Researching migration: Gender, migration and use of urban space among older people in Nairobi informal settlements

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Abstract

Using both qualitative and quantitative data collected in two Nairobi slums, this paper seeks to discuss gender based causes of migration as well as the use of urban space. The qualitative data used are largely based on narratives derived from interviews with respondents collected in 2008, centering on their recollections of why they had migrated to Nairobi. The descriptive statistics are based on data collected in 2007 under the Nairobi Urban Health and Demographic Surveillance System (NUHDSS) in the two slums. The quantitative data depends on population based data collected from 619 (32.6%) women and 1278 (67.4%) men aged 50 and above who migrated between 1960 and 2006. The qualitative study was a complementary follow up study to shed light and understand the social context within which migration took place. The use of complimentary methods helped in the analysis and interpretation of data. Although economic reasons may predominate amongst male and female migrants, compared to men, women economic migrants were often supplementary income earners or migrated when the household had suffered a major economic or social shock. Men and women may discuss their migration histories differently. Migration research could benefit from mixed methods. This study will show that in Nairobi slums, men and women may carve out niches in different spaces and that use of space is gendered. The study also corroborates earlier research suggesting that migrant women mostly viewed the urban environment as emancipatory as well as offering chances for personal advancement.

Introduction

Migration literature from the 1970s often related men's rationale for migrating primarily to economic reasons, whilst women were portrayed simply as followers of migrant men or migrating mostly for non-economic reasons (Robertson 1996). In a word, men were viewed as the 'real' migrants, with women being passive objects in the migration process, and therefore not "real" migrants *(*Simmons *et al.,* 1977; Yap, 1977, Balan 1981). It was believed that migrant women moved for family reasons particularly to join their spouse and families in urban areas and therefore were classified as dependents regardless of whether they were financially independent or not (Yinger, 2006).

Although research in Africa has began to acknowledge female migration (Posel, 2003; Collinson et al 2001, Casale and Posel, 2001; De Jong et al 1996) and researchers like Dodson have begun to investigate women's issues in migration (Dodson, 2000; Agwanda et al, 2004), the dearth of literature on this subject compared to other migration topics suggests that more research needs to be done. This may be because migration research in Africa and other third world countries has more often focused on labour migration - (whilst female migrants did not participate actively in the formal sector). Research that has focused on the gendered aspects of migration has consistently pointed out that women are pushed by social factors such as unhappy marriages to migrate to the city (Bozzoli and Nkotsoe, 1991); and that although women may gain personal autonomy and independence as a result of migration (Pessar in Liang and Chen 2004; Whiteford, 1978; Khoo et al 1984), migrant women are at an earnings disadvantage as compared to migrant men (Liang and Chen 2004:425). This paper will show that although men and women may have had similar motives for migration – improving their lives- different considerations may have influenced their decision to migrate.

Throughout the colonial period the rural space has been associated with domestic activities such as rearing of children who could then be the labour reserve for the urban sector as well as rehabilitating sick men who would then be sent back to the urban areas to work after cure (Schmidt 1992; Andersson, 2001). Men would migrate to cities to join

the labour force and the urban space was defined as untamed, dangerous and male. This political history of the creation of rural and urban spaces still impacts on use of space in many African cities. Urban space can still be regarded as gendered and ageist (Jaeckel and Geldermalsen, 2006; Jewson and MacGregor, 1997). Gendered urban spaces can determine what women and men can do or what they can aspire for even as they make their migration decisions. Other studies on urban space have shown that men have more control over urban space and access to employment opportunities, whilst women suffer discrimination and exclusion, sometimes because of fear of harassment and violence (Garvey 1995; for a wider discussion, see Harvey 1985 on the concentration of power in space).Research in Nairobi slums shows that men and women may carve out niches in different spaces and older women may mostly view the urban environment as emancipatory as well as offering chances for personal advancement.

Definitions

Old age officially has often been pegged at retirement ages which may vary from country to country. The retirement age in Kenya is 55. For most countries, the retirement age is between 60 and 65. Many academic papers arbitrarily use the 60 – 65 age as a cut-off point, for defining older people. 'The United Nations identifies….populations who have reached the age of 60 years as "older persons"' (Huber 2005:2). Some studies in Africa use age 50 as the arbitrary identifier of an older person (see McIntyre, 2004); following that trend this paper regards people aged 50 and over as older.

A migrant refers to anyone who came to stay in Nairobi from elsewhere in the country. This person may have first moved to other areas of Nairobi but of interest is the recollected reason for the move to the city. Although it may be difficult to offer a precise definition of space, sociologists and geographers are largely in agreement that although space may have physical elements, it is largely socially 'produced' and 'constructed' (Unwin, 2000:12).

Methodology, methods and data analysis

Selection of sample

This paper is based on both qualitative and quantitative data collected from Korogocho and Viwandani slum areas in Nairobi, Kenya. Both the qualitative and quantitative studies (under the Urbanization and Health Dynamics Program – UPHD) are nested onto the Nairobi Urban Health and Demographic Surveillance System (NUHDSS), a longitudinal study implemented by the African Population and Health Research Center (APHRC) in the two slum communities since 2000. The NUHDSS involves visits to every household once every four months and covers about 60,000 people in some 23,000 households. The quantitative migration study collected detailed migration histories, to understand where else had the respondents lived prior to coming into the slums, to investigate patterns and reasons for migration among residents in Nairobi's informal settlements; to investigate socioeconomic status prior to the last migration, and socioeconomic linkages with origin homes and to understand how these may affect current and future health related outcomes from a random panel sample of 12638 of the total population above the age of 12. Of this sample close to 2000 were people aged 50 and above.

Using the NUHDSS as a sampling frame, APHRC designed a nested qualitative follow-up study to investigate the reasons and motivations for migrating, whether people perceive themselves as failed or successful migrants, as well as any social networks they may maintain in both urban and rural areas. Thus, by collecting the life histories of migration, the qualitative study sought to understand the individual circumstances and contexts that may result in people migrating to cities. Using In-depth Interviews (IDIs) the study focused on a total of 97 individuals aged 15 and above who were randomly selected from the NUHDSS data base taking equal care to have an equal number of men and women in all age categories in the two slum areas. The sample was divided into 5 age categories: 15-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, and 50+. Initially participants were to be selected according to their duration of stay within the slum to understand how duration of stay

impact on migration outcomes. However, this approach was abandoned to follow the life course approach after realising the importance of the life course in determining who migrates and for what reason (Root and De Jong, 1991) and the assumption that at 15 years of age people may be able to make independent migration decisions. The study aimed to recruit twenty respondents in each category but for the older people failed to contact two people in the sample. Therefore this paper relies on 18 in depth interviews involving people aged 50 years and older.

The study was carried out soon after the controversial December 2007 elections in Kenya. The political situation at the time of the qualitative study made it difficult to get all the people that had been initially sampled as some people had moved out during the period of the post election violence. As a result we had to have at least two replacement samples. Field workers were assigned according to ethnicity; since villages within the slum areas are ethnically homogenous field workers expressed concern about working in some villages because of their ethnicity. We ended up having two field workers of different ethnicities in each field site who then shared the work amongst themselves depending on the areas they would feel safe working in. Security people from the local communities were employed to accompany field workers and provide protection. However these security people would not be present during the interview. All in-depth interviews were carried out in Swahili. All interviews were tape recorded; the tapes were then transcribed and translated into English. After reading the transcripts, the interviews were then coded using Nud*ist 6.0, a coding, software used in the analysis of qualitative data.

This paper is also based on 1897 older people (from the quantitative migration sample) who had migrated to Nairobi for the first time between 1960 and 2006. Of the 1897, 619 were women and 1278 men. Data was analysed using STATA 9.0 software. This paper restricts analysis to 1897 people who migrated between 1960 and 2006. This is so because only a small number of people in the sample migrated before 1960. At the same time, since we are interested in migration behaviour of both men and women the period after 1960 is interesting because available literature points to female dominance in net

migration around this time. The rate of women migration into town in Kenya also rose during this period after independence in 1963 which repealed colonial legislation that restricted migration into the urban area. In the 1960s world wide women accounted for 52.1% of all net rural-urban migration while in Africa, during this time rural-urban migration was balanced between men and women (Singelmann, 1993).

Mixed Methods

The research design entailed that the quantitative research tool was the principal tool for data gathering. As noted by Morgan (1998:366) 'the first step in research design process is to select a principle data collection method that has strengths that are most important to the project' goals. The second step is to select a contrasting complementary method that offer a set of strengths that can add to the research design's overall ability to meet the project's goals'. Since the Migration study was part of a larger project that sought to understand health consequences of rapid urbanization and growing urban poverty a large scale survey was appropriate to enable a holistic understanding, to understand community trends and generalize the findings to the whole community. The qualitative study was then designed to collect contextual information and to investigate emerging findings that came out of the quantitative analysis. For example, findings from other studies seem to point to the fact that widowed, single and divorced women are more likely to migrate to the city and this is linked to their status. However, the qualitative research in this study managed to go beyond the link between the migration event and marital status of women and seek to understand the other social and extraneous variables that may make widowed and divorced women migrate to the city apart from their widowhood status. The current qualitative study was also designed to help understand some pertinent issues related to migration that should be investigated further using surveys in future.

Although information was available from the quantitative data on reasons for migration and other demographic indicators, the qualitative method employed provided 'interpretive resources for understanding results for the quantitative research' (Morgan,

1998:362). For instance although data may show us that most men and women migrate for economic reasons, such data may not clarify the contexts within which migration decisions are made as well as the meanings people attach to events such as finding a job which may be different for men and women. As noted by Lyytinen, 1987 (cited in Kaplan and Duchon, 1988: 573) because quantitative studies are 'restricted to readily measured static constructs, they neglect aspects of the cultural environment, and social interaction and negotiation that could affect not only the outcomes, but also the constructs under study'. The qualitative research helped in situating the quantitative research into the context.

Generating space

The social construction of space may be determined by political, historical and cultural considerations.   Thus women who ventured into urban areas where regarded with suspicion and labelled prostitutes who had to be deported back to the rural areas in periodic round ups of prostitutes in large cities (see White 1990). In this study the slum space was generated by focusing on the distinction and continuity between rural and urban, how power determines access to certain areas within the neighbourhoods , fear of crime and violence (and how it affected what people could do or not) as well as well as the moral economy of trust within the neighbourhood.

Newbold (2007) notes that geographers rely on large data sets to understand the role of space in 'immigration, migration and assimilation….the only way to really grasp the role of geography is by using large public data files, with such sources enabling analysis at a variety of different geographic scales including the nation, region, state, county, metropolitan area and within metropolitan areas'. However this study relied mostly on qualitative data about how people feel about their neighbourhoods and how this may relate to migration as well as their subsequent use of urban space. Thus to generate the slum space we depended on what people said about the places they lived in, what was good about their communities, what was bad, would they wish to go back to their places of origin and why. Although no specific space questions were asked a reading of the transcripts showed that how people interpreted space played an important role in

migration as well as in how people adapted to their new surroundings and sometimes even partly influenced people's intentions to migrate out of the slum area. This data was then collaborated with quantitative data available on why men and women in the older people sample said they came to Nairobi, whether they felt safe from crime and violence within their communities, and whether they trusted people in their neighbourhood. For instance the aging survey had a section that looked at issues of community perception and security. This section asked questions on whether older people felt safe from crime and violence when they are alone at home, when walking in the community after dark as well as whether they trusted their neighbours. The migration survey had a section on employment history showing the kinds of occupations people were engaged in. Thus the community perception and security section of the aging survey was merged with the migration survey in STATA 9.0 using individual identification numbers. All respondents who were in the aging sample but not in the migration sample were dropped. In light of the qualitative findings the results from these sections in the survey could be used to explain space issues.

Data analysis

At the conceptualization of this paper purely qualitative approaches were followed. For instance, there was an in-depth reading of transcripts (Individual Interviews) and data was coded and then analyzed paying attention to emerging themes. On the other hand, there was a concern that although the findings of the qualitative study were interesting no definite conclusions could be made because of the small N of the qualitative sample. As a result attention moved towards exploring the existing quantitative data with the aim of interpreting the quantitative data in light of the qualitative findings and largely to see if the qualitative findings were complementing the quantitative findings.

Context

No one knows precisely when the original settlers moved into Korogocho and Viwandani. Korogocho covers an area of about 49.2 hectares. It is located about 12 kilometers from Nairobi city center. Viwandani covers an area of about 3 kilometers length, and 1 kilometer width. It is located about 7 kilometers from Nairobi city center.

Eighteen percent of the total migrant population in the two slums consists of persons of age 50 and above. Table 1, shows the Age and sex distribution of migrants in the two slums

Table 1

Sex and age distribution of migrant population %			
Age category	Female %	Male %	Total %
Under 15 years	2.81	1.58	2.195
15-19	6.79	3.8	5.295
20-29	38.09	28.76	33.425
30-39	25.06	29.08	27.07
40-49	10.97	15.9	13.435
50-54	6.27	10	8.135
55+	10.01	10.88	10.445
Total Number	**4,166**	**5,949**	**10,115**
Total %	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: NUHDSS

Of the total slum migrant population 16% of women and 20% of men are aged 50 and above. On the other hand Viwandani has a lower proportion of older migrants at 8.6% of the total population while the percentage in Korogocho is 22% of the total population. At the age of 60+ Korogocho still has a high proportion of older migrants at 12.8% of the total population whilst the percentage of older migrants at this age in Viwandani is low at 9.8%. This may be related to the nature of the two slums where Viwandani is a highly mobile community with migrants coming to work in the industries whilst Korogocho is more stable and offers possibilities of aging in situ.

Results

Gender and Migration

Through-out the period under study the absolute numbers of female migrants have always been lower than the numbers of male migrants. Using retrospective migration histories of when older people interviewed in 2006 came to Nairobi, it seems that the proportion of

women who came into the slum between the 1960s and 1979 (as a function of the total female population) was higher than the proportion of men who came to Nairobi during the same period (as a function of the total female population) (see graph 1 below).

Graph 1
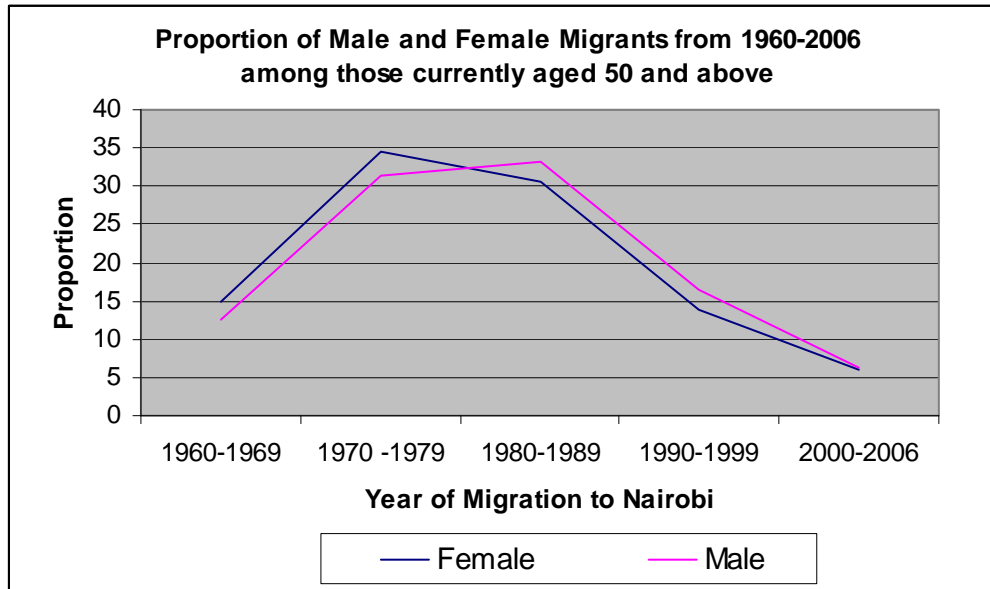
Source: NUHDSS (total number 1897)

However the proportion of female migrants who came into Nairobi compared to the total female population declined from 1980 onwards.

Rural-urban migration has largely been construed as a youth phenomenon. For instance, the fact that the average age of migration for those aged between 50 and 59 ranged from 27.4 and 34.5 makes it apparent that rural urban migration is selective of youthful population (Beguy, unpublished). The selective nature of migration in terms of age may be tied closely to the reasons for migration, where people largely migrate to look for jobs in the big cities (about 69% of both men and women migrated for job related reasons) (see Graph 2 below).

Graph 2: Reasons for migration among older people aged 50 and above

Reasons for coming to Nairobi among older people 50+
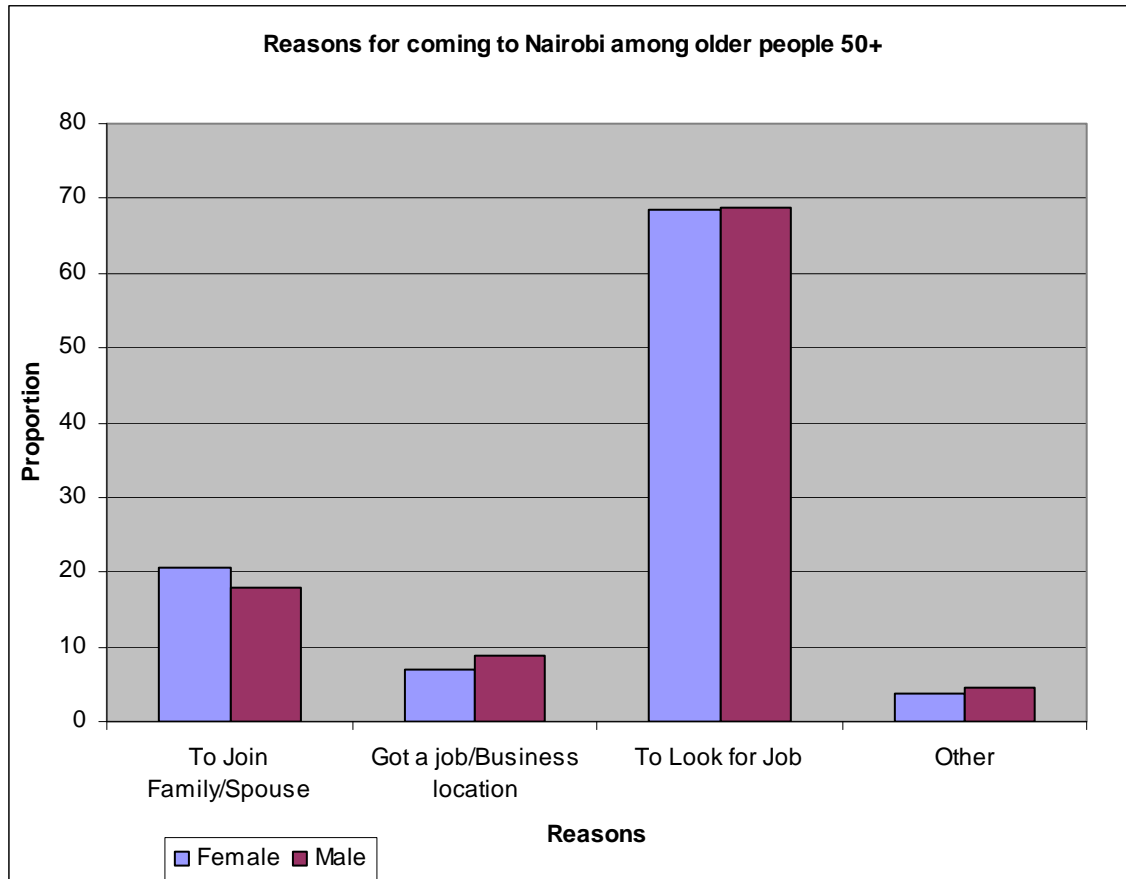
However it is clear that people who migrated because they had a job were fewer than people who migrated because of the prospects of getting a job after relocating. Thus the development agenda which favored urban areas at the expense of rural areas skewed the opportunity structures in favor of urban areas.

Table 2 below is a summary of the reasons why the older people in the qualitative study said they came to the city, and the age at which they came to the city.

Table 2

Gender	Age at first stay in NRB	Age Now	Reason for migration
Female	38	50	After divorce she wanted a free space where her grandchildren and children could visit her freely
Female	20	57	She left her husband to come to Nairobi to earn a living for her and her children after the husband married a second wife
Female	42	53	A widow who came to Nairobi to sell banana and other fruits to earn a living for herself and her children
Female	20	63	Was single came to earn a living because her father had joined the Mau Mau freedom fighters and their land was taken away.
Female	33	53	She left her parents' house because her sisters in law were treating her badly. She was divorced and had stayed with her parents for several years until she decided to come to Nairobi to avoid quarrelling with he sisters-in-law.
Female	37	56	They had a small plot of land in the rural areas and she was always quarrelling with her parents in law so her husband decided to invite her to come to Nairobi
Female	44	50	They had two children in secondary school so she came to join her husband in Nairobi get a job to assist him to get money for the children's school fees
Female	25	58	There were lots of problems at home and there was no one to help, so she decided to get a job to assist her parents and siblings.
Female		51	She came to look for a job – her father made her come
Female		50	Came to join her spouse but they divorced soon afterwards.
Male	9	56	Came with parents
Male	53	54	To look for a job
Male	14	62	
Male	39	58	Came to Nairobi to get a job to look after his children and parents
Male	47	60	He came to follow his wife because he felt lonely after the wife and her mother migrated to Nairobi
Male	25	53	He had just gotten married and decided to come to Nairobi to look for a job. It was easy in the 1980s to get casual jobs for unskilled people
Male	29	55	Moved to Nairobi when the company he was working for relocated to Nairobi
Male	46	53	To get a job so that he could pay for his children's school fees.

Source: Qualitative Migration Data (APHRC)

When asked about the reason why they had migrated to the city two male respondents pointed to employment opportunities as the major reason. A 54 year old man who had been living in Nairobi for 1 and half years said, 'I came to look for a job but eventually I settled on sharpening knives.' After being asked why he came to Nairobi the second man said:

> R: In the same way you left your rural home to come to Nairobi to look for a job and you were employed is for the same reason I left Ithanga. There were a few problems here and there and that is why I decided to come and look for employment in Nairobi…, if you have a family, they want to be taken care of by their father, you have your own personal needs and if your parents are still alive, then you have to take care of their upkeep, and such issues. (58 year old married man who had been living in Nairobi for 19 years)

Two women who were asked why they had come to Nairobi said:

> …when I got married and my husband decided to marry another wife, I was not amused at all because I had been brought up in a polygamous family and I knew the pain that comes with it.
>
> I: Ok, is there any other reason as to why you left home in Nyeri to come and live in Nairobi?
>
> R: No, I just wanted to find a way to earn money to be able to take care of the children. We do not have a farm in Nyeri so it was quite difficult. (57 year old divorced woman)

The second woman said:

> R: I came to Nairobi because of problems in the home. We didn't have a father because he ran away during the emergency period. We had to look for ways of fending for ourselves because there was no money and our mother was all alone. A neighbour from upcountry told me to come and try and earn a living in Nairobi. I came all the way because of problems and there was no help from parents. There were no farms for us because they were snatched from us by the settlers (female age 63 and married).

The above quotations suggest that men and women may talk about their migration histories in different ways. For instance although both men and women said they to came

to Nairobi to look for jobs, when asked men would just point to the job factor whilst women first referred to the social context within which the decision to migrate was made and then refer to jobs as the reason they chose to come to Nairobi. This is a key contribution of the qualitative study because surveys ask for the most important reason for migrating but do not contribute to an understanding of why getting a job in Nairobi was critical.

The qualitative interviews also suggest that male and female migrants may have different perspectives on the value they attach to getting a job. Single women tied getting a job with achieving personal autonomy whilst men who migrated to Nairobi mostly did so because they were married and were seeking for ways to look after their families (only 2 men in the qualitative sample came to Nairobi before getting married). Below is what a divorced woman said about why she came to Nairobi:

> R: For a married woman to leave her matrimonial home and go back to her parents is not normally received well with the occupants of that home and that is what happened to me. I could not even get assistance from my sister in laws who were treating me as if I was their co-wife; and they also spoke badly about me. To solve the problem, I thought it would be better if I moved out and look for alternative means of survival.…
> I thought I could come to Nairobi and get a job.
> (53 year old woman who had been divorced several years before coming to Nairobi).

For these women, the act of migration was tied to autonomy as evidenced by the fact that even for divorced women migrating to Nairobi was not always their first choice. Another divorced woman pointed out that after separating from her husband she decided to come to Nairobi because she wanted a place where her children and grand children would feel free to visit her 'without being a nuisance to other people'.

Migrants who came to Nairobi because they got married, or because they wanted to join spouses account for 6% of female and 4% of male migrants. In the qualitative sample two women and one man came to Nairobi to join their spouses. What is apparent from the qualitative data is that following a spouse is usually related to economic rationalizations by families and individuals. One woman pointed out that she had quarrelled with her in-

law and at the same time the piece of land she had was too small to sustain her family so she migrated to Nairobi. As shown below the second woman said that she had come to Nairobi to assist her husband:

> R: We had two children in secondary school and it was not easy for their father to handle this problem. Life became difficult for us and it was not easy to manage the upkeep of the family. I decided to come and look for a job to assist him. I do casual jobs in Baba Dogo   (Female age 50, married casual labourer, Viwandani)

Where it was not economical to have the wife follow sometimes the phenomenon of split families arose with the wife and other family members such as children staying in the rural areas to look after land and livestock whilst the husband lived and worked in Nairobi. On the other hand those who did not own land and animals usually uprooted the whole family to come to Nairobi. The only man who migrated to Nairobi to follow his wife pointed out that it was because he was lonely and also because his rural home was a dry area entailing lack of water which in turn meant that families could not produce enough food to last them throughout the year. Where there was lack of land, no prospects of viable agriculture, it was highly likely that spouses and other household members would join the original migrant at a later stage. On being asked why she had come to Nairobi and left her children in the rural areas a married female migrant said:

> R: I have my own homestead away from the family and I didn't see the need to leave the compound without any family member. Thieves would come and steal or destroy my property if they realize there is no one in the compound.

Thus married women may come to the city as secondary earners of income. Where, the opportunity cost of women coming to the city is high (taking into consideration property and land in the rural areas), the wife may remain in the rural areas.

For both men and women, migration may have been a response to increasing family responsibilities. For instance, if the family expanded through marriage men would feel compelled to migrate in search of a job to be able to look their families. For instance one respondent who had left school to come to Nairobi after he got married pointed out that although he had enough land to cultivate he did not have enough money to cultivate it profitably. He then decided to come to Nairobi because, in the 1980s, it was easy for

unskilled labour to get casual jobs in industries. He regarded coming to Nairobi as a panacea to his problems as he said 'I decided to come to Nairobi since I had a wife and children who needed to be catered for and my problems were increasing daily. I had to find a way to sort them out quickly,' (53 year old male store keeper who came to Nairobi at the age of 25). A number of respondents also pointed to deciding to come to Nairobi to get jobs to enable them to pay school fees for their children. Thus to understand migration decision a model that integrates both social and economic reason for migration will help researchers understand fully migration behaviour.

Space

It was clear that in the pre-migration stage regardless of age at migration both men and women interpreted urban space as a space awash with economic opportunities. However the economic activities that men and women went into when they first came into the urban areas were slightly different. When asked about their first jobs most women in the qualitative sample pointed to engaging themselves in domestic service jobs whilst men pointed to casual labour in industries. This may have been a continuation of the gender roles that men and women had been engaged in their rural homes. Thus, the continuity between the rural and the urban space -(social space)- with women predominating in the domestic sphere and men the public. Men and women tended to seek to exploit economic activities located in different sectors of the urban milieu. NUHDSS data indicates that in 2006 for older people more than 70% of women and about 50% of men were engaged in petty trading (Ezeh et al 2006 source NUHDSS). This may also have been as a result of the general low levels of education among women in the slums compared to men which meant that women were more likely to enter into occupations that require low education and less skill compared to men.

Even within the informal sector activities that men and women engage in may be different and this is directly related to their use of urban space. For instance it has been noted elsewhere that slum areas in Nairobi suffer from violence and marginalization and other forms of discrimination which make them vulnerable to crime and its concomitant

insecurity (Mudege et al 2008). This, according to Proto (2003) has led to the formation of geographies of fear and marginality within Nairobi. The insecurity that people feel may impact on how they are able to manipulate the urban space for their advantage. It is indicative in discussions that old people felt that they had lost control of over urban space to younger men who they often referred to as thugs. In some cases the young men provided security services in return for a fee. Those who did not pay the security fee would not be protected.

R: There are problems here because you cannot run a business here…You son, my son and our neighbours' sons team together and….mug people around here even during the day….. I had plenty of customers including those with cars. He told me that his son wants to start the same business so I had to leave the place but continued with the local brew. Any time during the night when customers are seated busy enjoying themselves, the boys come in carrying guns and ask for all the money you have sold for on that day….. With a gun on your forehead or back….you better give everything them and be left alive. The sad bit is that the person who is doing that you know him very well….One person was shot after he refused to talk to them. He was stopped in a pickup and he refused to stop. He was shot and died on the spot. At that rate I stopped that business and started the water business. After a while, they came again, bring the finance. I got tired and gave up on everything.

R2 (Wife of respondent): Today there is no shop around here because by six, the youth start manning the roads mugging people. Every single night, hear screams from people being robbed.

R: …This place there is a security risk. If there had been security I would not have been here because I have tried all sorts of businesses but these boys are the ones hindering progress. I would not have rented this house, but turned it into a business.

The risky nature of large business (by slum settlement standard) where people may be asked to pay protection fee to the gangs of young men running protection rackets may have made women shy away from going into established business and instead preferred

petty trading activities. Petty traders -who are usually women- trade at their doorsteps or walk around the slum areas selling their wares. They often do not make enough money to attract the youths controlling the urban space from which they eke out their living. Older men who could also not keep up with the insecurities and of running the established slum businesses would also drop out. Control over space can also accord people economic power as they may decide to use their space in ways that may make them gain an income. Even if one owns a place the power relations that play themselves out in that space may in the end determine how that space is going to be used.

From discussing with people about the reason why they came to the city it was apparent that they conceived of the urban space as characterized by relative ease of entry compared to rural spaces. This was so because the money economy to a larger extent determined who could have access to what space. Talking about urban living a woman said,

> *R: Money is the source of everything. With money, there are no problems, if it is school fees, you will pay, you will eat, and you will pay all your bills without even anyone knowing what you do. Money sorts out almost if not all, problems*

For instance, divorced women who could not be successfully reintegrated into their maiden families found it easier to carve a niche for themselves in the urban milieu where entry was determined more on the basis of availability of cash enables an individual to have access to space of their own compared to rural areas where utilization of space could be related to existing social relations with brothers or sisters in law. Where the rural areas were regarded by these women as fraught with conflict, the urban area was regarded as a peaceful space where one could flourish away from family. Even for men with no access to rural land the urban space could be entered and utilized easily than rural areas where land is controlled by patriarchs.

However contrary to the perception of ease of entry, a common thread in all interviews was that most respondents had not managed to fully exploit the urban space to their

advantage and expressed a desire to relocate to rural areas. The only landlord in the sample said he would not consider living in the rural areas since he had to stay in the slum and manage his properties. Problems that were pointed out that make life in the slums difficult for the older people included poverty, insecurity (harassment by young men), overcrowding and a polluted environment. The urban space was fraught with contradictions on the one hand offering a promise of unlimited opportunities whilst on the other hand it was difficult to exploit those opportunities in the context of marginalized communities such as the two slum areas under study.

Conclusion

To fully understand migration it might be necessary to use complementary methods (both qualitative and quantitative). When used together, these methods can yield a deeper understanding of migration issues, the decisions that people make as well as how they interpret specific actions. A combination of methods may be able to have more meaningful policy implications. For example, if women interpret the urban space as offering freedom from patriarchal controls, policies that seek to reduce migration by only increasing employment opportunities in the sending areas may not yield the desired results. Using complimentary methodologies this study noted that although men and women have similar migration reasons (in terms of large proportions of people in these categories migrating for economic reasons) the qualitative data indicates that they may discuss migration histories in different ways. Where men go straight to the economic reasons of why they migrated women first discuss the social context within which migration takes place and when probed further the economic reasons for migration may begin to come up. This may have implications for the nature of collected quantitative data, especially where it comes to the reason for migration. Since respondents are expected to choose from a set of answers, surveys may not enable researchers to understand the entire context within which migration decisions were made.

Using mixed methods to investigate enhances a better understanding of migration pathways and outcomes. Quantitative data allowed for a more nuanced analysis. For

example the qualitative data had only 18 cases. As a result turning to the quantitative sample with more cases to observe and derive conclusions strengthened the overall data analysis. However, the qualitative study is severely limited in terms of number of cases that can be analyzed per category. Financial and other resources allowing it may be useful to have a slightly bigger sample for the qualitative study until saturation point that is until no new ideas are coming up in further interviews. This may increase the ability to generalize from the qualitative studies and may give strength to the overall analysis.

Although a high proportion of female migrants also pointed to migrating for economic reasons the qualitative data shows that at migration among the older migrants women were mostly supplementary earners of incoming following to help their husbands or to assist their families in times of trouble. Kanaiaupuni (2000:1315) notes a similar trend in Mexico by noting that 'women sometimes migrate to generate an income but as secondary earners, they may work only in times of family hardships, providing a shock absorber effect compelled by high male unemployment and financial strain'. This was apparent in the qualitative data where women narrated the social hardships that had forced them to migrate to the city whilst men simply stated that they had come to find jobs. However, even for men who migrated for economic reasons some of them may have migrated after they got married to get jobs to look after their families. Even for those women who came to join their husbands some pointed out that they had also come to work to supplement their husband's income which was not enough to cover the family's needs. Combining the two methods of data collection and analysis show that a theory of migration that is premised on a dichotomy between economic and social reasons may not be able to fully explain migration motivations. Furthermore, it is apparent from the literature review section that political dispensations of the time may determine who migrates and when. Therefore in agreement with Massey (1990:5) household migration decisions are affected "by local socioeconomic conditions; that local conditions are, in turn, affected by evolving political, social, and economic structures at the national and international levels; and that these interrelationships are connected to one another over time. Analysts must therefore construct multilevel data sets that include event-history information compiled simultaneously at the individual, household, and community levels,

and work out appropriate theoretical and statistical models to analyze them'. In addition to which complementary methods should be used to tease out certain observed relationships.

The nature of the community into which people move into may also have an impact on return migration in old age. For instance as has been made clear in this paper, Viwandani, which is mostly a settlement constituting of migrant industrial workers may not have been conducive to aging in situ as opposed to Korogocho which is more settled and had a high percentage of elderly people compared to Viwandani. Future research on aging and migration in the two communities may focus on characteristics of older migrants as well as the community characteristics of the two communities that may lead to different migratory outcomes for elderly people.

Ownership and control of slum space is contested and the power play within certain spaces may determine who has access and who can use the available space for what purposes. As noted by Koskela (1999:112) space, '…is produced not only in political and economic processes but in the practices and power relations of everyday life including gender relations. Furthermore as is still rarely discussed-feelings and emotions also contribute in the process of producing space.' As in this case it emerged that men had more control of urban spaces that yielded higher economic yields and that coincided with their identities as masculine. Qualitative studies are able to delve deeply into the power relations and emotions that may pervade the use of space compared to quantitative studies.

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