

Public Health in Urban Spaces; Vulnerability of Youth to Drug Abuse in Nairobi's Mukuru Kwa Njenga Informal Settlements, Kenya

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ABSTRACT

Rising urban population, deprivation, Poverty, shifting family practices and lack of opportunities for young people are widely recognized as key factors influencing the increasing indulgence of young people in crime and drug abuse (UN Habitat, 2007). The study sought to assess the vulnerability of youth in slums to drugs; specifically, Mukuru Kwa Njenga in Nairobi. The study is based on Vested Interest Theory (VIT). The interests of the individual postulate that an attitude toward objects allows for a number of responses and courses of action, in order to balance motivation and decision to behave in an efficient fashion. This research is a cross-sectional descriptive design to assess the vulnerability of youth in slums to drugs and more specifically Mukuru Kwa Njenga in Nairobi. The study population was the youth both in and out of school in Mukuru kwa Njenga informal settlements. For this study purposive sampling, snowballing and simple

random sampling approach were adopted. The sample size was 210 respondents derived following Krejcie and Morgan formula (1970) from a target population of 460. Thirty key informants from the study area were recruited. Interviews were used to collect data from key informants and questionnaires from youth and their leaders. Qualitatively, data was given in form of text whereas quantitatively, descriptive statistics including standard deviation and frequency distribution were used to describe given samples. ANOVA and Chi square were used to analyze data quantitatively. Cannabis (Bhang) is the most abused substance with 50% of the youth in the slums smoking it.

Keywords: Drug abuse, slums, vulnerability, vested interest theory, youth

Introduction

The United Nations Habitat (2007) states that over 50% of urban population is under the age of 19.8 years in many African cities. Rising urban deprivation, high employment rates, shifting family practices and deteriorating environmental and health conditions are negatively affected. Furthermore, poverty and lack of opportunities for young people are widely recognized as key factors influencing the increasing indulgence of young people in crime and drug abuse (UN Habitat, 2007). In slum areas and certain rural areas, with low income opportunities and a loss of trust, the high incidence of crime and drug abuse concentrate (UN Habitat, 2007).

The drugs issue, in conjunction with a high level of poverty, increases Africa's vulnerability in the face of social concerns, like crime, HIV and AIDS, according to Mashele in Geyer et al. (2015) "has become a serious

developmental challenge, and continues to undermine African government collective, personal, and individual efforts." Africa is a vulnerable transit region for both cocaine and heroin; while in recent years West and Central Africa have experienced increased cocaine trafficking. East Africa is increasingly emerging as a transit route for Afghan opiates bound for the European market. West Africa is also becoming a center for the manufacture of methamphetamine (UN, 2013).

Groups of young people classified as vulnerable may be susceptible to earlier, more severe, or more harmful substance use like children in care facilities or homeless young people (EMCDDA, 2008). KNDRP, 2009 states that about 60% of Kenya's urban population live in informal settlements such as slums. This leads to overcrowding in the slum areas and inability to live a decent lifestyle due to the absence of the social amenities. Of concern to this study are the types of drugs and substance and their potential impacts on youth located within environments such as Mukuru Kwa Njenga. The study sought to assess the vulnerability of youth in slums to drugs and more specifically Mukuru Kwa Njenga in Nairobi. Mukuru Kwa Njenga informal settlements is among the many informal settlements within Nairobi County which is characterized by improper infrastructural planning and the lack of basic social amenities. According to 2019 Kenya Population and Housing Census Report, the population of Mukuru Kwa Njenga is 242,941 living in an area of 2.8 kilometre squared and a population density of 87,538 which indicates there is congestion (2019 Kenya National Census Report). It had 49,198 households with a density of 16,720 persons per square kilometer. 75 percent of them youth. The increasing cases of unemployment amongst the youth has compelled majority of them to move to the urban slums and engage

in activities that are considered socially unacceptable.

In a study by Wacuka (2018), the respondents were asked to indicate which drugs and substances of abuse most people use in Mukuru kwa Njenga slums. From the findings, 94.4% of the respondents indicated that cigarettes were the most abused drugs followed by Miraa (79.6%), beer (Keg) (75.0%), Busaa (68.5%), Spirits (65.7%), Changaa (47.2%), bhang (44.4%), kumikumi (38.0%), glue (19.4%), cocaine (4.6%), kuber (2.8%) and heroine (1.9%). This implies that cigarettes, miraa, beer, busaa, spirits, changaa, bhang and kumikumi were commonly used in mukuru kwa Njenga.

Identifying vulnerable groups is becoming an important tool for directing and channeling drug policy responses at those groups or geographical areas where problem drug use is more likely to develop.

Vested Interest Theory and Susceptibility of Youth to Drug Abuse in Nairobi's Informal Settlements

Enhanced person disaster preparedness enhances the rates of survival of those involved and helps alleviate burdens on rescue and aid personnel, thus increasing the general resilience of the society (Landau, 2007; Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008). The Kenya National Policy for Disaster Management-KNPDM (2009) views a hazard as something which negatively alters the life, environment, society or the physical wellbeing of individuals. Susceptibility to a drug refers to an individual's risk of developing an addiction to it during his or her lifetime (Wikipedia, 2015). And extreme poverty, inadequate social service, insecurity, crime, high level of unemployment, drug abuse are characteristics which interact in urban informal settlements and predispose the adolescents to risks in life. It is for this

reason that Sustainable Development Goal 3 aspires to strengthen the prevention and treatment of substance abuse including narcotic drug abuse and harmful use of alcohol (UN, 2015)

Research on disaster preparedness also shows that some population factors have a major impact on preparedness. It is time to raise awareness about increased resilience against the use of drugs and substances among vulnerable groups, especially young people in informal communities. Since the living and working conditions in informal settlements are extremely stressful, there is high risk in stress and psychological disorders. Many psychosocial health issues arise in cities such as depression, substance misuse, addiction, suicide, and interpersonal violence. Shauri (2007) says that vulnerability has worsened by the quick rise in population, urban poor, increased disagreements over resources, disease outbreaks and poor planning further highlights this.

Hazards are ever present in the slum areas and many of them, especially the natural hazards are interrelated since one hazard often leads to another as noted by Nomdo (2002). Slums are the largest markets to narcotics such as heroin. Despite the effort by the Kenya government to address inequalities within slums in Kenya, there it is still a big challenge (UN, 2006). Implicitly, Kenya has been a trafficking country but of late, reports indicate it is increasingly becoming an end-user. NACADA says 0.1% of Kenyans consume heroin (NACADA, 2017). The poor within Mukuru kwa Njenga informal settlements are not able to come up with proper designs and plans of the structures like houses which they use leading to their increased vulnerability. The poverty levels in urban areas especially in the informal settlements cannot allow the inhabitants to get proper employment, save, acquire assets which they have tenures and plan

their livelihoods due to their stable incomes. This leads to them occupying disaster prone areas in informal settlements where they are exposed to hazards continually (Okello, 2016).

The teenagers and the youth in such an environment are pre-disposed to Drug and Substance abuse because aspects of the physical design of the environment can also harm young people's overall development and social relations and lead to the commission of crime and to substance use.

Methodology

Research Design

The researcher used mixed methods in this analysis. In recent years, research in mixed methods has become increasingly popular to mitigate the limitations and draw on the power of both methods (Bryman, 2006). The quantitative and qualitative data were collected concurrently, the priority between the two methods is equal and the results of the two methods were integrated during the interpretation phase as advocated by Creswell (2009).

Sampling Procedures

The target population is 460 youth distributed among 32 youth groups in the three locations of Mukuru kwa Njenga, Embakasi and Imara Daima. The following formula by Krejcie and Morgan (1970) was used to select the sample size for the study:

Table 1 Determining Sample Size from a Given Population

N	S	N	S	N	S
10	10	220	140	1200	291
15	14	230	144	1300	297
20	19	240	148	1400	302
25	24	250	152	1500	306
30	28	260	155	1600	310
35	32	270	159	1700	313
40	36	280	162	1800	317
45	40	290	165	1900	320
50	44	300	169	2000	322
55	48	320	175	2200	327
60	52	340	181	2400	331
65	56	360	186	2600	335
70	59	380	191	2800	338
75	63	400	196	3000	341
80	66	420	201	3500	346
85	70	440	205	4000	351
90	73	460	210	4500	354
95	76	480	214	5000	357
100	80	500	217	6000	361
110	86	550	226	7000	364
120	92	600	234	8000	367
130	97	650	242	9000	368
140	103	700	248	10000	370
150	108	750	254	15000	375
160	113	800	260	20000	377
170	118	850	265	30000	379
180	123	900	269	40000	380

190	127	950	274	50000	381
200	132	1000	278	75000	382
210	136	1100	285	1000000	384

Note. N is population size.

S is sample size

Source: Krejcie and Morgan, 1970

Using Miller and Brewer formula (2003), 210 youth were sampled from the 32 youth groups as shown below

Embakasi $11/32 * 210 = 72$ youths

Mukuru kwa Njenga $13/32 * 210 = 85$ youths

Imara Daima $8/32 * 210 = 53$ youths

Data collection

Though the questionnaires could have made subjects to respond artificially, it assisted as a means of collecting information from a wider sample than can be reached by personal interview. Orally presented questionnaires created a rapport between the researcher and the respondents. The researcher clarified the purpose of the study thus motivating the respondent to respond to the questions.

Interviewing served well in Mukuru kwa Njenga as it fostered 'low pressure' interactions and allowed respondents to speak more freely and openly. It allowed the interviewee to delve more on the issues thus generating more information for the interviewer. Through the focus group discussion, the researcher explored more on issues of drug and substance abuse at Mukuru kwa Njenga informal settlements in Nairobi County. It assisted in determining the reason for their attitudes and beliefs.

The researcher also utilized both disguised and uncontrolled methods of observation. The choice of disguised and uncontrolled method of observation ensured that the researcher did

not raise any suspicion among the inhabitants due to the sensitivity of the issue of Drug and Substance abuse. The use of disguised and uncontrolled methods of observation meant that the subjects would be observed in their natural settings without any alteration to their behavior whatsoever.

Most demographic information was obtained from census data and population statistics as well as other related databases. Literature on nature of drug and substance abuse in the selected informal settlements as well as use of social media among the youth was collected from written sources. It provided insight into how much work had already been done on the same topic and formed part of literature review. Journals and newspapers were also important as far as data collection was concerned. Published Electronic Sources also ensured that availability of secondary data is easier.

RESULTS

The data collected from the research field on the influence of social media in prevention of Drug Abuse among the youth in the selected informal settlements was analyzed by the chi-square, ANOVA and Multiple Regression. Qualitatively, data was given in form of text whereas quantitatively, descriptive statistics including standard deviation and frequency distribution were used to describe given samples. Multiple Regression, ANOVA and Chi square were used to analyze data quantitatively.

About half of Nairobi's population that is about 59% reside in informal settlements. Known informal settlements within Nairobi include Kibera, Mathare, Korogocho and Mukuru within which are various social concerns namely poor drainage, Drug and substance abuse, crime and lawlessness and as a result youth living in such environments are therefore prone to these hazards. This implies that the inhabitants of such environments are constantly faced with a series of social economic problems. Of concern to this study are the types of drugs and substance and their potential impacts

on youth located within environments such as Mukuru Kwa Njenga.

Discussion of Key Findings Gender distribution of the Respondents

The study sought to establish the gender distribution of the youth in Mukuru kwa Njenga informal settlements of Embakasi Sub-County, Nairobi County. The findings were analyzed and presented as shown in Table 2

Table 2 Gender of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	120	60.0		
Female	80	40.0		
Total	200	100.0		

Source: Researcher, 2019

Age distribution of the Respondents

The respondents were requested to indicate what age bracket they fall in relation to the research topic. The findings were analyzed and presented as shown in the Table 3.

Table 3 Age distribution of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-24 yrs.	148	73.6	74.0	74.0
25-29yrs.	26	12.9	13.0	87.0
30-34yrs.	20	10.0	10.0	97.0
Above 35yrs.	6	3.0	3.0	100.0
Total	200	99.5	100.0	

Source: Researcher, 2019

Household types of the Respondents

The study sought to establish the existence of the different types of households. The respondents were asked to indicate on the questionnaire which type of households existed in the informal settlements by ticking against their choice(s).The findings were recorded in Table 4

Table 4 Types of households in Embakasi Sub-County, Nairobi County, Kenya

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Single Parent	82	40.8	41.0	41.0
Nuclear	50	24.9	25.0	66.0
Extended	32	15.9	16.0	82.0
Child Headed	20	10.0	10.0	92.0
Step Parent	16	8.0	8.0	100.0
Total	200	99.5	100.0	

Source: Researcher, 2019

The findings indicate that 82(40.8%) of families in Embakasi Sub-County are headed by single parents. The other family types are nuclear 50(24.9%), extended 32(15.9%), child headed 20(10%) and step parent 16(8%). Those who identified single households as the most common within the informal settlements said a number of homesteads do not have a father figure or do not take care of them thereby viewing them as absentee fathers. Nuclear families are also prominent as indicated by 50(24.9%) of the respondents. Such families consisting of a father, a mother and children is easier to take care of in an environment characterized by deprivation such that of slums. This is in contrast with an extended family which comprises of members from a nuclear family and other relatives expanding it even further. This type of households were identified by 32 (15.9%) of respondents suggesting that they were not a common feature. Also not popular but a greater risk factor to substance abuse are the child headed families and step parent families. Though child headed families were noted by 20(10%), they are a risk factor for substance abuse because such adolescents are lonely and rely on their peers for support. They do not have anyone to guide them or provide moral support during this challenging stage of development. Thus, the family structure of the participants in this study proved to be a risk factor for their

use of substances. The adolescents become vulnerable as they grow; they need the care of parents, other family members, as well as other elders in the community. Step parent families are often full of parent-child conflicts which lead to poor communication and strained relationship between the two parties. Children who are in conflicts with their parents end up not being able to communicate with their parents. That puts them at risk of abusing substances because they will then spend most of their time with friends who will give them love and support that they lack at home (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2003).

Substance abuse in slum areas is perceived as a learned behavior. Adolescents learn either from adults, role models or friends that substance abuse is something that one has to do to relieve stress and to be happy. As social learning theory postulates, these children in such families learn this behavior both at their homes and from other people in their communities (Oketch, 2008).

A walk through the expansive Mukuru kwa Njenga slums shows that the community is permissive. As the researcher walked through the paths that meandered along the slum area, he noted individuals who were visibly drunk and inebriated as early as mid-morning suggesting that drinking took place all the times. There is rampant abuse

of varied kind of drugs and substance abuse and total disregard of laid down acts. The premises are adjacent to people's houses due to lack of space. Young people and minors are not cushioned from risks of getting influenced into alcohol and drug abuse. Children born in such environment learn to use substances because no one corrects such behavior or even guides them.

Socio-economic status of households in Mukuru kwa Njenga informal settlements in Nairobi County

This study examined the socio-economic preferences of the inhabitants of the informal settlements. Data was analyzed by means of Chi square test and results presented in Table 5.

Table 5 Chi square Test Statistics

	Income	Payment of rent	Accessibility to toilet	Water connection	Connection to electricity
Chi-Square	38.440 ^a	36.000 ^a	.160 ^a	88.360 ^a	81.500 ^b
Df	1	1	1	1	2
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000	.689	.000	.000

Source: Researcher, 2020

The results in Table 5 show that income was a concern to the slum dwellers with a significant level of 0.000. Eighty-one percent of the residents earn less than a dollar per day. This confirms that incidence of economic poverty is very high in Nairobi's slums. About 73 percent of the slum dwellers are poor, that is, they fall below the poverty line and live on less than US\$ 42 per adult equivalent per month as confirmed by a study by AMT (2012). This is in contrast with average household costs in Mukuru kwa Njenga which is US\$ 66. The high rate of economic poverty is accompanied by horrible living conditions and other forms of non-economic poverty. Slum dwellers have poor access to gainful employment. Unemployment rates are highest among youth (age 15-24) and women 46 percent of the youth and 49 percent of the women report that they are unemployed. This is problematic not least because the presence of an unemployed member in a household is strongly correlated with poverty (World Bank Report, 2006).

Drugs commonly abused among the Youth in the selected informal settlements in Nairobi County, Kenya

The study sought to establish commonly abused drugs. The respondents were asked to indicate on the questionnaire the drugs and substances commonly abused in the selected informal settlements in Embakasi Sub-County, Nairobi county and the findings were recorded in Figure 1

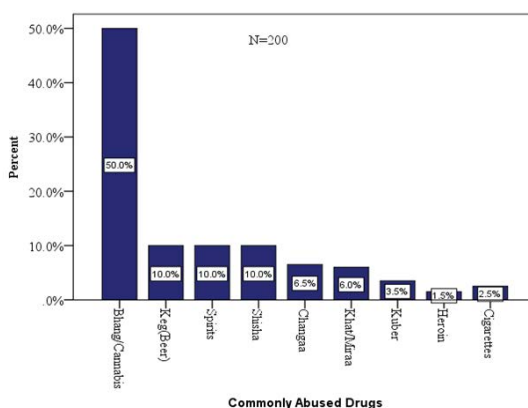


Figure 1: Drugs commonly abused among the youth in the selected informal settlements in Nairobi County

Source: Researcher, 2019

The findings in Figure 1 showed that Bhang was consumed more than any other drug as indicated by 100 (50%) of the youth. This was followed by Keg beer, spirits and Shisha all consumed at a rate of 20 (10%) each. Changaa and Khat were consumed at 13 (6.5%) and 12 (6%) respectively. Other drugs abused in informal settlements include Kuber at 7 (3.5%), Heroin at 3 (1.5%) and also Cigarettes at 5 (2.5%). Cocaine however was not consumed or the youth had no knowledge of anyone consuming it at all. Unlike in rural settings where alcohol was rampant, in informal settlements, use of Marijuana is widespread. This is majorly attributed to the fact that it is easier to conceal Marijuana than it is for alcohol. Majority of the responses from the questionnaire indicated that young people smoked Marijuana (Cannabis) in large numbers followed by those who drink. Cannabis is a drug commonly abused by the young people as indicated in World Drug Report 2018. This is attributed to the availability and accessibility of cannabis, coupled with perceptions of a low risk of harm, making the drug among the most common substances whose use is initiated in adolescence. Cannabis is often used in conjunction with other substances and the use of other drugs is typically preceded by cannabis use (UNODC, 2018).

From the researcher's own observation, drinking of alcohol was evident among adults in Mukuru kwa Njenga informal settlement. This could be attributed to its availability as the households were congested and in proximity to alcohol joints which were also quite numerous. Social conditions in neighborhoods have major implications for risk of substance use as they shape social norms, enforce patterns of social control, influence perception of the risk of substance use and affect psychological and physiological stress responses. The extent to which the neighborhood is perceived as

disorganized or disordered or is an area characterized by vandalism, abandoned buildings and lots, graffiti, noise and dirt may also influence levels of substance use among adolescents. The neighborhood context has been found to be particularly influential for young people living in low-income urban areas owing to the high level of exposure to drug activity, disorder and violence in their neighborhoods, all of which may influence substance use among young people. Many aspects of the physical design of the environment can also harm young people's overall development and social relations and lead to the commission of crime and to substance use. Peers appear to influence one another through the idea of "pluralistic ignorance", whereby the general belief that more individuals are engaging in substance use than actually are may contribute to their own use of substance (UNODC, 2018). In Mukuru kwa Njenga which is one of the Known informal settlements within Nairobi, there are various environmental concerns namely poor drainage, poor sanitation, dumping of both biodegradable and non-biodegradable domestic and industrial waste, flooding and fire outbreaks, crime, drug abuse and lawlessness and as a result young people in such environments are therefore prone to hazards (Okello, 2016).

Though alcohol was ranked as the second most abused drug in the slums, the researcher made a different kind of observation as he walked through the alleys in the slums. As observed by the researcher, it was clear that there was presence of quite a number of premises that operated joints dispensing "Keg" beer. Beer Kegs are made of stainless steel and commonly used to store, transport and serve beer. Senator keg answered an unmet need: a safe, affordable beer to lure users away from illicit brews, since it is significantly cheap than more alcohol drinks, senator keg is famous with young people. A glass is sold

for 15 to 20 shillings and this presented an opportunity for a safe ultra-low cost beer to compete with illegal supplies (Wilewska et al., 2012). The Keg joints however operated as early as 11.00 A.M against the official time of 5.00 P.M on weekdays and 2. 00 p.m on weekends as indicated in Alcoholic Drinks Control Act, 2010. The Alcoholic Drinks Control Act, 2010, provides for various policy measures to curb alcohol abuse in Kenya. The Alcoholic Drinks Control Act, 2010, seeks to control and regulate the manufacture and production, sale, consumption, distribution and promotion of alcoholic drinks. There are various factors that contribute to alcohol abuse which Alcoholic Drinks Act seeks to address and mitigate. The main factors are: drinking context; drinking patterns; underage drinking; product standards and safety; health impact; and promotion and advertisements (NACADA, 2010).

The disparity is attributed to the fact that drinking of alcohol by adults is deemed a normal thing especially if the same happens in premises sanctioned by NACADA. The few young people indulging in drinking may therefore have gone unnoticed given the expansive nature of Mukuru kwa Njenga informal settlements. It is however important to note that Mukuru kwa Njenga is an expansive and combing through the settlements may be impossible. With the crowded nature of the slums, it is easy to miss out on acts that amount to breaking of the law as is the case above.

Structural vulnerability in Mukuru kwa Njenga informal settlement in Nairobi County, Kenya

Plate 1 and 2 show the location of Mukuru kwa Njenga's chief's camp and a path in the slums. Though not situated right at the heart of the slums, the chief's camp is constructed using semi-permanent materials thus fitting into the structures in the slums. Plate 2 which

is a reflection of the nature of structures in the informal settlements represents the kind of lifestyle adopted by the inhabitants. The paths are narrow and poorly lit because of lack of planning which makes construction of feeder roads and power lines a nightmare. Also noted is the lack of space hence congestion among the residents of the slums. Narrow pathways, lack of security lights and congestion in Mukuru kwa Njenga slums heighten the problems of crime and drug abuse among the residents. Policing and patrolling the slum area is often difficult because illicit activities can easily be concealed because of the factors discussed above. Since the living and working conditions in informal settlements are extremely stressful, there is high risk in stress and psychological disorders. Many psychosocial health issues arise in cities such as depression, substance misuse, addiction, suicide, and interpersonal violence.

Plate 1 shows the Administrative unit in Mukuru kwa Njenga. Plate 2 shows an alley in the slums

Source: Researcher, 2019

Outside nightlife settings, stimulants such as methamphetamine are also quite commonly used among young people in most parts of the world (UNODC, 2018). The use of club drugs is also gaining prominence in informal settlements according to one key informer. Young people who go clubbing in recreational places dotting the nearby Pipeline Estate encounter use of new forms of drugs, which is quickly gaining prominence amongst them. The majority of those who had started using methamphetamine, known locally as Shisha, learnt the habit in clubs and other recreational settings where they go clubbing with their peers. Globally, those who use it, do so as a way of coping with their current opioid use, either to self-treat opioid dependence or to manage its adverse events. In the case of informal settlements such as Mukuru

kwa Njenga in Nairobi, the young people used Shisha during their first substance use as novelty seeking and to experience a new “high” (UNODC,2018).

The local administration has difficulties taming the problem of Drug and Substance Abuse among the young people in the informal settlements including Mukuru kwa Njenga. As noted by the researcher, administrative units in Mukuru kwa Njenga are located on the peripheries of the slums. In fact, all the administrative units ranging from the Assistance Chief’s office, the chief’s office, the police station and the Assistant county commissioner’s office are all located in Imara Daima, which is home to middle level and high-class dwellers. As indicated, space in informal settlements is a challenge. Poor planning results in congestion leaving no space for public amenities such as hospitals,

administrative units and social welfare facilities. Even churches and hospitals such as Mukuru kwa Njenga health centre are all located in Imara Daima area. On the contrary, facilities such as schools are located next to the slum area. Topline group of schools, Embakasi secondary school and Kwa Njenga primary school are adjacent to the slums. They serve the children from the slum area but on the other hand, expose them to social ills emanating from there. Drug and Substance abuse, crime and insecurity, poverty and stressful environment face such children living in informal settlements with overpopulation and congestion; the young people living in informal settlements are at risk of contracting communicable diseases. Mukuru kwa Njenga is populous and thus overwhelms the administrative arms of government mandated to arrest the issues of Drug and Substance abuse.



The use of psychoactive substances among teenagers and youth in the informal settings is often part of their coping mechanism in the face of adverse experiences, such as the physical and sexual abuse and exploitation they experience being in the slums. Therefore, many young perceive inhalants as a form of comfort and relief in a harsh environment, as they numb feelings. In their own words during a focus group discussion, “wanting to forget or escape problems” was reported as the main reason for substance use among the youth. For many, peer pressure and the nature of hard life in informal settlements has influenced use of inhalants youth among their peers.

Conclusion

The major cause of vulnerability is low income resulting from poor access to gainful employment. In slum areas with low income opportunities and a loss of trust, high incidence of crime and drug abuse concentrate. Patrolling the informal settlements poses a challenge due to its expansive as well as congested nature. Policing and securing of the informal settlements occurs on the outskirts of Pipeline Estate, which has assumed the lifestyle of the slums. Though 50 percent of the youth in Mukuru kwa Njenga indicated that cannabis is the most common substance, drinking of illicit brews and cheap Keg beer goes on uncontrollably. Consumption of brews is accompanied with smoking of Cigarettes and Bhang, chewing of Khat and Kuber as well as injection of harder drugs such as heroin and cocaine.

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