

Twice Displaced: Women Navigating Climate-Induced Flooding and Evictions in Nairobi's Informal Settlements Amidst U.S. Aid Retrenchment

Prof. Dr. Angela R. Pashayan¹, Mr. Ikeh Elvis Kenekwku²

¹Professor, Pol.Science, Howard University

²MA, Int'l Development, American University

Abstract

In Nairobi, Kenya, women living in Mukuru, an informal settlement along Nairobi's Ngong River, bear the brunt of severe annual flooding intensified by climate change. In June of 2025, The Kenyan government demolished over 20,000 homes near the Ngong River following the May 2024 floods. No resettlement plans were offered, leaving thousands—primarily women and children—homeless and exposed. The study explores the experiences of twice-displaced women, who face compounded vulnerabilities as both slum residents and victims of state-led demolitions. The PI collected qualitative data through a focus group of 20 women who were asked 10 semi-structured interview questions addressing livelihoods, safety, access to food and water, period poverty, and governance. Results reveal that women shoulder disproportionate burdens of environmental and social crises. On top of the existing job insecurity in informal settlements, women experience heightened sexual exploitation, loss of identity documents, and exposure to disease, while navigating exclusion from political decision-making as they make efforts to rebuild their home. Research findings show that these women are resilient, despite repeated setbacks. The women call for government fairness, mentorship, and collective organization. Their voices illuminate the need for broader discussions on gender, climate justice, and urban and poverty, particularly highlighting the urgent need for more attention to development in informal settlements. The findings reinforce that women in informal settlements are potential leaders in creating equitable and sustainable recovery systems.

Keywords: climate floods, women & gender, displacement, informal settlements, Nairobi Kenya, Mukuru Slum

Introduction

During the Aid era, gender was at the forefront of U.S. foreign aid policy. The Biden administration selected a woman as Vice President. Further, it emphasized gender equity through an executive order - White House Gender Policy Council - to elevate policy on advancing women and girls (White House, 2023). The policy informed the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to put its Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Programs in high gear (USAID, 2012). USAID integrated

empowerment outcomes globally across strategic planning, project design, and monitoring and evaluation, with a 90-day deadline to develop a framework.

Building on this, the U.S. 2023 Strategy on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) reaffirmed that women's participation, protection, relief and recovery, institutionalization, and partnerships are central to national and international stability (U.S. Department of State, 2023).

Yet within this global policy framework, the lived experiences of women in marginalized urban settlements reveal a sharp disconnect between international development theory, political policy and local realities. The informal settlement of Mukuru, located along the banks of the Ngong River in Nairobi, Kenya, is emblematic of this disjuncture. Mukuru is located in a flood-zone along the Ngong River where urban encroachment, inadequate drainage, and climate change combine to make annual flooding a recurrent crisis (Brookings Institution, 2023; KARA Trust, 2023). In the spring of 2024, torrential rains caused widespread flooding, precipitating a state-led demolition of informal dwellings built along the riparian zone of the river (Institute of Development Studies, 2024; VOA Africa, 2024).

The Kenyan government demolished over 20,000 homes along the river in Mukuru Slum despite ongoing international efforts to promote gender-sensitive disaster-preparedness policies in Kenya (UNDP, 2021). For the displaced women of Mukuru, the ordeal is double: first by managing a household informally, and second by forced demolition as ostensibly a protection from flooding (Brookings Institution, 2023; Amnesty International, 2024). Women bear the compounded burdens of food insecurity, period poverty, disrupted livelihoods, and diminished safety nets. These issues are consistent with findings that climate-induced displacement heightens gender inequality (Anastario et al., 2009; Vu et al., 2014; UNDP, 2021; UN Women, 2023; World Bank, 2024). Men turn to the family matriarchs to manage makeshift shelters and meal preparation while they seek casual work, thus layering additional gendered responsibilities on women already marginalized (Pashayan, 2024; Veda, 2023). These dynamics raise urgent questions about the surmounting pressure on women in contexts of climate-induced displacement, particularly in a policy environment with a significant reduction of U.S. support for women and girls abroad (World Economic Forum, 2023; USAID, 2022). In this setting, ignoring the voices of these twice-displaced women—those living in slums and then forcibly relocated by flood or demolition—is a setback in women's empowerment initiatives. Using a qualitative survey of 10 targeted questions, this study explores how women in Mukuru experience and narrate their daily lives, employment prospects, safety, food, menstrual insecurity, and housing instability following the 2024 flood-demolition event.

Literature Review

This literature review examines scholarly perspectives on twice-displaced women resulting from climate-related flooding in Nairobi. It is categorized under four key themes: (1) Causes of Twice Displacement, (2) Gendered Impact of Climate Displacement, (3) Socioeconomic and Psychological Consequences, and (4) Policy and Governance in Disaster Response. These themes will help highlight the challenges that twice-displaced women face as they are critically evaluated in existing policies and proposed solutions.

Causes of Twice Displacement

According to the Othering & Belonging Institute at UC Berkeley (2025), the increasing intensity of flooding and prolonged drought are the main climate hazards in Kenya, negatively impacting lives and livelihoods. Disasters make recovery increasingly difficult, putting communities in jeopardy of access to food, water, economic opportunities, and forcing them to relocate repeatedly in search of better conditions

(Kimutai et al., 2024). The Belonging Institute has a long record of advancing groundbreaking approaches to mitigate structural marginalization.

As scholars, organizers, communicators, researchers, artists, and policymakers, the evolving group has contributed to statistical analysis for nine years across 23 countries. The Institute's work explicitly includes the effects of climate change on marginalized communities. Their findings on the growing floods and droughts in Kenya identify environmental dangers, and challenges within systems and institutions that make it hard for vulnerable communities to recover. Urban marginalization and weak governance are revealed through climate displacement (Human Rights Watch (2024)). Their annual reports show a consistent focus on structural vulnerabilities, particularly in urban informal settlements like Mathare, Mukuru kwa Njenga, and Kariobangi, where residents suffer the worst flood impacts, which destroy homes, leave people homeless, and increase public health risks such as malaria, cholera, and diarrhea.

Gendered Impact of Climate Displacement

Women face disproportionate risks during climate-induced displacement, particularly in terms of gender-based violence, economic hardship, and social marginalization (Anastario et al., 2009). The 2009 research found that gender-based violence was documented during and after extreme weather events, with the rates increasing from 4.6-16.3/100,000 per day after Hurricane Katrina in 2005 (Allen & Henderson, 2021). Their finding adds to the global trend, where disasters intensify pre-existing gender inequalities, placing displaced women and the girl child at greater risk of physical and sexual violence.

Vu et al. (2014) offer one of the most comprehensive global analyses of gender-based violence in humanitarian settings, with their findings especially relevant to this research focus on Nairobi's informal settlements. Vu et al. (2014) report that one in five women in refugee camps, a place where they should be safe, experience sexual violence. Women remain vulnerable even after being relocated, especially in overcrowded shelters and informal settlements. The United Nations Development Programme (2021) report also found that daily tasks that are directly affected by weather conditions, increase women's risk of sexual assault and domestic violence (Allen & Henderson, 2021).

Socioeconomic and Psychological Consequences

Women are often left responsible for the survival of themselves. Greenpeace documented stories of climate-displaced women in an annual report from 2022. The research revealed that women are the ones who make sure that children and the elderly are safe (Greenpeace Unearthed, 2022). Displacement affects both those who leave and those who stay. Older women who remain behind face unique hardships; left to care for abandoned homes and abandoned children. The unequal burden on women to manage both the emotional and economic trauma is great (Greenpeace Unearthed, 2022). Displacement. Traditional gender roles often assign women the primary responsibility for household tasks such as fetching water, collecting firewood, and caregiving (Hayakawa, M, 2024). Hayakawa, a seasoned communications expert and clinical psychologist with over a decade of experience in advocacy and public health, states that the displacement and the breakdown of social structures increase women's vulnerability to exploitation and abuse, which reinforces that the consequences of displacement go beyond economic loss to include mental and emotional distress.

Policy and Governance in Disaster Response

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) works in several countries and territories to help

build strong policies, skills, partnerships, and institutions that can sustain their progress. UNDP's approach to climate change focuses on promoting integration, adaptation and risk reduction, using the Meso-Level approach in problem-solving (Medway et.al., 2021). UNDP describes efforts made in Turkana, Kilifi, Garissa, and Tana River in Kenya, where the Government of Japan has funded initiatives to strengthen disaster preparedness, promote gender-sensitive recovery programs, and support livelihood restoration, while strengthening governments' capacity at the national and county level for conflict and disaster preparedness and response; and enhancing sustainable gender sensitive livelihoods and economies. However, the report also acknowledges that these efforts are not well coordinated at the national and county levels, resulting in multiple inefficiencies in disaster response. While the UNDP acknowledges that Kenya has made progress in strengthening disaster preparedness, the lack of government accountability and means that women continue to experience the same vulnerabilities during and post-displacement, year after year. Without greater investment in disaster governance and gender-responsive interventions, existing policies will fail to protect displaced and twice-displaced women.

Methodology

A qualitative focus group design was employed to explore the lived experiences of women in Mukuru who were twice displaced—first by poverty and informal housing conditions, and again by the 2024 flooding and subsequent state-led demolitions. Focus groups were selected as the most appropriate method because they enable participants with shared experiences to discuss complex social issues collectively, fostering deeper reflection and consensus-building (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Participants and Sampling

Twenty women were selected from different zones of Mukuru by a trusted female member of a local Community-Based Organization (CBO). All participants were residents of the settlement and were recently displaced by flooding or demolition. The sample reflected diverse household structures and livelihood strategies typical of women in Mukuru's Viwandani area.

Setting and Duration

The focus group took place in a familiar and neutral community space adjacent to a gated private center in Viwandani Village. The venue, well-lit and equipped with 25 chairs and a table, was secured by the Principal Investigator (PI) with assistance from the local CBO. The session lasted approximately 1.5 hours, including informal introductions and a closing discussion.

Research Team and Positionality

The facilitation team consisted entirely of women: (1) a Mukuru-based CBO member, (2) the Principal Investigator (PI)—an African American researcher, and (3) a Research Assistant, a white female familiar with the community through two years of prior engagement. The shared gender identity fostered comfort and trust for the participants, while the researchers were transparent regarding cross-cultural positionalities and power dynamics.

Procedures and Ethics

Participants were welcomed by the CBO member and offered tea, buttered bread, a banana, and water. The session began after the PI provided informed consent verbally in English, with simultaneous

translation into Kiswahili. Participants then signed written consent forms authorizing both participation and audio recording. Translation assistance was available throughout the discussion to ensure comprehension and inclusivity.

The PI posed 10 semi-structured questions on daily life, livelihoods, flooding experiences, safety, and gendered impacts of displacement. The PI used follow-up questions to clarify responses and encourage elaboration. All data—including audio recordings, field notes, and transcripts—are securely stored under the PI's custodianship in compliance with Institutional Review Board (IRB) protocol.

Participant Remuneration

Upon completion, each participant received a 2 kg bag of corn flour as a token of appreciation. To preserve data integrity, the women remained unaware of any remuneration until the end of the focus group.

Data Management

Audio recordings were transcribed and reviewed for thematic coding. Identifying information was redacted to maintain confidentiality. All records are stored with the PI in accordance with ethical research standards for human subjects.

Data Analysis

The qualitative data were analyzed according to theme, following the framework outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). This approach was chosen because it allows patterns, meanings, and relationships to emerge directly from participants' voices rather than a predetermined theory. The process involved systematic coding, categorization, and synthesis of the focus group transcript into seven overarching themes that reflect the lived experiences of twice-displaced women in Mukuru.

Step 1: Transcription and Familiarization

The audio recording from the 1.5-hour focus group was transcribed and reviewed multiple times by the Principal Investigator (PI). Listening to and reading the transcript repeatedly allowed the PI to identify preliminary ideas, tone, and emotionally charged phrases that reflected participants' shared struggles.

Step 2: Initial Coding

Each response was assigned short descriptive codes summarizing its meaning (e.g., "loss of shelter," "lack of aid," "sexual coercion at work," "unsafe travel," "period poverty," "government favoritism"). Codes were color-coded to cluster emerging topics visually.

Step 3: Grouping Codes into Categories

Related ideas were grouped into broader conceptual categories. For instance, "cholera danger," "no clean water," and "use of mattress stuffing during menstruation" were combined under "Health and Hygiene Insecurity." Likewise, "tribal discrimination," "no job papers," and "sexual exploitation for employment" were merged into "Gendered Labor Inequality."

Step 4: Theme Development

Through iterative comparison and discussion among the research team, seven distinct themes emerged that captured the multidimensional nature of women's experiences. Each theme was reviewed to ensure internal consistency and external distinction—meaning the data within each theme fit together meaningfully while remaining different from other themes.

The final seven themes were:

1. Impact of Flooding and Climate-Induced Displacement – physical loss, housing destruction, and emot-

ional trauma linked to climate disasters.

2. Governance, Representation, and Inequality – perceptions of favoritism, absence of local government support, and lack of women's political voice.
3. Livelihoods, Gender Roles, and Economic Insecurity – informal work, job loss, male absence, and the economic burden on women.
4. Health, Period Poverty, and Water Access – limited hygiene resources, unsafe water, and increased disease vulnerability.
5. Food Insecurity and Everyday Survival – restricted diets, fluctuating food prices, and reliance on low-cost vegetables.
6. Social Networks, Aid Awareness, and Civil Society – recognition of local versus international organizations and disconnection from major donors.
7. Safety, Leadership, and Emotional Fatigue – gender-based violence, the need for mentorship, and psychological distress.

Step 5: Reviewing and Defining Themes

Each theme was refined, ensuring that participant quotes authentically represented their lived experiences.

Step 6: Interpretation and Synthesis

Finally, the themes were interpreted in light of existing scholarship on gender, climate justice, and urban poverty (Pashayan, 2024; Veda, 2023; UN Women, 2023). Cross-cutting insights—such as the intersection of gender and displacement—were highlighted to connect local realities to global policy implications.

Limitations of the Study

While this study offers valuable insight into the lived realities of twice-displaced women in Mukuru, it acknowledges limitations.

First, the research was based on a single focus group of 20 participants, which limits generalizability. Although qualitative methods aim for depth rather than breadth, the findings reflect the specific experiences of women in Viwandani Village and may not capture variations across other neighborhoods within Mukuru or Nairobi's broader informal settlements (Brookings Institution, 2023).

Second, language translation may have introduced subtle interpretive shifts. Although the local Community-Based Organization (CBO) member provided real-time Kiswahili translation, nuanced expressions of emotion or cultural idioms may not have been fully conveyed in transcription. Translation challenges are common in cross-cultural qualitative studies, where meaning is embedded in local linguistic and cultural contexts (Temple & Young, 2004).

Third, as all participants were aware that the facilitators were outsiders to varying degrees, issues of researcher positionality and power dynamics may have influenced some participants' willingness to share sensitive details, particularly around gender-based violence and sexual exploitation. The PI acknowledged these positionalities openly (England, 1994), but some self-censorship may have occurred (Sultana, 2007). However, it is equally important to acknowledge that approximately 75% of the participants felt comfortable revealing sensitive details regarding their involvement with sex work to make ends meet.

Fourth, environmental and contextual factors—such as the presence of nearby flood damage, time constraints, and participant fatigue—could have affected responses. Such situational factors often influence data richness in research conducted in post-disaster environments (Veda, 2023).

Finally, this study captures a single moment in time following the 2024 flood and demolition crisis. The women's conditions are dynamic, and ongoing displacement or policy changes could alter their

experiences. Future research should consider longitudinal studies and comparative focus groups to document changes in resilience, livelihood recovery, and governance engagement over time (World Bank, 2024; Pashayan, 2024).

Findings & Analysis

The rich qualitative data reveal the gendered dimensions of "double displacement" - living in informal settlements and displaced by climate disaster, followed by state demolitions. The analysis is discussed in seven themes, followed by key findings.

Theme 1: Impact of Flooding and Climate-Induced Displacement (Q1–Q2)

Participants' narratives underscore the physical and emotional toll of the flooding in Mukuru. Descriptions such as "water reached the roof of the house," "water came up to my shoulder," and "I had to stay outside in the rain with my children" illustrate how the Ngong River's overflow fully submerged homes, leaving women exposed without shelter. These firsthand accounts echo broader research identifying Mukuru as one of Nairobi's most flood-vulnerable informal settlements, where unplanned urbanization, poor drainage, and climate change amplify risk (Brookings Institution, 2023; Pashayan, 2024).

Women demonstrated awareness of cholera and other waterborne diseases, demonstrating both environmental literacy and survival resilience. Yet, with all respondents living in Viwandani, a sector where housing structures are primarily made of tin and mud, none reported having concrete houses, meaning that each flood cycle destroys physical assets and vital documents (e.g., birth certificates). This finding aligns with those of UN-Habitat and KIPPRA, which found that 72% of households in Nairobi's informal settlements are built with non-durable materials, contributing to intergenerational poverty and repeated loss (UN-Habitat, 2023; KIPPRA, 2024).

The experience of "twice displacement" emerges here: women marginalized by informal tenure systems face secondary displacement by state demolitions promoted as flood mitigation, yet implemented without resettlement support. Such policies, while framed as disaster management, have profound gendered repercussions (Veda, 2023).

Theme 2: Governance, Representation, and Inequality (Q3–Q3 Follow-Up)

Respondents unanimously reported absence of government support—"No, you are the only one [who came]"—and favoritism in aid distribution: "If you are not known by the leader, you will not receive." The quote illustrates structural exclusion from government relief, where access depends on personal networks and political patronage (Amnesty International, 2024).

The PI's suggestion that women form representative advocacy groups resonated with participants, reflecting latent collective potential. When empowered, women's groups in informal settlements can transform governance outcomes by mediating between residents and chiefs (Pamoja Trust, 2023; World Bank, 2024). However, without institutional recognition, women remain politically invisible despite being the de facto crisis managers.

Theme 3: Livelihoods, Gender Roles, and Economic Insecurity (Q4–Q8)

Before the flood, participants engaged in informal labor—washing clothes, collecting recyclables, fetching water, and selling alcohol. These activities, though low-income, sustained basic needs and allowed mothers to pay school fees. Most women described themselves as single or de facto heads of household: "We do not have a husband. We have kids."

Their dependency on casual work renders them economically unstable and susceptible to exploitation. In Q8, women reported discrimination in hotel employment: "If you are not Kikuyu, you work harder" and

"You can work the whole day, and at the end ... no payment." These experiences illustrate ethnic bias and wage theft within Nairobi's service economy. Parallel findings by UN Women (2023) show that women from marginalized ethnic groups face compounded exclusion from employment.

Participants further disclosed pervasive sexual exploitation in hiring and job retention: *"You must continue to sleep with him to retain the job."* The quote reflects intersectional vulnerability—poverty, gender, and power asymmetry—that sustains sexual coercion as a condition for survival (Pashayan, 2024; World Economic Forum, 2023).

These accounts validate feminist economic analyses (hooks, 1984; Mohanty, 2003), arguing that patriarchal capitalism commodifies women's labor and bodies, particularly where formal protections are absent. The women's recognition that *"everything is connected"* demonstrates their awareness of the barriers to nepotism and social capital in Kenya's labor market (KIPPRA, 2024).

Theme 4: Health, Period Poverty, and Water Access (Q9, Q13)

All respondents confirmed severe menstrual-health insecurity: *"We use whatever we can find, even mattress stuffing."* The lack of clean water exacerbates period poverty and hygiene-related illness, echoing Brookings' 2023 findings that Mukuru women allocate over 20% of their daily income to water purchase. Water collection is dominated by "cartels," a term that refers to the control of public resources through informal governance networks. Though women denied sexual extortion in water purchase (unlike in Kibera), they reported gender-based violence (GBV) during commuting: *"I wake up at 4 am and walk to work ... someone can rob me and rape me."* Paying for escorts demonstrates the monetization of safety, aligning with Pamoja Trust (2023) data on GBV and insecurity in riparian settlements, and with global patterns showing that climate-related displacement intensifies gender-based violence (Anastario et al., 2009; Vu et al., 2014; UNDP, 2021).

Theme 5: Food Insecurity and Everyday Survival (Q14)

Dietary responses indicate nutritional deprivation. Starch-filled 'ugali', similar to Italian polenta or U.S. southern grits, is a mainstay because it fills the belly with a small amount. The prices cited ("2 kilos of flour for 105 Ksh") confirm inflationary pressures and highlight the fragility of daily consumption patterns. Such subsistence aligns with World Bank (2024) data showing that over 65% of Nairobi's informal settlement residents spend half their income on food, and rely on buying in microquantities—"a pinch of salt" to make ends meet (Murumba & Pashayan, 2024).

Theme 6: Social Networks, Aid Awareness, and Civil Society (Q10–Q11)

Awareness of international aid organizations varied. Nearly all participants recognized the Ruben Center, reflecting the local embeddedness of faith-based NGOs, while few knew of USAID or UN agencies. This disconnect underscores a visibility gap between global aid frameworks and local beneficiaries, suggesting that top-down gender programs rarely reach the most marginalized (Pashayan, 2023). The absence of remittances further isolates these women from diaspora safety nets (World Bank, 2024).

Theme 7: Safety, Leadership, and Emotional Fatigue (Q12, Q15)

Although some claimed to "feel safe," elaborations revealed constant vigilance and fear of violence. One participant noted, *"You have to be very careful with your life for you to survive."* Emotional exhaustion and lack of joy—silence when asked "What makes you happy?"—suggest trauma and psychosocial distress, consistent with Amnesty International (2024) reports on women in informal settlements after forced evictions.

Calls for mentorship and women's leadership, *"We need mentors to get somewhere"*, reveal both hopelessness and nascent empowerment. This supports Pashayan's (2024) observation that women in

informal settlements demonstrate leadership resilience but lack formal pathways for recognition or institutional partnerships.

Summary of Cross-Cutting Findings

1. Gendered climate vulnerability is compounded by housing informality and policy neglect.
2. Patronage systems mediate access to aid, excluding women without political ties.
3. Informal labor exploitation and sexual coercion persist without labor protections.
4. Period poverty, GBV, and water insecurity are interlinked dimensions of survival.
5. Disconnection from global aid programs underscores the failure of gender-inclusive policy translation.
6. Despite these hardships, women exhibit collective agency and awareness of their rights, signaling potential for localized feminist organizing.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

The experiences of women in Mukuru reveal the human face of climate and policy failure (Amnesty International, 2024; Brookings Institution, 2023). Recurrent flooding and government demolitions have produced a condition of "double displacement," where poverty, gender inequality, and environmental degradation intersect to deepen marginalization (Pashayan, 2024; UN Women, 2023; Veda, 2023). The women's testimonies demonstrate extraordinary resilience amid systemic neglect—crafting survival from unstable housing, informal labor, and social exclusion (Pamoja Trust, 2023; World Bank, 2024). However, they also expose the limits of resilience when structural support is absent (KIPPRA, 2024).

Findings underscore the urgent need for gender-responsive urban-climate policies, particularly those ensuring secure tenure, labor protections, and access to water and menstrual health resources (UN-Habitat, 2023; World Economic Forum, 2023). Strengthening women's collective representation within local governance and integrating their voices into disaster-risk planning would transform passive victims into recognized agents of recovery (Veda, 2023; Pashayan, 2024). As U.S. and international aid priorities shift, centering such twice-displaced women in future programming is essential—not as beneficiaries, but as leaders shaping the pathways to equitable resilience and dignity (USAID, 2022; UN Women, 2023).

Policy Recommendations for Government

1. During climate displacement, provide community-run temporary shelter utilizing up to 25% of classroom space at the nearest public schools. Mobilize the local Red Cross for operations, airport restaurants, and the World Food Programme for meals
2. Employ residents to formally map and document informal settlements through District Officers and Village Chiefs. Formal mapping should lead to the provision of community land tenure completed within six months of the initial mapping.
3. Dedicate tax to fund climate disaster emergency care that protects vulnerable citizens. Displaced families in informal settlements should receive benefits from the tax fund as a monthly emergency stipend of KES 12,000 for households with up to 5 members for 3 months. If repair of an existing home is not possible, citizens should be moved to vacant government apartments, with no other stipulations than a rent of KES 40,000 per month for a 1-bedroom unit.
4. All displaced children enrolled in public schools should receive replacement uniforms provided by the government, and be exempt from school fees for a period of 3 months.

5. The Ministry of Health should provide free essential hygiene items such as sanitary pads, soap, washcloths, and water buckets to displaced women, mothers, and girls, along with free access to reproductive health care services at central locations in affected areas.
6. The government should coordinate with Safaricom to provide emergency updates and other important push notifications to all M-Pesa clients, including the nearest charging stations for mobile devices.
7. The Ministry of Interior and the Army should implement targeted climate adaptation programs that prioritize;
 1. Training community members in informal settlements on disaster preparedness,
 2. Training in safe rescue and basic first aid,
 3. Creation of evacuation routes in informal settlements,
 4. Creation of designated meeting points in each informal settlement village for emergency information,
 5. Creation of designated safe spaces for women in informal settlements during climate emergencies, offering protection services, maternal health care, menstrual hygiene supplies, and gender-based violence support.
8. Offer tax reductions for local private-sector companies that provide services during climate emergencies, i.e., food preparation, delivery service, public transportation, tent rentals, WASH products, childcare, emotional counseling, construction material, and burial services.

This research not only reveals the hardships that women bear as matriarchs of the family, but also the gendered effects of inadequate government systems. The population of Mukuru Slum is approximately 825,000 people, of which 400,000 are likely to be women. The sample of 20 women in this study is small but undoubtedly representative of most women living in Mukuru or any slum. With funding, continued research could produce volumes of data and statistical significances to move the needle forward for gender justice.

Bibliography

9. Allen, E. M., Munala, L., & Henderson, J. R. (2021). Kenyan women bearing the cost of climate change. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 18(23), 12697. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph182312697>
10. Amnesty International. (2024). *Kenya: Forced evictions and climate injustice in Nairobi's informal settlements*. <https://www.amnesty.org>
11. Anastario, M., Shehab, N., & Lawry, L. (2009). Increased gender-based violence among women internally displaced in Mississippi two years post-Hurricane Katrina. *Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness*, 3(1), 18–26. <https://doi.org/10.1097/DMP.0b013e3181979c32>
12. Brookings Institution. (2023, May 24). *Learning from the people of Nairobi's Mukuru slum*. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/learning-from-the-people-of-nairobi-mukuru-slum/>
13. Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.
14. England, K. (1994). Getting personal: Reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *The Professional Geographer*, 46(1), 80–89.

15. Greenpeace Unearthed. (2022, October 27). *How climate change is forcing Kenyan women to leave their homes behind*. Greenpeace International. <https://unearthed.greenpeace.org/2022/10/27/climate-migration-kenya-displaced-cop27/>
16. Hayakawa, M. (2024). *The impact of climate change on gender: Lessons from recent floods in Kenya*. Financing Alliance for Health.
17. hooks, b. (1984). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. South End Press.
18. Human Rights Watch. (2024, May 2). *Kenya: Floods threaten marginalized people*. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2024/05/02/kenya-floods-threaten-marginalized-people>
19. Institute of Development Studies. (2024, May 23). *Double disaster: Flood fallout and state eviction in Nairobi, Karachi*. IDS Opinions. <https://www.ids.ac.uk/opinions/double-disaster-flood-fallout-and-state-eviction-in-nairobi-karachi/>
20. KARA Trust. (2023). *How wetlands encroachment is endangering Kenya's future – Case of Mathare & Mukuru slums*. <https://kara.or.ke/how-wetlands-encroachment-is-endangering-kenyas-future/>
21. Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA). (2024). *Urban housing and livelihoods in Kenya's informal settlements*. Nairobi: KIPPRA.
22. Kimutai, J., Barnes, C., Masambaya, F., Pinto, I., Ogega, O. M., Mwai, Z., Wangari, H., Kilavi, M., Vahlberg, M., Arrighi, J., Raju, E., Baumgart, N., & Otto, F. (2024). *Urban planning at the heart of increasingly severe East African flood impacts in a warming world*. Imperial College London. <https://spiral.imperial.ac.uk/server/api/core/bitstreams/738a0926-46be-498a-8d49-aaa0f8cf0ba2/content>
23. Medway, P., Flood, S., Cubie, D., & Le Tissier, M. (2021). Enhancing integration of disaster risk and climate change adaptation into Irish emergency planning. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-80791-7_5
24. Mohanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Duke University Press.
25. Othering & Belonging Institute at UC Berkeley. (2025). *Climate crisis, displacement, and the right to stay*. University of California, Berkeley. <https://belonging.berkeley.edu/global-justice/climate-displacement>
26. Pamoja Trust. (2023). *Gender, tenure, and displacement in Nairobi's informal settlements*. Nairobi: Pamoja Trust.
27. Pashayan, A. R. (2024). *Below the proletariat: Gendered poverty and resilience in African informal settlements*. Brookings Africa Growth Initiative.
28. Sultana, F. (2007). Reflexivity, positionality, and participatory ethics: Negotiating fieldwork dilemmas in international research. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6(3), 374–385.
29. Temple, B., & Young, A. (2004). Qualitative research and translation dilemmas. *Qualitative Research*, 4(2), 161–178.
30. The White House. (2021, March 8). *Fact sheet: President Biden to sign executive orders establishing the White House Gender Policy Council and ensuring education free from sexual violence*. <https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2021/03/08/fact-sheet-president-biden-to-sign-executive-orders-establishing-the-white-house-gender-policy-council-and-ensuring-education-free-from-sexual-violence/>
31. U.S. Department of State. (2023, October 31). *Fact sheet: Release of the 2023 Women, Peace and Security Strategy and National Action Plan*. The White

- House. <https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/10/31/fact-sheet-release-of-the-2023-women-peace-and-security-strategy-and-national-action-plan/>
32. UN Habitat. (2023). *State of women and housing in Nairobi's informal settlements*. Nairobi: UN-Habitat.
 33. UN Women. (2023). *Progress on the Sustainable Development Goals: The gender snapshot 2023*. New York: UN Women.
 34. United Nations Development Programme. (2017). *Supporting disaster risk reduction and communities' resilience*. UNDP Kenya. <https://www.undp.org/kenya/publications/supporting-disaster-risk-reduction-and-communities-resilience>
 35. United Nations Development Programme. (2021). *Gender and climate change: Asia and the Pacific regional review of climate change, gender and the environment*. UNDP.
 36. United Nations Development Programme. (2021). *Why climate change fuels violence against women*. UNDP. <https://www.undp.org/blogs/why-climate-change-fuels-violence-against-women>
 37. United States Agency for International Development. (2012). *USAID Gender Equality and Female Empowerment Policy*. https://sawie.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/GenderEqualityPolicy_0-1.pdf
 38. United States Agency for International Development. (2022). *Gender equality and female empowerment policy update*. USAID.
 39. Veda, G. (2023). Gender, climate, and displacement in the global South. *Oxford Development Review*, 41(2), 115–129.
 40. VOA Africa. (2024, May 8). *Kenya government demolishes homes in flood-prone areas*. <https://www.voaafrica.com/a/kenya-government-demolishes-homes-in-flood-prone-areas/7602581.html>
 41. Vu, A., Adam, A., Wirtz, A. L., Pham, K., Rubenstein, L., Glass, N., Singh, S., & Decker, M. R. (2014). The prevalence of sexual violence among female refugees in complex humanitarian emergencies: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *PLOS Currents Disasters*, 6. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4012695/>
 42. World Bank. (2024). *Kenya urban resilience report*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
 43. World Economic Forum. (2023). *Global gender gap report 2023*. Geneva: World Economic Forum.