home, poorly lit and shared with twenty families or more. The lack of sanitation facilities in the majority of homes in the settlements was seen to put children at risk on their way to and from the public toilets at night and inside the toilets at any time of day. Toilets with poor walling or with cracks and holes added to the insecurity in the sense that children felt a lack of privacy and feared being exposed while inside the toilets.

**Finding 3: The physical overcrowding, poverty, transience and lack of social cohesion combine to exert significant levels of external stress on parents and children in the settlements.**

All the settlements under review for this study face serious social challenges. Generally, it can be said that the population of the settlements under review is transient and constantly growing, so that there is little social fabric or community cohesion; neighbours do not know or trust each other. Because of the constant threat of eviction and land-grabbing, there is no investment in community development. Respondents explained that, traditionally in Kenya, adults in a community would watch over each other’s children; in these settlements, however, parents are wary of their neighbours and the threat they may pose to the safety of their children.

**Exhibit 4: PHC Survey Responses on Community Cohesion**

Type	Post-test, Level 1		Post-test, Level 2		Post-test, Level 3		Pre-test	
	Emmanuel Kanuku	Akwana	Soweto Kayole	Rehema	Jasho	Faith Foundation	Royal	Razaak
PHC (% Agree)								
I know my neighbours well	57.1%	54.5%	66.7%	33.3%	86.2%	66.7%	37.7%	69.4%
I trust my neighbours	85.7%	72.7%	55.6%	51.1%	75.9%	61.9%	54.7%	66.7%
People in my neighbourhood are willing to help their neighbours	57.1%	54.5%	44.4%	53.3%	79.3%	61.9%	64.2%	72.2%
My neighbours are always moving, changing	85.7%	81.8%	66.7%	64.4%	24.1%	66.7%	58.5%	52.8%

Survey results of PHC members (see Exhibit 4) paint a picture of relatively limited trust and social cohesion in the broader community [nb – only to distinguish from the co-op community]. As seen in finding 2 above, it is challenging to attribute any statistical differences in responses to the type of PHC and the nature of NACHU support. When we examine respondent attitudes on children’s safety and security in the neighbourhood and outside of the home, there are simply too many other factors at play and too many differences among settlements to enable inference. As an example, respondents from Emmanuel Kanuku which is a post-test PHC but only of the first level (acquiring tenure security), report having a much higher level of trust in their neighbours than any other PHC in the sample, including those groups who have resettled outside of the slums. At the same time, responses with regard to the willingness of neighbours to help other neighbours are reasonably similar across the board, with the pre-test PHC demonstrating the most support for this statement.

PHC members, irrespective of the settlement they live in or the type of PHC they are a member in, report that they are helpless in controlling what their children are exposed to outside of the home in terms of role models, values and behaviour. Parents find it impossible to watch over their children and ensure their safety outside of the home because the slums are very congested and labyrinthine; there are simply too many people, known and unknown, moving in and around their neighbourhoods. This powerlessness to protect puts constant pressure on parents, as they know that the safety and security of their children is constantly at risk.

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**“** *As parents we have to compete with all the bad role models outside the home in trying to educate our children. The risks are enormous for our children – dangerous weapons, pornography, drugs, rape. How can we protect them from that when it is everywhere outside?* **”**

PHC Member, Soweto

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**“** *Kidnapping is very high in this area...if they see you are going up financially they take your child. They know when your child is alone. We now have to escort our children to school.* **”**

PHC Member, Soweto East

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**“** *There is no safety or security in this community. Before coming to participate in this meeting I just came from my daughter’s school. She is in Class 8. The head teacher told me she wasn’t at school today even though she told me that’s where she was going. She is hanging around with people who are into drugs and prostitution. I don’t know what to do. She is 14.* **”**

PHC Member, Kinyago

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“ Before, twenty years ago, we lived in carton houses when we first came here. We were 500 people, very united. There was love. We contributed to help others even if we had nothing. We would correct children’s behaviour together, cook for children together, all tribes together. Now we rent houses. City council comes to demolish them. Very temporary. Lots of people come and go. People go to work at different times of night and day. We don’t know each other. The values are bad. We can’t educate our children properly anymore. ”

PHC Member, Kibera

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Older children and youth (15-24 years of age) interviewed for this study talked of the tremendous social pressure felt by young people to fit in with peers who were having sex, using drugs and alcohol, dropping out of school, and engaging in petty crime or prostitution. They felt there were no opportunities and little to be hopeful about looking forward, given that they saw many of the adults around them idle, depressed, abusing drugs and alcohol, and unemployed. There is also a growing pressure for these young people to be trendy in spite of their poverty, particularly in relation to having access to smart phones, adding to the possibility of crime to obtain phones. These young people expressed a deep sense of alienation – they said they were harassed by police in their neighbourhoods, many were in conflict with their parents at home, and they recognized the real risks of peer pressure in their lives. They emphasized that young people in these neighbourhoods were both perpetrators and victims of violence, and that they urgently needed a path out with some hope, including opportunities to learn skills and earn income in a safe and non-violent way.

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“ Children here are hungry and have very little of anything. Their parents can’t give them anything. You can entice them with something very small. They will not realize they are being abused. Then a system sets in and it becomes a way of life. ”

Youth leader, Kinyago slum

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“ Most children in this area are raised by single mothers. At a certain age they can’t manage their children anymore and the house is very poor. The child wants more than the parent can give. So youth get into bad activities. There is too much peer pressure. For girls, to have sex, get married. For boys, to steal to get good clothes, have money, to smoke, do drugs. ”

Youth, Ruai

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“ This is a very stressful place for our parents. There are lots of insults inside the home. Then in the neighbours’ house we hear the same sort of fighting, insults. The environment is abusive so it contributes to problems for the child as he grows up. ”

Youth, Kinyago

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The concerns of single mothers, as this youth participant pointed out, are very real. The options for the single mother living in a slum are few since she cannot walk to the industrial area every day for work, has to watch over her children who may be below school age, and needs an income to maintain them. Often she is prey to men, being forced to practice prostitution in the single room that she occupies with her children and thereby exposing them to sexual activity. Male customers may also prey on her daughters when she is away. Many too are forced to brew illicit beer and sell it in their single rooms. Drunken customers may later end up in her bed. Her children may be enticed by dangerous gangs.

**Finding 4: The size, proximity, type and quality of housing in slum neighbourhoods have a direct bearing on the safety and security of children living in them.**

In the neighbourhoods under review for this study, the majority of families have no title to land and are living in constant uncertainty. Many of these slums are located within the urban core of Nairobi, on increasingly valuable land, and are subject to demolition and encroachment (land grabbing) by expanding middle class neighbourhoods and well-connected individuals. The threat of forced eviction is ever-present. Families are either renting or have built impermanent houses, generally



**Figure 10: Poor quality of housing in a congested neighbourhood**

consisting of a single room (10 X 10 feet) with no (legal) water or electrical connection. Depending on the length of residency and family resources, the building materials range from very basic (timber, plastic, cardboard, tin), impermanent (traditional mud construction with metal sheet roofing) or semi-permanent (concrete, stone or brick with tin or tiled roof).

Factors such as proximity among dwellings and the type of building materials used present considerable safety risks for young children. Metal sheeting, for example, can have sharp edges leading to injury (see Figure 10). A metal roof can make the home excessively hot or cold, depending on the weather, and can contribute to illness in people with weak constitutions. Traditional mud constructions can be very damp or can leak, also contributing to cold and illness. People living with HIV are especially susceptible to incidental infections. Illegal electrical hook-ups increase the risk of fire or electrical shock. Traditional building materials also make home access easy for criminals – water is applied to mud construction to soften it for access, corrugated sheets are bent or cut, acid is applied to padlocks. This increases the risk of stealing or abuse of children left unattended at home. With no separate cooking area, children are exposed to the dangers of fire, smoke inhalation, and burns. A lack



of indoor plumbing means that children risk abuse or violence when they go to use public toilets or fetch water from public sources, especially at night. Even stone walled houses pose risks in that they are often built without any concrete foundation and can easily collapse in the long rainy periods. They are often built hastily and the process of curing may not be complete. They are also sometimes easy targets for gangs who imagine that the owners are more well-to-do than some others.

There are also a myriad of poverty-related social problems affecting children in the slums, which are exacerbated by poor housing. In a one-room dwelling, children cannot be sheltered from domestic abuse, fighting between parents, adult discussions or activities unsuitable for children. Children have no space at home to play or study and the lack of privacy puts emotional pressure on all family members. Most importantly, with shared areas for sleeping and bathing in a one-room dwelling, even very young children are exposed to adult sexuality. Respondents to this study (both adults and youth) emphasized, over and over again, that children's very early exposure to adult sexuality, through shared sleeping arrangements, leads to early sexual activity and a cycle of sexual abuse/exploitation. Additionally, because of the close proximity of dwellings and thin walls, children can hear and are exposed to negative influences and behaviours from neighbours. Though this did not come up directly in the interviews, it is also worth noting that due to the sharing of sleeping area for the whole family, couples may abstain from sex for long periods of time, leading to strained relationships, anger and frustration, something that may affected the children.

There are many female-headed households as a result of teen pregnancy and family breakdown in the settlements. To survive, many young women turn to prostitution and the house is used to receive clients. This can perpetuate a cycle of abuse inside the home as children are often further exposed to neglect, substance abuse and violence, including sexual abuse at the hands of their mother's clients. Alternatively, teenage mothers often marry later with men who are not the father of their children; stepfathers are often described as perpetrators of sexual abuse with their step-children, particularly where there are shared sleeping arrangements.

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“ *Prostitution is an important source of income for people here. Girls as early as 12 years old are involved. Prostitution goes on in the house. Children can see everything. They can be victimized. The income from prostitution is used to get drunk and then children hear conversations and see things they should not...Children here are left to themselves so they have to get out and get some money. Prostitution and crime are what they see in the home so that is what they do.* ”

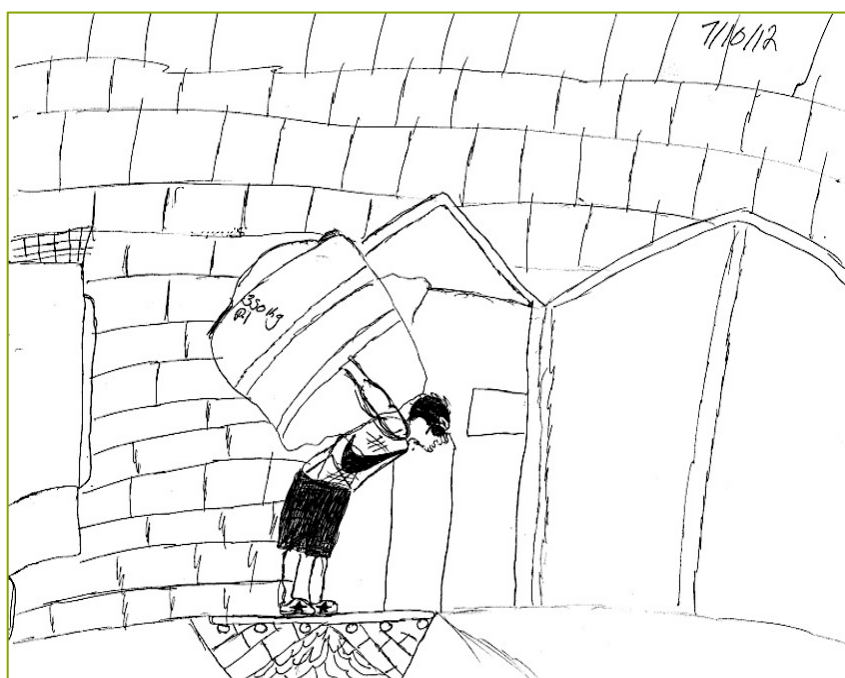
Local official, Eastleigh

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While the majority of PHC respondents surveyed (see Exhibit 5) feel that girls and boys are safe in their homes to an equal extent, a large proportion also feel that their house is too crowded and that this compromises children's safety. There is a possibility that the security of girls within the homes is jeopardized when a male relative is living in the same house. In one PHC, one of the women had a wayward son who kept stealing from her and from neighbours, running off and then coming back. As she pointed out, it is difficult to let the

law deal with him since “he belongs to us”. The quality of house construction appears to be of concern for about half of respondents (mean for post-test is 48% while the mean for pre-test is 55%). Lack of privacy for sleeping appears slightly more important for the pre-test PHCs (61% agreed) than for the post-test PHCs (55% agreed). The issue of sleeping arrangements is a sensitive one and respondents may also have been more or less comfortable in addressing this issue openly with enumerators conducting a survey in a public venue. The lack of adequate lighting in the home appeared, surprisingly, as less important to respondents across the board as a factor in child’s safety. One starts to see more statistical difference in responses between pre and post-test PHCs when examining factors influencing the safety of children at the level of individual homes rather than at the neighbourhood level. This makes sense, given that NACHU inputs are more focused on housing and can have greater impact at this level than at the level of a neighbourhood or settlement. In finding 6 below we will see that statistical difference between pre and post-test PHC responses is found to be statistically significant for several of these questions.

For child respondents to this study, despite the risks described above, the home is universally perceived as a safe place and much safer for them than the neighbourhood outside. However, in the drawings, maps and photos created by children, while the home is depicted as safe, it is clearly not without risks in terms of violence, safety and security concerns. Children depict scenes of house fire, beatings and punishments by parents (including corporal punishment, denial of food, education), and the weight of excessive domestic chores (see Figure 11). A small number of children described incidents of sexual abuse in the home (see Figure 12). The exhibit below presents the views of PHC members surveyed in each PHC with regard to the safety of girls and boys in their home.



“  
A parent forces his son to sit in the cold selling charcoal and the child is supposed to be learning in school with his friends.”

Figure 11: Domestic abuse and child labour

## Exhibit 5: PHC Member Views on Children's Safety in the Home

Type	Post-test, Level 1		Post-test, Level 2		Post-test, Level 3		Pre-test	
	Emmanuel Kanuku	Akwana	Soweto Kayole	Rehema	Jasho	Faith Foundation	Royal	Razaak
Girls in my home are safe	43%	86%	89%	60%	89%	75%	57%	78%
Boys in my home are safe	43%	89%	78%	60%	89%	71%	59%	79%
Home too crowded to ensure children's safety	43%	86%	89%	60%	89%	75%	57%	78%
Quality of construction of my house compromises safety of children	57%	39%	21%	60%	56%	56%	39%	72%
Lack of privacy for sleeping at home compromises safety of children	71%	34%	32%	70%	67%	56%	52%	70%
Lack of safe or adequate lighting in my home comprises the safety of children	28.6%	50%	44.4%	43.6%	19.6%	10.5%	37%	57.6%
My neighbours live too close in proximity	57.1%	80%	55.6%	56.4%	48.2%	23.8%	60.4%	81.8%

“  
 My drawing says that a father is forcing his daughter to have sex with him or, if not, he will whip her to death.  
 ”



Figure 12: A girl being raped by her father

**Finding 5: The vast majority of adult respondents report that the PHC is a positive influence in their lives and in their neighbourhoods.**

The PHCs selected to participate in this study are quite diverse with respect to the degree of their savings and loan activity, their length of establishment, size, type of neighbourhood, degree of cohesion, geographic proximity of members and the type of neighbourhoods in which they are located. The study's methodology included a purposeful selection of PHCs in order to meet various selection criteria for pre and post-test comparisons.

Generally, it can be said that PHCs selected for the sample were created by members who knew each other and came together to save for loans, whether it be for business, education, tenure security, house upgrading or construction. Some of the older PHCs have maintained membership stability over time while others have experienced high membership turnover. The older PHCs tend to gravitate towards individual loans and have more variance among members with regard to the motivation for membership, the type of NACHU service accessed, as well as levels of savings and loans. The more recent PHCs are more focused on land and housing loans for group resettlement and many have progressed very quickly in the last few years – more quickly than older PHCs – in generating savings for the purchase of land and house construction. This is likely a reflection of NACHU's new program strategy, which targets the “economically active poor”, and favours group resettlement.

Suffice it to say that there is considerable variance among PHCs in their motivation, history, progression and membership, reflecting the needs of the individual groups as well as the evolution of NACHU's organizational strategy. Despite these differences, a considerable majority of PHC members surveyed agreed that PHC membership has been beneficial to themselves and to their community, although it is important to keep in mind that in the absence of any other forums, and the lack of eligibility for most poor people to any other credit avenues, they could exaggerate the benefits. The exhibit below presents respondents views on the benefits of their membership in a PHC.

## Exhibit 6: PHC Member Views on PHC Membership

Type	Post-test, Level 1		Post-test, Level 2		Post-test, Level 3		Pre-test	
PHC (% Agree)	Emmanuel Kanuku	Akwana	Soweto Kayole	Rehema	Jasho	Faith Foundation	Royal	Razaak
I feel safer and more supported now I am member of PHC	57%	90%	95%	82%	100%	84%	89%	92%
I am more engaged in community development because of PHC membership	71%	83%	81%	91%	89%	71%	81%	89%
PHC has improved community cohesion and solidarity	71%	88%	91%	91%	89%	73%	83%	92%
There are many community development initiatives undertaken by PHC	43%	55%	67%	55%	78%	62%	60%	72%

In terms of variances in responses, those from Emanuel Kanuku PHC tend to be slightly less positive than those from other PHCs. This might be explained by the fact that this is a newly created PHC (2011) located in a very difficult neighbourhood (Kinyago/Kanuku), so that the effects of PHC membership on individual safety and community solidarity may be difficult to influence in a relatively short time-span. As for Faith Foundation PHC, some responses are also slightly less positive than other, older PHCs; again, this is a more newly created PHC currently experiencing some growing pains in terms of governance and group cohesion. Two pre-test PHCs have very positive response rates despite their recent establishment; this could be a function of member satisfaction with the rapidity with which housing and resettlement are progressing under this new NACHU program model.

It is notable that responses to the last question related to “community development initiatives undertaken by the PHC” received a much lower rate of agreement among respondents and across all PHCs. This is visibly an area where PHCs could be supported by NACHU to do more, particularly given the extreme social problems in these neighbourhoods and their effects on the safety of children and youth. PHC members, particularly in the more newly created PHCs, view the role of the PHC strictly in terms of savings and loans for land tenure, house construction and resettlement. Members of older PHCs (Jasho, Soweto, Akwana) tend to view the PHC in more of a dual role – accessing loans and serving a

community support function – which might explain the variation on their responses to this question. Some PHCs such as Soweto had the bond of Christian values with the leadership itself being Christian. The variation mirrors the changes under way at NACHU as it places more emphasis on resettlement projects with increasingly sustainable technical services and lending operations.

NACHU has recently been promoting Neighbourhood Associations within its resettlement communities to advance various social, environmental, infrastructural and other objectives related to community development. This would be an important initiative to pursue, particularly to ensure strong community forward planning so that resettlement communities can reinforce positive development from the outset including child protection.

**Finding 6:** The quantitative survey data suggests a positive correlation between the NACHU intervention and improved safety and security of children in the settlements under review, although there are limitations to its statistical significance.

The evaluation design was quasi-experimental with a comparison group, as seen in the methodology section above. A quantitative survey was developed for a sample of 300 PHC members in eight PHCs (six post-test/intervention and two pre-test/comparison groups). The response rate to the survey was 80%, which permits a good basis for establishing and comparing values for the post-test/intervention and pre-test comparison groups.

In running t-tests on the quantitative data resulting from the questionnaire survey, there were statistical differences between the means of post-test/intervention PHCs and pre-test/comparison PHCs, suggesting that the NACHU intervention – which has resulted in improved tenure security, house upgrading and resettlement out of the slums for members – has had some positive effect on respondents’ perceptions with regard to safety and security of children in home and in the neighbourhood. The following survey questions were found to be significant at the .05 level:

Question	Statement
12d	I feel safe in this neighbourhood.
15b	Girls living in my home are safe.
15c	My home is too crowded to ensure the safety of the children living in it.
15d	My neighbours live too close in proximity to ensure the safety of children who live with me.
15j	Lack of privacy/space has caused adults to become angry and stressed towards children living in my home.
15k	Lack of privacy/space causes tension in my home.
15m	Lack of safe or adequate lighting in my home compromises the safety of children living with me.

<b>20</b>	The safety of children living with me has improved since I secured a loan with NACHU to upgrade my house.
<b>21</b>	The emotional well-being and behaviour of children living with me has improved since I secured a loan with NACHU to upgrade my house.
<b>23a</b>	I have been able to provide a safer dwelling for my family because of my membership in the PHC.

In terms of Chi Square testing, there also proved to be statistical significance observed between intervention and comparison groups, with regard to the following survey questions or variables (sig.  $p < .05$ ):

<b>Question</b>	<b>Statement</b>
<b>12a</b>	I know my neighbours well.
<b>12d</b>	I feel safe in this neighbourhood.
<b>15b</b>	Girls living in my home are safe.
<b>15c</b>	My home is too crowded to ensure the safety of the children living in it.
<b>15d</b>	My neighbours live too close in proximity to ensure the safety of children who live with me.
<b>15j</b>	Lack of privacy/space has caused adults to become angry and stressed towards children living in my home.
<b>15k</b>	Lack of privacy/space causes tension in my home.
<b>15m</b>	Lack of safe or adequate lighting in my home compromises the safety of children living with me.
<b>23a</b>	I have been able to provide a safer dwelling for my family because of my membership in the PHC.

In interpreting this data, there should be some limitations placed on the Chi Square results, given problems encountered in PHC sample selection and changes over time as explained in section 2.8 above (i.e. replacement of PHCs under the intervention/post-test group while assumptions on comparison/pre-test group did not hold for duration of data collection). The survey results do suggest, however, a positive correlation between the NACHU intervention – involving access to improved tenure security, house upgrading and resettlement – and improved safety and security of children in the home, thus supporting the study’s initial hypothesis in the communities targeted for review.

As mentioned previously, it is unsurprising that survey questions relating to safety factors in and around the home demonstrate higher statistical significance between pre and post-test PHCs. NACHU inputs are largely focused on individual housing while group resettlement has only recently taken on a more significant place in programming. At the

same time, given the size of PHC membership relative to resettlement populations and the level of violence reigning in the slums of Nairobi, it is unlikely that NACHU will be in a position to significantly affect child safety and security in the neighbourhoods under review.

**Finding 7: Given the choice between living in a safe neighbourhood or staying in their current neighbourhood but upgrading their house, PHC members unanimously opted for a safe neighbourhood over a better house.**

When asked to choose between the possibility of moving to a safer neighbourhood or staying in their present neighbourhood but living in a better house, the vast majority of PHC members interviewed said they would opt for a safer neighbourhood to ensure the safety of their children. Some reported enthusiastically that they would choose to live in a house made of cardboard and plastic sheeting in a safe neighbourhood, over a beautiful brick home in their current neighbourhood. The security of knowing that they and their children could go outside their home without fear, that their children had a safe place to play, that their children were surrounded by a healthy environment and neighbours they knew and who would watch over them – these factors were reported as much more important to respondents than the quality of the dwelling in which they lived. While this view was generally shared across all PHC members, it was particularly strong in PHCs located in neighbourhoods of Kinyago-Kanuku.

For those PHC members who had managed to collectively resettle and build new homes in new communities through NACHU loans, they were very appreciative of the safety and peace of the new neighbourhood. They were also very happy with the size and quality of their new houses, which offered more safety, comfort and privacy for children.

At the same time, the reality of generating an income, providing for their families and repaying NACHU loans for land and house construction weighed very heavily on them. As one PHC member explained, “In the end of the day, whatever the house or neighbourhood, the children cannot go to bed hungry.” Many PHC members who had secured NACHU loans for land and had constructed a house in the new community of Ruai were choosing to continue living in their old home in the slums to continue their business activities. They were renting out their new homes in Ruai for extra income to pay back their land and housing loans.

Because it is a relatively new settlement, which is on the outskirts of Nairobi, the income generating possibilities in Ruai are limited at the moment. Food prices are much higher in Ruai than in Nairobi and the distance from the newly constructed houses to public transport is considerable. Some PHC members have opted to live in Ruai but to return to their old neighbourhoods for work each day although this takes significant time and resources for transport.

Many PHC members report that the financial pressure of repaying their NACHU land and house construction loans is very difficult to endure, particularly if they have made the move to Ruai and their income generating possibilities have suffered as a result. Several youth interviewed for this study reported that family stress has increased considerably since their parents had secured a loan for land and house construction. Several PHC members indicated



that they lived in constant fear of having their houses in Ruai taken away from them. According to several respondents, had they known how difficult a financial strain loan repayment would be, they might not have opted for new housing in Ruai.

PHC members felt NACHU interest rates were too high and equivalent to those available with commercial loans. This is a misunderstanding between NACHU and its PHC members that needs clarification. NACHU loans are apparently among the least expensive in Kenya although these rates appear to have increased somewhat over the last few years as NACHU implements its new program strategy, which includes cost recovery. The issues raised here require further reflection and discussion between NACHU and its members, as they dominated many of the focus group discussions.

Some questions emerging from the finding above, which may be relevant for NACHU and its PHCs include:

- If PHC members view living in a safe neighbourhood as more of a priority than the quality of their housing in terms of their children's safety, what could the potential implications be for micro-finance loan conditions and housing products for the very poor?
- How, if at all, can the challenges of PHC members' ability to generate an income in new settlements like Ruai be addressed and supported, given their impact on loan repayment as well as family stress and child safety in the short to medium term?
- What measures can be taken now, as resettlement communities such as Ruai develop, to build a foundation for real community engagement and development, better longer-term planning as well as a sustained quality of life for residents, including children?

Given the discussions raised by PHC members during the course of this study, there may be a need for greater communication and clarification between NACHU and its PHC members. This would help PHC members better understand NACHU's organizational strategy and constraints on the one hand; and help NACHU better understand and respond to the needs and constraints of its varied membership on the other.

**Finding 8:** There was widespread agreement amongst the participating adults, youth and children that the safety and security of children in the settlements is a subject very much worth pursuing and promoting further.

Adult PHC members and NACHU staff who participated in this study were both moved and surprised by the voices of children on issues surrounding their safety and security in the informal settlements. The video, drawings, photos and quotes from the interviews with children proved to be powerful tools to both raise stark awareness among adults with regard to children's daily reality in the slums, and to evoke concern. Some of the situations depicted by children were a surprise to adults who had not thought, for example, of the cumulative impact of the threats to safety experienced by girls when they queue for water in the neighbourhood several times a day. Others, such as prostitution and drugs, were well

known to all participants, but seeing the issues depicted through children's eyes brought their impact into clear focus. During validation workshops with adults, almost all participants spoke of the need to build protection mechanisms in the community. These included efforts to build trust between neighbours and to support community unity. Some participants spoke about the importance of cleaning up the community, parental education, improved access to counselling services and building more community infrastructure (a community hall, shopping centres, fences, schools and churches). At the same time, some of the discussion during the validation workshop, attended by PHC executive members and NACHU staff, was directed towards what NACHU could do in terms of helping the urban poor with savings and loans that are affordable.

It should be noted that, notwithstanding the cultural sensitivity around researching what goes on in the privacy of people's homes, and the sensitive nature of sexual violence in particular, adults, youth and children participating in this study did not shy away from discussing these themes. Although the research team was initially concerned about broaching culturally sensitive issues in the settlements through questionnaire survey, focus group discussion or workshop, adults, children and youth were prepared to discuss many aspects of violence against children in the home and neighbourhood, as phenomena that occurred in their community.

Although very few adults, youth or children discussed the issues in terms of their own personal experience or that of their families, it is important to note that parents and youth both stated that violence against children in the home and in the neighbourhood is an issue that must be discussed. This has implications for researchers, donors, NGOs, and NACHU. The data collection process and validation workshops with children and adults did clarify that, while awareness-raising is beneficial, there is a need for further reflection, discussion and direct, practical work with communities on how to make their homes and neighbourhoods safer and more secure. These communities are looking for help in addressing these issues. Learning from this study also has implications for Research Ethics Boards (REBs) who may be overly protective when it comes to engaging community members, and especially children, in research on sensitive subjects such as domestic and sexual violence.

## 5.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

### 5.1 Conclusions

There appear to be many threats to children's physical and emotional safety and security in Nairobi's slums and informal settlements, regardless of the nature of the housing and tenure situation. Risks include environmental, social, health and physical threats in the neighbourhood and in the home. These risks vary by the age and the sex of the child, with younger children more at risk in and around the home and older children more at risk in the neighbourhood, as autonomy and mobility increases. Girls are more at risk of sexual violence, with early pregnancy, marriage and prostitution threatening their well-being. Boys appear more at risk of physical violence, drug and alcohol abuse, as well as enticement into criminal behaviour. Boys and girls appear to have little access to social services in the slums and informal settlements, with very low school retention rates beyond primary level.

All of these risks are born of deep-seated inequality, social and economic deprivation, and marginalization. Violence in the home and violence in the neighbourhood are seen by residents as symbiotic, with one feeding on and influencing the other. Early sexualisation, sexual violence, domestic abuse and neglect of children in the home are fuelled by and contribute to a community context characterized by impermanence and insecurity, ethnic tension and violence, transience, overcrowding, environmental hazard, lack of basic sanitation or social services, electricity or running water. Girls and boys of all ages are growing up in contexts, both inside and outside the home, where violence is an important factor in their daily lives. The effects of one form of violence cannot easily be isolated from the others given living conditions.

At the same time, the home is perceived as somewhat safer than the neighbourhood by adults and children alike. Even allowing for the fact that child participants in their drawings and photos identified domestic relations as unsafe (corporal punishment, sexual violence, excessive labour), they nonetheless identified home as a safe place. PHC members also expressed the view that home was safer than the neighbourhood and that keeping children inside the home was often seen as a strategy to protect them from the physical and social threats present in the neighbourhood.

This study was quasi-experimental in design, its aim to discern the effect of NACHU housing and settlement upgrading efforts on children's safety and security in targeted settlements by comparing PHCs who are acquiring tenure security and housing improvement with those PHCs who have not. Notwithstanding some of the limitations to evaluation design and methodology, statistical differences between the pre and post-test PHCs were found to be significant with regard to children's safety and security in the home. As such, the study's hypothesis - that improved tenure security and housing improves child safety and security - has been upheld by this research.

While tenure security and improved housing appears to have a positive impact on children's safety and security, it is very important to acknowledge the symbiosis between home and neighbourhood discussed above when considering where and how tenure security

and improved housing should be provided. When asked to choose between a better home and a safer neighbourhood, PHC member participants in this study overwhelmingly opted for a safer neighbourhood for their children, even if it meant continued existence in impermanent housing. The weight on parents of trying to protect their children in a physical and social context as challenging as the slums cannot be underestimated. The quality of their house cannot protect their children from the perceived threats outside their door. The immediate solution would appear to be providing improved housing in a safer and more secure neighbourhood. As the cost of land and construction increase rapidly in Nairobi, providing both in the new settlements such as Ruai, is seen to be beyond the reach of the very poor; NACHU's new programme strategy provides a financing structure for resettlement and housing targeted at the "economically active poor". Whether a strategy of less permanent forms of housing and a more incremental path for housing improvement in the new settlements such as Ruai could help poorer families escape the violence of the slums remains to be explored.

With regard to housing, it appears that access to safe toilets inside or close to the home and separate sleeping spaces for adults and children are among the basic elements, which would improve children's safety and well-being. With regard to the settlement neighbourhood, it appears that the PHC contributes to some level of cohesion and solidarity among residents which could provide a foundation for more collaborative action with a cross-section of community actors to better promote children's safety and security.

What this study has demonstrated clearly, however, is that neighbourhood safety trumps house safety when it comes to child safety and well-being. Beyond that, the economic imperative of earning revenue to provide for their family's basic needs trumps all. Even when PHC members are provided with a new plot of land and a new house far from the slums, they and their children are often forced to remain in their impermanent dwelling located in the slum, in order to continue earning revenue to pay off land and housing loans, at least in the short to medium-term. The economic activity in new settlements such as Ruai is nascent at the moment and will take some time to emerge before residents can develop viable income generating activities close to their new homes.

Investigating the decision-making process for families with regard to housing, income generation and relocation with regard to the family's safety and security would be an important avenue for NACHU to explore, as it refines its loan products for different client groups. The same could be said for analyzing the level of stress placed on families as a result of NACHU's financing structure for savings and loan services.

Finally, this study revealed the need for further research, reflection, collective discussion and practical action with settlement communities on violence against children in the home and neighbourhood. Adult, youth and child participants were not reticent to address these sensitive issues and the majority welcomed the opportunity to examine the phenomena collectively. Adults underscored the power of having the issues brought home to them by children themselves, through children's drawings, photos and verbal depictions.

## 5.2 Suggestions & Recommended Follow-up

This study, while limited in scope, has revealed a number of important findings worthy of further research, discussion, reflection and eventual action. It is hoped that stakeholders to this study and other interested parties will delve deeper into the issues raised in this report. This section is organized as a set of suggestions for follow-on action that could be taken up by different actors in this process. The content of these suggestions has been drawn from a combination of sources - the input of all respondents to this study including adult, youth and children; a review of the literature; and judgement based on the collective experience of evaluation team members.

### 1. What the children suggested to improve their safety in the settlements:

As noted in Section 2.6, the children through their drawings produced during the validation workshops offered many suggestions for what could be done. The children were, in a sense, “speaking back” to the issues they had highlighted in the original data collection workshops. Each validation workshop session included an opportunity for the older children present to also talk about their drawings and ideas in group settings. In some cases, their suggestions highlighted what they themselves could do. For example, the children acknowledged that they could improve the sanitation of toilets by cleaning them themselves and by picking up litter around the toilets (see Figures 13 & 14).

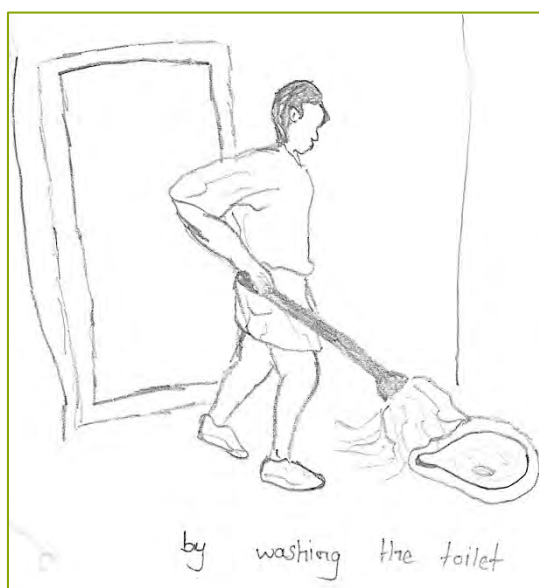


Figure 13: Call to clean toilets



Figure 14: Cleaner living spaces

At the same time they also highlighted the significance of the collective action (see Figure 15) of children and young people, something that can be seen in their depiction of the Kibera Youth Development project.



**Figure 15:** Collective action in the Kibera Youth Development project

Their ‘speaking back’ drawings also addressed such issues as sexual abuse and the need to try to address these issues in the community through education. As one child wrote as part of her drawing:

“ The whole family is being taught.  
We can control child labour and  
abuse by educating parents. ”

In another drawing, a child highlights the multiplicity of issues, perhaps speaking directly back to the idea. In the drawing we see the issue of clean toilets, dirt and litter, safety and security issues, clean water and sex.

Another child highlighted the issue of fires in the neighbourhood, writing as part of her drawing “Burn rubbish rather than child burning”.

Finally, though, it is worth noting that the drawings also spoke to their hopes and dreams: As one girl wrote alongside a very prominent light bulb: "I would like to be having a beautiful house like this for my mother." Another child wrote alongside a drawing of a very prominent water tap: "Our house. Our tap." One child drew and wrote about the significance of education: “We as children from the slums long for good education which other more privileged children get just because their parents can afford it. For us due to our parents’ financial situation we are just forced to go to public school where there is no good education”.

Form these hopes and dreams we might return to the theme of the overall mental health and well-being of children as a reminder of why studies like this one are so necessary.

## 2. What PHC members suggested to improve the safety of children in the settlements:

PHC members and leaders who participated in this study saw, based on the images and quotes produced by children, that more is required of them with regard to their responsibility for protecting children in their homes and in their neighbourhoods. During the validation workshop, many suggestions were discussed on what PHCs could do to improve child safety and security in the settlements.

Participating PHC members saw the security of children in the settlements as something that could potentially unite the community, build solidarity and produce collective action around a shared goal. There was also discussion on the potential role of PHCs in improving dialogue with police and developing some form of community-based strategies for monitoring children at risk of violence. This could involve establishing collaboration between police, teachers, health workers, chief, and parents to support the children victims and perpetrators most at risk of violence. Other PHC members suggested the idea of community-organized policing which would be accountable to community leaders and residents. Community policing is currently being implemented in all counties of Kenya. However without a strong structure in place, police penetration remains under-developed. In some communities, it is not even seen as desirable to improve the presence of police, especially if the livelihood options include the brewing and selling of illicit beer or prostitution.

Several recommendations were made on the need for providing training to parents in PHCs and in PHC neighbourhoods on child rights, parenting skills, conflict resolution and child protection, possibly through collaboration with other NGOs or CBOs possessing the right skills.

Almost all groups in the validation workshop spoke of the need to build a perimeter wall around their community to better control access to the settlement. Some PHC members spoke about the importance of cleaning up the neighbourhood's physical environment and improving infrastructure - building a community hall, shopping centres, schools and churches. Finally, several respondents also spoke of the importance of building playgrounds and consulting with children on how and where this should be built. More specific recommendations for NACHU and its PHCs are included in section 3 below.

## 3. Suggestions for NACHU and its PHCs on what can be done to improve the safety and security of children in the settlements:

NACHU should consider how, through on-going policy and programming, it can provide targeted support to PHCs to address the safety and security of children and youth in the home and the neighbourhood. It must be recognized that PHCs are often established on pre-existing social networks in the slums, representing a precious resource and potential platform for community action in contexts where social capital and cohesion are in short supply. The PHCs represent a relatively rare social grouping upon which to build for the promotion of child safety and security both in informal settlements and in new resettlement areas. There are, therefore, initiatives NACHU can take internally as well as other efforts it can support among its PHC members to improve children's safety and security:

- NACHU could consider including children as a legitimate constituency and integrate a “Do No Harm” approach for girl and boy children into all of its programming components - including NACHU staff and PHC training, NACHU advocacy efforts, NACHU technical inputs to house design and estate planning, as well as NACHU procedures for assessing PHC member loan carrying capacity. NACHU could also integrate the promotion and protection of the rights of girl and boy children within its gender equality policy.
- NACHU should continue to promote Neighbourhood Associations with PHCs and other actors. In its Neighbourhood Association Policy/Guide, NACHU and its PHCs could consider including an objective on the protection and promotion of child rights within the constitution of each neighbourhood association. At the same time, PHCs could adopt an internal by-law promoting the safety and security of children at home and in the neighbourhood.
- NACHU and its PHCs could develop partnerships and linkages with like-minded local authorities and civil society organizations focused on child and youth protection, in order to support programming which responds to the needs of children and youth in communities where NACHU PHCs are active. In particular, NACHU and its PHCs could work with local groups to ensure more youth involvement in community development, skills training, income generation, and community policing. NACHU and its PHCs could also collaborate to improve relations with and the presence of the police with regard to safety and security of children and young people in the settlements.
- NACHU and the PHCs could consider instituting a campaign against domestic violence within their ranks and in the settlements, with a focus on children’s safety and security. This could be inspired by a model developed by Canadian housing cooperatives.

#### 4. Suggestions for other development actors on what can be done to improve the safety and security of children in the settlements:

Organizations such as Rooftops Canada and other northern organizations should be encouraged to continue using and testing the results and materials, produced in the course of this study, in an expanding set of collaborative programs to respond to family and child violence and to improve child safety and security. To this end, stakeholders to this study will disseminate the resulting deliverables as broadly as possible.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> In addition to this report, a toolkit has been prepared to support other African housing organizations to initiate similar discussions in the communities where they are active. Rooftops Canada will share results and tools developed with other international and African housing organizations with which it works in sub-Saharan Africa. The international organizations include We Effect (Swedish Cooperative Centre), Shelter Norway, Shelter Afrique, Homeless International (UK) and UN Habitat. Many of the African organizations are also cooperative or social housing federations and/or coalitions of NGOs so their reach is quite extensive. General information about the study, its tools, methodology and results will be disseminated through the Kenya based Settlements Information Network Africa to over 500 organizations and individuals. Detailed information will be available on the Rooftops Canada website.



## 5. Suggestions for researchers on what can be done to improve the safety and security of children in the settlements:

- The issue of childcare for infants and very young children in slums and informal settlement is an important area of study requiring further research, given the critical issues confronting parents, and especially mothers in these settlements, in ensuring security and well-being. Fires, abductions, and general safety issues were key. Child labour issues also emanate from childcare concerns, with very young children often caring for infants. These findings call for the testing out of new models and approaches to childcare that are locally relevant in responding to the physical and social dangers, and that are affordable, given the high levels of poverty.
- Conduct tracer studies that look longitudinally across a component of the life span of new PHCs as a way deepen an understanding of the factors affecting security and other social concerns.
- Develop and research ‘tracing strategies’ for exploring the ways in which child-led and youth-led initiatives can influence policy dialogue related to housing in communities and schools. Participatory visual research is an area of research where clearly there are contributions to be made to influence policy dialogue but there is a need for further research to document the possibilities and the limitations.
- Further develop and refine age and gender-based analyses of children’s issues of safety and security. Children as young as eight years old were able to express their concerns through drawing and photos. Both boys and girls found the environment in which they live to be dangerous although the types of issues raised often differed depending on their sex and age. While it was not always easy to tease out the differences because of the nature of reporting, both boys and girls highlighted sexual violence. More research in this area is critical, both in terms of exploring how boys can be (or already are) allies in the fight against domestic violence, and how boys can avoid becoming perpetrators. More research is also needed on age, especially in terms of working with children even younger than eight years in relation to issues of safety and security.
- Further develop and study partnerships with community organizations and NGOs in order to enhance the possibilities for sustainable outcomes in social research. In the interviews with various stakeholders it was clear that there are other initiatives being carried out by various community-based NGOs and government organizations, which could have an impact on child safety. Strengthening ties between NACHU and these organizations could contribute to making neighbourhoods safer.
- Develop interdisciplinary projects in relation to what Aitken (2001) refers to as “the geographies of childhood”<sup>60</sup>. Too often the child is perceived as just the ‘student’, ‘the off-spring’, or ‘the recipient of social benefits’, with the result that researchers only look at the child’s life in a uni-dimensional way. Researchers in

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<sup>60</sup> Aitken, S.C. (2001). *Geographies of young people: The morality contested spaces of identity*. New York: Routledge.

the areas of housing, education, health, and social work should be working together, rather than in isolation, in order to create a more holistic approach to child safety.

- Given the significance of violence in the everyday lives of children, researchers must take on an advocacy role with ethics boards and other bodies regulating national and international standards of research to involve children and parents more directly in social research and to develop specific policies and recommendations for ensuring that the findings are disseminated in community-accessible and responsible ways. At the same time it is critical to ensure that REBs and funders also look at safety and security issues for those involved in conducting this research. As noted in the methodology section above, it was necessary to adjust the design (and costs) of the data collection to ensure that the data collectors themselves, all masters and doctoral students at Kenyatta University, were not at risk. The role of community gate keepers in supporting research activities and ensuring safety in the research site was critical to this study and warrants further analysis.
- The effects of the research on the researchers is also an area that would benefit from further exploration. Twenty or more masters and doctoral students at the University of Kenyatta participated as data collectors in this study as did two members of NACHU staff. Although an unanticipated effect, participating in this study undoubtedly contributed to strengthened capacity for participatory research among these individuals and could potentially influence further academic or career choices. Anecdotal evidence suggests that participating in this work touched the ‘on the ground’ research team in ways that go far beyond the child and community evidence reported here. (See Appendix B for feedback from one of the student researcher assistants).

## Appendices

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## Appendix A: Data Collection Instruments

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### Qualitative Data Collection: Focus Group Questions

**Introduction:** (You don't have to read the paragraphs below verbatim to participants but it is very important that, in your own words, you transmit all the information they contain)

Thank you very much for giving us your time today. We have been involved with your cooperative since last September, conducting a study on the effects of improved housing on the safety and security of children. We have been working on this study with your cooperative and with 7 other cooperatives around Nairobi. Some of you will remember that we were here a few months ago conducting a survey with adults and organizing workshops with children. At that time we asked you yes/no or agree/disagree questions but we did not have a chance to discuss some of your opinions or your responses. Today we would like to take some time together to discuss some of the issues that came up out of the survey you completed a few months ago. We wish to take more time to understand your point of view.

I have several questions I would like to ask all of you and whoever feels comfortable responding, please do so - it would be great to hear from everyone.

Can we agree that our discussion will last an hour or so (until - name a specific time) – is everyone comfortable with that?

Does anyone object to our taping the discussion – we don't want to miss or forget anything.

Finally, we think it is important you understand what we will be doing with all of this information you and your children have provided us. First of all, we are going to bring all the information we have collected from different cooperatives together into one set of conclusions and we will present it back to you. In August we will organize workshops with each of your cooperatives to report back on what we have learned from you. Secondly, we will write a report with recommendations on housing and neighbourhood upgrading in order to improve the safety and security of children. This report will be presented to NACHU so it can improve its programming. But this report will also be shared with international and national organizations that work on issues of housing and slum upgrading so that they might improve their programming as well. Please be assured that everything you have said before and everything you might say to us now is **CONFIDENTIAL** – we never quote people's names or where they are from. We just make general observations on what is important to the different communities and cooperatives we are visiting.

Ask participants if they have any questions on all of this before you begin the discussion.

**N. B.** If there are questions about NACHU, their loans, programs, interest rates, etc - anything you don't feel comfortable or don't know how to answer - just be honest and say that you don't know the answer because you are not responsible for that. Tell them they can refer their questions to Shem at the end of the focus group.

## I. Focus Group Questions: PHC Members

### 1. What is the history of this PHC?

#### Probe:

- When and why did cooperative form?
- Who are its members?
- How many members of this PHC have secured loans and for what purpose?
- How many of you present here today have a loan and for what purpose?

### 2. This study is really about children's safety. Can you please tell me what you believe to be the biggest risks to children's safety outside of the home, around this neighbourhood?

### 3. Can you please tell me what you think are the biggest risks to children's safety inside the home? How does the type of housing effect children's safety in this area?

### 4. How do you choose where you live - how did you make the decision to live where you live right now? What considerations influenced your choice of neighbourhood and home?

### 5. If you had to choose between an impermanent house in a safe neighbourhood or a bigger, newer house in an unsafe neighbourhood, which would you choose and why?

#### Probe:

- How important a consideration is your children's safety when you make decisions about where to live?

### 6. In your view, what are the most important things to do here to improve children's safety and security in the home?

## II. Focus Group Questions with Youth

1. What was it like to be a child growing up in this neighbourhood? What was good? What was not good?
2. What do you think are the biggest risks to children when they are outside their homes in this neighbourhood?
  - Risks for girls
  - Risks for boys
  - At what age is the most dangerous for girls and boys in this neighbourhood?
3. What do you think are the biggest risks to children's safety and security when they are inside their homes here?
4. A few months ago, we asked children in different parts of Nairobi to draw pictures about what made them feel unsafe at home. Some of the children drew pictures of parents in the home being violent to them. Why do you think these children drew pictures like that?

Probe:

  - If parents are being violent with their children sometimes, why do you think that is?
5. In your view, what are the most important things to do to improve children's safety and security in the home and in this neighbourhood?

### III. Interview with Individual PHC Members in their Household Setting

1. When and why did you become a PHC member?
2. In what way has being a member of your PHC been of benefit to you personally? How might it have benefitted your family? How might it have benefitted your community?
3. What effect, if any, do you think that upgrading your house has had on your children? What have been the positive effects on your children? Have there been any disadvantages to you or your children in the process of upgrading your house?
4. How important is housing in ensuring the safety and security of children? Are there other important things, which help to keep children safe from violence? Are these other things more or less important than improved housing for children's safety?
5. What more could your PHC do to protect children from violence in the home? In the neighbourhood?

INTERVIEWER CODE	PHC CODE	RESPONDENT CODE

## IV. KENYA HOUSING COOPERATIVE SURVEY

PHC Membership (need to list names of PHCs)	
	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
	7 <input type="checkbox"/>
	8 <input type="checkbox"/>
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE INTERVIEWER CODE	
DATE (MM/DD/YY)	
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENT CODE	
RESPONDENT'S RELATIONSHIP TO PHC MEMBER	

N. B. Please specify in the introduction to the study that when we speak of children, we mean girls and boys up to 18 years of age. Youth are 18-25 years of age.

## SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

### I. General Respondent Information

1. Is the respondent...?	
Male	0 <input type="checkbox"/>
Female	1 <input type="checkbox"/>

2. Age of Respondent Umri wa yule anayejibu	
18 – 25	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
26 - 40	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
41 - 54	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
55 +	4 <input type="checkbox"/>

3. How many years have you been a PHC member? Umekuwa mwanachama wa PHC kwa muda gani?	
One Year Mwaka mmoja	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
1 – 5 years Miaka 1-5	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
Five or more years Zaidi ya miaka 5	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Preferred not to answer (Amekataa) declined to answer	33 <input type="checkbox"/>

4. As a PHC member, please indicate the type of activities in which you have been involved in your housing cooperative? Ikiwa wewe ni mwanachama, tafadhali eleza vile ambavyo umekuwa ukijihusisha na chama chako?	
Savings Kuweka akiba	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
Loans Mikopo	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
Training	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
PHC executive office holder Niko na cheo cha juu afisini ya PHC	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Other (Specify): Uhusiano mwingine [eleza].	
Preferred not to answer Amekataa kujibu	33 <input type="checkbox"/>



INTERVIEWER CODE	PHC CODE	RESPONDENT CODE

## II. Respondent's Housing Situation

<p>5. How many people live in your dwelling? (Indicate number for each category. If zero, enter "0")          Nitakuuliza maswali kushusu watu wanaoishi katika nyumba hii</p>	
Total number of people living in dwelling Ni watu wangapi huishi nymbani kwako?	
Adults 18 years and over Watu wazima walio na miaka 18 zaidi	
Children under 18 years Watoto walio na chini ya miaka 18	
Non-family members Wangapi wasio wa jamii hii	
Girl child/ren with a disability	
Boy child/ren with a disability	

<p>6. How long have you lived in your current home?          Je, umeishi katika makaazi haya kwa muda gani?</p>	
I moved here in the last year Nimehamia hapa mwaka uliopita	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
I have lived in this home 1-5 years Nimeishi hapa kwa miaka 1-5	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
I have lived in this home more than 5 years Nimeishi katika makaazi haya kwa zaidi ya miaka mitano	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Preferred not to answer Amekataa***	33 <input type="checkbox"/>

<p>7. Characteristics of People living in your home (check all that apply)          Sifa za wakaazi [chagua zile zote zinazoambatana na wakaazi hawa]</p>	
Since the children living with me were born I have been renting my home Tangu kuzaliwa kwa watoto wangu, nimekuwa nikiishi katika nyumba ya kukodisha	7A <input type="checkbox"/>
Since the children living with me were born I have used a loan to build a new house Tangu kuzaliwa kwa watoto wangu, nimetumia mkopo kujenga nyumba mpya	7B <input type="checkbox"/>
Since the children living with me were born I have used a loan to upgrade the house Tangu kuzaliwa kwa watoto wangu, nimetumia mkopo kuboresha nyumba yangu	7C <input type="checkbox"/>
Since the children living with me were born I have become part of a group resettlement Tangu kuzaliwa kwa watoto wangu, nimekuwa mmoja wa wale walio kwenye kikundi kilichohamia makaazi mengine	7D <input type="checkbox"/>

Since the children living with me were born I have contributed to a group loan to improve our community Tangu kuzaliwa kwa watoto wangu, nimeweza kutoa mchango wangu kwa mkopo wa kikundi ili kuboresha jamii	7E <input type="checkbox"/>
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<p>8. What type of dwelling is this? (Please check one)          Ni makaazi ya aina gani haya? (Tafadhali chagua moja).</p>	
Single story house, unattached Makaazi ya mpangaji mmoja na yaliyojitenga	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
Single story house, attached to other houses Makaazi ya mpangaji mmoja yaliyoshikana na nyumba nyingine	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
Doubledecker house	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Tripledecker house	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Flat or rooms in multi-dwelling building Aina ya flati, apartmenti au vyumba kwenye jengo lenye makaazi ya wapangaji wengi	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Combined business/dwelling Nyumba ya kufanyia biashara na kuishi pia	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
Other (Please specify) Aina nyingine ya makaazi (Tafadhali eleza)	33 <input type="checkbox"/>

<p>9. What materials is your home made from (Please choose <u>only one</u> category that best describes your home)</p>	
Brick, stone, concrete block, corrugated iron or tile roof	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
Traditional or mud wall construction, corrugated iron roof	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
Timber, plastic, cardboard walls, corrugated iron roof	3 <input type="checkbox"/>

<p>10. Characteristics of Dwelling (Please check all that apply)</p>	
Single entrance for family only Kiingilio kimoja kwa familia moja	10 A <input type="checkbox"/>
Shared entrance for several families Lango moja linalotumiwa na familia kadhaa	10 B <input type="checkbox"/>
Separate sleeping rooms for adults/children Vyumba vya malazi vya watu wazima vimetenganishwa na vile vya watoto	10 C <input type="checkbox"/>
Separate sleeping rooms for older/younger children Vyumba vya malazi vya watoto wakubwa vimetenganishwa na vile vya watoto wadogo	10 D <input type="checkbox"/>
Shared sleeping/living area	10 E <input type="checkbox"/>

INTERVIEWER CODE	PHC CODE	RESPONDENT CODE

Chumba cha kulala na kupumzikia ni kimoja Toilets inside the dwelling Vyoo viko ndani ya nyumba	10 F <input type="checkbox"/>
Toilets outside the dwelling Vyoo viko nje ya nyumba	10 G <input type="checkbox"/>
Toilets shared with other residents/families Vyoo vya jumla/vyatumika na jamii nyingine	10 H <input type="checkbox"/>
Electricity in home Nyumba ina umeme/stima	10 I <input type="checkbox"/>
Running water in dwelling Maji ya mfereji yamo ndani ya nyumba	10 J <input type="checkbox"/>

### III. Characteristics of Neighbourhood around Dwelling

11. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Je unakubaliana au hukubaliani hoja zifuatazo? 1 Disagree [Sikubali] 2 Agree [Nakubali]	
There is adequate lighting in the streets of my neighbourhood at night Usiku kuna mwangaza wa kutosha mtaani mwetu	11 A <input type="checkbox"/>
There is adequate sewage/waste disposal in my neighbourhood Maji ya taka/takataka huondolewa mtaani mwetu	11 B <input type="checkbox"/>
There is adequate clean piped and safe water in my neighbourhood Kuna maji safi ya mfereji ya kutosha	11 C <input type="checkbox"/>
Efforts are made to keep my neighbourhood clean Kuna juhudi za kuweka usafi mtaani mwetu	11 D <input type="checkbox"/>
Most of my neighbours own their own homes Wengi wa majirani zangu wanamiliki nyumba zao	11 E <input type="checkbox"/>

12. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Je unakubaliana au hukubaliani hoja zifuatazo? 1 Disagree [Sikubali] 2 Agree [Nakubali]	
I know my neighbours well Nawafahamu majirani wangu vyema/barabara	12 A <input type="checkbox"/>
Many of my fellow PHC members live close by Wengi wa wanachama wa PHC wenzangu wanaishi karibu karibu	12 B <input type="checkbox"/>
I trust my neighbours Nina imani na/ninawaamini majirani wangu	12 C <input type="checkbox"/>
I feel safe in this neighbourhood Ninajihisi nikiwa na usalama katika maeneo haya tunamoishi	12 D <input type="checkbox"/>
People in my neighbourhood/community/ are willing to help their neighbours Majirani katika mtaa wangu wako tayari kuwasaidia majirani wao	12 E <input type="checkbox"/>
My neighbours make efforts to improve the	12 F <input type="checkbox"/>

neighbourhood Majirani wangu hufanya bidii/juhudi ili kuboresha maeneo ya makaazi	
This neighbourhood is too crowded Mtaa wetu umejazana watu sana	12 G <input type="checkbox"/>
My neighbours are always moving/changing Majirani wangu daima huhama-hama/hubadilisha makaazi	12 H <input type="checkbox"/>

### IV. Perceptions on Children's Safety in the Neighbourhood

13. These questions gauge how safe you think children are in this neighbourhood. Maswali haya yanakadiria usalama walio nao watoto wako katika mtaa wako Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Je unakubaliana au hukubaliani hoja zifuatazo? 1 Disagree [Sikubali] 2 Agree [Nakubali]	
Girls are safe living in this neighbourhood Watoto wa kike wako salama kuishi katika mtaa huu	13 A <input type="checkbox"/>
Boys are safe living in this neighbourhood Watoto wa kiume wana usalama kuishi katika mtaa huu	13 B <input type="checkbox"/>
I worry about the safety of neighbourhood children when they are playing outside Huwa ninahofia usalama wa watoto wanapokuwa wakicheza huko nje mtaani	13 C <input type="checkbox"/>
In the last year, I have witnessed violence in my neighbourhood towards adults Kwa mwaka mmoja uliopita, nimewahi kushuhudia dhuluma dhidi ya watu wengine mtaani	13 D <input type="checkbox"/>
In the last year, I have witnessed violence in my neighbourhood towards children	13 E <input type="checkbox"/>
My neighbours help to ensure the safety and security of children in the neighbourhood Majirani wangu husaidia kuhakikisha usalama wa watoto wa mtaa huu	13 F <input type="checkbox"/>
My neighbourhood is becoming a safer place for children to live Mtaa wetu mnanaendelea kuwa salama kwa watoto kuishi	13 G <input type="checkbox"/>
Youth drug and alcohol abuse in the neighbourhood puts children's safety at risk	13 H <input type="checkbox"/>
I am aware of organisations/services in my community that deal with violence against children	13 I <input type="checkbox"/>
I know what to do if there is violence against children in my community	13 J <input type="checkbox"/>

INTERVIEWER CODE	PHC CODE	RESPONDENT CODE

<p>14. What factors are important to improving the safety of children in the neighbourhood?  Ni mambo gani yanayofaa kuzingatiwa katika kuboresha usalama wa watoto katika maeneo ya makaazi</p> <p>Do you agree or disagree with the following statements concerning their importance to children's safety in the neighbourhood?  Je unakubaliana au hukubaliani hoja zifuatazo juu umuhimu wake kuhusiana na usalama wa watoto mtaani?</p> <p><b>1 Disagree [Sikubali] 2 Agree [Nakubali]</b></p>	
Having neighbours who own their homes Kuwa na majirani wanaomiliki miji wanamoishi	14 A <input type="checkbox"/>
Having neighbours who know each other Kuwa na majirani wanaojuana	14 B <input type="checkbox"/>
Having a housing cooperative which is active in the community Kuwa na shirika linalo kushughulikia wakaazi	14 C <input type="checkbox"/>
Having a caring and close community Kuwa na jamii inayoyajali masilahi ya jamaa	14 D <input type="checkbox"/>
Having adequate sewage/sanitation Kuwa na mabomba ya kuondoa takataka na usafi katika maeneo ya makaazi	14 E <input type="checkbox"/>
Having adequate street lighting Kuwa na mwangaza wa taa za umeme katika barabara zilizoko mtaani	14 F <input type="checkbox"/>
Having public play spaces for children Kuwa na sehemu za uma za watoto kuchezea	14 G <input type="checkbox"/>
Improving police involvement and presence in the neighbourhood Kuboresha ushirikishano wa polisi	14 H <input type="checkbox"/>
Having engaged and responsive local authorities Kuwa na viongozi wa mitaani wanaojihusisha na kuwajibika	14 I <input type="checkbox"/>

**V. Perceptions on Children's Safety in the Home (this section is for respondents who have children living in their home - for those PHC members with no children at home, go to question 23)**

<p>15. These questions gauge how safe children are in your home.  Maswali haya yanakadiria usalama walio nao watoto wako katika maeneo haya ya makaazi</p> <p>Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?  Je unakubaliana au hukubaliani hoja zifuatazo?</p> <p><b>1 Disagree [Sikubali] 2 Agree [Nakubali]</b></p>	
Boys living in my home are safe Mwanangu/wanangu wa kiume yuko/wako salama	15 A <input type="checkbox"/>

kuishi nyumbani mwangu	
Girls living in my home are safe Binti wangu yuko/wako salama kuishi kwangu/nyumbani mwangu	15 B <input type="checkbox"/>
My home is too crowded to ensure the safety of the children living in it Mjazano katika nyumba yangu hauhakikishii usalama wa wanangu	15 C <input type="checkbox"/>
My neighbours live too close in proximity to ensure the safety of the children who live with me Majirani wangu wanaishi karibu karibu sana na kwangu hadi haiwezekani kuwahakikishia wanangu usalama	15 D <input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of privacy for sleeping at home compromises the safety of the children living in my home Ukosefu wa nafasi za kibinafsi hutatiza usalama wa watoto wangu	15 E <input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of privacy for bathing/ toiletry at home compromises the safety of children living in my home Ukosefu wa choo na bafu za kibinafsi nyumbani hutatiza usalama wa watoto wangu	15 F <input type="checkbox"/>
Having lodgers compromises the safety of the children living in my home Kuwa na wapangaji wengine nyumbani kwangu hutatiza usalama wa watoto wangu	15 G <input type="checkbox"/>
Sharing my dwelling with other families/non-family members compromises the safety of children living in my home [Kuishi na jamii nyingine katika nyumba yangu hutatiza usalama wa watoto wangu].	15 H <input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of privacy/space at home has caused the children living with me to become violent toward one another Ukosefu wa nafasi za kibinafsi nyumbani kwangu umewafanya watoto wangu kudhulumiana wenyewe kwa wenyewe	15 I <input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of privacy/space has caused adults to become angry and stressed towards children living in my home Ukosefu wa nafasi ya kibinafsi imewafanya watu wazima kuwa na usumbufu wa kimawazo na hasira dhidi ya watoto nyumbani kwangu	15 J <input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of privacy/space increases tension in my home Ukosefu wa nafasi za kibinafsi umezidisha kutoelewana/mvutano nyumbani kwangu	15 K <input type="checkbox"/>
The quality of construction of my house compromises the safety of the children living with me Hali ya ujenzi wa nyumba yangu imetatiza usalama wa watoto wangu	15 L <input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of safe or adequate lighting in my home compromises the safety of children living with me Ukosefu wa mwangaza wa kutosha nyumbani kwangu umetatiza usalama wa watoto wangu	15 M <input type="checkbox"/>

INTERVIEWER CODE	PHC CODE	RESPONDENT CODE

There is no one at home to supervise the children living in my home Hamna yeyote nyumbani kuwatumza watoto wangu ninapokuwa kazini	15 N <input type="checkbox"/>
The children living in my home must work for money instead of going to school	15 O <input type="checkbox"/>

16. I worry that the girls living with me face risk of the following in my home Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements? Je unakubaliana au hukubaliani hoja zifuatazo? 1 Disagree [Sikubali] 2 Agree [Nakubali]	
Verbal abuse	16 A <input type="checkbox"/>
Physical abuse	16 B <input type="checkbox"/>
Sexual abuse	16 C <input type="checkbox"/>
17. I worry that the boys living with me face risk of the following in my home Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements? Je unakubaliana au hukubaliani hoja zifuatazo? 1 Disagree [Sikubali] 2 Agree [Nakubali]	
Verbal abuse	17 A <input type="checkbox"/>
Physical abuse	17 B <input type="checkbox"/>
Sexual abuse	17 C <input type="checkbox"/>

**Notes (if enumerator wants to add comments related to questions 16 and 17 above):**

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18. I worry that the girls living with me face risk of the following in the neighbourhood. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements? Je unakubaliana au hukubaliani hoja zifuatazo?
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1 Disagree [Sikubali] 2 Agree [Nakubali]	
Rape	18 A <input type="checkbox"/>
Beatings	18 B <input type="checkbox"/>
Abduction	18 C <input type="checkbox"/>
Disease	18 D <input type="checkbox"/>
Gang-related incidents	18 E <input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify)	18 F <input type="checkbox"/>
19. I worry that the boys living with me face risk of the following in the neighbourhood Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements? Je unakubaliana au hukubaliani hoja zifuatazo? 1 Disagree [Sikubali] 2 Agree [Nakubali]	
Rape	19 A <input type="checkbox"/>
Beatings	19 B <input type="checkbox"/>
Abduction	19 C <input type="checkbox"/>
Disease	19 D <input type="checkbox"/>
Gang-related incidents	19 E <input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify)	19 F <input type="checkbox"/>

20. The safety of the children living with me has improved since I secured a loan from NACHU to upgrade my housing. Usalama wa watoto wangu nyumbani umeboreka/umeimarika tangu nichukue mkopo kutoka NACHU	
Yes Ndiyo	20 A <input type="checkbox"/>
No La	20 B <input type="checkbox"/>
If yes, please specify why: Ikiwa ndiyo, tafadhali eleza mbona hivyo?	
If no, please specify why not: Ikiwa la, tafadhali eleza mbona siyo?	
Preferred not to answer Amekataa***	33 <input type="checkbox"/>

21. The emotional well-being and behaviour of the children living with me has improved since I secured a loan from NACHU to upgrade my housing. Uzima wa kihisia wa watoto wangu umeboreka/umeimarika tangu nichukue mkopo kutoka
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INTERVIEWER CODE	PHC CODE	RESPONDENT CODE

**NACHU**  
(If required, give examples of emotional well-being and behaviour such as “the child is enthusiastic about playing with friends, attending classes; the child is generally happy / is not withdrawn fearful or sad).  
Kwa mfano; mtoto huwa anatazamia kucheza na marafiki zake, kuhudhuria masomo darasani, mtoto kuwa na furaha na wala sio kuwa mwoga au kuhuzunika

Yes Ndiyo	21 A <input type="checkbox"/>
No La	21 B <input type="checkbox"/>
If yes, please specify why: Ikiwa ndiyo, tafadhali eleza mbona hivyo?	
If no, please specify why not: Ikiwa la, tafadhali eleza mbona sivyo?	
Preferred not to answer Amekataa***	33 <input type="checkbox"/>

22. Please identify the factors that would contribute most directly to improving the safety of children in your home. Please rate the following factors according to their level of importance in ensuring the safety of your children in your home according to the scale:  
Tafadhali eleza kama una kubaliana na umuhimu wa maoni yafuatayo  
1 (most important) 2 (important) 3 (less important) [Muhimu] Sio muhimu [Sijui] **99** (Refused) [Amekataa]\*\*\*

Home ownership vs. renting Umiliki wa nyumba na Kukodisha	22 A <input type="checkbox"/>
Bigger size of home Ukubwa wa makaazi	22 B <input type="checkbox"/>
Distance of home from nearest neighbours Umbali wa makaazi kutoka kwa majirani walio karibu sana	22 C <input type="checkbox"/>
Type of building materials used for home Aina ya vitu vilivyotumika kujenga makaazi/nyumba	22 D <input type="checkbox"/>
Separate sleeping areas in the home Sehemu mbalimbali za malazi katika nyumba	22 E <input type="checkbox"/>
Private toilet in the home Vyoo vya kibinafsi nyumbani	22 F <input type="checkbox"/>
Separate cooking area in home Sehemu ya kupikia iliyojitenga huko nyumbani	22 G <input type="checkbox"/>
Electricity in home Umeme/stima nyumbani	22 H <input type="checkbox"/>

Running water in home Maji ya mfereji nyumbani	22 I <input type="checkbox"/>
Space to operate business from home Nafasi ya kuweka biashara nyumbani	22 J <input type="checkbox"/>
Adequate family revenue Mapato ya familia ya kutosha	22 K <input type="checkbox"/>
Peaceful relations between husband/wife Uhusiano bora kati ya mume na mke	22 L <input type="checkbox"/>

## VI. Perceptions on PHC Membership

23. These questions are meant to gauge your impressions on the effects of PHC membership.  
Maswali yafuatayo yanakusudia/ kukadiria athari/faida za shirika la NACHU kwa usalama wa watoto wako  
Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?  
Je unakubaliana au hukubaliani hoja zifuatazo?  
1 Disagree [Sikubali] 2 Agree [Nakubali]

I have been able to provide a safer dwelling for my family because of my membership in the PHC Nimeweza kuipa familia yangu makaazi yaliyo na usalama kwa sababu ya uanachama wangu katika PHC	23 A <input type="checkbox"/>
I have increased my revenues because of my membership in my PHC Nimeboresha/nimezidisha mapato yangu kwa sababu ya uanachama wangu katika PHC	23 B <input type="checkbox"/>
Family tension has decreased since my membership in the PHC as my savings have improved Mvutano katika familia yangu umepungua huku akiba yangu ikiboreka/ikiimarika	23 C <input type="checkbox"/>
Family tension has decreased since my membership in the PHC as my housing situation has improved Mvutano wa kifamilia umepungua kufuatana na kuboreka kwa hali ya makaazi yangu	23 D <input type="checkbox"/>
I feel safer and more supported now that I am a member in my PHC Nahisi kuwa na usalama na kuungwa mkono zaidi kwa sababu ya kuwa mwanachama wa PHC	23 E <input type="checkbox"/>
Membership in my PHC has not changed anything for me Uanachama wangu katika shirika la PHC haujabadilisha chochote kwangu	23 F <input type="checkbox"/>
I am more engaged in community development because of my membership in the PHC Ninajihusisha zaidi katika maendeleo kijijini kwa sababu ya uanachama wangu katika PHC	23 H <input type="checkbox"/>
The PHC has improved community cohesion and solidarity in my neighbourhood Shirika la PHC limeboresha uwiano na umoja	23 I <input type="checkbox"/>

INTERVIEWER CODE	PHC CODE	RESPONDENT CODE

katika eneo langu la makaazi	
The PHC has contributed to improved community infrastructure Shirika la PHC limechangia kuboresha mabarabara, stima, hali ya kuondoa maji-taka na kadhalika mtaani	23 J <input type="checkbox"/>
There are many community development initiatives undertaken by the PHC Kuna majukumu mengi ya kimaendeleo ambayo yametekelezwa na shirika la PHC	23 K <input type="checkbox"/>
The PHC has made no noticeable difference in my community Shirika la PHC halijaleta tofauti yoyote inayodhihirika kijijini mwangu	23 L <input type="checkbox"/>

**Thank you very much for your assistance**

**!Asante sana kwa usaidizi wako!**

### TO BE ANSWERED ONLY BY THE ENUMERATOR

D1. Were there any areas of the survey where the respondent appeared uncomfortable?	
Yes	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
No	0 <input type="checkbox"/>
Unclear	.5 <input type="checkbox"/>

D2. In which sections of the survey did the respondent appear most uncomfortable?	
Respondent's Housing Situation	1 <input type="checkbox"/>
Characteristics of Neighbourhood	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
Perceptions of Children's Safety in the Neighbourhood	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Perceptions of Children's Safety in the Home	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Role of the Housing Co-Operative	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
None	0 <input type="checkbox"/>

D3. Do you have any comments about the interview? If so, please specify below.

## V. Participatory Visual Methodologies in Work with Children

Children (in single sex groupings) participated in 3-4 hour workshop session organized around 3 participatory visual methods: photovoice, drawings, mapping.

### Photovoice (Working in small groups):

- Take pictures of “Feeling safe/feeling not so safe” in relation to house, immediate community. Each child will take two pictures, one of feeling safe and one of feeling not so safe.
- Try to work with ‘no faces’ pictures (take pictures of scenes, places, objects but not people’s faces).
- Photos will be printed out on-site using a portable printer. Small groups can look at their photos, and will have a chance to explain their photos: What is happening in the picture? Why did you take this picture?

### Drawing (Individual):

- What does violence against children looks like? Draw a picture of what violence looks like in your community.
- Children will have a chance to explain their drawings: What is happening in the drawing? Why did you draw this picture?

### Mapping (Individual):

- Draw a map of your neighbourhood
- Draw the immediate neighbourhood around your house and where you walk most, where you like to play.
  - Why is this your favourite place?
  - Put a check mark on your favourite place.
  - Put an check mark on where you feel safe.
  - Put an X on a place where you don’t feel safe.
- Children will explain their maps:
  - “I put a check mark here because ...” “I put an X here because ...”.

## No Faces Approach<sup>61</sup>

### *Anonymity: No Faces*

An important point in research relates to anonymity – something particularly challenging when using photography or video. When participants are involved in video and photo productions, it is important to provide some training on what might be called a ‘no faces’ approach, or the idea of what one could photograph besides faces. Much of this work is symbolic and may actually encourage more creativity and abstract thinking. It is a good idea to take time to review different types of images. You might want to create your own Powerpoint presentation or poster that can be re-used, and that can be used to facilitate discussion. Often there is no ‘one size fits all’ answer and context is very important.

The participants can for example, take

- Photographs of objects and things;
- Photographs of scenes or buildings without people in them at all;
- Photographs of people at a distance so that no one is easily recognizable;
- Photographs of a part of the body (hands, feet); and
- Photos of people in a shadow or taken from the back.



<sup>61</sup> Retrieved from HIV & AIDS Education Community of Practice (2011). *Using a different lens for HIV and AIDS Education*. Port Elizabeth: HIV and AIDS Education Research Chair, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.



## Appendix B: Reflections on the Process by a Student Researcher

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Reflecting on participating as data collector in the 'Children, Violence and Housing Evaluation Project'

Francis Likoye

### 1. What was the most important aspect of your participating in this study as a data collector?

To begin with, I wish to state that I was in the children's seminars and FGDs even though I participated in the review and translation of the survey tool as well as the general logistics. But the most important as well as interesting aspect of my participation in this study was the opportunity to work with children. This was very important to me in the sense that it gave me a rare opportunity to work with children at a very personal level and in their capacity not just as passive recipients of information but as active generators of knowledge through creative methodologies such as photo-voice and drawing scenarios of aspects of their life from their own experiential perspectives.

### 2. What impact (if any) has this work had on you as a new researcher?

While the label 'new researcher' may not necessarily be befitting for me because of having participated in qualitative research for quite some time, this work has nonetheless had a remarkable impact on me as a young researcher. Since my participation in the training that preceded this study and even the participation in the study itself, I am now very confident and enthusiastic in dealing with children in generating data in a study. This is one area which people have tended to take for granted yet when they get to it, they find they are faced with myriads of challenges. My skills in qualitative data generation, especially having learnt more approaches such as photo-voice- which I had never come across before and coupled with the drawing methodology which despite having seen used by other researchers, I had never used it myself, have undoubtedly lifted me a notch higher in qualitative research.

### 3. What impact (if any) has this work had on you in relation to Children and Housing?

Conventionally, I have always seen children to be those inarticulate respondents from whom it is very difficult to get views, perspectives and experiences. I have always seen them as those who may not have a particular position regarding aspects of their lives. I have always seen them as generally a difficult lot to deal with in matters of research. Since my training and further participation in this study, all these have changed. I now see children as capable of presenting their views and experiences equally clearly for as long as an appropriate methodology is adopted. But in relation to housing, my new view after participating in this study is that while poor housing limits children's in certain aspects of growth and development, children rarely complain about this but always take up any opportunity available to make whatever space they find themselves in as appropriate for their living and it is perhaps until they grow up into adults that they are able to start seeing such conditions as limiting.

4. What advice could you give to the research team for organizing future research projects like this?

Such a project, especially if designed to be carried out in such informal settlements like the ones we went to, arrangements have to be made in good time to avoid situations where too many more children turn up for participation even without invitation. This aspect tended to pose challenges to the study even though much was done to control its negative impact. Further to this, I got the impression that the presence of NACHU officials tended to tilt the respondents disposition especially in the FGDs. Indeed there were instances where the respondents in the FGDs were pulling in a different direction to that of the NACHU officials in their responses. Caution therefore needs to be taken in future to try and reduce the chances of such factors that might compromise on the authenticity of the data collected.

5. Any other comments?

I found this study to be particularly empowering in the sense that the training done was so thorough and focused and this was particularly found expression in the kind of confidence and enthusiasm with which the researchers went out to the field to collect the data. As I see this study as a success, I see the greater part of the success as a function the intensive training done before fieldwork not forgetting the exciting methodologies especially for the children's workshops. Actually, I look forward for more of such engagements.

Thank you.