This report presents findings from the first year of research in Kenya for Life in a Time of Food Price Volatility, a four-year research project in ten developing countries. This study is exploratory and longitudinal and is aimed at contributing to debates on food security, public debates, policy dialogue, and practice. The Kenyan study also assesses the livelihoods prospects of young people. It draws on 154 research participants purposively identified to provide specific information and insights into the ways in which the poor and vulnerable live during times of high and volatile food prices; and how the institutional environment at the community level affects their resilience and coping abilities in Nairobi’s Mukuru informal settlement and rural Lango Baya in Malindi. This reveals a fast-changing but unresponsive national policy context for social protection; an increasingly eroded wellbeing of the poor and vulnerable; limited sources of support to help cope with changes that threaten the wellbeing of the poor and vulnerable; and bleak livelihood prospects for young people in which agriculture does not feature prominently.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Little is known about how poor and vulnerable people live during times of high and volatile food prices and how they ensure their livelihoods are not significantly threatened. Earlier research has monitored the impact and response to the food, fuel, and financial crises in five developing countries. Other studies have investigated various aspects of resilience, adaptation, and coping for the poor and vulnerable during times of crisis. A lot of these studies suggest the wellbeing of the poor and vulnerable is threatened, essential day-to-day work of nurturing families is affected, and support systems for the poor and vulnerable are weakened, even eroded. This research is part of a project in nine other countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America that explore these issues in greater depth. These countries are Bangladesh, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Guatemala, Indonesia, Kenya, Pakistan, Vietnam, and Zambia.

The study is guided by the following research questions:

1. How do high and unpredictable food prices affect the overall wellbeing of the poor and vulnerable?
2. How do high and unpredictable food prices affect essential day-to-day nurturing of families, or care work?
3. How well do the formal and informal support systems on which the poor and vulnerable routinely rely help them cope with sharp changes in the cost of living?
4. What are the livelihood prospects for young people; and how does agriculture feature in these prospects?

METHOD AND APPROACH

This research was designed to be a longitudinal study building on three years of research in Mukuru and Lango Baya in Kenya. The study is based partially on already available qualitative research and follows on from studies done in the study communities in 2009, 2010, and 2011. The research team collected primary qualitative data from 154 participants. Because this is a longitudinal study, the research participants were drawn as far as it was practicable from participants that had been involved in earlier studies from 2009. The participants represented specific categories of the poor and vulnerable in the study communities. In Mukuru, these included: the elderly, male youth, female youth, women involved in food-for-sex livelihoods, and men. The youth, people living with HIV/AIDS, farmers, and traders were the categories of participants in Lango Baya.

THE STUDY COMMUNITIES

Mukuru and Lango Baya were purposively selected as study communities. Whilst Mukuru and Lango Baya are not representative of Kenya, previous studies (2009; 2010; 2011) have shown that these two communities help to illustrate and support exploration of how the poor and vulnerable live in times of high and volatile food prices. Mukuru and Lango Baya are some of Kenya’s poorest urban and rural areas respectively. The Mukuru informal settlement is situated in Nairobi about 3 km from the central business district. Lango Baya is situated about 50 km from Malindi town.
NATIONAL POLICY FRAMEWORK AND RESPONSES

Kenya’s constitution emphasizes social protection and is highly progressive in terms of recognizing the rights of the poor and marginalized. In addition to the legal framework that the constitution provides, several policies such as the National Food and Nutrition Security Policy of 2011, and the National Nutrition Action Plan 2012–2017 have been formulated to operationalize the framework. Analyses of various policy frameworks suggest that while protection for the poor and vulnerable has significantly improved in the last five years, it remains inadequate.

Kenya’s formal social protection responses are mainly drawn from government, donors, the private sector, and civil society, including NGOs and religious organizations. The social protection programmes are either contributory or non-contributory. The government contributes significantly to the funding of social protection programmes, but 71 percent of spending on safety nets which directly target/benefit the poor and vulnerable is from donors.

LIVING WELL IN TIMES OF FOOD PRICE VOLATILITY

In order to make sense of how well people were living in times of food price volatility (FPV), research participants were asked what it meant to live well in their communities. Priorities reflected the infrastructural, social and economic conditions of their lives, so that water and transport were key in dry, spread-out Lango Baya, and accommodation, employment and the cleanliness of the local environment were more important in cramped, costly and sometimes insanitary Mukuru. Some groups in both places were said to always live well, particularly property owners and educated people. Indications of ill being included having too many children, being unemployed or being involved in illicit or illegal livelihoods, and being widowed.

Prominent threats people face to their wellbeing include environmental conditions – the sanitation situation in Mukuru, and the problems with drought and floods in Lango Baya. For both communities, high food prices were cited as important problems and had some common effects, including widespread reports of people cutting quantities of food, reducing spending where possible, skipping meals and some being unable to keep children in school. Some families were breaking up, as adults looked for partners who could support them better. In Lango Baya, people were looking for alternative work instead of relying on uncertain subsistence farming. Some better off farmers were investing in new irrigation systems on lands near the river.

An unusual citizen and civil society response to the 2009/10 global economic recession and increase in food prices popularly known as the *Unga Revolution* was born in Nairobi. Because the food prices had increased to unprecedented levels, several low- and middle-income residents and NGOs coalesced with the poor and vulnerable to protest against this sudden spike in food and fuel prices.

YOUTH AND AGRICULTURE

Even though the youth in Mukuru and Lango Baya are of generally the same age groups, and equally marginalized, they engage in different occupations. In Mukuru a lot of the households showed that work, especially the government supported Kazi Kwa Vijana (KKV) programme, was an important occupation. In Mukuru, the range of occupations that the youth were involved in included mugging and theft, small business, art/music, washing cars, and playing in local
football clubs. In Lango Baya the youth mainly work as casual workers for owners of bodaboda businesses, entrepreneurs who own farms and even those who burn charcoal. There was a widespread view in both Mukuru and Lango Baya that the young people were very lazy. The communities had specific aspirations for the young people. There was a strong interest in having the youth in formal white-collar occupations. In Mukuru and Lango Baya, the discussions revealed a strong desire for the youth to complete secondary school education and eventually join college. In Mukuru, however, jobs and development projects were seen as being the most important necessities for the youths to undertake.

Seeking jobs and employment was the most popular method used by the youth to secure their necessities in both Mukuru and Lango Baya. In Lango Baya, farming was just as important as theft and burning charcoal. In Mukuru, however, bribing and acquiring additional skills were as important as seeking jobs and employment. Moreover, ‘connections with connected people’, prostitution, theft, and borrowing were all identified as of equal significance for the youth. The youth mainly engaged in productive activity such as burning charcoal and casual work in Lango Baya. The results from Mukuru and Lango Baya suggest that whilst the young people were marginalized, their future in these communities was not likely to ameliorate unless the structures that keep them marginalized were fundamentally restructured. It is worrying that the youth did not consider a future in agriculture. Moreover, that agriculture does not feature significantly in the current work of the youth presents serious concerns for the future improvement of agriculture.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This study has shown that the national policy context for social protection, particularly for the poor and vulnerable and their food security, although fast-changing, is within a policy framework that is not adequately responsive. It has also shown that during times of high and volatile food prices, the wellbeing of the poor and vulnerable is eroded; that unresponsive policy and regulatory frameworks are the main factors that stymie the effectiveness of formal support to enhance the capacities of the poor and vulnerable to cope with changes that threaten their wellbeing; and that agriculture does not feature significantly in the current work of the youth. These conclusions demonstrate a broadening in scope for the policy framework is required. The adaptation and coping mechanism of the poor and vulnerable, and the effectiveness of the institutional environment in periods of high, unpredictable and volatile food prices, therefore, emerge as key areas on which further social policy research should focus.
1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 LIFE IN A TIME OF FOOD PRICE VOLATILITY

Major shifts in food prices are significant events in people’s lives; in 2012 we started a four-year project to track the impacts of this volatility. This project, Life in a Time of Food Price Volatility, aims to monitor and record how FPV changes everyday life because so many of the social costs of managing change are invisible to policy makers. Nutritional or poverty measures may indicate that people living in poverty have coped well and appear to be ‘resilient’, but only because such measures often neglect the costs of this apparent resilience, including the increased time and effort required to feed and look after people; the non-monetary effects on family, social, or gender relations; mental health costs, such as stress; reductions in quality of life; and cultural issues, such as the pressure to eat ‘foreign’ fare, or food considered inferior. These issues tend to be neglected in nutrition and poverty impact studies, but they tend to matter a great deal to those affected.

Life in a Time of Food Price Volatility spans the period 2012–2015, and focuses on experiences from 10 urban/peri-urban and 13 rural locations, across 10 low- to middle-income countries (see Table 1.1). It comprises a collective of researchers tracking, documenting, and analyzing how FPV affects the everyday lives of people on low or precarious incomes, and focuses on paid work, the work of care or looking after families and others, how relationships are being affected, and what is happening to the resources people have with which to cope. The project has three component activities, namely:

1. Food security indicator tracking aimed at generating a picture of what has been happening to food security and food prices;
2. Qualitative research, with short annual visits to groups and households. Eight of the sites have been visited annually since 2009, and so 2012 was the fourth visit; in the remaining 15 sites, research was initiated in 2012;
3. Integrated qualitative and quantitative (Q2) analyses of the impacts of food price changes on wellbeing, drawing on nationally representative poverty data for each country. To date, an initial round of quantitative analysis has been completed for Vietnam, and Zambia is currently in progress. This is not reported in Squeezed, the global synthesis report from the first year of the Life in a Time of Food Price Volatility project, but will be presented in future reports.


Where we are working?

Ten countries were chosen, based on the following considerations:

- The countries have significant problems of undernourishment;
- Teams were already in situ, as in the case of Bangladesh, Indonesia, Kenya, and Zambia, where work with the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) on crisis monitoring research has been conducted since 2009;
- Oxfam offices in those countries asked to be involved in the study in order to improve their understanding of FPV impacts.
The 10 countries under study have been categorized according to their per capita income levels and the prevalence of undernourishment (see Figure 1.1).  

### Table 1.1: Country groupings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low-income countries</th>
<th>Lower-middle-income countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Severe’ under nourishment</td>
<td>Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, and Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Moderate’ under nourishment</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Figure 1.1: Research locations in the 10 study countries

![Map of research locations in the 10 study countries](image)

### 1.2 PARTNERSHIPS AND PROCESS

Oxfam and IDS have come together to coordinate this four-year project with BRAC Development Institute in Bangladesh, Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Económica y Social (CERES) in Bolivia, Institut des Sciences des Sociétés (INSS) in Burkina Faso, researchers from the University of Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, researchers in Guatemala, Social Monitoring and Early Response Unit (SMERU) in Indonesia, Mpereea Associates in Kenya, the Collective for Social Science Research in Pakistan, VietSurvey and the Institute of Policy and Strategy for Agriculture and Rural Development (IPSARD) in Vietnam, researchers in Zambia, and a researcher from University College Cork in Ireland.

Within each research location, the project also works with local officials, non-government organizations (NGOs), and community-based organizations (CBOs). The project is funded by the government of the United Kingdom, and, for the first three years, by Irish Aid. Oxfam provided funds in the first year, and BRAC Development Institute are supporting the project by paying costs in one research site.

This partnership grew out of earlier crisis monitoring research by IDS with support from the UK government and Oxfam. It forms part of Oxfam’s GROW campaign on food justice. From 2013, more researchers are being commissioned to undertake integrated qualitative–quantitative analyses of the effects of FPV on wellbeing at the national level. The project benefits from an advisory group to guide the research, analysis, communications, and uptake process.
1.3 MAIN MOTIVATIONS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This report covers the first year research findings from the *Life in a Time of Food Price Volatility* study, yet it builds on annual research visits which have taken place in each of these locations since 2009. The aim is to contribute to improving the food security prospects of the poor and vulnerable who are exposed to high and volatile prices in Kenya. This study should also contribute to food security through more and locally informed public debates, policy dialogue, and practice. In particular the study explores the impact of changes in food security in the past year on the poor and vulnerable in Nairobi and Malindi in Kenya and how the institutional environment at the community level affects their resilience and coping abilities. The study additionally seeks to assess the livelihoods prospects of young people. The study is guided by the following research questions:

1. How do high and unpredictable food prices affect the overall wellbeing of the poor and vulnerable?
2. How do high and unpredictable food prices affect essential day-to-day nurturing of families, or care work?
3. How well do the formal and informal support systems on which the poor and vulnerable routinely rely help them cope with sharp changes in the cost of living?
4. What are the livelihood prospects for young people, and how does agriculture feature in these prospects?

1.4 ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

This report is organized in seven parts including this introduction. After the introduction, this paper outlines the methodology and approach taken to implement the study. This is followed by justification and background information on the research sites. The report then presents the policy context for food security and social protection in Kenya. Next, the paper presents the findings. These findings demonstrate the usefulness of qualitative research, specifically participatory research, on how the poor and vulnerable live in the context of high poverty and widespread food insecurity, and how useful support systems are for these people in times of high food prices. An assessment of the prospects of young people follows, and the paper ends with an overview of the policy implications raised by the study.
2 METHOD AND APPROACH

2.1 RATIONALE

This research was designed to be a longitudinal study building on three years of research in Mukuru and Lango Baya in Kenya. The study is based partially on already available qualitative research and as a follow up to studies done in the study communities in 2009, 2010, and 2011. The study was carried out in three phases. The first phase was an inception and methodology meeting with researchers from all ten participating countries and including the team leaders from IDS and Oxfam. At this meeting, the conceptual framework and methodology were shared, and the justification for further longitudinal investigation on how the poor and vulnerable live during times of high and volatile food prices was made.

The second phase involved the review of existing literature and field studies in Mukuru and Lango Baya. In addition to observation and informal interaction with the communities and their leaders, the research team collected primary qualitative data in a structured way from 154 participants as follows:

Table 2.1: Distribution of research participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mukuru</th>
<th>Lango Baya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Key informant interviews</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household discussions</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus groups</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Field studies

The research participants were drawn as far as possible from among participants in earlier rounds of research. All participants were informed of the purpose and nature of the research, and committed to participating in the study for the next three years.

The participants in the focus groups represented specific categories of the poor and vulnerable in the study communities. In Mukuru, these included: the elderly, young men and young women, and older women and men from a range of occupation groups. The youth, people living with HIV/AIDS, farmers, and traders were the categories of participants in Lango Baya. The final phase of the study was data analysis that included but was not limited to: grouping, tabulating, cross tabulating, and checking the translations of some of the material from Kiswahili into English, and preparing the research report.

2.2 DATA COLLECTION

Information for the study was collected both from a review of literature and research participants identified above. In both instances, information was sought on the following themes.

- Changes in wellbeing
- Changes affecting livelihood of the poor and vulnerable
- Coping strategies for changes affecting livelihoods of the poor and vulnerable
- Effects of changes on livelihoods of the poor and vulnerable
• Institutional environment for support to cope with changes in everyday life for the poor and vulnerable
• Livelihood prospects for young people

In addition to the review of literature, information was collected using semi-structured interviews with key informants drawn from the institutions identified above. Data were also collected from focus groups and discussions with households using a range of participatory tools. These included: portraits of a good life, listing and ranking, timelines, causal flow diagrams, matrices, institutional maps, and time use schedules. The focus groups comprised at least five but not more than eight participants, while the discussions with households involved two or more members of the households.

2.3 DATA MANAGEMENT AND TECHNIQUES FOR SYNTHESIS

Data management

Data collected were stored in accordance to common protocol developed during the first phase of the study. The protocol was developed to guide the collection, storage, and retrieval of data. This was important because these data are going to be made available to other users. Photographs, transcripts, and notes were labelled properly using appropriate metadata labels agreed in the protocol.

The transcripts and notes from the key informant interviews, discussions with households, and focus groups were taken by two research assistants. These notes and transcripts were invariably typed and checked by the research assistants, then reviewed by the lead country researcher. Although the interviews and discussions were mainly conducted in Kiswahili, the notes and transcripts were always translated into English. These were stored electronically and copies shared with IDS and Oxfam.

Techniques for synthesis

The first stage was a preliminary analysis that sought to establish the patterns and themes that were emerging from the study. In the second stage, tables were prepared for each category of the community that participated in the study, i.e. in Mukuru, the elderly, male youth, female youth, women involved in food-for-sex livelihoods, and men; and in Lango Baya the youth, people living with HIV/AIDS, farmers, and traders. The final stage involved cross tabulations and reviewing of the focus group reports to find supporting evidence for the analysis in the tables and cross tabulations, and was then followed finally by the preparation of the report.

2.4 LIMITATIONS

In Mukuru, at the beginning of the study, the sessions were lengthy because we had to address several questions. Some participants became impatient at some points during the discussions while some took more time to come back for the discussions after the breaks. However, this improved after the questions were shortened, which meant the process took less time. In the household discussions, the research participants did not want photos of them to be taken despite being told that they were going to be used for the purpose of the research. The participants only accepted the photographing of food items that made up the food baskets.
In Lango Baya the discussions were invariably held in a combination of Kiswahili and Giriama. As a result, some of the sessions took much longer than planned. Moreover, the unexpected heavy rains distracted participants and affected the time spent in the field studies. Some of the tools such as timelines were difficult for the participants to work with during interviews and discussions with households. However, in-depth probing greatly helped clarify issues that arose. The above limitations have been taken into account in the analysis of the findings.
3 THE STUDY COMMUNITIES

3.1 RATIONALE FOR SELECTION

Mukuru and Lango Baya were purposively selective as study communities. Whilst Mukuru and Lango Baya are not representative of Kenya, previous studies (2009; 2010; 2011) have shown that these two communities offer great potential in the illustration and exploration of how the poor and vulnerable live in times of high and volatile food prices. Moreover, the lead country researcher had built relations of trust with specific groups of the poor and vulnerable in these locations, which helps support the development of a longitudinal study. Mukuru and Lango Baya are among Kenya’s poorest urban and rural areas respectively. Existing research networks meant the two communities were accessible for research. The research communities were also familiar with the methods used for the study, and there was support for providing further information that would deepen understanding and improvement of food security for the poor and vulnerable locally and nationally.

3.2 MUKURU

The Mukuru informal settlement is situated in Nairobi about 3km from the central business district. Administratively it falls under Makadara District of Nairobi County. Part of this settlement is in South B sub-location and the other is in Hazina sub-location. According to the assistant chief of South B sub-location, Mukuru, with an estimated 160,000 inhabitants, is the second largest slum in Nairobi (Mr. Muraguri, key informant interview).

Figure 3.1: Map of Mukuru

Mukuru is located along the Nairobi River. From the east, it borders the Mater hospital and Mariakani estate. In the south it is bounded by the upmarket residential estates of Golden Gate, River Bank, Plainsview and Hazina estates. These estates are home to the Nairobi middle-income population group. To the north and east of Mukuru is Nairobi’s industrial area. Although the majority of the population of Mukuru would be classified as poor, some work in the neighbouring industrial area and estates as security guards, domestic workers, teachers, taxi drivers and artisans in the building, blacksmith and motor repair industries. Some also own rental houses in the same area and earn income from the rents collected.

There is also a considerable section of the population involved in petty trading, selling wares ranging from manufactured items, sugar, salt, food, paraffin, foodstuffs and second-hand clothing. Most people in Mukuru purchase their food and fuel products from the nearby shops, hotels and the roadside food vendors.

**Figure 3.2: Typical shops in Mukuru**
An estimated 55 percent of the population is considered youth (18–35 years)\textsuperscript{11}. According to the chief and elders, most of the youth in Mukuru are unemployed. Some of the unemployed youth have come up with self-employment activities such as in the Rekebisho youth group where they make shoes using old tyres and beads for sale. There are some who earn income from casual jobs in the nearby industries, though such jobs are temporary and rare. Others are reported to engage in criminal activities for their livelihood.

The living conditions in the slum are poor. There are no sewer lines and before December 2009 there were no protocols in place for waste disposal hence much of the garbage ended up in the nearby Nairobi River. Following a government initiative to clean up the river that began in late 2009, and the engagement of the youth in waste collection and disposal under the \textit{Kazi Kwa Vijana} project from January 2010, waste management in the slum has improved. However, a lot of garbage still lies around.

The people of Mukuru depend on markets for at least 90 percent of their food needs\textsuperscript{12}. Whilst this is commonly available information, there is no credible information revealing the proportion of their income spent on food. The typical food and fuel needs for a household in Mukuru include: maize flour, \textit{sukuma wiki} (vegetables), cooking fat, salt and paraffin for cooking. An individual from one of the households that participated in the study, Ms. Sama, showed us the food basket in Figure 3.3. In the photo, the cooking fat, located between the vegetables and packet of maize meal, and the fuel, which is also packed in a polythene bag, are the smallest but are high value portions bought each day. Although the items in the photo represent typical food and fuel needs, these are not always met.

\textit{Sources: Photos by author}
3.3 LANGO BAYA

Located in Malindi district, Lango Baya is situated about 50 km from Malindi town. The location has 4 sub-locations, namely: Malanga, Lango Baya, Mkondoni and Makobeni and comprises a total of 41 villages. The map in Figure 3.4 provides details.

Figure 3.4: Map of Lango Baya

According to an earlier Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) report, the inhabitants are mainly Giriama (75 percent) of the larger Miji-kenda ethnic cluster, while the remaining 25 percent are mainly Rabai, Chonyi and Kamba. The nine Miji-kenda ethnic clusters are Giriama, Jibana, Chonyi, Ribe, Rabai, Kambe, Kauma, Duruma, and Digo. The kinship pattern of the Giriama is mainly paternal extended families. ActionAid International Kenya (AAIK) estimates the current population of Lango Baya at about 16,000 inhabitants.

The average family size in Lango Baya is six and the main indicators of wealth are mainly asset-based (e.g. land cleared for cultivation, number of granaries, livestock) rather than income- or expenditure-based (e.g. meals per day and school expenses). The descriptions of socioeconomic groups of the poor include some demographic variables (factors) e.g. being unmarried or elderly without support. Poverty is often physically manifested through child vital statistics (anthropometry), which are the result of protein and energy intake and the degree of malnutrition or undernutrition. Again, as in the case of Mukuru, there is no credible data to show the extent of malnourishment in Lango Baya.

According to the chief of Lango Baya sub-location, Mohamed Omar, based on natural resource endowment, availability of food and the level of education, the four sub-locations can be ranked as follows:

1. Malanga: well-endowed in terms of natural resources. It is located next to a forest and the level of environmental degradation is not yet so pronounced. The sub-location has also produced a few graduates.
2. Lango Baya: boasts a water plant that supplies water to Malindi, Kilifi and Mombasa and an irrigation scheme initiated by ActionAid. It is also located in close proximity to River Galana.
3. Mkondoni: the major natural resource in the area is River Galana.
4. Makobeni: the hardest hit sub-location where poverty levels are very high. The area does not have any water resources.

The study was based on the Lango Baya sub-location taken as a whole and not a specific settlement within it. This was necessary because of the sparse population in the locations. Moreover, when we first conducted research on food in Lango Baya, we drew research participants from the four sub-locations. Because this study is longitudinal, it was necessary to maintain consistency with research participants who also reside in each of these sub-locations.
4 NATIONAL POLICY FRAMEWORK AND RESPONSES TO VULNERABILITY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the extent to which legal and policy frameworks and recent interventions support and/or undermine the lives of the poor and vulnerable in times of high and volatile food prices. It begins by reviewing the legal and policy frameworks for protection of the poor and vulnerable in urban and rural Kenya. A discussion of the most recent interventions follows. This discussion presents an overview of the official government response as well as popular responses involving civil society and movements of the poor and vulnerable in Kenya.

4.2 THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL PROTECTION IN KENYA

Literature on the relevance of Kenya's constitution to social protection identifies numerous of its provisions as strengthening the legal basis for social protection. These include:

- Article 27 on discrimination
- Article 43 on economic, social and cultural rights
- Article 53 on children
- Article 54 on persons with disabilities
- Article 55 on youth
- Article 56 on minorities and marginalized groups
- Article 57 on older members of society
- Chapter 6 on leadership and integrity
- Chapter 11 on devolution

Taken together, the above provisions justify the view that the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 is the most progressive yet in terms of recognizing the rights of the poor and marginalized. The Bill of Rights in the Kenyan constitution stipulates that all public officers have the role and duty of addressing the needs of vulnerable groups within the society. These groups include women, older members of society, people with disabilities, children, youth, and members of particular ethnic, religious or cultural communities. This points out the roles that the government, through its officers, is obliged to play in the development and enhancement of social protection programmes for these groups of people, and ensures that people who require this kind of protection are offered the protection by government officers.

In addition to the legal framework provided by the constitution, several policies such as the National Food and Nutrition Policy of 2011, and the National Nutrition Action Plan 2012–2017 have been formulated to operationalize the framework. I highlight some I consider important for protecting the poor and vulnerable during times of high and volatile food prices in the next sections of this chapter.
4.3 POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL PROTECTION IN KENYA

Analyses of various policy frameworks suggest protection for the poor and vulnerable has significantly improved in the last five years, yet remains inadequate. Five years ago, the most recent food policy dated from 1982, the food and nutrition security framework was yet to be completed, and food security as an urban phenomenon had been left to government departments that deal mainly with rural production such as the Ministries of Agriculture and Livestock, and the emergencies left to the Special Programmes Ministry in the Office of the President. Today, several policies have been adapted to address food security and social protection for the poor and vulnerable. These have most notably included: the National Food and Nutrition Policy, the National Nutrition Action Plan 2012–2017, the National Social Protection Strategy, the Vision 2030, the National Social Protection Policy, the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Arid and Semi-Arid Lands, the National Policy on Older Persons and Ageing, the National Policy on Youth, and the National Gender and Development Policy, to mention some. An outline of key policy developments is provided below.


The 2009 National Social Protection Strategy outlines social protection as the policies and actions aimed at enhancing the capacity and opportunities of the poor and vulnerable to improve and better manage their livelihoods and welfare. The Ministry for Gender, Children and Social Development then assumes an important role for protection, and whose responsibility it is to coordinate all social protection activities in the country. This strategy indicates that 46 percent of the people in Kenya live below the poverty line while a further 19 percent live in extreme poverty conditions. While a positive strategy in many ways, the National Social Protection Strategy does not have a specific focus on the urban poor.

Mbithi and Mutuku show that social protection programmes have been well received by beneficiaries. They further list the opportunities and challenges that the country has in the implementation of social protection programmes, including that:

1. Current policies can be used as entry points to improve the welfare of the people;
2. The implementation of social protection is part of The Vision 2030, and so is vital for achieving the vision as a whole;
3. The interest by a majority of investment partners who can work with the government in implementing the initiatives through the implementation of The Vision 2030;
4. The ratification of domestic regional and international instruments by the government can be used as reference in the development and implementation of the programmes;
5. The presence of goodwill on the part of the government in the development and implementation of social protection policies;
6. The availability of shared knowledge from other countries for benchmarking and best practice;
7. The ability that social protection has in the implementation of Millennium Development Goals.

Yet there are also challenges facing government in the implementation of the policy which include:

1. Lack of coordination and information sharing between actors, resulting in duplication of efforts;
2. Delayed funding for the programmes;
3. Poor implementation of social protection programmes;
4. Increased HIV/AIDS prevalence;
5. Challenges of identifying target population for social protection programmes;
6. Poor publicity of social protection initiatives to the public hence limiting learning and information to institutions responsible for specific programmes.

The report recommends that:
1. A comprehensive social protection framework should guide implementation of social protection activities;
2. Proper assessment of need through good quality data and surveys to reduce duplication of efforts;
3. National coverage of social protection to enhance equal distribution of income
4. A comprehensive social and welfare assessment survey and audit of the past ten years of social protection programmes, and their contribution to development is carried out. This would help the development of policies and projections as the country puts in place viable social protection policies and measures in the future.

This strategy focuses on three categories of the population, namely orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), older persons and people with disabilities. These are the same groups of people on which the Ministry of Finance’s Social Protection, Culture and Recreation Sector’s report also focuses. The strategy is aimed at provision of vital lessons in the implementation of a national programme that would be of essential benefit in scaling up of initiatives to other needy groups of people, including the unemployed, youth, and people with incapacitating sicknesses in communities. According to the strategy, the challenge that the government faces in the implementation of the programme is sustaining it, ensuring that financing is sustainable for the long-term delivery of social protection.

4.4 KEY RESPONSES TO FOOD INSECURITY FOR THE POOR AND VULNERABLE IN KENYA

Kenya’s formal social protection responses come from government, donors, the private sector, and civil society including NGOs and religious organizations. Contributory programmes include the National Hospital Insurance Fund (NHIF), the National Social Security Fund (NSSF), and the Civil Service Pension. Non-contributory programmes are organised in five main categories as follows: agriculture, education, health and nutrition, social cash transfers, and relief and recovery (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: A summary of Kenya’s non-contributory social protection programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The National Accelerated Agricultural Inputs Access Programme (NAAIAP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Njaa Marufuku Kenya (NMK) component</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food and Agriculture Organisation Farmer First Programme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most Vulnerable Children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expanded School Feeding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Grown School Meals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular School Feeding Programme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education Bursary Fund</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the latest review of social protection in Kenya\textsuperscript{19} while the contributory social protection programmes are fully funded by the Kenyan government alone, the non-contributory programmes shown in Table 4.1 are funded by either the government alone, a combination of government and donors, or simply by a range of donors. In addition to the contributory social protection programmes, the Kenya government also fully funds the following programmes: General Food, Supplementary Feeding, Disability Grants, Older Persons Cash Transfer, the Njaa Marufuku Kenya component 2, and the Secondary Education Bursary Fund. The government also contributes to funding other programmes such as: NAAIAP, Most Vulnerable Children, Expanded School Feeding, Home Grown School Meals, Regular School Feeding, and Health Voucher.

Although the 16 programmes listed in Table 4.1 are commendable, these remain inadequate for Kenya’s poor and vulnerable. For instance, the government reports a laudable even though nominal increase in social protection expenditure from Ksh. 33.4bn in 2005 to Ksh. 57.1bn in 2010\textsuperscript{20}. From the above, it is evident that the government contributes significantly to the funding of social protection programmes. The government’s share of expenditure on social protection was 43 percent in 2010, however, with the remaining dependent on donors.\textsuperscript{21} The review also shows a government bias to the non-poor in how its expenditure on social protection is distributed.

The Urban Food Subsidy under the Social Cash Transfer programme attracted an innovative programme - the Nairobi Urban Social Protection Programme (NUSPP), operated by three international NGOs, namely Oxfam, Concern Worldwide, and Care International. This programme sought to improve access to food of the most vulnerable households in selected informal settlements in Nairobi and to develop longer-term food and income security initiatives.\textsuperscript{22} So far the NUSPP is piloting cash transfer to carefully targeted households in Nairobi’s Mukuru and Korogocho informal settlements. Reports show\textsuperscript{23} that the NUSPP has been providing each of the 5,000 households on the programme Ksh.1,500 per month via the MPESA mobile telephony-based electronic transfer money system.

Kenya’s Vision 2030 and social protection

Under the social pillar of the country’s vision 2030, social protection is one of the priority areas. This framework stipulates the formation of a consolidated Social Protection Fund for the youth, vulnerable groups and for addressing issues that are gender-related. As part of the protection of these vulnerable groups in the country, the Kenya Vision 2030 framework advocates for the restructuring of pension schemes so as to increase savings for the old members of communities, with the aim of reducing levels of dependency. It also calls for the enhancement of assistance to orphans and vulnerable children so as to also reduce levels of dependency.

In their report \textit{Social Protection, Culture and Recreation}, the Ministry of Finance identifies five interrelated subsectors as constituting the social protection, culture and recreation sector.\textsuperscript{24}
These include: Heritage and Culture; Gender, Children and Social Development; Special Programmes; Youth Affairs and Sports; and Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands. The mandate of the sector is the formulation and implementation of heritage and cultural policies, youth empowerment, gender, children and social development, disaster management and coordination of development activities in arid and semi-arid areas in the country. This report acknowledges that in order to achieve the social pillar of the Vision 2030, a coordinated social protection system is required.

According to this report, several social protection successes have been realized. These include: improvements in the social wellbeing of ageing and older persons, as demonstrated by the number of households that received cash transfers under the social protection programme that targets older people numbering 33,000 households; 2,100 households received cash transfers under the social protection programme that targets people with disabilities, and additionally the finalization of the National Policy on Older and Ageing persons. The report also identifies several concerns. First, identifying the sector’s mid-term priorities for social protection, to include the improvement of the socioeconomic wellbeing of older and ageing members of communities, through initiatives such as the increase to 66,000 of the number of households that access older persons cash transfer. Secondly, the need to establish the National Social Protection Council; and thirdly to develop training manuals on disability mainstreaming, and the establishment of a donor round table on disability, among several other initiatives for the disabled members of the communities.

Civil society and citizen responses

An unusual citizen and civil society response to the 2009/10 global economic recession and increase in food prices, popularly known as the *Unga Revolution*, took place in Nairobi. Because food prices had increased to unprecedented levels, several low and middle-income residents and NGOs coalesced to protest this sudden spike in food and fuel prices, joining the poor and vulnerable. According to information on their website, the *Unga Revolution* is a “non violent movement of patriotic Kenyans who are using all legal means to ensure that all the rights and privileges within the constitution are accessible to everyone Kenyan.”

This initiative also included a youthful and widely popular MP representing one of the poorest constituencies in Nairobi – Makadara – popularly known as Mike Sonko. Mike Sonko is so popular in Mukuru that the residents commonly acknowledge his philanthropy, generosity, and solidarity. The protests included several street demonstrations that were seen by the authorities to threaten the security of the city. The photo in Figure 4.1 captures a moment from these protests.
Although there was an immediate response from government through the provision of price-controlled maize meal, this was for a very short time of about two months. Moreover, it has not been possible to ascertain the effectiveness of this initiative in ensuring that the poor and vulnerable are protected from the adverse effects of high and volatile food prices, or even how successful the *Unga Revolution* has been in ensuring that all the rights and privileges within the constitution are accessible to everyone, not least the poor and vulnerable.
5 LIVING WELL IN TIMES OF FOOD PRICE VOLATILITY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the results of how well the poor and vulnerable live in times of high and volatile food prices. It begins by analyzing notions of living well. Contrasting results from Mukuru and Lango Baya, the discussion continues to consider the threats to living well. The chapter then turns to the effects of these threats and how the poor and vulnerable cope with these threats. Finally the chapter assess the effectiveness of sources of assistance for the poor and vulnerable to help them live well during these times of adversity.

5.2 LIVING WELL

Table 5.1 summarizes the perspectives that different research participants held about living well. These ideas are presented according to the number of times they were identified. Owning a business occurred most frequently in Mukuru while in Lango Baya having good/formal education or adequate food occurred most frequently. Owning a farm or business, and living in a clean environment were mentioned the least times in Lango Baya and Mukuru respectively.

Table 5.1: Ideas of living well

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mukuru</th>
<th>Lango Baya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Having own business</td>
<td>• Good formal education, adequate food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Affording different types of food, having a good job or a husband</td>
<td>• Good health, good shelter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Having a permanent job, taking children to boarding school, affording</td>
<td>• Owning a farm, owning a business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Having your own house, affording three meals a day</td>
<td>• Having own house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Having rental units/landlord</td>
<td>• Having/dressing in good clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Having a permanent job, having a business e.g. hardware shop</td>
<td>• Having three meals each day, education for children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Having access to Medicare</td>
<td>• Having portable running water, being in good health, owning a car</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data from discussions with 6 focus groups, 10 households and 5 key informants in Mukuru; and 4 focus groups, 9 households and 4 key informants in Lango Baya.

Several insights on what is important emerge from Table 5.1. Firstly, in both Mukuru and Lango Baya, a safe and secure environment is indispensable including e.g., water, sanitation and good housing are essential for wellbeing. Secondly, and related to the urban nature of Mukuru, ownership of assets such as houses is seen as essential to living well. As Sa noted:

This person lives in his own house. He has a few rental units; he also has a hardware shop and he can afford to open it whenever he wants. He has employed someone to watch over his business and his house too

(Samw, discussion with household, Mukuru, 19 August 2012).

Thirdly, at the household level, there were some differences in perspectives as well. Whilst the households in Mukuru identified owning rental units and permanent jobs as living well, the households in Lango Baya did not identify these. Similarly, dressing in good clothing, education,
potable running water, and owning a car were only identified by households in Lango Baya. In a
discussion with Jifikiyige youth group one of the participants observed:

Living well means it living without a problem. It is living a happy life, living a healthy life.
Living well means having good health and good food. They put on good clothes. They
tend to walk with hands in their pockets.
(Kusa, focus group with mixed youth, Lango Baya, 20 August 2012)

The results also showed other important aspects of living well. In Lango Baya, having good
and/or formal education was the predominant view of living well for specific groups. Farmers,
youth, and elders identified this notion of what it is to live well. Together with being able to have
adequate food – three meals each day – the youth and farmers in Lango Baya articulated as
living well. In Mukuru all the participants except the elders identified owning a business as an
indicator of living well. One young man noted:

Diseases do not affect those who live well here. He eats well, he can afford a balanced
diet, and he has a wife who works too and one or two children. These children go to good
schools, not the slum schools. When you look at St. Catherine, or Mariakani School you
will rarely find children who come from the estates going there. This is because these are
schools for the poor like us. So if your child can afford to go to schools where the estate
children go to then you are living well.
(Daki, discussion with household, Mukuru, 19 August 2012)

For the youth, living well in Mukuru was the idea of being able to take children to boarding
school. Affording basic needs such as food, clothing, shelter and security was living well. There
were also differences between different groups. For instance, living in a clean environment was,
to the elders, living well. Having a permanent job for the young men and women, to them
signified living well:

For as long as one has a job giving them 50 thousand shillings or more then we consider
that person as living extremely well. He is even living well when this job is permanent.
These small jobs that are contract based are not a basis for categorising someone as
living well because one day you are in and the next you are out. They are so unreliable.
(Marwa, Focus group with young women, Mukuru, 12 August 2012)

Finally, having a good job or a husband with a job was living well for the male youth, elders, and
engaged women, including young women. Although it was not possible to establish who lives
well, sometimes well, and who never lives well in Lango Baya, discussions in Mukuru revealed
further insights on this subject. Table 5.2 summarizes the views from the focus groups.

Table 5.2: People living well in Mukuru

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Always living well</th>
<th>Sometimes living well</th>
<th>Never living well</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Structure owners/landlords, businessmen with shops, permanently employed</td>
<td>• Casual workers</td>
<td>• Elderly men and women, orphans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Village chair, caregivers, women and youth in groups, pastors, and preachers</td>
<td>• Owners of small business</td>
<td>• Single mothers or separated women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Youth, commercial sex workers, mama piima\textsuperscript{26}, village elders</td>
<td>• Youth, parents with many children, changaa\textsuperscript{27} producers, unemployed living with relatives, widows and widowers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data from listing from 5 focus groups

In Tables 5.1 and 5.2, the listing reflects the hierarchy of the number of times different types of
people in Mukuru were identified. For instance, structure owners or landlords were identified
more times than the others for the category of people who always live well. Furthermore, the
youth, parents with many children, changaa producers and dealers, the unemployed living with relatives, together with widows and widowers, never live well.

5.3 THREATS TO LIVING WELL

Discussions on the threats to living well were arguably the most animated and emotional during the study. Table 5.3 presents an analysis of how these threats were identified in the study areas.

Table 5.3: Threats to living well

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threats</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Threats</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food prices</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Food prices</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High fuel prices</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Droughts</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>High fuel prices</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased salaries for MPs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lack of accountability</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Teachers’ strike</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased family size</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Poor harvest</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased taxes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Floods</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Listing and ranking from 6 focus groups in Mukuru and 4 focus groups in Lango Baya; values rounded

As Table 5.3 shows, although food prices were the major threats to living well in Mukuru and Lango Baya, there were other factors. For instance in Mukuru food prices together with high fuel prices, insecurity, and crime were the most important threats to living well. On the question of insecurity, a participant noted:

The male youth here have resorted to stealing and killing innocent people who have nothing to offer. Just yesterday, a certain lady was mugged and everything she had was stolen from her. She knew who they were but she could not do anything.

(Rasoo, Focus group with young women, Mukuru, 12 August 2012).

There were other threats, such as the perceived inordinate increases in salaries of MPs, increases in taxes, increases in family size and HIV/AIDS. Likewise, in Lango Baya food prices, droughts, and high fuel prices are the most important threats to living well. The percentages represent the cumulative number of times and rank research participants assigned each of the perceived threats.

Other threats such as governance (lack of accountability and teachers’ strikes), public health (HIV/AIDS) and increased inequality (increased salaries of MPs) were highlighted. Taken together, all the issues identified in Table 5.3 show that there are myriad threats to living well for the poor and vulnerable during time of high, unpredictable, and volatile food prices. But there was some noticeable convergence of the threats to living well in the two study communities. The focus groups in both Mukuru and Lango Baya showed high food and fuel prices as the main development in the past year that has threatened living in these communities. Sahluo during a discussion with a household in Lango Baya said:

During food crisis, prices go up thus the food items a family purchases reduce significantly. We buy half of what we buy during normal times. We totally forget about sugar, bread, and cooking oil. When the price shoots up, we reduce the items and quantity we purchase.

(Sahluo, discussion with household, Lango Baya, 24 August 2012)
Sahluo’s response shows the typical response that people in Lango Baya adopt when prices go up. Considering that Lango Baya is a dry rural area where people rely on rain-fed agriculture and the perpetual food shortage in the area, Sahluo’s response was not unexpected. The results from discussions with the households and key informants on the one hand confirmed findings from the focus groups. Yet on the other hand, they provided an additional dimension to the threats to living well. These threats included drought and floods in Lango Baya. A participant in a discussion with households commented:

*The drought we are experiencing now has never been experienced again in this area. This drought has been with us for the last five to six years. The rains have failed to come and what we get is not something you could call rainfall. Our main crop that is maize can no longer do well. For the last four years I have harvested nothing. We used to depend on cassava during hardship but now the cassava also cannot grow. The drought is too much. This lack of harvest and the high food prices in the shops makes lives of most of the household like mine in a very difficult situation. Our lives become very difficult.*

(Sabugu, discussion with household, Lango Baya, 18 August 2012).

Although high food prices affected living well in various ways in Mukuru and Lango Baya, there were some common ways. The causal flow diagram in Figure 5.1, for instance, identifies these effects as: going without food, straining household budgets, not being able to keep children in school, failing to pay for rent, and not buying clothes.

**Figure 5.1: Dealing with the effects of high food prices in Mukuru**

- Straining budgets
- Going without food
- Children fail to go to school
- Failing to pay rent
- No longer buying clothes
- High food prices
- Doing extra manual labour
- Reducing the quantity eaten
- Shift to a cheaper house
- Stealing and prostitution

*Source: Discussion with Serah Mwangi’s household, 17 August 2012*
5.4 MANAGING CHANGE

In Mukuru and Lango Baya, diverse strategies were identified by the focus groups as ways of coping with high food prices; and high food prices and drought respectively. Skipping meals was the most significant strategy for dealing with the reality of high food prices in Mukuru. A key informant in one of the interviews observed:

There has been an increase in the cases of male prostitutes here. This is because of the troubles that they have finding jobs and money. Most of them are youth and they do this knowing the dangers involved. There is nothing else they could do to get money because some of them cannot become thieves. The girls too have also become prostitutes. You will find very small children engaged in the vice. It is not good but they tell you that they do not have money for food or that they have slept without food for long.

(Aaki, key informant interview, Mukuru, 21 August 2012)

Separation or divorces and pretending to be Muslims are the other important strategies used in Mukuru. By pretending to a Muslim, one is assured of securing food and other support from the local mosque. One male youth in one of the focus groups wondered:

Some people have gone to the extremes of strangling themselves because the cost of living has become high. Wives are also chased especially those that sit around gossiping wait for the man to bring food. You have to contribute otherwise you will see the door. I also know of some husbands who have run away, absconding their fatherly duties because of the demands of their wives and children.

(Jakui, focus group with male youth, Mukuru, 16 August 2012)

In Lango Baya, a dry, poor rural area, not always associated with opportunities for alternative work, seeking alternative work is however the most important strategy for dealing with high food prices and drought. Demanding the intervention of leaders follows this. One of the participants justifying this intervention noted:

We are demanding from our leaders to intervene in the situation. In most cases the problem will have the relief food for the following 3 days. The interventions are temporary but used frequently. The Member of Parliament has the power to convince other ministers on the situation of food prices but very little is done.

(Pamar, focus group with Jifkirie youth group, Lango Baya, 20 August 2012)

It was not immediately clear why the above were the most important strategies. It is possible that because of their circumstances of poverty, missing a meal a day may be normal. Nonetheless, this is an area that requires further investigation.
The other important strategies employed include reducing the amount of food consumed. Households also reduce expenditure. Those who can afford to, using irrigation, farm their lands. Moreover, there is a significant 13 percent of all the strategies used to manage change that covers numerous strategies such as: social protection programmes from organisations such as APHIA-Plus, eating maize seed which erodes their ability to grow food in subsequent planting seasons, borrowing from neighbours, children eating at school, and eating maungo²⁸ to mention a few. The photograph in Figure 5.3 shows the maungo delicacy before preparing it for the family meal.

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²⁸ Life in a Time of Food Price Volatility
The male youth in Mukuru sell precious household assets such as radios, mobile phones, and watches. One of the participants added, laughingly, that the community in Mukuru is also getting increasingly selfish:

You have to be selfish so that you can survive. Otherwise if you are Mother Theresa of the village, I am telling you, you will eat dust. These days I do not entertain guests especially at meal times. If it is a must you come then you will have to be content watching us eat because I did not budget for people who are not of my household. Even if neighbours send their children to come eat with us, I will usually have the children sent back to their mothers or wait for us finish eating then you come back.

(Edward Ontita, focus group with male youth, Mukuru, 16 August 2012).

The elders added that prostitution was also widespread as a strategy for addressing high food prices in Mukuru.
5.5 SOURCES OF SUPPORT TO RESPOND TO THREATS TO LIVING WELL

In Mukuru, the sources of support working best to help the research participants cope with change including times of high prices include: the government, community, religious organizations, NGOs, and community-based organizations (CBOs). Table 5.5 analyzes the type of support provided to enhance coping during periods of high food prices and high food prices and drought in Mukuru and Lango Baya respectively.

Table 5.5: Sources and Types of Support to Strengthen Coping During Periods High Prices/Drought

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Type of source</th>
<th>Support</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mukuru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Food, money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Community members, neighbours, friends, self-help</td>
<td>Food, money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>St. Catherine, Mukuru Promotional Centre, Mosque,</td>
<td>Food, school feeding, money, education, water, health services, provide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. Bakhita</td>
<td>free lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Goal, Child Fund, Zinduka Africa, Faraja Trust, Red</td>
<td>Shopping each month, tents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cross</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Community Implementing Initiatives</td>
<td>Food, Medicines (ARV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Member of Parliament/Sonko</td>
<td>Food, jobs, hospital, rent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lango Baya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Chief, Ministries of: Agriculture, Northern Kenya</td>
<td>Relief food, security, business permits, licences, KKV, seeds, fertilisers, healthcare, water, modern farming education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&amp; Arid Lands; KEMRI, JICA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>Merry-go rounds, friends</td>
<td>Savings for members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Catholic Diocese, Mission of Mercy, Catholic Church</td>
<td>Relief food, school fees, school feeding, clothing, free medical services, food to orphans, school uniforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Red Cross, APHIA-Plus, ActionAid, AMREF</td>
<td>Food-for work, modern farming education, clothing, land zypits, water projects, building toilets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBOs</td>
<td>Lango Baya Community Development Programme (LACODEP)</td>
<td>Modern farming education, school feeding, supporting farmers, appeal for help, create awareness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data on institutional maps, listing and grouping from 10 households, 5 key informants, 6 focus groups in Mukuru; and 7 households, 3 key informants, and 5 focus groups in Lango Baya

The analysis in Table 5.5 shows several important issues about the support received to cope with high prices and drought. It is evident in Table 5.5 that the poor and vulnerable in Mukuru and Lango Baya do not seem to benefit from informal support including assistance from customary institutions. This means at least two things: that indeed informal and customary institution/s do not provide support, and/or that these institutions provide support but it is not considered important or it simply taken for granted by the poor and vulnerable.

In Mukuru, it is clear that religious and NGO sources of support are the most responsive. The government and politicians are the least responsive. The informal sources of support are community members, friends, neighbours and self-help groups. Like government they provide food and in some cases money. The religious sources are not only the most responsive, but they are most responsive because they also provide the most diverse support. This support, whilst it targets households, also directly targets children. For government sources of support,
only the chief is identified. This is significant because it shows the great extent to which government does not help the participants in Mukuru cope with high food prices.

Surprisingly, in Lango Baya, the government, religious, and NGO sources are the most responsive whilst the community is least responsive. It appears that informal sources are more helpful in Mukuru than in Lango Baya; and conversely; government sources of support are more helpful in Lango Baya than in Mukuru. Nonetheless, the religious and NGO sources of support are more diverse than the government sources. Unlike the government sources in Mukuru that provide only food and some cash, in Lango Baya government sources are recognized for the provision of security to ensure the safety of people and their assets, and also occasionally providing water and farm inputs.

The above results also support the results of the analysis of important institutions in the two study communities. The process of identifying institutions involved listing then ranking these institutions. For virtually all the participants, importance was judged on the basis of how the institution/s helped or undermined assistance to the communities during high food prices and drought in Mukuru and Lango Baya respectively.

In the figures that follow, the big circle represents the community. Therefore the institutions represented in the circle are those found in the community and the reverse is true. But there are also institutions found both in and outside the communities and these are shown as traversing the community boundary. The size of the diagrams show their relative importance: the bigger the circle representing the institution, the bigger its relative importance.

**Figure 5.4: Institutional map showing important institutions that help coping with high food prices in Mukuru**

Source: Focus group with eight male youths, 16 August 2012
As the institutional map in Figure 5.4 illustrates, in this group of male youth in Mukuru, the Mukuru Promotional Centre (MPC), a para-church organization, was considered as the most important institution. The size of the circles depicting the church and the MPC are considerably larger, confirming their perception of the significance of these institutions in the community. Since MPC has the highest number of pluses, four, it was indisputably the most important institution to the eight male youths. Although the MPC was the most important, the two minus signs indicated that it was not always responsive. Curiously, however, while the MPC was the most responsive and therefore most important, the church was generally viewed as unresponsive. Overall, the mosque in Mukuru was considered least responsive.

Figure 5.5: Institutional map showing important institutions that help coping during drought/high food prices in Lango Baya

Source: Focus group with five men and three women, 20 August 2012

Again from the results in Table 5.5, the church and LACODEP are the most important and responsive. But there were always differences in the ranking, and how the relative importance was depicted on the institutional map in Figure 5.5 shows how the men and women in Lango Baya mapped the important institutions.

Whilst there are variations in the helpfulness or otherwise of institutions in the two study communities, the above analysis suggests that institutions play a critical role in the effectiveness of the support to cope with changes in food prices and other things that threaten the livelihoods and living well for the poor and vulnerable in the study communities.
6 YOUTH AND AGRICULTURE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the future of the youth in Mukuru and Lango Baya. The discussion here is premised upon an increasingly vexing question: why are the youth apparently uninterested in agriculture? The results discussed are based on explorations of specific themes in the two study communities. I start with an evaluation of the occupations and necessities of the youth. This is followed by an assessment of how the youth secure their necessities. Whilst farming features in the livelihoods and aspirations of the young people, it is marginal. Unsurprisingly, the youth look to more secure livelihoods in the formal sector, especially white-collar occupations.

6.2 THE OCCUPATIONS AND NECESSITIES OF THE YOUTH

In both Mukuru and Lango Baya, even though the youth are of generally the same age groups, and equally marginalized, they engage in different occupations. In Mukuru a lot of the households showed that work, especially the government supported Kazi Kwa Vijana (KKV), was an important occupation. One young man’s comments on occupations in Mukuru were instructive of the overall context:

“They have such few spaces available that we all have to compete for the few spaces available. This then places us all in a vulnerable position of wanting to bribe so that we can be considered. It is a trend that I think will not end, because of the increasing population and everyone wants a job.”

(Jakui, Focus group with male youth, Mukuru, 16 August 2012).

Table 6.1 below presents an analysis of the perspectives of the occupations of the youth in the two study communities. The table also shows the range of occupations in which the youth are involved. Mugging and theft was unsurprisingly mentioned five times whilst small business, art/music, washing cars, and playing in local football clubs were mentioned three, two, and one time respectively in Mukuru.

Table 6.1 below presents an analysis of the perspectives of the occupations of the youth in the two study communities. The table also shows the range of occupations in which the youth are involved. Mugging and theft was unsurprisingly mentioned five times whilst small business, art/music, washing cars, and playing in local football clubs were mentioned three, two, and one time respectively in Mukuru.

From Table 6.1, it is clear that the youth in both Mukuru and Lango Baya are commonly engaged in casual work. In Mukuru mainly they are engaged under the auspices of the KKV. While in Lango Baya the youth mainly work as casual workers for owners of bodaboda business, entrepreneurs who own farms and even those who burn charcoal. The difference in occupations for the youth in Mukuru and Lango Baya mainly reflects the urban and rural conditions of the two communities respectively. Hence, in Mukuru, an urban community, occupations such as washing cars, ICT, and playing in local football clubs, even though only mentioned once, are increasingly typical of urban areas. Whilst in Lango Baya, farming, burning charcoal, and crushing stones for building are occupations that are typically found in rural areas.
Table 6.1: Main occupations of the youth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Casual work (KKV)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bodaboda</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugging/theft</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Casual jobs</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small business/trade</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Charcoal burning</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art/music</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washing cars</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Breaking stones for building</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Operating kiosks</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play in local football clubs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Discussions with 10 households in Mukuru and 7 households in Lango Baya

There are some differences however, which are about the communities’ aspirations for the work they would like the youth to perform. Interestingly, however, there was a widespread view in both Mukuru and Lango that the young people were very lazy. The sentiments of Rasoo in Mukuru are typical of what the communities felt of the youth:

Agriculture is good, but here in Mukuru the youth do not want to get tired. Most of us have a rural home to go to but we would rather stay here because of the easy means of getting money.

(Rasoo, Focus group with young women, Mukuru, 12 August 2012)

Surprisingly, Rasoo’s sentiments were widely shared in Lango Baya. One of the key informants in Lango Baya noted:

Look at those ones [referring to young men who were passing by], that is what they do, most youth do not engage in any work. They depend on their parents for everything. Things used to be good during our times. But these days things are very difficult and the youth are having a very difficult time in securing their livelihoods. They do not know how difficult things have become.

(Sahluo, interview, Lango Baya, 16 August 2012)

Notwithstanding the scepticism, the communities had specific aspirations for the young people. Table 6.2 contrasts these preferences for work for the youth in Mukuru and Lango Baya.

Table 6.2: Occupations the communities would like their youth to engage in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complete high school to go to college</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent jobs in government</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Teaching</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors, nurses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Start own business</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual jobs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Formal employment</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Start business</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Drivers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal income-generating activity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bankers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Discussions with 10 households in Mukuru and 7 households in Lango Baya

As Table 6.2 shows, the discussions with households in the two study communities show that there is a strong interest in having the youth in formal white-collar occupations. In Mukuru, however, the discussions revealed a strong desire for the youth to complete secondary school education and eventually join college. The sentiments of a man in a discussion with a group of men in Mukuru were emblematic of this aspiration:
If there could be come colleges and training institutions opened that could help the youth with trainings and skill development, then the youth could be a better lot. Most of the youth these days do not like to tire themselves. They want jobs and activities that give them money in a fast manner. They are not patient enough. That is why you see most of them here engage in crime such as mugs because it is only there where they can get money in a quick way. Colleges could help counter this for their skills would be enhanced and this would help them use them even in self-employment.

(Dasu, Focus group with men, Mukuru, 21 August 2012)

The desire for households in Mukuru to have their youth complete high school and proceed to college does not necessarily mean that in Lango Baya the same is undesirable. That said, these results also simply show an important difference among households’ concerns for the youth in urban and rural communities. Although discussions with households in the two study communities provide a useful perspective of the occupations that the youth engage in, further discussions with the households also show differences in how the youth in their communities secure their necessities. First, I consider the youth’s perspectives on their prioritized necessities. Table 6.3 presents these priorities:

Table 6.3: Community perspectives on important necessities for the youth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mukuru</th>
<th>Lango Baya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Projects by self-help groups, jobs</td>
<td>• Food, shelter, clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Food, Clothing, skills/education</td>
<td>• Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Families, shelter, fun</td>
<td>• Employment, leadership positions, sex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Discussions with 10 households in Mukuru and 7 households in Lango Baya

Table 6.3 shows the Lango Baya households prioritized the necessities of the youth in accordance to Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. In Mukuru, however, jobs and development projects were the most important necessities. Fun and sex were the least important necessities in both study communities. Security – personal and for the community – was identified by the youth in Lango Baya as an important necessity.

Interestingly, however, the analysis of the discussions from the focus groups did not show significant differences to the results from the discussions with households. In Mukuru and Lango Baya, food was identified as the most important necessity for the youth. The other differences were seen in education, employment, business, and homes/shelter all being viewed as the second most important necessity for the youth. In Lango Baya, employment was the second most important, with health, housing, and education next, followed by clothing and recognition by decision makers. One woman in one of the discussions with households observed:

As I shared earlier, my children need education because I don’t want them to lead this kind of life. My husband has never been to school. I did not complete my primary education, my two daughters have to try and at least complete the secondary school certificate of education. I am praying to God that they make me proud. The health care is very critical; you know the girls have to have their sanitary pads every month. This is very important for the girl who has attained puberty. If this need is not met, then they will look for it elsewhere and we can’t forget the risks of early pregnancies.

(Marba, discussion with household, Lango Baya, 21 August 2012)

Because some necessities such as fun and sex were the least prioritized than, say, clothing and education, does not mean that the need is less important to the youth as a whole in the two study communities. The discussions only confirm what were considered important to the research participants.
6.3 SECURING NECESSITIES

According to the discussions in the focus groups, seeking jobs and employment was the most popular method used by the youth to secure their necessities in both Mukuru and Lango Baya. In Lango Baya, farming was just as important as theft and burning charcoal. In Mukuru, however, bribing and acquiring additional skills were as important as seeking jobs and employment. Moreover, ‘connections with connected people’, prostitution, theft, and borrowing were all identified as of equal significance for the youth. A female youth participant’s sentiments in one of the focus groups shows the significance of social capital:

*If you have some connections with the people giving the jobs, even the Kazi Kwa Vijana here, then you are lucky. Otherwise, those with ready money to offer bribes stand higher chances of getting the jobs.*

(Sana, Focus Group with female youth, Mukuru, 13 August 2012)

To secure their necessities, the youth mainly engaged in productive activity such as burning charcoal and casual work in Lango Baya; and casual work and small business/petty trading in Mukuru. But in Lango Baya they only work. They work as bodaboda cyclists, casual workers, burn charcoal, farm, sell illicit alcohol, fish, and even hunt wild game where it is possible. More diverse ways to secure these necessities were identified. These included: connections, self-help groups, paying bribes, getting more education, seeking sponsorship, seeking support from relatives and friends, and theft.

From the above it is clear that for the young people to acquire and secure their necessities, they are invariably exposed to varying risks. Discussions with the research participants, including the youth, revealed a raft of risks. To show the variety, Table 6.4 compares the risks in Mukuru and Lango Baya.

**Table 6.4: Risks involved in securing necessities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Risk</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Risk</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paying bribes, no jobs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Becoming prostitutes</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being arrested, killed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ageing</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No money to contribute</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Becoming poorer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being from self help groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Becoming thieves</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups being disconnected from savings and investments</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Drug trafficking</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups being disconnected from savings and investments</td>
<td></td>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups being disconnected from savings and investments</td>
<td></td>
<td>Contracting dangerous diseases</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groups being disconnected from savings and investments</td>
<td></td>
<td>Being killed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Data from discussions with 10 households in Mukuru and 7 households in Lango Baya; 2 youth focus groups*

6.4 FUTURE FOR THE YOUNG PEOPLE

Since the young people, as the results in this chapter show, are at best dependent upon casual jobs and dangerous occupations, seem to perpetually struggle to secure their necessities, and have tenuous sources of livelihoods, it is not surprising that their lives are fraught with considerable risks. In these conditions, farming seldom features prominently in the livelihoods and aspirations of these young people.

The results from Mukuru and Lango Baya, therefore, suggest that whilst the young people are marginalized, their future in these communities is not likely to ameliorate unless the structures
that keep them marginalized are fundamentally restructured. One of the female youth participants in Mukuru captures some of these structural challenges thus:

*Without an identification card, getting a job in the factories around would be difficult. On the other hand, even if you have the identification card and do not have enough money to bribe, you won't get a job.*

(Aawaru, Focus group with female youth, 13 August 2012)

It should be noted that issuance of identity cards to the youth remains a hotly contested issue in Kenya. Although identity cards are a right to every Kenyan who attains 18 years, the practice where only some youth are given identity cards by the government shows that these are privileges. Ongoing political reforms (Agenda 4 reforms to address the 2007 post-election violence facilitated by former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan) prioritized the issuance of identity cards. In addition to the importance of an ID card in securing employment, the ID card is vitally important in participating in elections. Previous regimes restricted the participation of youth and gerrymandering was employed as a tool for continued control of citizens. Significant concern around identity cards made them an important election issue.32

However, with agriculture accounting for 75 percent of Kenya’s labour force and 23 percent to the Kenya economy,33 it is worrying that the youth do not consider a future in agriculture. Moreover, the fact that agriculture does not feature significantly in the current work of the youth presents serious concerns for the improvement of agriculture. This startling outcome about the future of the youth and agriculture provides a good bridge to consider the overall policy implications of this study. I turn to these in the next section.
7 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Current thinking in social policy shows that little is known about how the poor and vulnerable live during time of high and volatile food prices. This study seeks to contribute to improving the food security prospects of the poor and vulnerable people exposed to high and volatile prices in Kenya. This study should also contribute to food security through more and locally informed public debates, policy dialogue, and practice. In particular the study explores the impact of changes in food security in the past year on the poor and vulnerable in Nairobi and Malindi in Kenya and how the institutional environment at the community level affects their resilience and coping abilities. The study additionally seeks to assess the livelihoods prospects of young people.

The study has shown that the national policy context for social protection, particularly for the poor and vulnerable and their food security, although fast-changing, is not adequately responsive. The study has also shown that during times of high and volatile food prices, the wellbeing of the poor and vulnerable is eroded. The results further showed that because of the poverty and vulnerability of the people in the study communities, it was difficult to establish the extent to which essential nurture of families was affected by high and volatile food prices. The main sources of support to help cope with changes that threatened the wellbeing of the poor and vulnerable were formal. These included mainly the churches and NGOs, CBOs, and government respectively. Finally, the study also found that the livelihood prospects for young people are bleak and agriculture does not feature prominently in these prospects.

The findings of this study call to question the presumed usefulness of institutions, actors, policies and regulations. Specifically, the study shows that unresponsive policy and regulatory frameworks are the main factors that stymie the effectiveness of formal support to enhance the capacities of the poor and vulnerable to cope with changes that threaten their wellbeing.

The research discussed in this report is exploratory and longitudinal and is aimed at contributing to debates on food security, public debates, policy dialogue, and practice. The corollary then is that it cannot extrapolate the conclusions to the entirety of the poor and vulnerable in Mukuru and Lango Baya. Nonetheless, the 154 research participants purposively identified provide specific information and insights on the ways in which the poor and vulnerable live during times of high and volatile food prices in Mukuru and Lango Baya, and the impact of the institutional environment on the effectiveness of the formal and informal sources of support. The findings and conclusions of this study are therefore limited to the research participants. The study points to the adaptation and coping mechanisms of the poor and vulnerable, and the effectiveness of the institutional environment in periods of high, unpredictable and volatile food prices, as key areas on which further social policy research should focus. Since this report covers only a year of the seven-year longitudinal study, we hope to get a better understanding of the adaptation and coping mechanisms of the poor and vulnerable over the remaining three years of the study.
Agriculture Sector Coordination Unit (2011), ‘National Food and Nutritional Security Policy’, Nairobi: Agriculture Sector Coordination Unit.


NOTES

1  See https://www.ids.ac.uk/project/the-social-impacts-of-crisis


12  See https://www.ids.ac.uk/project/the-social-impacts-of-crisis

13  Central Bureau Statistics, 2009

14  Oxfam GB, Concern Worldwide, and Care International (Kenya) (2009)

15  ActionAid Kenya, 1997

16  See for example Ghai and Ghai (undated)


18  Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Development, Republic of Kenya (2009b)


21  Ibid.

22  Mohanty, S. (2011)

23  Ibid.


25  http://ungarevolution.org

26  In Kiswahili literally meaning the woman or women who measure – owners of local pubs that sell various types of illicit alcohol. This alcohol is sold in carefully measured quantities, hence the name Mama piima.

27  Local name for the popular and locally brewed illicit gin.

28  Maungo in the local language means caterpillars. These according to nutritionists are highly nutritional and although are only available during the rare rain season, they are much lived by the people.
Kiswahili, literally meaning 'Work to the Youth', is one of the Government of Kenya responses to the vexing youth unemployment challenge in the country. Starting three years ago, it is funded by the World Bank and implemented through the Office of the Prime Minister.

Public transport motor cycles; but in the context of this study refers to working as a bodaboda cyclist, owning a bodaboda or both.


See for example http://elections.nation.co.ke/news/Mudavadi-rallies-western-to-vote-in-large-numbers-/-/1631868/1706396/-/wnoctp/-/index.html

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report written by Grace Nyonyintono Lubaale was based on research he led in Mukuru, Nairobi and Lango Baya, Malindi. The research team included Nathaniel Kabala, Carolyne Cherop, Nancy Mwangemi Barisa, Joiria Sudi, and Wanga Kitasi. Mr Kizito Oyugi and Habel Charo of LACODEP provided support as local partners in Mukuru and Lango Baya respectively. We are grateful to the research participants for the untiring support and thoughtfulness patiently provided as they explained and analyzed various aspects of their everyday lives.

This research report was commissioned to contribute to public debate and to invite feedback on development and humanitarian policy and practice. It does not necessarily reflect Oxfam or IDS policy positions. The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of Oxfam or IDS or those of the funding organizations.