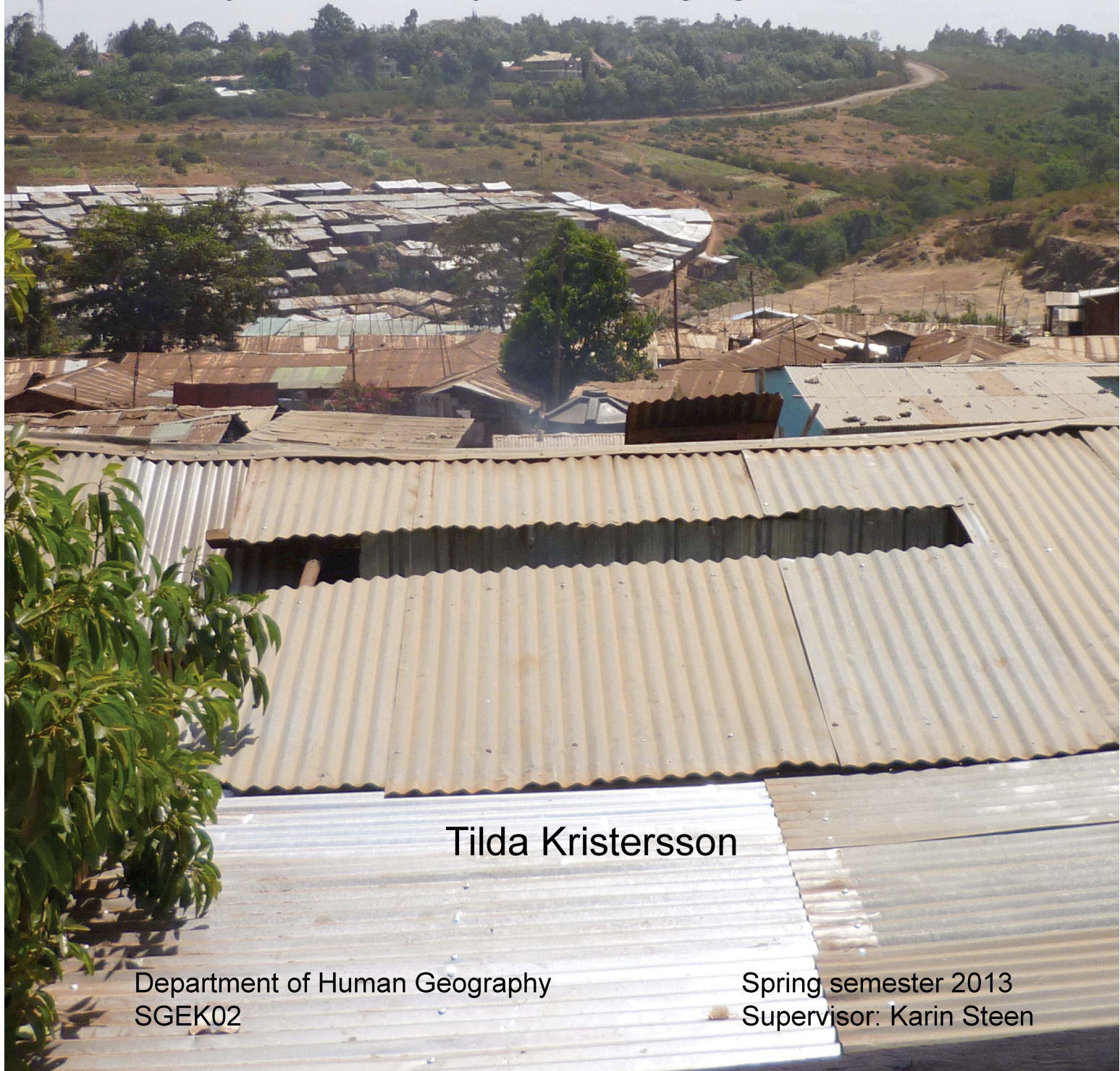




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A home for the excluded?

A study about identity and belonging in Kibera slum



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Abstract

With increasing migration to urban areas, Kenya is a country in change with new and challenging problems. Nairobi has a high population growth but a far from equal socio-economic development. As Nairobi continues to grow, so do the slum areas within the city and the slum Kibera has grown to be one of the largest in Africa. Due to the large economic differences within Nairobi I suggest that some people might feel excluded from parts of the city. My main aim has been to see if this is the case for people living in Kibera and if they identify themselves in relation to the area. I have also a focus on how feelings of belonging within Kibera are created and if different ethnicity, religion and HIV divide people in the slum.

Through a qualitative case study, interviewing 14 women from Kibera, I have a focus on how people within the slum experience different situations and places. Through a theoretical framework centred on concepts such as identity, place and belonging I have found that an exclusion from the wider social life of Nairobi is evident. The women feel that they do not belong in the city and that they are portrayed as the *poor people*. On the other hand, people in Kibera come together and unite. I argue that a *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* exists within the slum; openness to *others* is produced in order to create a home in the exclusionary Nairobi. At the same time violence occur in the slum and an exclusion of some ethnicities and people living with HIV is visible. *Cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is clearly fragile but at the same time necessary for feelings of belonging in Kibera.

Key Words: Kenya, exclusion, slum, others, cosmopolitan neighbourliness, belonging, identity, HIV, Kibera

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1 Introduction

It could be said that Nairobi is a city of contrasts. Luxury shopping malls and gated communities are situated within close distance to the slums. Segregation is clearly present; the economic disparities are considerable and present. I have been in Nairobi several times during the last five years and seen how the city is in constant change. New buildings are rising everywhere but are not built for the poor and I suggest that this only increases the gap. The slum area Kibera has grown to be one of the largest in Africa¹ and I have not observed much effort to change the gap between the rich and the poor.

1.1 Background

Kenya is a country in change. Rural areas are today struggling with economic and social challenges. Decreases in agriculture production and other resource-based activities have led to an increasing migration to urban areas. Many people move to Nairobi in the pursuit of finding better opportunities and thereby the possibility of a better life.² Nairobi is facing high population growth, but unlike cities in developed countries it is not accompanied with equal socio-economic development.³

As a result of the urban development in the so called Third World a new group of people has emerged; a group of poor people who cannot afford decent accommodation, education or healthcare in the city.⁴ The growing number of people living in slum-areas in developing countries is pervasive.⁵ The increasing migration to Nairobi has resulted in the above-mentioned problems; the city is facing an increasing growth of informal settlements.⁶

A place can have meaning in the form of the emotional bonds people experience in different environments.⁷ The majority of people define themselves partly through some form of identification and relation to the place they inhabit.⁸ Shared experiences of a place are important for feelings of belonging. Social relationships tend to develop among people that are alike in some way.⁹ The notion of the *other* is a result of a process in which one dominant group constructs

¹ E Mutisya & M Yarime, 'Understanding the Grassroots Dynamics of Slums in Nairobi: The Dilemma of Kibera Informal Settlements' *International Transaction Journal of Engineering, Management, & Applied Sciences & Technologies*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2011, p. 201.

² S Salamon & K.A MacTavish, 'Rural Communities' in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, vol. 9, R Kitchin & N Thrift (eds.) Elsevier, Oxford, 2009, pp. 423-428.

³ Mutisya & Yarime, 2011, p. 200.

⁴ D Drakakis-Smith, *Third World Cities*, 2nd. ed. Routledge, London, 2000, p. 53

⁵ *ibid.* p. 154.

⁶ Mutisya & Yarime, 2011, p. 197.

⁷ K.E Foote & Azaryahu, M. 'Sense of place' in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, vol. 10, R Kitchin & N Thrift (eds.) Elsevier, Oxford, 2009, p. 96.

⁸ Taylor, A. 'Belonging' in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, vol. 1, R Kitchin & N Thrift (eds.) Elsevier, Oxford, 2009, pp. 296-297.

⁹ Foote & Azaryahu, '2009, pp. 96-100

one or many less dominant groups.¹⁰ If you experience *insideness* in relation to a place this will in turn generate feelings of belonging.¹¹

In this dissertation I want to see how identity is shaped within Kibera and if people experience *outsideness*¹² and through this feel that they are excluded from the rest of Nairobi. The will to interact with people who are similar to you indicates that those with similar values and positions tend to be drawn to each other. This creates areas with social similarity and areas with poor people that are separated from a wider social and economic life.¹³ I suggest that this might be the case in Kibera.

1.2 Purpose and research questions

Due to the large disparities in Nairobi there might be differences in the way people experience places. Feelings of belonging may vary and a situation where some people feel excluded from various places is possible. This dissertation has a focus on those disparities and explores them from within Kibera slum. The main purpose is to see if Kibera constitutes a home for excluded groups. Further it highlights how feelings of belonging are created in Kibera, despite many differences within the slum. During my earlier visits I have noticed that ethnicity, religion and HIV may be reasons for exclusion within the slum. Thus, a focus on the understanding of these in relation to feelings of belonging is necessary.

- Does Kibera constitute a home for people excluded from the city and do people identify themselves through the area?
- How are feelings of belonging created within Kibera; do different ethnicity, religion and HIV divide people?

I want to highlight the importance of examining peoples' feelings in Kibera in order to get an understanding of the problems in the area. Hence, the importance of interviewing people living in the slum. Through the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2, an analysis of the material from 14 interviews will be carried out. This allows me to answer the questions above in two separate chapters. Chapter 5, 'Kibera as a home for the excluded' will be devoted to the first question. My second research question will be analysed in chapter 6, 'A Cosmopolitan neighbourliness?'

¹⁰ J-F Staszak, 'Other/otherness' in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, vol. 8, R Kitchin & N Thrift (eds.) Elsevier, Oxford, 2009, pp. 43-47

¹¹ E Relph, *Place and Placelessness*. Pion, London, 1976. (Reprinted in 2008 with new preface) p. 49

¹² *ibid.* p. 49.

¹³ Foote & Azaryahu, 2009, pp. 96-100.

1.3 Delimitations

In order to meet the delimitations of this dissertation, I decided to focus on Kenya. The thesis is limited further geographically by looking at one city and in this city one slum. I want to look for individuals' feelings and to get a deep understanding, while keeping a manageable size of the study. Hence, the choice of the slum Kibera in Nairobi as a geographical limitation is vital.

Regarding the theoretical framework for this dissertation, limitations were necessary. The problematic of Kibera is deep and complex and offers several approach angles. I chose to look at how people within Kibera feel that they belong to the place they inhabit. In order to be able to solve the many problems of the slum I argue that a good starting-point is through the feelings of people actually living there. Much has been written about place and identity and endless numbers of concepts can be found to describe feelings of belonging. I find some of the concepts necessary and in need of an early definition. To lay out a foundation for the dissertation and the theoretical framework used, fundamental concepts of identity, place and belonging are defined in the following chapter (1.4 Definition of Concepts). I had to delimit the theoretical framework further and chose to have a focus on how feelings of belonging might change as a result of increased migration in the world. This seems relevant to me since many of the residents of Kibera have moved there from different areas in Kenya as well as from other countries. A discussion of different ideas and concepts regarding this matter thus constitutes a ground for the framework. This discussion will be the theoretical base for the analysis. It should also be mentioned that Ayona Datta's study about a squatter settlement in Delhi is given special attention because it has a similar approach as this dissertation.

As described above, I have a focus on residents in the slum and their experiences of *insideness/outsideness*¹⁴ in relation to the place. It could be argued that interviews with people living in other parts of Nairobi would be helpful in order to see how Kibera is viewed from the outside. Interviews like this was performed with middle- and high-class citizens with an aim to see if people living in the slum are in fact excluded from the city. As it turned out, these interviews did not bring much new information and I found the answers to be a bit skewed. The main reason for excluding them in this dissertation is that I came to the understanding that that the outside picture of Kibera is not relevant for my purposes. As long as the people living in the slum experience *outsideness*, hence experience Nairobi as exclusionary and feel that they do not belong in the rest of the city,¹⁵ I argue that the outside picture is irrelevant.

To limit the dissertation further, three categories were chosen to explore in relation with identity in Kibera. These are ethnicity, religion and HIV since I felt they stood out as important. During earlier visits to Nairobi and Kibera I have gotten the picture that ethnicity, religion and HIV are of significance for feelings of belonging in the slum. It is obvious that more categories are important in the creation of identity and belonging in Kibera but a limitation had to be made. For

¹⁴ Relph, 1976, p. 49.

¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 49.

example, men and women probably meet different challenges in Kibera and might experience the place differently. Thus, gender is one category that could have been studied more thoroughly, but at the same time could have taken over the whole dissertation. During the interviews one additional area that had not been in my consideration before was proved important - the overall socio-economic status of people within Kibera. Afterwards I think that this might be another important reason for a potential division between people in the slum and thus one of the most vital shortcomings of this dissertation. Even though I argue the importance of this category I want to point out that expanding the number of categories explored, the scope of the study would have increased enormously. By focusing on three categories I had the time to get a thorough understanding of each one of them in relation to belonging in Kibera.

1.4 Definition of concepts

This dissertation will be built on different theoretical concepts. Essential concepts such as identity, place and belonging are important for the analysis and will be presented in this section. The main focus is on the basic understanding of the concepts and how they should be seen in this dissertation. I find an early introduction of the concepts important for an understanding throughout the dissertation. The concepts of identity, place and belonging, their relation to one another and their importance in today's society will be further developed in the theoretical discussion in chapter 2.1.

1.4.1 Identity

The traditional notion of identity as something genetic and inherited, stable and unified has been challenged. Globalization has brought with it a perception that identities are in a continuous process of formation. These to oppose ideas of identity result in different beliefs about nationality, heritage and ethnicity. Some people feel that identity is rooted in their ancient heritages and cannot change. On the other hand, identity may be seen as something flexible, where ethnicity can be celebrated at the same time as new cultural circumstances are being ascribed. In this sense identity is socially constructed and can be manipulated based on context and usefulness, it is both negotiable and revocable.¹⁶ Identity in this sense refers to the way in which heritage, language, religion, ethnicity and shared interpretations of the past creates inclusion and exclusion that define communities. In this way identity is about sameness and membership and about constructions of *others* who do not share the same values and believes. *Otherness* is central to identity, which is constructed through distinction to *them*.¹⁷

¹⁶ J.D Bohland & E Hague, 'Heritage and Identity' in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, vol. 5, R Kitchin, & N Thrift (eds.) Elsevier, Oxford, 2009, pp. 109-114.

¹⁷ B Graham & P Howard, 'Heritage and Identity' (Introduction) in *Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and identity*, Ashgate, Surrey, Farrham, 2008, p. 5.

1.4.2 Place

Place is important for peoples' identities, they are commonly defined through some form of devotion to place.¹⁸ Peoples' actions in places contribute to the places' meanings and values. Space becomes place when it is used and inhabited; everyday-life and work therefore plays a big role in the creation and development of place.¹⁹ A place has meaning in the shape of the emotional bonds people experience in different environments, from local to national.²⁰ *Sense of place* describes these interweaved values and bonds, which people may develop in relation to a place.²¹ The meanings of a place may be developed through its distinctive history or environment and contributes to feelings of belonging.²² People may thus be united through shared history, culture and norms.²³ As a result of changes in the world there is a possibility of loss of *sense of place*. The concept of *placelessness* describes these diminishing bonds of attachments to place and will be discussed further in chapter 2.1.²⁴

1.4.3 Belonging

Belonging is about emotional attachment to a place, it is about feeling safe. It is one of the most important concepts of this dissertation and has to some extent been described through the above definitions of identity and place.²⁵ The meaning of a place may be individual or shared.²⁶ Shared experiences of a place are important for feelings of belonging and community in a society.²⁷ Who belongs and who does not creates exclusion and thus relate to the discussion above about identity through sameness. In the same sense, those who do not belong may be constructed as *others*.²⁸ Feelings of belonging are based on experiences of inclusion and thus undermine experiences of exclusion and rejection.²⁹ Feelings of belonging to places have changed as a result of the increasing mobility in the world,³⁰ which will be discussed further in chapter 2.1. So will the notion of the *other*.³¹

What I want to highlight here is that the concepts of identity, place and belonging should be seen in relation to one another. I look at the relationship as follows; the experience of place may be one of *insideness/outsideness* or inclusion/exclusion, which in turn generates feelings of belonging/unbelonging. To be included and to belong is in turn important for a person's identity.

¹⁸ Taylor, 2009, pp. 296-297.

¹⁹ T Cresswell, 'Place' in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, vol. 8, R Kitchin & N Thrift (eds.) Elsevier, Oxford, 2009, pp. 169-170.

²⁰ Foote & Azaryahu, 2009 p. 96.

²¹ Cresswell, 2009 pp. 169-170.

²² Foote & Azaryahu, 2009, p. 96.

²³ Salamon & MacTavish, 2009, pp. 423-428.

²⁴ Foote & Azaryahu, 2009 p. 96.

²⁵ A-D Christensen, 'Belonging and Unbelonging from an Intersectional Perspective'. *Gender, Technology and Development*, vol. 13, no. 1, January/April 2009, pp. 24-25.

²⁶ Cresswell, 2009, pp.169-170.

²⁷ Foote & Azaryahu, 2009 p. 97.

²⁸ Christensen, A-D. (2009) p. 26.

²⁹ Taylor, 2009, pp. 294-299.

³⁰ *ibid.* p. 294.

³¹ *ibid.* pp. 296-297.

1.5 Outline

In this section the structure of the dissertation will be presented. Following this introductory chapter the theoretical framework used is introduced. This chapter includes a theoretical discussion of place in relation to migration, followed by a presentation of Ayona Datta's study in Delhi. In the next chapter the methods and material used are presented. This chapter includes a discussion of choice of methods, choice of interviewees and a description of the interviews. Furthermore, critical parts in the study are presented and lastly; the secondary sources used are discussed.

In order to answer the above research-questions in a manageable way the analysis in this dissertation is divided into two different chapters. In the first, 'Kibera as a home for the excluded' (chapter 4), the focus is on exclusion and inclusion and possibilities of identification offered in Kibera. This chapter is divided into two sections, 'Exclusion' where I analyse experiences of exclusion in Nairobi and whether people experience inclusion in Kibera. The second section, 'A fragmented identity' examines if people identify themselves through attachment to Kibera and more closely looks at the problems arising from displacement.

In the second chapter of the analysis 'A Cosmopolitan neighbourliness?' (chapter 5) I discuss what may create feeling of belonging within Kibera and what may work against this through the before mentioned categories of ethnicity, religion and HIV. In the first section of this chapter 'In Kibera we come together' I discuss the overall picture of feelings of belonging in Kibera. The next section 'Ethnicity and religion' is divided into two parts; 'The post-election violence of 2007' and 'The Nubian Community'. These two cases seem important to me in order to show how ethnicity and religion might divide people in Kibera. The second section of chapter 5 is dedicated to HIV and looks at how people living with HIV may be excluded within the slum. This section is also divided in two different parts. 'Stigma and discrimination today' looks at the construction of people living with HIV as *others*. The second part 'The importance of Power Women Group' is focused on HIV related organizations and their importance for feelings of belonging in Kibera.

In the last chapter, I present a short summary of the dissertation. I reflect over the result and give suggestions of further research of the area in the future.

2 Theoretical framework

In this chapter the theoretical framework used in this dissertation will be presented. The first section consists of a theoretical discussion about place in relation to migration. This discussion will be the theoretical base for the analysis. Through the different concepts and ideas discussed I have gotten a framework important for the understanding of identity, place and belonging in Kibera. The discussion includes Edward Relph's concepts of *placelessness* and *insiderness/outsiderness*.³² In regards to both *placelessness* and *insiderness/outsiderness* my aim in this chapter is to understand the concepts in relation to mobility. To broaden the theoretical framework, scholars such as Ann-Dorte Christensen, Affrica Taylor, Doreen Massey, Lasse Koefoed and Kirsten Simonsen, have helped me to get a thorough understanding of how feelings of belonging might have changed as a result of increasing mobility and new urban problems in the world.

In the second section Ayona Datta's study about a Delhi squatter settlement and the concept of *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* will be presented. To some extent this concludes the previous discussion at the same time as it extends the theoretical base in relation to slum-problematic. Datta's study has been vital for the following analysis since it provides a theoretical example important for the understanding of how feelings of belonging are created within Kibera. The concept of *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* has been of particular value for my second research question and chapter 5 has thus been given the title 'Cosmopolitan neighbourliness?'

2.1 Place in relation to migration

We live in a world that is increasingly mobile and uprooted, a key to understanding place is thus through its relation to motilities.³³ The decrease of diverse landscapes and meaningful places indicate the possibility of a placeless geography and a loss of *sense of place*.³⁴ This is what Relph refers to as *placelessness*; "the casual eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardized landscapes that results from an insensitivity to the significance of place".³⁵ The concept of *placelessness* is important in this dissertation as a mean to understand possibilities of identification in Kibera.

As Relph argues, places are important as sources of security and identity for people and thereby the significance of experiencing meaningful places. He points out that *placelessness*, as "the weakening of distinct and diverse experience and

³² M Stock, 'Commentary 2' (Classics in Human Geography Revisited) *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 24, no. 4, August 2000, (includes commentaries by John R. Gold and Edward Relph) pp. 615-616.

³³ Cresswell, 2009, pp. 174-175.

³⁴ Relph, 1976, p. 79.

³⁵ Relph, 2008 (1976) preface.

identities of places” is increasing. This in turn changes the geographical bases of existence from a deep association with place to rootlessness.³⁶

Placelessness was conceptualized in 1976, the meaning and use of the concept has changed today.³⁷ In 2008 Relph emphasizes increased mobility as one reason for loss of *sense of place*.³⁸ In relation to this, I will use the concept as a way to understand how increased migration might have changed the experience of place and how this is reflected in Kibera. Relph emphasizes the importance of a balance between place and *placelessness*; both of them have potential advantages as well as problems. Relph argues that too deep association with place may create exclusionary attitudes³⁹ and that increased mobility has broken down rooted, narrow-minded and nostalgic *sense of place*. “The narrow but deep experience that once was normal has given way to briefer experiences of many different places.”⁴⁰

Affrica Taylor argues in a similar way that “the displacements and dispersals that constellate in all local places that have been effected by geohistorical macro-events, such as colonization and migration, render identity increasingly diffuse and complex”. She claims that this might result in dual identities.⁴¹ Taylor gives an alternative view on the relation between place and migration. Instead of an increase of distinctive places and a loss of *sense of place*, she argues that experience of migration can work to sharpen the nostalgic bonds people feel in relation to place. Memories of left places persist, even though fractured by distance. Through narration these memories can be passed on to following generations.⁴²

In both Relph’s and Taylor’s ways of arguing: as a result of the increased mobility in the world, an important issue is peoples’ relations to place in the situation of the experience of multiple places.⁴³ In this sense Doreen Massey argues that places are produced through connections to the rest of the world and recognizes that people have multiple identities in relation to place⁴⁴. Massey refers to this conception of place as a *global sense of place*. Here places are constituted through mobility and seen as sites of heterogeneous instead of homogeneous identities. In this way of thinking there is no longer a clear inside or outside. “Definition in this sense does not have to be through simple counter position to the outside; it can come, in part precisely through the particularity of linkage to that outside which is therefore itself part of what constitutes the place”.⁴⁵ It is therefore much harder to make judgements about *insiders* and *outsiders*.⁴⁶

³⁶ Relph, 1976, p. 6.

³⁷ E Relph. ‘Author’s Response: *Place and Placelessness* in a New Context’ (Classics in Human Geography Revisited) *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 24, no. 4, August 2000, (includes commentaries by John R. Gold and Mathis Stock) pp. 617-619.

³⁸ Relph 2008 (1976) preface.

³⁹ *ibid.* preface.

⁴⁰ *ibid.* preface.

⁴¹ Taylor, 2009, pp. 294-299.

⁴² *ibid.* pp. 294-299.

⁴³ Stock, 2000, pp. 615-616.

⁴⁴ D Massey, *Space, place and Gender*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1994. p. 153

⁴⁵ *ibid.* pp.154-156

⁴⁶ *ibid.* pp.154-156

The concepts *insider* and *outsider* are important for the understanding of the consequences of increased mobility in relation to place and the linkage between place and individuals.⁴⁷ These concepts are of relevance for this dissertation and will be used to gain an understanding of exclusion in Nairobi and the way feelings of belonging within Kibera are created.

The distinction between being inside and outside focuses on more than attachment to a place, it looks at the different ways people experience it.⁴⁸ *Insideness* defines the degree a person or group feel that they belong to a place; in order to be an *insider* a person has to have a relation of attachment to a place. As Relph argues “To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is this identity with the place”.⁴⁹ Being inside will in turn make the individual feel safe, enclosed and being here rather than there.⁵⁰ In contrast a person can feel separate and disaffected from a place, he or she has a more detached relation to the place. The concept of *outsideness* describes place experience where people feel some sort of division between themselves and the world.⁵¹ As a result of different degrees of *insideness* and *outsideness* places can hold various meanings and identities for different people.⁵²

Taylor argues that different minorities may experience some places as excluding. The members will create their own social and cultural world and feel that they belong with others that have been excluded in the same way. The places will thereby be associated with these groups and identified through them. In other words, the identity of the minority can be created through the exclusion.⁵³

Ann-Dorte Christensen argues that one of the most important challenges today is associated with migration and how to include ethnical minorities. She emphasizes the close interplay between constructions of belonging and unbelonging. The construction of *who belongs to* in turn generates a construction of *who does not belong to* and the two should thus be seen in relation to one another.⁵⁴ Similar to Relph, she argues that certain groups may be seen as *outsiders*. “I argue that the question of belonging is a strong marker not only of collective and individual identities but also of distinction and social exclusion”.⁵⁵ Christensen emphasizes that the routine of everyday life reproduces prejudice and stigmatized notions of the *others*.⁵⁶

In relation to the notion of the *other*, I find the concept of the *stranger* important for a further understanding of exclusion. This will be important in the later discussion about ethnicity, religion and HIV. Sociologist Georg Simmel

⁴⁷ Stock, 2000, pp. 615-616.

⁴⁸ *ibid.* pp. 615-616.

⁴⁹ Relph, 1976, p. 49.

⁵⁰ *ibid.* p. 49.

⁵¹ D Seamon, 'A Singular Impact: Edward Relph's Place and Placelessness'. *Environmental and Architectural Phenomenology Newsletter*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1996 p. 2.

⁵² D Seamon, 'Place, Placelessness, Insideness and Outsideness in John Sayles' *Sunshine State*' *Aether. The Journal of Media Geography*. vol. 3, June 2008, pp. 3-4.

⁵³ Taylor, 2009 pp. 294-299.

⁵⁴ Christensen, 2009, p. 26.

⁵⁵ *ibid.* pp.21-23.

⁵⁶ *ibid.* pp. 37-38.

introduced the concept of the *stranger* over a hundred years ago.⁵⁷ Simmel argues that the *stranger* is an element of a group itself; he is both being outside and confronting it. In his words; “in the relationship to him, distance means that he, who is close by, is far, and strangeness means that he, who also is far, is actually near”⁵⁸ Simmel introduces the *stranger* as a figure living within what Koefoed and Simonsen refer to as a spatial ambivalence of *proximity* and *distance*. The relationship of the *stranger* and the place of residence is both one of attachment and detachment, inclusion and exclusion. The stranger is inside and outside at the same time, he or she is an *outsider* inside.⁵⁹

Koefoed and Simonsen argue that all nations produce *strangers* who often stand for what the nation is not. In order to create and invent themselves as spaces of belonging, nations need their opposites. Koefoed and Simonsen emphasize how nations define themselves against *strange culture* and *others* who are recognized as *strangers*. The *stranger* is here a powerful figure, “invented, imagined and transformed into the more abstract and generalized figures of the *other*, the *foreigner* or the *alien*.”⁶⁰ When it comes to neighbourhoods and local communities, it is argued that a similar relationship with the *stranger* exists as the one in relation to the nation. “Places in the meaning of loci or community generally have a dual character: they are social communities where residents communicate and do things together and they are bounded areas seeking to enforce the boundaries against those who do not belong.”⁶¹

Furthermore, the processes of *similarities* and *differences* are necessary for identification with the city or parts of it and should be seen in relation to one another. “Identity becomes a question of the construction of symbolic boundaries, of the way in which every identity has a constitutive outside.”⁶² At the same time, Koefoed and Simonsen argue that place cannot be *purified*, meaning that the question is not how to get rid of strangers, but how to learn to live with them. Belonging to places in this sense may be shared but still separated at the same time.⁶³

⁵⁷ G Simmel, ‘The stranger’ (1908) in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, Wolff, K. (trans.) Free Press, New York, 1950, pp. 402–408.

⁵⁸ *ibid.* p. 402-403.

⁵⁹ L Koefoed & K Simonsen, ‘The stranger’, the city and the nation: on the possibilities of identification and belonging’ *European Urban and Regional Studies*, vol. 18, no. 4, October 2011, p. 344 & pp. 355-356.

⁶⁰ *ibid.* pp. 344-347.

⁶¹ *ibid.* p. 354.

⁶² *ibid.* p. 354.

⁶³ *ibid.* p. 354.

2.2 A Delhi slum as a theoretical example

In Ayona Datta's study about a squatter settlement in Delhi, India she suggests that openness to *others* is produced in the settlement in order to construct a home for oneself in an exclusionary city.⁶⁴ As mentioned earlier, Datta's study has been important in this dissertation and will mainly be used for an understanding of how feelings of belonging may be created within Kibera. Datta argues that while the wider city might lack neighbourliness, this is not absent in the slum. Here is a notion of what Datta refers to as *cosmopolitan neighbourliness*;⁶⁵ values and beliefs about the *other* are transformed to produce an alternative home in an exclusionary city. Differences become normalized, which is only possible in a *mongrel city* where *mixing* across differences produces a situation where the *other* becomes familiar and similar with *self*.⁶⁶ Squatter settlements tend to be made of migrants from a variety of different regional, ethnic, religious and caste-based cultures; there is an intense *mixing* of differences.⁶⁷ "During the struggles to survive in an exclusionary urban public sphere, it is in the neighbourhood sphere that other differences beyond class become meaningful. And it is in the neighbourhood sphere, outside the gaze of the city, that a *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is produced."⁶⁸

A common picture of squatter settlements is one of violence and criminality; squatters are often excluded and criminalized in the city. One reason for this portrait of the slum as *murderous* is a notion that those who live in the slums are seen as peasants in the city.⁶⁹ People living in slums still maintain social and economic ties with their left-behind villages.⁷⁰ The slum becomes a microcosm of the village⁷¹ and is seen as a space where religious segregation and gender injustice occurs.⁷² Datta argues that connections between squatters and rural space are preserved and thereby a notion of squatters as *out of place with the city* is reinforced.⁷³ There is a fear of *them* towards the slum and an anxiety of the incapability of peasants in squatter settlements to transform themselves into urban dwellers.⁷⁴ It thus becomes important for people in the slum to present themselves as capable of negotiating all forms of differences in the city, which were earlier unthinkable in the village.⁷⁵ "Thus the slum is constructed by participants, as an *urban* rather than rural product—a place where bridging across differences of caste, religion, ethnicity and language is an ordinary aspect of everyday life."⁷⁶ This becomes an important part in the production of an *urban self*.⁷⁷

⁶⁴ A Datta, "Mongrel City": Cosmopolitan Neighbourliness in a Delhi Squatter Settlement'. *Antipode* vol. 00, no. 0, August 2011 p. 1.

⁶⁵ *ibid.* p. 19.

⁶⁶ *ibid.* pp. 3-4.

⁶⁷ *ibid.* p. 12.

⁶⁸ *ibid.* p. 9.

⁶⁹ *ibid.* pp. 4-5.

⁷⁰ *ibid.* p. 10.

⁷¹ *ibid.* p. 19.

⁷² *ibid.* p. 5.

⁷³ *ibid.* p. 19.

⁷⁴ *ibid.* p. 5.

⁷⁵ *ibid.* pp. 3-4.

⁷⁶ *ibid.* p. 19.

⁷⁷ *ibid.* pp. 3-4.

Datta points out that *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* in the slum is fragile.⁷⁸ In her study it is shown that there is a denial of religious and caste-based conflicts from many residents in the slum.⁷⁹ At the same time Datta argues that violence erupts within the slum because it calls identity into question, by exposing differences as something evil in the bodies of *others*. The spatial and material proximity of bodies and homes produces fear. Nearness brings with uncertainty, there is always a possibility of neighbours turning into enemies and betraying one another.⁸⁰ Datta points out that even if *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* remains fragile it is still very important in order to sustain a home in the exclusionary city⁸¹ and *others* in the slum truly become part of the *self*.⁸²

⁷⁸ *ibid.* p. 20.

⁷⁹ *ibid.* p. 17.

⁸⁰ *ibid.* pp. 5-6.

⁸¹ *ibid.* p. 20.

⁸² *ibid.* pp.15-16.

3 Methodology and material

In order to get an honest and good picture of Kibera and the problems people meet in the slum I felt the need to go there myself. Before going to Nairobi I was in contact with a group of women called Power Women Group. This group consists of 14 women who have come together to fight HIV. Once I arrived, I was given the opportunity to meet these women and to interview them for the purpose of this dissertation. All the women were happy to participate and the interviews were carried out in December 2012 and January 2013. This dissertation will mainly be built on the primary material from these interviews; the method used is mainly a qualitative interview study. This chapter will further describe considerations made and the methods used.

3.1 Qualitative interviews with Power Women Group

To answer the research questions of this dissertation a deep understanding of the situation in Kibera is necessary and thus a need of personal and detailed information. I want the individual to be in focus and to examine peoples' feelings. Considering this I have chosen to do a qualitative case study of Kibera. It could be argued that a quantitative study would have given a wider and better picture since more people could have been included.⁸³ In one way, this assumption is correct and I see one disadvantage with the use of qualitative method as the possible limitation of only covering one part of the story. At the same time, the aim of this dissertation is to acquire a deep knowledge of feelings in Kibera. Although a qualitative method might have its disadvantages, I would never have been able to get the same understanding with a quantitative method.⁸⁴ For example, it would not have been possible to put together a survey sufficient enough for the participants to explain their feelings of belonging, since this requires in-depth interviews.⁸⁵

To collect the material needed, 14 semi-structured in-depth interviews were performed. The questions, which were prepared in advance created the basic foundation as a starting-point and were used equivalently in the different interviews. At the same time, I wanted the interviews to be semi-structured with the purpose of openness in the questions, which gave flexibility to change direction and ask more questions if necessary.⁸⁶

⁸³ P Cloke, I Cook, P Crang, M Goodwin, J Painter & C Philo, *Practising human geography*. SAGE Publications Ltd., London, 2004, p. 17.

⁸⁴ *ibid.* p. 17.

⁸⁵ R Flowerdew, & D Martin (eds.) *Methods in Human Geography: a guide for students doing a research project* 2nd. ed. Pearson, Harlow, 2005, p.110.

⁸⁶ *ibid.* pp. 119-120.

3.1.1 Choice of interviewees

With the disadvantages of narrowness with a qualitative study in mind I felt the need to interview a decent number of people in Kibera to get a broad picture. At the same time I wanted to limit the number of interviewees so that I could really understand their situation. As mentioned above, during earlier visits to Kenya I came in contact with Power Women Group. The group came together to fight poverty and HIV in Kibera and today works with counselling in an effort to raise awareness and to combat stigma and discrimination. The group consists of 14 women whom I all interviewed. (See further presentation of the women in appendix 2).

I think these women constitute a good group for my study and that they can provide me with an understanding of belonging and un-belonging in Kibera. There are several reasons behind the choice of interviewees. First of all, they are from different parts of the country and have all come to Nairobi in search of a better life. The group consist of women from four different tribes in Kenya and one woman from Tanzania. With their different ethnic backgrounds, I find it likely that they will give me a wide picture of the problems regarding obstacles to fit into the new society and creation of feelings of belonging.⁸⁷ Secondly, since one of my main focuses of this study is HIV and problems of belonging arising from it, I found it necessary to interview people living with the virus. The women all have experiences of problems associated with HIV, which is of importance for this study.

There are some restrictions in my choice of interviewees. For example they are all women in about the same age (34-55 years old) and all of them are Christians. I decided to look at problems in Kibera through the eyes of these women and not include men, other ages or other religions, with the hazard of maybe overlooking some crucial information and miss the overall picture of the daily life in Kibera. I find this a disadvantage of my study and to include other groups would have given a more accurate picture.⁸⁸ Although, the different types of groups interviewed are limited, I argue that for the time I had and the many categories of this study, the women provided a good base. I thought it was essential that the interviewees included people living with HIV, since this was one of my main focuses. With no more than 14 participants I managed to achieve this while also being able to include 4 different ethnic groups (as well as one women from Tanzania).

One of the main reasons for interviewing the women was the established connection with them since before. This brought with it some obvious advantages. I did not have to put much effort into choosing and finding interviewees, which of course saved a lot of time. This gave me more time to focus on an outline and the theoretical framework for the dissertation from the start. When selecting interviewees the personal contact we had established at an earlier stage was highly worthwhile since it provided me with insights before even visiting the group.

⁸⁷ *ibid.* p.112.

⁸⁸ *ibid.* p.112.

Furthermore, and most importantly, the personal contact gave me the possibility to ask sensitive questions, which in other case might have been difficult. Since many of my questions were very sensitive and personal I believe the study would have been very problematic to carry out with other interviewees. Hence, the personal relation with the women has been essential in this study.⁸⁹

3.1.2 The interviews

Since I already had an established relationship with the women, and had a basic understanding of what would be acceptable to ask and what would be too sensitive, I was able to create an interview-guide before going to Nairobi. The guide became significant in the interviews. The aim of the guide was to provide a good basic foundation to assure that the interviews went in the same direction.⁹⁰ It was created with an easy start, such as questions about the women's background and space for them to tell their stories. By starting with easy questions, my aim was to get a sense of the situation and a better feeling of what would be appropriate to ask. Further into the interviews I went on to deeper and more sensitive questions about HIV and feelings of exclusion in the city. I also asked questions about different religions and ethnicity and if these make it hard to interact with people in Kibera. Although I had my starting point in an interview guide I made sure that the questions were open-ended to ensure that the women were given room to talk.⁹¹

The interviews were held in Power Women Group's office in Kibera in order to make the women feel safe and comfortable. Before the interviews I sat down and explained my purpose for the women. All of them insisted that their real names should be used. When I asked sensitive questions I made it clear that they did not have to answer if they did not want to and that I did not expect anything. This was important in order to keep them feel safe.⁹² The interviews lasted for approximately 30 minutes each, some a bit shorter, some a bit longer. The interviews mostly went on without problems and there was room for me to follow up with additional questions, which gave a flow. By recording the interviews I could focus on the questions during the interviews and later analyse the content. It also gave the possibility to additional interviews in cases where I felt that a question was missing or un-answered. Those interviews were few and around five minutes long.

3.1.3 Critical parts

The interviews were supposed to be held in English, but some of the women did not speak the language. Other languages, such as Swahili, were therefore used. The problem of translation was solved through the help of a translator; the chairlady of the group speaks English fluently and could translate without

⁸⁹ *ibid.* pp. 122-123.

⁹⁰ *ibid.* pp. 119-120.

⁹¹ *ibid.* pp. 119-120.

⁹² *ibid.* p.122.

problem. However, I felt that these interviews did not have the same flow as the others and thereby; they did not provide as good information. It should be pointed out, however, that this had nothing to do with the women not wanting to talk with the chairlady as translator. On the contrary, it would not have been possible to ask sensitive questions (about HIV for example) with a translator not being one of the women. Furthermore, there is always a possibility that some of the information gets lost or is altered in the translation. I know some Swahili and could follow the conversation a bit but definitely not on a sufficient level. The chairlady speaks English perfectly and I do not think that she would angle the answers but to make sure that the translations were accurate, thus the material reliable, I managed to get some parts of the interviews checked by a second translator afterwards. Despite the language barrier, I feel that I got all of my questions answered, providing good material for my thesis.

During the interviews I found some questions hard to ask, because of reasons that had nothing to do with sensitive subjects or getting too personal. Rather, the problem was that the women had problem understanding. The language barrier played one part but I think there was more to it. While asking questions directly about belonging I never got a direct answer. For example when asking a question like *do you have feelings of belonging towards Kibera?* The answers were unclear and I did not get a response on the question actually asked. I believe that the question was not understood correctly. Because of this, I had to change some questions along the interviews and thereby managed to get answers in other ways. Instead of the previous question I asked; *do you feel that Kibera is your home?* Here I got the answer immediately and could analyse it afterwards.

It has been argued that qualitative method is subjective in the sense that it makes it possible for researchers to put in too much of his or her own reflections.⁹³ In this way there are some possible shortages with the qualitative method; someone else might have analysed the material differently and thereby reached a different result. It is thus important to keep in mind that this is my interpretation of the women's answers.

3.2 Secondary sources

I have used a number of different articles and books in this dissertation to get a better picture of the problems in Kibera. These are secondary sources, which bring some problems since they are unverifiable.⁹⁴ I have tried to assure me of their accuracy in different ways in order not to lose the reliability and validity of my analysis. First of all I have tried to use mainly recently published articles. In cases where I have used older writings I have shown that the information is a bit old and should be read with some consideration. I have found it important to use many sources and by doing this, I have been able to compare data and through this I have gotten a picture of what is reliable and what is not.

⁹³ Cloke et al., 2004, p. 17.

⁹⁴ Flowerdew & Martin, 2005, p.58.

Maybe most importantly, secondary data has mainly been used to support the material gained from the interviews with the women. For example, Margaret Odingo's and Mutuku Mwanthi's study about stigma and discrimination in Kibera was used to discuss the problems relating to HIV in the slum. I present data from their study and clearly point out that it is their data and not mine. Since the results are similar to the women's stories I find it as highly reliable and a good way to describe the extended problematic of Kibera. The sources have thus been used more as examples compared with the women's view and not stated as facts. Hence, in these cases I have not relied on the secondary sources but merely used them as a way to extend the women's stories. In this way the sources accuracy have been tested through my primary material.

4 Kibera as a home for the excluded

In this chapter, I will try to answer my first research question; *does Kibera constitute a home for people excluded from the city and do people identify themselves through the area?* I want to see if people in Kibera really experience exclusion from the rest of the city and how does this affect their identity. In the first section of this chapter; ‘Exclusion’, I analyse the women’s answers to see if they experience exclusion in relation to Nairobi as a whole and if an inclusion is offered in Kibera. In the second section, ‘A fragmented identity’ I look at possibilities of identification through attachment to Kibera and how belonging to other places might affect the women’s identity.

4.1 Exclusion

In Ayona Datta’s study of a squatter settlement in Delhi she argues that people in the slum are excluded from the city as a whole.⁹⁵ I have found a similar picture in Kibera. Many of the women do not feel welcomed in other parts of Nairobi and they describe the outside picture of Kibera as one of a poor and dirty area. Mary puts it like follows:

They don’t see us in real sense as a person who is having really the same policy, as the ones that are staying in estate have. They look at people from the community side as the poor people...So it is just two tribes; poor and rich. (Mary)

The prevailing view the women have is that people outside Kibera look at them as the *poor people* who cannot afford anything and who do not care about themselves. Mutisya and Yarime give a similar picture in a study about Kibera from 2011. They argue that the experiences in Nairobi slums “shows a strong link that people living in poverty are trapped in their present situation because they are excluded from the rest of the society”.⁹⁶ In Datta’s study squatter settlements are portrayed as violent and criminal places, with a fear of *them*.⁹⁷ Similar to this, the women believe that people in Nairobi consider Kibera as a place of crime and that people fear Kibera as a place that is not safe. According to Datta this tends to exclude and criminalize squatters in the city.⁹⁸ Like in Datta’s case, the women describe a situation where people from Kibera are *out of place with the city* and a fear of *them*.⁹⁹ According to the women, when a crime is done somewhere in Nairobi people from Kibera often get blamed. As Doreen says:

⁹⁵ Datta, 2011, p. 1.

⁹⁶ Mutisya & Yarime, 2011, p. 198.

⁹⁷ Datta, 2011, pp. 4-5.

⁹⁸ *ibid.* pp. 4-5.

⁹⁹ *ibid.* p. 19.

Because like you are in town and they say; this one is from Kibera they know everybody from Kibera are thieves. So when someone who was stealing was from somewhere but they mention one from Kibera, the one from Kibera is the main suspect. (Doreen)

The reason for this they argue; there is a view of thieves as people who have been raised in poor families without good education and enough food. This speaks with Datta's argument that the fear of *them* comes from an anxiety of squatters incapability as peasants in the city to transform themselves into urban dwellers.¹⁰⁰ The women in Power Women Group are all casual workers, they try to find as many jobs as possible and most of these are as house helps in estates. At the same time they are not welcomed, they are not seen "as a person who is having really the same policy", they are in a way seen as the *others* who do not belong.¹⁰¹ This is truly reflected in the women's stories:

When people stay in the Kibera slums and go to the estate they feel that this person cannot afford anything. And sometimes maybe when you are working for people in the estate and you want to leave after working they want to search inside your bag, maybe you have stolen something (Everlyne)

One woman went to wash for a girl in the estate and she looked at that woman and she's like; stay there I'll bring my dress, my clothes outside so that you can wash there. (Mary)

As demonstrated by the above quotations, the women points out a situation of exclusion. It marks a clear distinction between the city and the slum and gives a picture of people living in Kibera as the *others*. There is a notion of *them* having separate values from *us*. In this sense Christensen argues that various groups may be seen as *outsiders*. According to her, belonging is about who is defined as being *inside* the community and who is being defined as *outside*, who is included and who is excluded.¹⁰² The women give a picture of people in Kibera as *outsiders* who do not belong in the city. Relph's *insideness* defines the degree of feelings of belonging to a place, to be inside a place is to belong to it and identity yourself with it.¹⁰³ There is a clear lack of *insideness* in the women's stories of Nairobi. They thus have feelings of *outsideness* towards Nairobi; they feel separated from the city and do not identify themselves with it.¹⁰⁴ Not many of the women feel as a part of Nairobi. The life in Kibera is very different from that of the city they argue; in the slum they do not have access to tap water, the area is a unclean and very crowded. These are issues that contribute to the above-mentioned experiences of *outsideness*:

So we are in Kibera, we are still in Kibera. When we go out is when we see Nairobi. (Joyce)

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.* p. 5.

¹⁰¹ Christensen, 2009, pp.21-23.

¹⁰² *ibid.* pp.21-23.

¹⁰³ Relph, 1976, p. 49.

¹⁰⁴ Seamon, 1996, p. 2.

With this sentence Joyce describes the essence of the situation. This shows a division between the city and the slum, between *them* and *us*. Kibera is a place separated from the city and when you leave the slum is when you really are in Nairobi. It should be noted that people in other parts of Nairobi may not have this picture, but as long as people in Kibera feel this way, it reflects a division between the city and the slum. Or in other words, it reflects an exclusion of people living in the slum. Kibera is not Nairobi; it is what Koefoed and Simonsen might argue a *strange outside*,¹⁰⁵ even if the slum actually is geographically within the city. According to Everlyne, the chairlady of the group, not many people have been to Kibera but the conception is well established and widespread:

...even if you go to the rural area people say; oh when someone says he's staying in Kibera that is the worst place I would go and stay. (Everlyne)

Similar to the above quote, all of the women argue that the outside picture of Kibera as poor and criminal is one that exists, but one established through what have not been seen. According to Koefoed and Simonsen, Kibera could thus be seen as a constructed symbolic outside opposed to the inclusion and identity of Nairobi.¹⁰⁶

While the women do not feel as if they belong to Nairobi, they give another picture of Kibera. Even though many of the women describe that they are forced to stay in Kibera due to lack of money, they feel that the area is their home. The women feel as a part of Kibera for much more reasons than, as they would say, being stuck here. While the women do not feel as a part of Nairobi, they do feel as a part of Kibera:

I remember we were invited to a place in Karen. And we didn't feel secure because we felt like it was not our home. So we wanted to leave the place even earlier than we were told to leave, because we were afraid. (Everlyne)

I'm staying in Kibera. Because I'm proud to stay in Kibera. The first thing is that I love Kibera, I love people who live in Kibera and because people who live in Kibera they are hardworking people, everybody is busy. (Rose-Mary)

The above-presented examples show how Kibera offers possibilities of inclusion for the people that experience exclusion in the city. Taylor argues that many people know who they are, in part through some form of attachment and relation to the place, which they inhabit. People define themselves through devotion to a specific place and it is essential for identification. To be included and belong to is therefore important for one's identity.¹⁰⁷ This brings me back to Relph's *insideness*. As discussed previously, being inside a place is to belong and identify with it. The more profoundly inside you feel the stronger is the identity with the place. The lack of *insedeness* the women experience in relation to Nairobi thus shows difficulties of identification through the city.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011 pp. 344-347.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.* p. 354.

¹⁰⁷ Taylor, 2009, pp. 296-297.

¹⁰⁸ Relph, 1976, p. 49.

In this sense, Kibera is important and it does offer a home for people excluded from the city. The women feel included in Kibera and feel as a part of it. They experience *insideness*, which in turn makes them feel safe and enclosed.¹⁰⁹ Relph argues that places are important as sources of security and identity for people and groups and thereby the significance of experiencing meaningful places.¹¹⁰ Kibera is thus important for feelings of belonging and identity for the people living here. But even if all of the women feel that they are more a part of Kibera than Nairobi, some women do not see Kibera as their home. Doreen expresses her like this:

I just love Kibera but I don't feel as if it's my home. (Doreen)

But here again, she does not feel that Nairobi is her home either. She feels that her home is just in her rural. Being *inside*, will according to Relph, make the individual feel that he or she is *here* rather than *there*.¹¹¹ In this sense I argue that Kibera offers *insideness* and possibilities of identification in an excluding city, but with some restraints. All of the women have a longing for their rural area in common:

I'm a part of Kibera, until when I will go to stay in the rural area. (Beatrice)

4.2 A fragmented identity

According to Taylor, identity is becoming increasingly diffuse and complex as a result of the displacement following migration.¹¹² Many of the women argue that because they have stayed a long time in Kibera they feel that they can call it home. In Kibera they have formed a lot of friends and feel that they have support. Even if they have stayed long in Nairobi they do not show the same affection to the city. None of them feels that Nairobi is actually their home:

Nairobi is not my home. I'm from Siaya town. That is my home. (Rose-Mary)

The women came to Nairobi in search of work opportunities and some of them came to look for education for their children, but all of them want to move back to their rural areas in the future. As mentioned earlier, they look at Kibera a bit differently. Everlyne talks about Kibera in relation to her rural area as follows:

I feel Kibera is my home, because when I look at my home ground is far away from where I am. Because the people I'm living close to, they are my people. (Everlyne)

This shows that, compared to the city as a whole, Kibera offers inclusion, but at the same time they do not think of Kibera as their *permanent* home. The women's aim is to go back to their rural areas. One main concern regarding the wish to

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.* p. 49.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.* p. 6.

¹¹¹ *ibid.* p. 49.

¹¹² Taylor, 2009, pp. 294-299

move back to where they came from is that they want to be buried in their community, which is typically a part of their tradition. Their identities lies with the rural areas, but no one of them have a possibility to move back. Lack of money keeps them in Kibera and in addition to this, many of the women were chased away from their rural homes when their families found out that they were HIV-positive. Even if they could find enough money to go back and build a house, they do not have any land to build it on. Helen explains it:

I am staying in Kibera for just a temporal because I have no other place to go and settle or start rebuilding my life again. But I rather prefer to go and when I have a land I can go and build a life and start my life. (Helen)

The above quotation reflects the complexity of the women's problems. They are forced to stay in Nairobi and to find feelings of belonging here. This is done through some sort of identification with Kibera and as Taylor argues, their identity is diffuse, complex and has a dual character.¹¹³ The women feel as a part of Kibera, but at the same time they have a longing to go back to their rural areas. Kibera is thus their *temporary* home, while I argue that they speak about their rural areas as their *real* homes. Theresa points to the problematic by saying:

Kibera it is my home, but then it is not my home. (Theresa)

This brings with it, what I refer to as a partly *fragmented identity*. For example, when Everlyne is in Nairobi and someone asks her where she is from, she would answer that she is from Kibera. Likewise would most of the women:

I just introduce myself; I'm from Kibera. Because I know Kibera is my home, my familiar ground where I know a lot of people. (Helen)

On the other hand, if the question were asked outside of Nairobi, they would instead answer by referring to their rural area as where they come from:

I was born in Kakamega. So that is my ground, background area. Even on my identity card, so that is how they will search me. (Everlyne)

Demonstrated by the above-mentioned, the women identify themselves through attachment to their rural areas. All the women strive to move back and even if some of them are hopeful for this to happen, there is a big possibility that they will never be able to leave Nairobi. Most of the women are having problem on how to go and visit their relatives in their rural areas and many of them have not been back in a very long time. (Rhoda, for example, has not been back at her rural area since 1991). They do not have a house and some do not even have relatives left, but at the same time they all refer to their rural areas as the *real* home. I argue that this is more than a dual identity. It is *fragmented* in the sense that the

¹¹³ *ibid.* pp. 294-299.

women's *real* identity is without reach and they are stuck with the *temporary* identity that Kibera offers.

Relph argues that *placelessness* is increasing and that this changes the geographical bases of existence from a deep association with place to *rootlessness*.¹¹⁴ In 2008, he emphasizes increased mobility as one main reason for loss of *sense of place*.¹¹⁵ I argue that this has not been shown in the women's stories. Although they have been forced to leave their rural areas and been living in Nairobi for many years they still have a strong attachment with those left behind places. Instead of an increase of places loss of meaning Taylor argues that experience of displacement can work to sharpen the nostalgic bonds people feel in relation to place.¹¹⁶ Doreen gives a picture similar to this when she says:

I have to have my own house, whereby, when I die, the children will call; this is our home and the children will know their background, and the children will go to their own people and learn a lot of things from their own people. You know, a child have grown in Nairobi, a child have taken care of for Nairobi, when get lost in town they say; I come from Kibera. They don't know where their parents came from, we just come from Kibera. You can find a Luhya speaking Lou, a Lou speaking Luuya. But they don't know, where, really which village did they come from (Doreen)

This quotation reflects one of the biggest concerns expressed by the women; they are worried about their children's knowledge about their heritage. The main reason for the women wanting to move back to rural areas are so that their children can know their relatives and communities. At the same time, according to the women, most of their children also wish to go back to their rural areas:

They don't feel that Kibera is their home because sometimes they asks; mommy when will we have to know our rural area? They want to move back. (Mary)

I argue that this clearly shows that the nostalgic bonds in one way have been sharpened. As Taylor argues, the memories of left places, even though fractured by distance and time, clearly persists and have been passed on to following generations.¹¹⁷ At the same time, many of the children do not know their tribe's language and have never been to their rural areas. Even if their identity is in their rural areas, many of them will probably remain in Kibera, longing for an identity that is getting more and more diffused.

Relph argues in 2008 that too deep association with place may create exclusionary attitudes.¹¹⁸ According to him, increased mobility has broken down rooted, narrow-minded and nostalgic sense of place. "The narrow but deep experience that once was normal has given way to briefer experiences of many different places."¹¹⁹ In one way this is shown in the women's stories, they describe this rooted *sense of place* with strong bonds to their rural areas as still

¹¹⁴ Relph, 1976, p. 6.

¹¹⁵ Relph, 2008 (1976) preface.

¹¹⁶ Taylor, 2009, pp. 294-299.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.* pp. 294-299.

¹¹⁸ Relph, 2008 (1976) preface.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.* preface.

existing and being passed on to following generations. On the other hand, they give a picture of what Massey refers to as a *global sense of place*. Kibera is in this sense constituted through mobility; people from all different parts of Kenya are living in the slum and a linkage to the outside constitutes the place.¹²⁰ Shared experiences of a place are important for feelings of belonging and community.¹²¹ Hence identification in relation to Kibera becomes important, even if referred to just as a *temporary* home or not:

Kibera is now where we can be, because that is the place where you can be safe with our children. (Rose-Mary)

This shows just how important Kibera is in the sense that it offers inclusion and belonging. At the same time as the women still identify themselves with their rural areas, they feel attachment to Kibera and identify themselves at least partly through the area. Seamon and Sowers refers to Massey when they argue that importance of place and locality must be balanced with an awareness of connections to other places:

The point is that an empathetic and compassionate understanding of the worlds beyond our own places may be best grounded in a love of a particular place to which I myself belong. In this way, we may recognize that what we need in our everyday world has parallels in the worlds of others.¹²²

¹²⁰ Massey, 1994, pp.154-156

¹²¹ Foote & Azaryahu, 2009, p. 97

¹²² D Seamon & J Sowers, 'Place and Placelessness, Edward Relph' in *Key Texts in Human Geography*, Hubbard, P., Kitchen, R. and Vallentine, G. (eds.) Sage, London, 2008, p.50.

5 Cosmopolitan neighbourliness?

I have stated that the women feel as a part of Kibera, but not as a part of Nairobi in the same sense. In this section I will more closely look at how feelings of belonging are created and how differences work against such feelings. I will here try to answer the second research question: *how are feelings of belonging created within Kibera; do different ethnicity, religion and HIV divide people?*

This chapter will be divided into three main sections. In the first one ‘In Kibera we come together’ I try to give an overall picture of feelings of belonging in Kibera. In the following section ‘Ethnicity and religion’ I look more closely at how these two categories may create a division between people in Kibera. This section is divided into two sub-sections: ‘The post-election violence of 2007’ and ‘The Nubian Community’. These two were selected since they seemed important as reasons that might divide people in Kibera.

The third section in this chapter ‘HIV’ is looking at stigma and discrimination. Following an introduction about the situation ten years ago, the sub-section ‘Stigma and discrimination today’ discusses how people living with HIV might be excluded within Kibera. Following this is ‘The importance of Power Women Group’ where the impact of small organizations is discussed.

5.1 “In Kibera we come together”

The women argue that people are more divided in Nairobi than in Kibera. In the slum they live together in a different way than in other parts of the city. Carol and Everlyne explain it:

People are very much close together, more than people in Nairobi. What is good also is that people from the slums are together, they are sharing their things together, they cannot laugh at everyone because they know the people who are passing are in the same situation (Carol)

In Kibera we come together. Because when I walk, I walk freely. I can move to whatever I want because you know people in Kibera we don’t move to go far away. That is how we move, closely. And we’ll be visiting our neighbours or walking to see our neighbours. (Everlyne)

In this way they describe how people in Kibera live close together and all of the women feel that people in Kibera are more united than people in Nairobi. As argued before, the women experience the city as excluding; they feel as the *poor people* separated from a wider social life. Taylor argues that exclusion in this way may result in that members will create their own social world where they feel that they belong with others that have been excluded in a similar way.¹²³ The women

¹²³ Taylor, 2009 pp. 294-299.

describe a picture like this and I argue that Kibera is vital for their sense of belonging in the city. As mentioned before, shared experiences of a place are important for feelings of belonging and community,¹²⁴ and thus the importance of togetherness in Kibera. In this sense Taylor argues that the identity of the minority can be created through the exclusion.¹²⁵ This seems to be the case in Kibera; in the exclusion of the city the people in the slum come together in order to belong. Rose-Mary explains it:

I feel more at home in Kibera than in Nairobi because when I go to work to the people in the estates I don't like the way they live because somebody is just inside a home, the gate is closed, no saying hi to your neighbour but here in Kibera you can say hi to even a hundred people a day. (Rose-Mary)

And Joyce continues in the same direction:

In Kibera we come together, because we live next to each other. And we can come together easily. But in Nairobi, you know you live in a big house in a big complex you don't know the next neighbour, so they don't come together so easily. We live together, we love one another. (Joyce)

The above quotations show a view where people in Kibera come together more, despite background, than in the rest of the city. Similarly, Datta argues that while the city might lack neighbourliness, this is not absent in the slum.¹²⁶ Equally to Datta's Delhi slum, the women give a picture of Kibera as a place where openness to *others* is produced in order to construct a home in an exclusive city.¹²⁷ According to the women, background does not matter; everyone knows everyone in Kibera:

The people living in the community are at unity. (Maria)

There is a clear mixing of disparities that results in a normalization of differences, a *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* in Datta's words. Due to the way the women emphasize that background does not matter I, like Datta, argue *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* as vital for the women's possibility of belonging and identity in the city. I claim the importance for the women of presenting themselves as capable of bridging over differences in order to create shared experience of the place and thus a home in the exclusionary Nairobi.¹²⁸ *Cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is clearly present in Kibera according to the women's stories. They describe a place where background does not matter; people come together despite differences. *Cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is important but Datta points out that it at the same time is fragile.¹²⁹ I believe such conditions might be reflected in Kibera.

¹²⁴ Foote & Azaryahu, 2009, p. 97.

¹²⁵ Taylor, 2009, pp. 294-299.

¹²⁶ Datta, 2011, p. 19.

¹²⁷ *ibid.* p. 1.

¹²⁸ *ibid.* pp. 3-4.

¹²⁹ *ibid.* p. 20.

5.2 Ethnicity and Religion

The women talk about Kibera as one community, as one unity, but at the same time, 14 different small ones. The slum is divided into 14 villages; Kianda, Olympic, Soweto West, Gatwekera, Raila, Karanja, Kisumo Ndogo, Makina, Kambi Muru, Mashimoni, Lindi, Laini Saba, Silanga and Soweto East.¹³⁰ Johan De Smedt argues that all of the ethnic groups of Kenya are represented in Kibera. According to him, the villages have a varying population, even if most of them host people from all ethnic groups some areas as dominated by one.¹³¹ Similarly, the women argue that all of Kenya's 42 different ethnicities can be found in Kibera. They do not feel that different ethnicity divide people in Kibera, it does not matter where you are from. They argue that people are mixed up but, like De Smedt, that you in some area find most the Luhya and in another many of the Luo. On the other hand in one area Luo might be mixed up with Kamba. Rose-Mary and Mary talks about different ethnicities in Kibera:

It doesn't matter weather you are a Luo, you are a Luhya, you are a Kikuyu, we help each other." (Rose-Mary)

In Kibera people come together despite their background because now they're focused on rebuilding their country. (Mary)

Even if you in one area can find more people from one ethnicity the women argue that they are all living together. In this way of reasoning *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is clearly present. The women describe the normalization of *others* that according to Datta, is required in the slum in order to create a home and allow its inhabitants to present themselves as urban dwellers.¹³² On the other hand, the women's stories show a clear division between Christians and Muslims:

The Islamic people they live in Makina, but the Christians are in this side and we live together. (Joice)

According to the women, religions divide people in Kibera. As mentioned earlier, Datta argues that *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is fragile.¹³³ "Violence erupts within the slum because it calls identity into question, by exposing differences as malevolent in the bodies of *others*."¹³⁴ This fragile side is clearly evident in Kibera; the women argue that differences of ethnicities are not a reason for a division of people, but at the same time several ethnic conflicts have occurred in the slum.¹³⁵ The post-election violence is most evident in the women's stories and will thus be further explored in the following section. The women's stories also

¹³⁰ Mutisya, & Yarime, 2011, pp. 203-204.

¹³¹ J De Smedt, "No Raila, no peace!" Big man politics and election violence at the Kibera grassroots'. *African Affairs* vol. 108, no. 433, October 2009, p. 586.

¹³² Datta, 2011, p. 1.

¹³³ *ibid.* p. 20.

¹³⁴ *ibid.* p. 5.

¹³⁵ Mutisya & Yarime, 2011, p. 202.

show a construction of Nubians and Muslims as the *others*, which again questions *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* in Kibera. Hence, a second section about the possibility of the Nubian Community as excluded within the slum follows.

5.2.1 Post-election violence of 2007

Kibera it is my home, but then it is not my home. Because you know for this time, we want to do something like election. If we do something like elections sometimes war. (Theresa)

The above quotation points to how fragile *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is, and highlights the women's fear that arose from the post-election violence of 2007. After the sitting president Mwai Kibaki was re-elected in 2007, defeating his main opponent and expected winner Raila Odinga, violence erupted in many parts of Kenya. It started with demonstrations that soon turned into revenge killings where ethnic groups of the "other political camp" were targeted.¹³⁶ A deep discussion around the post-election violence is not in the scope of this dissertation but I find it important to mention it as a clear example of how fragile *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is in Kibera. Datta argues that nearness produces fear and that violence may occur when local relations of neighbourliness are momentarily interrupted.¹³⁷ This brings with it an uncertainty; a constant possibility of neighbours turning into enemies and betraying one another.¹³⁸ The majority of the women express fear of uncertainty arising from the experience of the post-election violence of 2007. The interviews were held just before the election of 2013 and many of the women were scared that this would turn out as violent as the last one:

I am just asking God to help because even last time, no one knew that something bad would happen from the election and now I have no idea what will happen after the next election. (Helen)

Kibera was one of the most affected areas of the post-election violence; houses and shops were destroyed and many people killed.¹³⁹ Initially, the Kikuyus dominated Kibera slums population, but over the years the Luos has grown dominant.¹⁴⁰ These two groups were the main actors in the post-election violence.¹⁴¹ De Smedt argues that, immediately after Kibaki was declared the winner, people went out on the streets shouting, "Kikuyu have to go" followed by destroying their houses and businesses. Kikuyus took revenge and started attacking Luos and Luhyas.¹⁴² The women give similar stories of what happened:

Even if you are a Luo but your colour is brown, you were asked to move from Kibera. The Luos believed they are not Luos, they have just learned the language.

¹³⁶ De Smedt, 2009, p. 581.

¹³⁷ Datta, 2011, p. 4.

¹³⁸ *ibid.* pp. 5-6.

¹³⁹ De Smedt, 2009, p. 583.

¹⁴⁰ Mutisya & Yarime, 2011, p. 202.

¹⁴¹ De Smedt, 2009, p. 586.

¹⁴² *ibid.* pp. 589-590.

You know last time it was like, people would walk door to door, asking you, they will ask you who is your neighbour? My neighbour is a Kikuyu, so the Kikuyu will be removed out. Which is not good. (Everlyne)

At the same time as the women tell stories like this, their explanations for why the violence erupted differs. Most of them argue that different ethnicities were not the reason for the violence:

There was no community who fight another community. It was only policemen who came with the teargas. There was no tribe like Luo fight Kikuyu, or Kikuyu fight Luhya. (Rose-Mary)

In this sense, it could be argued that the women talk about ethnicity in a way that, similar to in Datta's study, show some sort of denial of ethnic conflicts.¹⁴³ They do not deny that the post-election violence occurred, but they point out that it had nothing to do with different ethnicities. On the other hand, some of the women tell another story:

Sometimes we are together, sometimes no...we have many tribes. Then we have something like elections; you were told it's good for Luos to go back Kisumu. Kikuyu stay here in Nairobi. (Theresa)

The women with this view, argue that because of election, people go to opposing sides, but points out that when there is no election, people live in peace. Even if the women have different pictures of what happened, they all argue that the main reason for the post-election violence was tribalism. Similar to this, Mutisya and Yarime argue that the reason for ethnic conflicts in Kibera is the multi-ethnic nature of the slum's population in combination with the tribalism of Kenyan politics.¹⁴⁴ According to De Smedt, political tribalism explains the "deliberate use and manipulation of ethnic identity in political competition with other groups". In other words, it is about opposing one community against another. Through incitement and misuse of disagreements over scarce resources, ethnic violence was triggered in order to gain political power.¹⁴⁵ This is shown in the women's stories:

He said we are devils. You see? That will bring tribalism. Because why did he call the Luhyas the devil?" (Everlyne)

In this sense, the women argue that the post-election violence was politicians' movements or in De Smedt's words "Politicians see Kibera not as a large slum, but as a strategic reservoir for votes".¹⁴⁶ Similar to this Osborn argues that rumour played an important part in of post-election violence in Kibera. She argues that it

¹⁴³ Datta, 2011, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴ Mutisya, & Yarime, 2011, p. 202.

¹⁴⁵ De Smedt, 2009, p. 585.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.* p. 594.

in several cases was used as a tool to reinforce a specific political agenda and triggered people to action.¹⁴⁷

As discussed before, the *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* in Kibera has allowed people to put differences aside. As Datta argues, in order to belong the notion of the *other* has become normalized to create a home together with people excluded in the same way.¹⁴⁸ The women argue that different backgrounds are not what create a division among people, but when leaders bring tribalism, this triggers differences and opposes groups. As a result of this the interviews with the women show that a picture of the *other* is reinforced.

De Smedt points out that some people were able to resist and challenge political tribalism. He describes several stories where Kikuyus were protected by their Luo neighbours and vice versa and that some people were by this able to defend their moral values toward their friends and neighbours. De Smedt argues, “The violence, in other words, was not caused by ethnic difference *per se*, but rather by its politicization”.¹⁴⁹ In the same sense, the women argue that the main reason for the violence was politicians’ movement. They tell stories about how they helped their Kikuyu neighbours during the violence and show a picture of how they stood up against tribalism. As mentioned before, it could be argued that some of the women deny ethnic conflicts but I argue that they highlight that *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* was a possible way to resist tribalism. Like in Datta’s Delhi slum this shows that *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* might be fragile, but still significantly present and of importance in order to create a home in the exclusionary Nairobi.¹⁵⁰ In this sense, I find the following quotation by Everlyne to effectively summarize this section:

We are all the same. So, why are we fighting each other? ...You fight your neighbour today and tomorrow you’ll lack something you want help from the neighbour. Because we cannot even go there for the leaders to say: I’m begging I don’t have something to eat. We’ll not find them. The leaders are those who are bringing the ethnicity of tribalism. They look at their own problems or their own ethnicity...When they are doing the politics, they have to be open-minded. Not to harm each other’s tribe and not to speak against each peoples tribe. You might be a Kikuyu but I will vote for you. Not because you are a Kikuyu but I want a good leader. (Everlyn)

¹⁴⁷ M Osborn, ‘Fuelling the flames: Rumour and Politics in Kibera’ *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, July 2008, p. 316.

¹⁴⁸ Datta, 2011, p. 1.

¹⁴⁹ De Smedt, 2009, pp. 590-591.

¹⁵⁰ Datta, 2011, p. 20.

5.2.2 The Nubian Community

The women argue that all ethnic groups live together in Kibera, but with one exception:

We are mixed up. We are mixed up but we have just like the Nubian tribe, they have just like a place where you can find most of Nubians living there. (Everlyne)

As mentioned before, the interviews have shown a construction of Nubians and Muslims as the *others*. Because of a possible exclusion of the Nubians within Kibera I have chosen to highlight the Nubian Community in relation to *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* in Kibera.

The majority of Nubians in East Africa are descendants of Sudanese soldiers in the British army. The Nubians first arrived in Kenya around 100 years ago. By this time they retained no ties or claims to land in Sudan, they were unable to return and had no choice but to stay in Kenya.¹⁵¹ In 1912 Kibera became a settlement for these Nubian soldiers who were returning from service.¹⁵² Kibera was at this point a land located outside the city and was given the Nubian name ‘land of the forest’ or *Kibra*. Since then, hundreds of thousands of rural migrants have been settling in Kibera. The Nubian village of *Kibra* thus came to be known as Kibera,¹⁵³ hosting people from all other tribes from across the country.¹⁵⁴

Christensen argues that one of the most important challenges today is associated with migration and how to include ethnical minorities. “Belonging—who is included and excluded—has in recent years been a central issue in modern democracies, made even more pertinent by growing globalization and multiculturalism”.¹⁵⁵ The way the women are talking about the Nubians reflects a relation to the *other*. By saying *we* are mixed but *they* are living separated, I argue that a picture of the *stranger* is painted. In this sense, Koefoed and Simonsen argue that local communities have a dual character. On one hand feelings of togetherness prevail, on the other symbolic boundaries against those who do not belong are enforced.¹⁵⁶

The colonial government initially categorized Nubians as *detrribalized natives* and did not recognize them as an ethnic group native to Kenya. This designation has been used to exclude the Nubians from Kenyan society during the last decade.¹⁵⁷ Like this, Adam Hussein argues that Nubians have been victims of discrimination and exclusion as long as they have been in Kenya.¹⁵⁸ Hussein himself is a Kenyan Nubian and describes his struggles as follows:

It is a story characterized by the need to survive through challenges that are never explained to you. It is a story characterised by limited interactions with state

¹⁵¹ A.H Hussein, ‘Kenyan Nubians: standing up to statelessness’ in *Forced Migration Review Issue 32 Statelessness*, Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford, 2009. Available online: www.fmreview.org/statelessness. p. 19.

¹⁵² Mutisya, & Yarime, 2011, p. 201.

¹⁵³ Constantine, G. ‘Kenya’s Nubians’ online introduction to *Kenya’s Nubians: Then and Now*, 2011, viewed on 5 May 2013, <<http://www.nubiansinkenya.com/index.php#mi=1&pt=0&pi=2&p=-1&a=0&at=0>>

¹⁵⁴ Mutisya & Yarime, 2011, p. 201.

¹⁵⁵ Christensen, 2009, pp. 21-23.

¹⁵⁶ Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011, p. 354.

¹⁵⁷ Constantine, 2011

¹⁵⁸ Hussein, 2009, p. 19.

officials who always remind you it is your privilege to be served by them. It is a story characterised by assuming false identities in order to belong.¹⁵⁹

It is clear that Nubians are excluded from many parts of the society and I argue that the picture of them as *others* is well established. According to Hussein, there is no official recognition of the Nubian community in Kenya and they are considered *other Kenyans* or just *others*. They lack social acceptance and are neither Sudanese nor accepted as Kenyans.¹⁶⁰ At the same time, Nubians consider Kenya to be their home and Kibera to be their ancestral homeland; their rural background is in the city.¹⁶¹ I argue that this shows feelings of belonging to Kibera but the Nubians suffer at the same discrimination and exclusion. This again points to Simmel's concept of the *stranger*, as the relation to Kibera and Kenya is one of attachment and detachment, inclusion and exclusions. The Nubians are thus *outsiders* in their own community.¹⁶² Koefoed and Simonsen argue that all nations produce strangers who often stand for what the nation is not. In this sense nations define themselves against *strange culture* and *others* who are recognized as the *strangers*. It might be argued that this is the case in Kenya; the nation needs its opposite in order to create feelings of belonging.¹⁶³ I emphasize that, for whatever reason, a construction of Nubians as *strangers* is clear, which is also shown in my study.

When it comes to neighbourhoods and local communities Koefoed and Simonsen argue that a similar relationship to the *stranger* exists, as the one described above.¹⁶⁴ As discussed previously, the women give a picture of Nubians as the *others* who live separate from *us*, as Everlyne explains:

Nubians, they're part of Muslims, most of them are Muslims, they live in one side of Kibera. But the other religions, maybe Catholics or whatever they live just together, mixed up. (Everlyne)

The women's perception of the Nubians as *others* is based on different religions rather than ethnicities. Like this, Rachounyo Duncan suggests that the Nubians' problems today starts with an on-going portrayal of them as *outsiders*. Unlike the majority of Kenyans, Nubians are Muslims, "Speaking the classic Arabic language has presented a big challenge for the Nubians community since most Kenyans from other tribes assume that they do not belong here". Duncan thus describes a picture of Nubians as *Arab others*.¹⁶⁵ This view relates to more minorities than the Nubians, according to Hussein minorities such as Kenyan Somali and Coastal Arabs also face obstacles to citizenship in Kenya.¹⁶⁶ Similar to Duncan and the notion of *Arab others*, there is a common view among the women that religion matters in the sense of a separation between Christians and

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.* p. 19.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.* p. 19.

¹⁶¹ Constantine, 2011

¹⁶² Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011, p. 344 & pp. 355-356.

¹⁶³ *ibid.* pp. 344-347.

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.* p. 354.

¹⁶⁵ Duncan, R. 'Nubians in Kenya: A People Denied' *Think Africa Press*, February 2013, viewed on 5 May 2013, <<http://thinkafricapress.com/kenya/people-denied-nubians-kibera>>

¹⁶⁶ Hussein, 2009, p. 20.

Muslims. The women talk about the two religions having a lot of differences, which make people not come together. They emphasize that ethnicity or origins do not matter, but claim that religion does:

The Islamic people they live in Makina, but the Christians are in this side and we live together. We are divided with the Islamic people; they don't like us. (Joyce)

It is difficult for a Christian to go and honour a house of a Muslim, because they would not allow you to pray and because you would have to be under their rules. It is not necessarily easier the other way around. (Helen)

Because it brings attention to a lot of people. Maybe sometimes it starts like a little fight, but you know all the Muslims would attack all the Christians. Even if someone started fight their own way, then who ever would not even know what they were talking about or what made them start up a fight will get involved in the same fight. (Helen)

This demonstrates a view of the *other* and the *stranger* that is making people not come together and shows just how fragile *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is in Kibera. On the other hand, some of the women argue that religion does not always results in a division of people:

Like Muslims don't associate with Christians like other religions but they are still both living in the community". (Maria)

There are some Muslims who live in the slums, just neighbouring the Christians. Sometimes they agree because you can find a Christian working for a Muslim. (Selina)

As illustrated by the above quotations, even if Muslims and Christians not always get a long, they are still successfully living side by side. Koefoed and Simonsen highlight that the processes of *similarities* and *differences* should be seen in relation to one another. They are both necessary for the identification with the city or parts of it. In this sense, the creation of symbolic boundaries becomes important for identity, because every identity needs a constitutive outside. Koefoed and Simonsen argue that the question is not how to get rid of *strangers*, but how to learn to live with them. Belonging to places may thus be shared but still separate at the same time.¹⁶⁷ Elizabeth talks about how people has learned to live side by side:

In Kibera, we stay different people who comes from different parts of Kenya we have even people from Uganda, from Tanzania and we have many religion; the Muslims and Christians of different churches and we are all friends. (Elizabeth)

Elizabeth describes openness to *others* and thus *cosmopolitan neighbourliness*.¹⁶⁸ Despite her optimistic view, it is clear from the women's stories that conflicts occasionally occur within Kibera and that there is a division between the two

¹⁶⁷ Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011, p. 354.

¹⁶⁸ Datta, 2011, p. 1.

religions, but the important thing is that they have managed to live together. It is clear that *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is fragile in relation to religion and ethnicity. At the same time, *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is necessary in order for people to live together side by side. As ‘Voice of Kibera’ (a citizen-based project in Kibera) puts it, “Kenya has 42 different tribes and Kibera has a unique charm among the 42 tribes and various religions that peacefully co-exist in the 2.5 sq. km. area. The Nubian makes it the 43rd language/tribe.”¹⁶⁹

5.3 HIV

During my earlier visits to Kenya I noticed that stigma and discrimination in Kibera seemed to be high. Therefore, people living with HIV may be constructed as the *others* and thus the choice of examining HIV in relation to feelings of belonging and *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* within Kibera.

In Odingo’s and Mwanti’s study from 2008, it was shown that stigma and discrimination discourage people from disclosing their HIV positive status until it has progressed into AIDS.¹⁷⁰ They argue that without treatment, mortality rates will continue to rise and thus that a reduction of stigma and discrimination would subsequently result in a reduction of the mortality rates.¹⁷¹ When the women first moved to Kibera, around ten years ago, stigma and discrimination was considerable high:

It was really scary, because stigma was so high. You could not even talk to someone, tell him what you were feeling, you are feeling distressed, you were just alone. You don’t have anyone even to fix himself in the same shoes, to feel what you’re going through. And I remember it was really hard time. –(Everlyne)

It was very hard because of that time it was very much stigma and discrimination. There was no awareness about HIV. So what people new, once you were tested and you were positive the next thing you will die. So, I was just thinking of dying, leaving my kids alone... (Elizabeth)

All of the women tell similar stories and almost every one of them were hesitant to disclose their status, they were scared and chose to hide that they were HIV-positive. The main discriminators are, according to Odingo and Mwanti, friends and workmates, while family members and partners represent another big group.¹⁷² The women argue that neighbours are one of the main groups of discriminators. When Rhoda found out that she was HIV positive she only told her husband and oldest daughter. She wanted to keep it as a secret from her neighbours. For Helen it was a similar situation, she told her friends and oldest daughter. She did not tell her neighbours, neither did she tell her brothers, “They

¹⁶⁹ Voice of Kibera, Blog, October 2011, viewed on 8 may 2013, <<http://blog.voiceofkibera.org/?p=189>>

¹⁷⁰ M Odindo & M Mwanthi, ‘Role of Governmental and non-governmental organizations in mitigating of stigma and discrimination among HIV/Aids persons in Kibera, Kenya’ *East African Journal of Public Health*, vol. 5, no. 1, April 2008, p.4.

¹⁷¹ *ibid.* p. 1.

¹⁷² *ibid.* p. 4.

wouldn't be very happy". This thus reflects that the family represents one group of discriminators.

The women have many different stories about stigma and discrimination ten years ago and it is clear that they all experienced it. According to Odingo and Mwanti, discrimination because of HIV/AIDS is mainly in the form of segregation and separation. People might be confined to particular sitting or sleeping areas, or to use different eating utensils,¹⁷³ which also is reflected in the women's stories:

When you passed people were just talking about you, they're talking behind you. When you go closer to them they keep quite. That is when I changed my mind not to go out, not to go even to buy something, not to go to the road, I stayed in the house from morning to the evening until the children comes and goes to fetch water. When I moved from Kibera it was; I had known my HIV status, I had accepted the situation but the main reason was; why my children could not get any relationship with others because of HIV. (Everlyne)

It is here shown that people living with HIV ten years ago was truly excluded from Kibera and seen as *others* who did not belong. Like with the Nubians, a construction of them as *strangers* is evident, they were living as a part of Kibera but at the same time they experienced *outsideness*.¹⁷⁴ There was a clear lack of openness to *others* and I wonder; has HIV brought too many problems to Kibera for *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* to be possible?

5.3.1 Stigma and discrimination today

Helen finds it easier to talk about HIV today, but even if she has told her neighbours, she argues that it is still hard in some circumstances:

When you talk to some neighbours, they will still reject you or start speaking all about your HIV status. (Helen)

At the same time she has still not told her brothers:

You know my brothers are oldest adults and they're married so their wives will reject me. They believe that all the people living positive they have involved themselves in prostitutes. (Helen)

According to Helen's story, stigma is still present in Kibera. In Odindo's and Mwanti's study it was established that stigma and discrimination was common in Kibera; more than 75 % of the participants living with HIV had experienced some form of it.¹⁷⁵ Most of the women argue that people are still afraid to talk about the disease and it is thus of importance for me to point out that stigma in Kibera is still widespread. Doreen, for example, feels that she is still stigmatized and that

¹⁷³ *ibid.* p. 4.

¹⁷⁴ Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011, p. 344 & pp. 355-356.

¹⁷⁵ Odindo & Mwanthi, 2008, p. 3-4.

she cannot talk freely about her HIV status. The majority of women give a similar picture and many of them have still not disclosed their status for their neighbours:

Because when you tell your neighbour your HIV status and maybe you cross lines the other day she will start provoking you about your HIV status and people that you did not tell your status will know your status. (Mary)

I have still not discussed with my neighbours, I haven't told any of them I'm positive. You can tell the neighbours in a good way and then they can take that to hurt your children. (Maria)

You can't tell anybody how you are because we are in slum you are too close with people. But when someone discovers that you are HIV positive she will run away from you starting whisper here and there about you. Although people of Kibera are together; when someone once know that I am positive he or she will start whisper here and there about how I am. (Carol)

This way of talking about HIV reflects a struggle for belonging in the community and again shows how fragile *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is. As Datta argues, the spatial and material proximity of bodies and homes produces fear.¹⁷⁶ This fear and lack of knowledge thus results in discrimination of people living with HIV and as argued before, constructs a notion of the *stranger*. As mentioned previously, Koefoed and Simonsen argue that every identity has its constitutive outside.¹⁷⁷ In order for a place to offer possibilities of belonging, an outside or opposite, such as a *strange culture* is needed.¹⁷⁸ In this sense, it might be argued that in order for people to create a home and identity across differences of ethnicity and religion in Kibera, they need another outside. Or in other words, *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* in Kibera has no room for people living with HIV. The women argue that HIV is one reason for the division between people in Kibera:

If some people heard that you are positive and you want to move to a certain plot and the tenants of that plot happens to hear that you are positive they will not want you there. (Mary)

The above quotation describes a situation where stigma and discrimination still remains. At the same time as these stories are being told, all of the women points out that the situation has improved compared to ten years ago. There still exist some discrimination but less than earlier and even though it still might be difficult to talk about HIV, it is easier than ten years ago. Most of the women emphasize that the situation is getting better and better:

I passed through the counsellor, they talked to me and they encouraged. (Elizabeth)

¹⁷⁶ Datta, 2011, pp. 5-6.

¹⁷⁷ Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011, p. 354.

¹⁷⁸ Koefoed & Simonsen, 2011, p. 344-347.

As we train many and many people to train and train others, people are coming out of those thoughts. (Joyce)

The women argue that education and awareness has had big part in the improved situation. In Odingo's and Mwanti's study it was shown that around 90% of the respondents thought that health education and counselling services were helpful to reduce stigma and discrimination.¹⁷⁹ According to Everlyne, stigma is still high today, but much less than just a couple of years ago:

Now stigma, not so much as it was because now I, we can speak about HIV freely and people would listen. (Everlyne)

Everlyne chose to move out from Kibera because of the stigmatization still remaining in 2007 as the main reason. But today, because of a much better situation, with less stigmatization she would like to move back to Kibera. Many of the women argue that stigma and discrimination do not divide people in Kibera today but that it did just a couple of years ago. The improved situation is evident in many of the interviews:

I talked about HIV on the media, TV and radio. I was trained and trained and then now I have no fear. So I talked about it and I have come out public, now everybody knows. (Joyce)

Now many of the neighbours that were talking bout me, a lot of them, we have come to meet in the clinic where I take medication and so we have known all our HIV status. (Everlyne)

To me it is now easy for me to talk about HIV and to tell people what to do in case you are HIV positive, it is now easier. It is perfect to me now. (Rhoda)

The situation has clearly improved and stigma in Kibera is, according to the women, less than earlier. Many people have today disclosed their status and it is evident that stigma and discrimination do not divide people in the extent that it did ten years ago. Odingo and Mwanti point out that the community's attitude will not change unless they are getting the right education.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, the women argue that through education and awareness, they have reached a far better situation today with less stigma and discrimination, it is thus clear that the situation is moving in the right direction. At the same time, the stories that they tell show how stigmatization and discrimination is still present in Kibera and thus construct people living with the disease as *outsiders*. The view on stigma differs among the women, but some of the stories told make it clear that that it is far from a perfect situation, as Rhoda expressed it.

¹⁷⁹ Odindo & Mwanthi, 2008, p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.* p. 4.

5.3.2 The importance of Power Women Group

One of the main reasons for Power Women Group coming together to form a group was to reduce stigma in the community. Since 2008, they have been recognized as a community-based organization. Today they work with counselling and raising awareness in order to combat stigma and discrimination. According to Odingo and Mwanti, services like this is often provided by HIV/AIDS related organizations in Kibera and as mentioned before, perceived to be very helpful to combat stigma and discrimination.¹⁸¹ Everlyne describes the importance of the group to her:

When I first knew my status I stigmatized myself because I did not even want to talk to anybody because I knew everybody looking at me. This was when I met the Power Women's women and started up to form a group. We were sharing and came to realize that it was lack of knowledge. (Everlyne)

Everlyne points out the importance of the group as a place where the women can share their problems. Similarly, Odingo and Mwanti highlight that the formation of post-counselling support groups are important means to combat stigma and discrimination.¹⁸² Like this, I argue that Power Women Group, similar to many others like them, offers important tools for combating stigma. The women have gained awareness through the group. I argue that some of them today have become so strong and confident that they do not suffer from stigma and discrimination, even if they argue that it still exists, they have reached the self-confidence and knowledge to resist it. On the other hand, some of the women feel that they, to this day, meet a lot of discrimination and stigma, and as mentioned before, this discourage people from disclosing their HIV positive status.¹⁸³ For these women, Power Women Group is the only place where they are confident to talk about HIV:

I can't disclose my status to anyone, only somebody who is like me. (Beatrice)

Nobody knows that I'm HIV positive. In Nairobi only Power Women group know. (Carol)

In this sense, the women describe experiences of *outsideness*,¹⁸⁴ where they feel excluded in Kibera. Joyce and Rose-Mary continue in this direction:

There is still discrimination for the new ones who are infected today We normally prefer groups like this we are in, and then when another one is tested we accept that other person and then we talk so that person will not deny herself. (Joyce)

When you were at your house alone you thought that you only one who are affected. But when you came together you'll see; oh, I'm not alone, we are many. It gives you a lot of encouragement when you are together. (Rose-Mary)

¹⁸¹ *ibid.* p. 3.

¹⁸² *ibid.* p. 4.

¹⁸³ *ibid.* p. 4.

¹⁸⁴ Relph, 1976, p. 49.

Joyce and Rose-Mary point to a picture of people living with HIV as the *others*, and the importance of Power Women Group as a mean to combat the experienced *outsideness*.¹⁸⁵ I have argued that Kibera can be seen as a home for the excluded of Nairobi. At the same time I have argued that people living with HIV have been excluded in Kibera. Power Women Group is still doing counselling in order to reach awareness and prevent stigma, but even more important for the women is that the Power Women Group offers inclusion. Thus the group offers a home for people who are excluded from the excluded's inclusion:

I feel like a part of Kibera when I am in Power Women Group. I feel like Power Women Group is the community or the family I have in Kibera. (Mary)

I argue that an even larger openness towards *others*, compared to that of Kibera, is produced within Power Women Group and arguable within organizations like them. This is seen in the following quotation from Everlyne:

Because when we go to like Lea Toto. Lea Toto is a clinic where we take our children. Here we have all the tribes and all the ethnicity and we come together despite different religions. But there is still an issue that the program have to see how to work out; when a Muslim has come to the visit centre, she don't want anybody to see her. That is why they are looking for some Muslim community help workers, so that they can go and talk to the other Muslims. (Everlyne)

Although this might reflect the division between Muslims and Christians argued for earlier, it also gives another side to the situation. Through the feelings of *togetherness* in relation to HIV it is more about helping one another than portraying each other as *others*. Thus *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* as the production of openness to *others* in order to belong is reflected.¹⁸⁶ As argued above, there seems to be no room for people living with HIV in the *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* of Kibera. On the other hand, I argue that small organizations, such as Power Women Group, that include everyone might make up for the lack of *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* in relation to HIV in Kibera. It is clear that Power Women Group offers a necessary inclusion for the women in order to create feelings of belonging within the sometimes-exclusionary Kibera and in a bigger sense the exclusionary Nairobi.

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.* p. 49.

¹⁸⁶ Datta, 2011, p. 1.

6 Conclusions

Throughout this dissertation, the aim has been to see if people in Kibera experience exclusion from the rest of the city. It has been shown that this is the case; there is a clear division between the city and the slum and the women interviewed do not feel that they belong in Nairobi. They argue that people in Kibera are seen as the *poor people*. On the other hand, they have feelings of belonging and inclusion towards Kibera. Even though I have argued that the women still identify themselves with their rural areas, it is clear that they feel some sort of identification with Kibera. This brings with it a form of what I argue is a *fragmented identity*; they still believe that their identity lies within their rural areas, but are stuck in a situation where identification in relation to Kibera becomes vital. This sums up my first research question; *does Kibera constitute a home for people excluded from the city and do people identify themselves through the area?* It is clear that even though the identity among the women may be *fragmented*, feelings of belonging in Kibera are important and the area is necessary as a home in the exclusionary Nairobi.

This is equivalent to Datta's study about a Delhi squatter settlement. Like her, I argue that, in order to create feelings of belonging in the exclusionary city openness to *others* is constructed within the slum.¹⁸⁷ This brings me to my second research question; *how are feelings of belonging created within Kibera; do different ethnicity, religion and HIV divide people?* The women emphasize that in Kibera, people come together despite differences. Although this was argued I considered it necessary to look deeper into the categories of ethnicity, religion and HIV in order to understand the problematic of belonging in Kibera. I have through this dissertation shown that *cosmopolitan neighbourliness*¹⁸⁸ is both present and important in Kibera, but at the same time fragile.

Regarding the question whether different ethnicity and religion affect feelings of belonging and *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* within the slum, I have found many diverse answers. Because of the complexity of both ethnicity and religion in Kibera, I had to delimit their extent. I chose to look more closely at two cases that seemed important in the understanding of the fragile side of *cosmopolitan neighbourliness*. The first one was the post-election violence of 2007 that clearly talks against *togetherness* in Kibera. On the other hand, the women argue that the reason for the violence was tribalism more than different ethnicities per se.

The other case I looked at was the Nubian Community, which is often portrayed as the *outside*. The women confirmed this view but the perception of the Nubians as *outsiders*¹⁸⁹ or *strangers*¹⁹⁰ had according to them, more to do with religion than ethnicity. Hence, a strong division between Christians and Muslims seems to exist in Kibera according to the women. Even though the post-election violence and the picture of Nubians as *Arab others* show the fragile side of

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.* p. 1.

¹⁸⁸ *ibid.* p. 19.

¹⁸⁹ Christensen, 2009, pp. 21-23.

¹⁹⁰ Simmel, (1908) 1950b pp. 402-403.

cosmopolitan neighbourliness, I like Datta, argue that it is still present and of great importance in Kibera.¹⁹¹ Datta argues that it is in the slums where India's social diversity is truly reflected. The same is to be said about Kibera, all of Kenya's 42 (43) ethnic groups are to be found here and the slum could be seen as a microcosm of the country. It is therefore important to point out that; even if *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is fragile people are living side-by-side despite their differences and they are proud to say that they come from Kibera.

When it comes to HIV, I have shown that the situation for the people living with HIV is improving as a result of counselling and increased awareness. Up until today, this has not been enough and stigma and discrimination is still high in Kibera with resulting exclusion and experiences of *outsideness*.¹⁹² The women have faced struggles of belonging and people living with HIV seem to be outside the realm of *cosmopolitan neighbourliness*. Hence, they are excluded from the excluded's inclusion. In this sense, organizations such as Power Women Group are of great importance; they offer an inclusion necessary for feelings of belonging in Kibera. Here is where the real essence of *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is to be found and the openness to *others* is most evident.

6.1 Further research

While writing this dissertation delimitations were made in order to get the greatest possible picture and understanding given the timeframe. Important key areas are not included in the study but demands further research. Gender is one of these, after considerable thoughts, I realized that this category could have taken up the whole dissertation and thus I chose to leave it out. Secondly; the over all socio-economic status of people within Kibera is a category that seems to be one of the main reasons for a possible division between people in the slum and thus one of the most vital shortages of this dissertation that needs further investigation.

Even if much delimitation was made in this dissertation I have afterwards come to realize that it could have been delimited further. Much more could be written about ethnicity, religion and HIV that is out of scope of this study and with a delimit to one of the categories a deeper understanding of this in relation to belonging could have been reached. Even if that is clearly the case, I chose to include all of them since my aim was to give a broad picture of possibilities of identification in Kibera and problems arising from differences. That said, I suggest further investigation of all of the categories in relation to belonging in Kibera.

Interviews with additional groups are missing. First of all interviews with men and their view of Kibera would have been valuable. Secondly, some people might be living in Kibera by choice and their point of view is clearly missing. Furthermore, I have only interviewed Christians, and a study including Muslims are of importance and so is one with participants of other ethnic groups, such as Kikuyu (since it constitute a big part of Kibera's population). All of the above

¹⁹¹ Datta, 2011, pp. 6-7.

¹⁹² Relph, 1976, p. 49.

mentioned groups might give different pictures of belonging in Kibera. There was no space for such interviews in this dissertation, but for further development of the subject, I suggest all of the groups to be included.

6.2 To sum up

Although the scope of this dissertation is limited, I feel that it is a contribution to the knowledge about Kibera. The purpose throughout this paper has been to highlight the importance of looking at feelings within Kibera while planning the area. It has seemed to me that it is easy to focus on problems within the slum and thus portraying it as a criminal and poor place. There is a danger associated with this; through this study I have shown that the main reason for feelings of exclusion in Kibera is the picture of people living in the slum as the *poor people*. I argue that it is necessary to look at problems in Kibera in order to solve them, but there it equally important to look at what is good within the slum. It is essential to examine how people within Kibera experience their lives and what brings people together in order to be able to improve their situation.

To sum up the most vital of this dissertation; The women argue that they are excluded from the wider sphere of Nairobi and that they are seen as the *poor people* who do not belong. *Cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is important in the slum; openness to *others* is constructing Kibera as a home in the exclusionary city. Meanwhile, there exist many pictures of the *other* within Kibera, which springs from differences of ethnicity, religion as well as HIV. Through this, *cosmopolitan neighbourliness* is shown to be weak and fragile, but even so, I argue its importance for people in the slum. Although the women sometimes experience exclusion within Kibera they also have feelings of belonging to the different categories, their ethnicity, their religion and their HIV-related organization. I argue all of these as important for the women's identity, but there is one that stands out as vital for their belonging in Nairobi: "In Kibera we come together".

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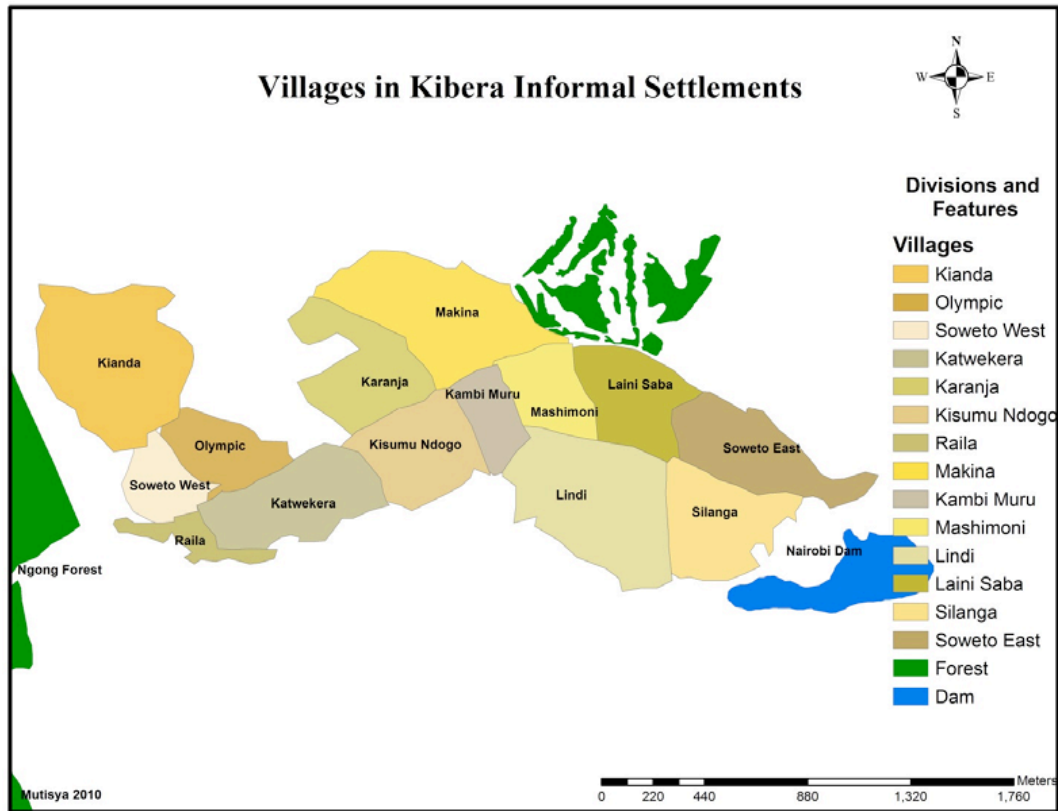
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Appendix 1

Map of villages in Kibera



Source: Mutisya, E. and Yarime, M. 'Understanding the Grassroots Dynamics of Slums in Nairobi: The Dilemma of Kibera Informal Settlements' *International Transaction Journal of Engineering, Management, & Applied Sciences & Technologies*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2011, p. 203

Appendix 2

Biography of Power Women Group

1. Everlyne Shangala

- 38 years old.
- Known her status since 2003.
- Chairlady of Power Women Group.
- From Western Kenya, Western Province, Kakamega district.
- Luhya
- Moved to Nairobi, Kibera in 2003. 2007 she moved out of Kibera.
- Married
- Four children, taking care of two orphans.
- Speaks English fluently.

2. Rose-Mary Adhiambo

- 37 years old.
- Known her status since 2001.
- From Western Kenya, Nyanca province, Siaya district.
- Luo
- Moved Nairobi, Kibera the year 2000.
- Married
- Three children.
- Speaks English fluently

3. Elizabeth Akinyi

- 44 years old.
- Known her status since 2004.
- From Western Kenya, Nyanca Province, Kisumu district.
- Lou
- Moved to Nairobi, Kibera in 2004.
- Widow since 2002.
- Two children.
- Speaks English fluently

4. Rhoda Atiendo

- 44 years old.
- Known her status since 2004.
- From Western Kenya, Nyanca province, Kisumu district.
- Luo
- Moved to Nairobi, Kibera in 1991.
- Married.
- Seven children.
- Speaks almost no English.

5. Helen Moraa

- 51 years old.
- Known her status since 2001.
- From Western Kenya, Nyanca province, Kisii district
- Kisii
- Moved to Nairobi, Kibera in 1991.
- Widow since 1996.
- Three children, three grandchildren, taking care of one orphan.
- Speaks some English.

6. Joyce Mueni

- 46 years old.
- Known her status since 2006
- From Eastern Kenya, Eastern province, Machakos district.
- Kamba
- Moved to Nairobi, Kibera 2007.
- Widow since 2006.
- Four children.
- Speaks English fluently.

7. Maria Juma

- 38 years old.
- Known her status since 2001.
- From Tanzania.
- Moved to Kisumu, Kenya in 1995, to Kisumu. Moved to Nairobi, Kibera 1997.
- Married.
- Five children.
- Speaks almost no English.

8. Doreen Achieng

- 44 years old.
- Know her status since 2004
- From Western Kenya, Nyanca province, Kisumu district.
- Luo
- Moved to Nairobi 1991, to Kibera in 1997
- Widow since 2004.
- Seven children, tree grandchildren, taking care of one orphan.
- Speaks almost no English.

9. Beatrice Khashiama

- 44 years old.
- Known her status since 2004.
- From Western Kenya, Western Province, Kakamega district.
- Luhya
- Moved to Nairobi, Kibera in 1996.
- Married.
- Six children, three grandchildren.
- Speaks some English.

10. Caroline Awino

- 34 years old.
- Known her status since 2006.
- From Western Kenya, Nyanca province, Siaya district.
- Luo
- Moved to Nairobi, Kibera in 1994.
- Widow since 2006.
- Three children.
- Speaks English fluently.

11. Teresa Atiendo

- 55 years old
- Known her status since 2003.
- From Western Kenya, Nyanca province, Siaya district.
- Luo
- Moved to Nairobi around 30 years ago. For a long time she stayed in Nairobi West, then she moved to Kibera.
- Widow since in 2005.
- Three children, taking care of three orphans.
- Speaks some English.

12. Mary Auma

- 40 years old.
- Known her status since 2004.
- From Western Kenya, Nyanca province, Rachuonyo district
- Lou
- Moved to Nairobi, Kibera in 1995.
- Married
- Six children, taking care of three orphans.
- Speaks almost no English.

13. Gladys Nyaboke

- 38 years old.
- Known her status since 2005.
- From Western Kenya, Nyanca province, Kisii district.
- Kisii
- Moved to Nairobi, Kibera in 1997.
- Her husband abandoned her after he got to know her status. He later passed away.
- Three children.
- Speaks almost no English.

14. Seline Atieno

- 40 years old.
- Known her status since 1998.
- From Western Kenya, Nyanca province, Siaya district.
- Lou
- Moved to Nairobi, Kibera 2002.
- Widow since 2000.
- Three children, taking care of one orphan.
- Speaks almost no English.