UNIVERSITY OF TURKU, DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

GEOGRAPHIES OF KENYAN WORKING CLASS CONDITIONS

Development discourses studied in the light of authentic observations of self-employment with its consequences made by Kenyan working class individuals

Master's thesis in Geography

Sami Jansson

Keywords: informal settlements, slum areas, self-employment, liberal urban planning, development discourses, photo elicitation, discourse analysis, Nairobi, Ngong, Oloolua, Kona Baridi, Kenya

Abstract in English, muhtasari Kiswahili, summarium Latinum

Turku 2016

UNIVERSITY OF TURKU
Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences
Department of Geography and Geology
JANSSON SAMI: *GEOGRAPHIES OF KENYAN WORKING CLASS CONDITIONS – Development discourses examined in the light of authentic observations of self-employment with its consequences made by Kenyan working class individuals*
Master's thesis 40 ECTS, 80 pages with 31 appendix pages
Geography
November 2016

Working class conditions are discussed in many development reports focusing on Kenya's poverty issues and they often emphasise the need to upgrade the living conditions present in working class residential areas. It is a fact that slums burgeon in most urban areas of the world and that different theories explain why they exist. This study reviews academic theories of informally built settlement formations including the bid rent theory by von Thünen, variations of liberal theories, as well as neoconservative and neo-Marxian approaches. The second part of this study is based on authentic first-person accounts provided by Kenyan working class individuals.

The field work of this study involved a photo elicitation routine in which a group of informants were asked to provide photographs of urban (or rural) sites they found significant. Afterwards the informants were in semi-structured theme interviews asked to explain what features their pictures reveal about the working class life in Kenya. The information thus produced was then examined by carrying out a discourse analysis to identify and indicate how personal experiences of the Kenyan informants are reflected in their accounts of working class life in Kenya. Studies of working class conditions in Kenya in which local workers are asked to form freely a personal point of view before theme interviews are conducted do not exist.

Results show that Kenyan workers identify two means of subsistence: hustling or being in a secure position. The values and ideas underlying formal urban planning discourses cannot directly be identified in the accounts of the informants. By their narratives and photographs the informants show how they experience and what they think about self-employment. They tell us what they as local residents pay attention to while they attempt to open a window for us to the Kenyan working class life.

Keywords: informal settlements, slum areas, self-employment, liberal urban planning, development discourses, photo elicitation, discourse analysis, Nairobi, Ngong, Oloolua, Kona Baridi, Kenya

Muhtasari Kiswahili – abstract in Swahili

CHUO KIKUU CHA TURKU
Kitivo cha Hisabati na Masayansi ya Asili
Idara ya Jiografia na Jiolojia
JANSSON SAMI: *JIOGRAFIA YA HALI YA WAFANYIKAZI WAKENYA – Mazungumzo ya maendeleo yamekagulika kwa hisani ya kazi ya vibarua na maandamano ambayo yametazamwa na wafanyikazi Wakenya*
Tasinifu ya shahada ya uzamili, jumla ya masomo (credit) 40 (ECTS), kurasa 80, viambatisho kurasa 31
Jiografia
Mwezi wa kumi na moja 2016

Hali ya wafanyikazi ya darasa la chini imeelezwa na ripoti nyingi za maendeleo kuhusu shida za umasikini. Mara kwa mara inatoa kipaumbele kwenye uhitaji wa kuinua hali ya maisha ngumu yenye imeenea kwa wafanyikazi wa makazi hayo. Ni uhalisia kuongezeka kwa mitaa ya mabanda katika miji yote duniani na kuweko kwa mitaa hii inaelezwa na nadharia mbalimbali. Utafiti huu unafafanua jinsi mitaa imejengwa kiholela bila mpango wa serikali, nadharia iliohusishwa na von Thünen kuhusu upangaji wa kodi, uchambuzi mbalimbali wa nadharia ya uhuru (*liberalism*) vilevile na jinsi maagizo na kanuni za kawaida zinavyotolewa na watu (*neoconservativism*) zikiungana na falsafa ya neo-marxian inavyohusika. Sehemu ya pili ya utafiti huu ni msingi halisi wa mtu wa kwanza kutoka darasa la wafanyikazi wa Kenya.

Kazi ya uwanja ya utafiti huu unahusika utaratibu wa kupiga picha ambapo niliomba kikundi cha watoa taarifa kitoe picha za mijini na vijijini palipokutwa na umuhimu. Baada ya hapo watoa taarifa walikuwa katika mahojiano ambapo niliwaomba kuelezea ni nini picha hizi zinaonyesha kuhusu maisha ya wafanyikazi Wakenya. Ujumbe uliotolewa ulichunguzwa kwa kufanya mjadala wa uchambuzi (*discourse analysis*) uliobaini na kuonyesha ni vipi uzoefu binasfi wa Mkenya anayetoa ujumbe muhimu anajihusisha kwenye maisha ya kufanya kazi mjini Kenya. Hakuna chunguzi kuhusu mazingira ya wafanyikazi wenyeji Kenya wanaomba kusema mawazo yao ya huria kabla mikutano ya kujadiliana haijafanywa.

Matokeo yanaonyesha wafanyakazi wa Kenya wametofautisha maana mbili ya kujikimu: kuishi kwa ugumu au kuwa kwenye sehemu salama. Maadili na mawazo kuhusu mipango rasmi ya miji umejadiliwa ila hauwezi moja kwa moja kubainika kwa wachanguzi, kwa maelezo ya picha wachanguzi wanaonyesha jinsi walivyozoea na wanachofikiri kuhusu kujiajiri. Wanatuambia ni nini wafanyikazi Wakenya wanaangalia wanapojaribu kutufungulia dirisha kwa maisha ya kazi ya Mkenya.

Maneno ya ufunguo: mitaa, mpango, serikali, wafanyikazi, kibarua, maendeleo ya miji, mtumo wa picha kuvuta masimulizi, mchanganuo wa mazungumzo, Nairobi, Ngong, Oloolua, Kona Baridi, Kenya

Summarium Latinum – abstract in Latin

UNIVERSITAS STUDIORUM ABOENSIS
Facultas Mathematicae et Scientiae Naturalis
Institutum Geographiae et Geologiae
JANSSON SAMIUS: *GEOGRAPHICA INVESTIGATIO DE ORDINIS PROLETARIORUM CONDICIONIBUS VIVENDI IN KENIA – Sermones de progressu examinati sub lumine evidentiae quam operarii quidam Kenienses de labore fortuito et strenuitate supervivendi ostenderunt*
Tractatus pro gradu, summa punctorum studendi 40 (ECTS), paginae 80, appendicum paginae 31
Geographia
Mense Novembre MMXVI

Condicio vivendi proletariorum disputatur in actis, quae oeconomicum progressum urbanum tractant quaeque asperrimam pauperiem in mundo adhuc esse ostendunt. Eisdem actis demonstratur qua necessitate in phtochogitoniis proletariorum condiciones vivendi difficiles debeant sublevari. Manifesto phtochogitonias domuum inferiorum pandi omnibus in mundi urbibus. Qua ratione hae regiones originem traxerint variis explicatur theoriis. In tractatu hoc examinatur vita cotidiana proletariorum in phtochogitoniis Keniensibus quae sine auctoritate rei publicae constructae sint. Theoriam de mercedis aemulatione habitandi proposuit von Thünen, aliae theoriae ad liberalismum pertinent, ad neoconservativismum aliae, et quaedam ad neo-Marxismum. Fundamentum partis secundae testimonia condunt incolarum Keniensium.

Investigatio campestris disposita a me erat ea ratione qua opiniones testium (adiutorum qui foris quid observavissent narrabant) eliciebantur photographematibus quae ab iis in antecessu urbanis in regionibus facta erant ubi ipsi testes cotidie solent versari. Postea colloquiis percontativis testes rogabantur ut explicarent quid photographemata eorum de vita urbana monstrarent. Posteaquam supra descripta ratione observationes testium erant collectae, deinde eae et photographemata examinabantur per sermonis analysim (*discourse analysis* dicunt Anglice) quo facto intellegere et ostendere possumus qua ratione testes nostri, qui sunt incolae Kenienses, viderint et experti sint vitam proletariorum tempore quo nobis narraverunt de his rebus. Desunt studia de condicionibus proletariorum Keniensium similia in quibus incolae conducuntur ut testes qui sponte inveniunt quarum rerum photographemata faciant ante quam de colloquiis percontativis inter eos et investigatorem sit conventum.

Omnibus rebus usque ad finem bene perexaminatis videmus proletarios Kenienses agnoscere methodos duas vivendi: strenuitatem per quam intellegunt luctationem cotidianam ut panem sibi obtineant, et statum quo luctari non est necesse firmatum. Valores et ideae quae de progressu oeconomico urbano in sermone latent officiali non videntur posse clare et distincte inveniri in narratiunculis a testibus nostris traditis. Testes nostri linguam et photographemata adhibent ut nobis monstrent quo modo experiantur laborem temporarium et quid de eo cogitent vel de hoc quod debent se ipsos fere cotidie ad laborem conducere. Sic nobis narrant quid incolae Kenienses spectent ubi nobis aperiunt fenestram per quam videmus vitam proletariam.

Claves: phtochogitonia, proletarii, labor temporarius, strenuitas, progressus urbanus, colloquia percontativa, verborum elicitatio photographematibus, analysis sermonis, Nairobi, Ngong, Oloolua, Kona Baridi, Kenia

Confirmatum est programmate Turnitin OriginalityCheck hanc thesim a me originem traxisse.

GEOGRAPHIES OF KENYAN WORKING CLASS CONDITIONS

Content

Maps

Attachments

1. Introduction

1.1 The contribution of this study to urban geography

"What Is Poverty? Good Question" is the title of Terry McKinley's one-page article (2006) in which he reviews the concepts of capability poverty and income poverty. He points out that the concept of capability poverty is after all a variation of income poverty and does not solve the problems left by income-based approaches to poverty issues. What is poverty? Let us go through some facts first. It is a fact is that the slums are formed near urban centres. An important manifestation of poverty are slums where human deprivation issues accumulate. Slums are formed near urban centres: there is a tradition of poverty eradication programmes ensuing urban planning. Some programmes set lower goals and use less ambitious expressions such as "poverty reduction" and "slum upgrading". Nonetheless, generations of people live and work every day in informal settlements and personally experience the consequences of uneven development. A report by Amnesty International titled "Kenya – The Unseen Majority: Nairobi's Two Million Slum Dwellers" (2009) is one of the many reports that spell out living conditions in informal settlements, suggest reasons for their formation, and propose measures to alleviate urban poverty. Can we now specify what the problems are? If slum formation is an outcome of urban development, then, as I personally see it, no final solution is available as long as there are constantly growing megacities. If a retributive capital accumulation process cannot be permanently altered or completely replaced with a distributive system of social provisions and full formal employment, then living in urban informal settlements seems to be a normal part of urban culture rather than a side effect of urban economic development. What was observed by Friedrich Engels in his work *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* can still today be observed and documented wherever there are megacities. An Amnesty report titled "Insecurity and Indignity – Women's Experiences in the Slums of Nairobi" (2010) presents a grim picture of intolerable living conditions that must nevertheless be tolerated by thousands of people in Nairobi alone.

Academic theories of the reasons of slum formation and co-existing social problems are very interesting and useful for understanding why there are slums, but they don't help us to understand how living conditions in slums are experienced and accounted for by working class individuals with a first-person access to observe those conditions. On one hand, we can get some idea of the big picture and understand why poverty issues supervene urban development; on the other hand, we can meet people who experience and have insights of working class life near urban centres. How do they build their identity and what do they see in their environment? A question that I may be unable to answer is why local residents seem to pay attention to entirely different things than organisations concerned with poverty issues. It is easy to say that urban poverty manifests itself in Kenya if we pay attention to urban facts there and apply either the income-based or the capability-

based approach. However, I wanted to interview local persons who either work, live in or nearby, or frequently bypass or even visit simple urban or rural settlements of shanty residential structures, neglected environment, long distance to markets and jobs, and inadequate municipal services, to find out how they see, experience, and conceptualise the phenomena they encounter each day as they commute, work, and mind their businesses in Kenyan urban and rural areas.

1.2 On working class settlements in Kenya

Brenner and Theodore (2010) explain that all municipal governments seek to clear the way for liberated market capitalism by applying political destruction and creation strategies; the outcome is commodification and privatisation of state-owned land areas, creation of an urban landscape with razor-blade wires, brick walls with broken glass on tops, and guarded heavy iron gates to secure urban spaces for bourgeois top class consumption, intensified surveillance of urban commercial and public spaces etc. Appropriation of a given area for business use can profit the state in two ways: first, the state can negotiate a price with an investor and make a business deal; secondly, the state can impose a land use tax. I was told by one of my informants that business enterprises with a steady base are required to pay taxes to the Kenyan state. An example of a commodified and privatised patch of land is the area obtained by the Imani Recreational Centre photographed by one of my informants (see Figs 1 and 2). Land use of that sort can be identified as “creation of privatized spaces of elite consumption” (Brenner and Theodore 2010, 415). It is also noteworthy that access to the commodified and privatised land areas is restricted. Sometimes a fee is charged for the access. Most photographs taken by my informants reflect a restricted access of some sort. Often they have only photographed fences, walls, and gates without being able to provide a view beyond the access limitations. What is left and shown in the photographs is a selection of views within an open access area observed from the perspective of Kenyan working class individuals.

Anyone can observe in Nairobi and elsewhere in Kenya that ghettos of low-income population have developed close to business districts. Commodification of land and monetary quantification of property rights leaves local populations with little means to defend their claims of land. If property prices are open to market competition, then powerful foreign or domestic investment companies may override local populations. A surplus of landless persons is created. Individuals that end up in the surplus army of workers seek shelter and services in areas with low costs and income in areas with vivid top class consumption activities. Such unlucky persons may end up in a permanent state of exclusion from most communal services and with no access to a raised social status. Excluded individuals and families agglomerate in the niches outside of formally controlled areas and form communities of low-income populations. An alternative to the commodification of land is to let the local population use the land freely. A Maasai community familiar to me had moved to the place where they live today after buying houses that had been built there earlier. They had paid nothing for the land and continue living there without paying rent.

As working class individuals describe their normal environment including their familiar places of activity and rest we may be unable to identify universally applicable terms for informal settlements in their statements. Tatiana Thieme writes (2013, 390) that a local Kenyan term for a slum is *mtaa* although she adds that *mtaa* means a neighbourhood of any kind. According to Johnson (2010 [1939]) the word "slum" denotes a neighbourhood (*mtaa*) of "bad housing with poor and humble residents". Wyche, Forte, & Schoenebeck (2013) mention *viwandani* as a local term designating an informal settlement. The word *viwandani* means "at the workshops" although it also appears to be the name of a particular slum area in Nairobi (see WB 2008, 122). In a UN report (UNH 2003a, 10) *mabanda* is mentioned as a Tanzanian Swahili term for slums. However, *mabanda* is plural for *banda*, yet another term for workshop although it actually describes the material of a shelter. TGir told me in a WhatsApp chat (24 Sept 2016) that informal settlements can be simply by called *mitaa ya mabanda*, "neighbourhood of shelters", in Kenya if people want to use some Swahili expression of them. Occasionally *Mathare* is used as a general name for slum settlements. In Ngong town not far away from Nairobi there is a slum called Mathare by the locals. Rent level can be 1000-1500 shillings a month; the landlords may be residents or government officials (Gkik 29.12.2014, online chat). Mathare is said to be a Kikuyu word for Dracaena trees (Mathare Zonal Plan 2012, 8). A well-known informal settlement called Mathare lies 6 km northeast from Nairobi's central business area (UNEP Kenya Atlas 2009, 152; Thieme 2013, 389). Mathare Zonal Plan (2012, 5) implies that "*muungano wa wanavijiji*" means "federation of slum-dwellers". But *wanavijiji* simply means "village residents". English expressions such as "slum", "squatter settlements", and "informal settlements" seem to have no colloquial equivalents in Kenya. Whereas the English terms have pejorative or euphemistic connotations, the local terms refer to workshops, villages, and nature.

A number of participatory and non-participatory studies have been conducted to classify slum areas (Sori 2012; EGP 2008). Mike Davis (2006, 27-8) provides a slum typology which is based on ownership relations: job-searchers find the cheapest possible combination of commuting costs, land rent, and services by living in low-cost areas; the job markets may be far away in business districts. Kenyan slums, as I would perceive it, can be divided into three categories. First, there are working class residential areas with landlords who provide the houses and water in exchange for rent. All maintenance is left for the tenants. The tenants are *hustlers* or *hawkers* who scratch up money for their rent, food, electricity, and school fees and many other costs of their children by washing laundry, selling vegetables, and working at construction sites, the latter being a typical odd job for men while women do plenty of laundry work. Vegetables and other goods are bought from local producers and sold at the market for a small profit. Some sell handicraft works in areas of high income levels. This kind of activity is typical for the Maasai and the Samburu people with their long traditions of decorating belts, key holders, and cheap but colourful jewellery. In certain Maasai markets even weapons like spears and knives are sold, as well as hand-carved chess boards, and smartly decorated tableware etc.

In some working class residential areas there are very few decent toilet facilities and no water nearby; the housing is provided by landlords collecting rent, and often (though not always) there is electricity. Nairobi's Kibera is a slum area of this kind. Kibera stands upon land which belongs to the Kenyan government; 10 % of the residents of Kibera illegally claim ownership of the housing structures and sub-let them to the remaining 90 % majority (Mutisya & Yarime 2011, 203-9). Lack of toilet facilities has led to a relief solution called "flying toilet": a plastic bag with human excrement is thrown out of the shanty dwellings. Water is typically bought from private water vendors. Living in conditions like this is cheap: in another slum called Mukuru the tenants pay only 400-700 shillings a month for one room (Amnesty 2009, 8-10). The harshest conditions are present in settlements that have been set up by people with hardly any income. Such people mostly wander around in waste lands or dumping sites and collect useful items which they use or sell for a profit. They are unemployed people; many are orphans. Their dwellings are shanty constructions of recycled waste material collected from heaps of garbage. There is neither security, nor water, nor electricity, nor sanitation, nor washing facilities. People living under such conditions are not affected by forced evictions because they are only weakly settled in the areas where they spend their nights (see Amnesty 2009, 13 fwd).

There are also non-slum homes of workers. These are working class homes let in houses built from purchased material of high quality such as bricks. There is electricity, private taps, and private sanitation closets with flushable toilets. Security measures are in order: there is a wall and a gate with a padlock, and hired night guards. These are called "self-contained houses" by the locals.

2. Research questions

2.1 How is the existence of informal settlements explained in academic literature?

The first part of my study is a review of academic theories of poverty, development objectives, and reasons of slum formation. Neoliberal theories explain and predict how poverty can be eradicated by urban planning while neo-Marxian theories explain and predict the outcome of urban planning that we can witness today by taking a look at informal settlements. Neoconservative theories focus on urban security by identifying threats to the established bourgeois order of cities. The Weberian theory of patrimonialism presents an alternative explanation to the notorious patterns of corruption often mentioned as the source of all institutional problems in developing countries. Von Thünen's theory of land use explains and predicts the formation of congested working class settlements near city centres without making any Marxian reference to class struggle.

2.2 How is sporadic employment experienced by Kenyan working class individuals?

The second part of my study is a documentation of local eye-witness accounts of Kenyan working class conditions from the first person perspective. Hired local informants document rural and urban life, working conditions, and informal settlements in Kenya, and share their experiences.

2.3 What would local working class individuals pay attention to in the Kenyan society?

Local working class persons with their own personal history pay attention to things that might be omitted by a foreign visitor like me. Their accounts serve as authentic first-hand observations of the conditions of the Kenyan working class. They provide no basis for general conclusions but they are fascinating as documentations of thoughts that have evolved for years under the influence of the local conditions.

3. Discourse on the method of rightly conducting my reason

3.1 Using literary sources

Academic publications document working class identities by classifying people, their environments and conditions as belonging to certain conceptual categories such as urban spaces, labourers, capital owners, development, income level, GDP, formal and informal economy, law, neoliberalism, poverty, etc.

I reviewed a selection of literary sources to obtain an idea on how the reality of working class individuals is academically formulated and what goals are suggested. The literary sources provide a broader perspective on how living in working class settlements is understood from the viewpoint of certain urban development discourses.

3.2 Neo-Marxian position in the background of analysis

I see slum formation as an inevitable result of unequal urban development which follows if public assets are commodified and privatised without any compensation to dispossessed and displaced indigenous populations. Other approaches may emphasise different aspects and suggest that slum formation is not a result of urban economic development. The neoclassical position would maintain that slum formation is a symptom of market imperfections that can and will be cured in time. Most of the literature about urban development and poverty issues known to me and produced by very significant NGOs such as the UN and Oxfam support a moderately state-interventionist variation of neoliberal urban planning which seems to have become a standard position.

3.3 Sampling method defended and sources of information explained

Between September 2012 and May 2013 I used much of my time for learning Swahili while living in Kenya. This preliminary work facilitated my efforts to connect with the local population. To conduct my field interviews I proceeded in English. However, some of the informants preferred speaking Swahili. In such cases only Swahili or often mixed Swahili and English were used. I have translated everything by myself without consulting an interpreter.

In qualitative research projects participants are purposively selected to generate useful data; however, without systematic techniques we may select informants that support our pre-established ideas about valid answers (Brikci & Green 2007, 9-11). Some of my informants are persons I got to

know while living in Kenya. To get started, then, I arbitrarily chose certain persons known to me. I assumed that such persons that work in the Kenyan informal sector might be able to share useful insights. Others were persons that I found by being connected to the persons I already knew. E.g. SMaa invited me to her home both in Oloolua and Kona Baridi and there I had a chance to meet her neighbours and relatives. Clearly, sampling by convenience as I did does not yield a balanced representative sample of Kenyan working class individuals. Nevertheless, I defend my sampling method by emphasising that without established local connections I might have been unable to see where to start, how to formulate the problem, and what to ask. Two persons refused when I asked them to participate. This discouraged me from approaching strangers with my photo elicitation and interview plans. Instead I looked for potential willing informants by building a network of local connections. Such work proceeds slowly and requires plenty of informal discussions. In between there can be idle periods during which no photographs are taken and no interviews conducted. These periods can be used for getting acquainted with the local peculiarities, traditions, customs, and people.

For the purposes of this thesis I used six sources of information: field observation notes and photographs provided by Kenyan informants, semi-structured theme interviews, interpretation of the photographs, interpretation of the notes written by the informants, my own field diary, chatting and talking with some of the informants afterwards by social media and phone applications while I was already back in Finland.

3.4 Arranging photo elicitation and semi-structured interviews

I planned a data collection routine and assigned nine Kenyan informants to produce authentic data that represent the point of view of local Kenyans. Photo elicitation as a field routine is described by Gillian Rose (2016, 308, 314 fwd). For the purpose of collecting data I obtained two disposable cameras with flash lights to be handed over to the informants, and a field diary for my own notes. To record semi-structured theme interviews, I used a minidisc recorder with a separate microphone and ten minidiscs each with a recording time of eighty minutes. I prepared a question form (see Attachment 1) to be filled in by my informants. The language of the question form contains some idiomatic errors since neither its English nor its Swahili was checked by any authorised language specialist. Nevertheless, it served its purpose.

Each informant was instructed to walk freely around in areas familiar to him/her and take five photographs of different sceneries with a disposable camera. I paid a small sum for each picture. Informants that had used public transportation specifically for the purpose of collecting data for me received additional compensation to cover their commuting fares. All the informants were asked to photograph “the work and life of ordinary Kenyans”, fill in the question form in which they would mention some details they had observed in the sceneries of their photographs, and estimate how they had experienced the day of taking their photographs. This field routine was combined with

semi-structured theme interviews during which I asked specific questions about the context and details of the sceneries they had photographed. The informants were asked to tell me details about the living and working conditions of Kenyan working-class individuals. They were also encouraged to mention some of their important personal connections. I collected the data thus produced with my portable minidisc recorder and by taking notes during the conversations. The interviews took place in 2014 within a period from the 7th of July to the 5th of August. Outside of the planned conversations I kept a record of observations which I added as dated entries in my field diary.

As a result of my arrangements I received 9 filled-in question forms from my informants, 258 minutes of recorded conversations, and 46 photographs from different districts in Nairobi, Ngong, Oloolua, Kona Baridi, and Kiserian town. During the planned conversations the photographs taken by my informants were still preserved in an undeveloped film. The conversations were thus based on the memories of the informants and the filled-in question forms which were available by the time of the interviews.

The photographs taken by my informants are reproduced here (Attachment 2). The informants used place names and short descriptions of their shots during our conversations and in their notes. These are given in the picture legends. I reproduced the original spellings although some of them transgress standard spelling rules. I translated all Swahili names.

3.5 Consent and confidentiality

As recommended by Brikci & Green (2007, 5), a study based on data acquired from persons must meet certain ethical requirements. The Kenyan informants participating in my study gave me their permission to use the information they shared with me. They also permitted me to reproduce the photographs they brought me. The identity of my informants is protected in my work by leaving out details about their personal history. A few felt relaxed to appear in some of the photographs which have been reproduced here (Attachment 2) in their original form; thus some of my informants are shown in certain photographs.

3.6 What to do with images and interviews?

Gillian Rose (2016, 190-2) explains that discourse analysis invented by Foucault is not concerned with a hypothetical “real meaning” that could be discovered by shedding new light on the “surface appearance of things”. She distinguishes between two forms of discourse analysis the first of which focuses on what is articulated through visual images and verbal expressions. All different forms of talk, texts, and images represent discourses. Discourse analysis is also an appropriate method for studying images which are thus taken as evidence of how specific views of the social world are constructed. To begin with, certain sources should be selected as starting points according to their usefulness, productivity, and appeal. My principal sources are academic and non-academic texts as well as photographs and their commentaries produced by my Kenyan informants in their notes and during the interviews.

Authentic images produced and interpreted by my Kenyan informants are the primary sources that I draw on to get an idea on how working class life is perceived from the standpoint of Kenyans, persons who experience or observe it as a natural part of their environment. These images are representations of moments in the lives of my informants, or to use Baudrillardian terminology, they are *simulacra* (Rose 2016, 5). A *simulacrum* (Lat. for statue) represents a part of the reality only to an observer who is able to put the *simulacrum* in a context. Whoever else looks at it may see in its form either different or no representations at all. The images and their interpretations produced by the informants may reveal details that academically loaded approaches fail to notice, or conceal something that is explicitly spelled out in common and stereotypical interpretations of life in non-developed urban environments. As we look at and interpret images we produce a story of them and while doing this we reveal something of ourselves (Rose 2016, 18). An image represents a selected interpretation of reality. If we have no access to the circumstances under which images under our scrutiny have been produced, we must rely on the accounts of our informants. As a result, we produce a second-hand interpretation by mixing our own ideas to the interpretations produced by the informants with an access to all the circumstances, moments, and spaces that are captured in the images.

3.7 What I actually did to analyse my data

I transcribed and printed all the conversations I had recorded. I then examined confusing passages by using relevant dictionaries (Swahili-English and monolingual Swahili dictionaries). This work took several weeks. However, I was unable to decipher the exact meaning of certain speech acts included in the recorded interviews. A possible reason is that I failed to identify the context that was being discussed. It should be noteworthy that such a failure might take place even if all the words of a given account have been identified and found as entries in dictionaries. When I had finished interpreting the data obtained from the conversations I started reading the notes of my informants. I compared them to the answers they had given during the interviews and to the notes I had written in my field diary. At this point I used the notes I had taken outside of the interviews. I examined all the photographs produced and analysed all the remarks provided by my informants concerning the sceneries of the pictures. Thereby I obtained some preliminary results which enabled me to sketch a draft. I then started working to interpret the data I had collected by contrasting my findings with academic literature focusing on poverty, human rights, legal regulations, informal settlements, and urban development.

I studied the material over and over again many times and tried to identify key themes, internal contradictions, and indications of possible personal relationships of the informants to the sceneries they had chosen to photograph. When studying these photographs as specific *simulacra* provided and put in context by my informants, I also attempted to detect and spell out details that are not obvious or have not been mentioned by the informants (see Rose 2016, 206, 212-3).

I approached the data produced by my Kenyan informants and then interpreted it by using the concepts I reviewed in the first part of my work. I attempted to understand what kind of *simulacra* had been produced by my informants: how would they put their *simulacra* in context? The images open windows to the Kenyan working class life as captured and interpreted by local persons. Then there are accounts explaining why the pictures they took are significant for them. In addition, there is my own commentary on what I can understand and reconstruct from their original accounts and what I can observe and identify in their photographs by myself. I have added direct quotes from the remarks of my informants. I have edited the quotes to save space but otherwise I have attempted to preserve them in their original form. Quotes from conversations in Swahili have been translated by myself.

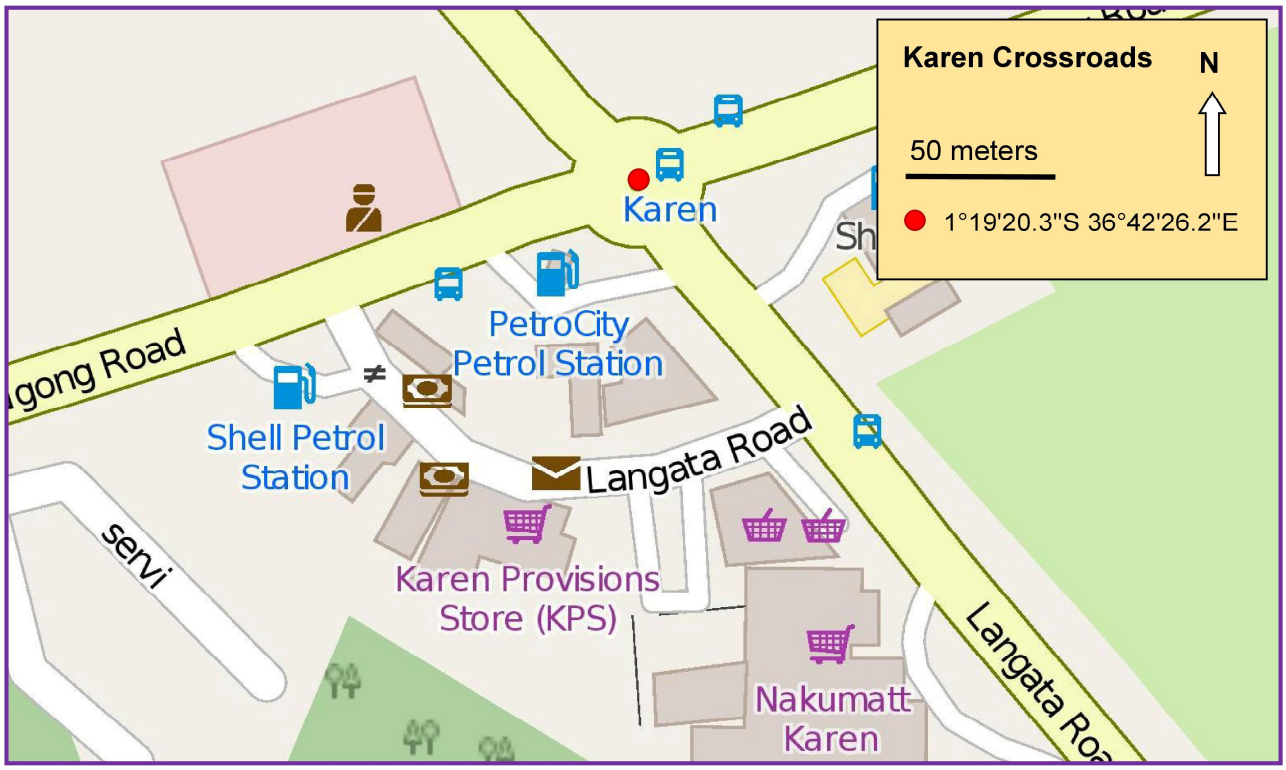
3.8 Remarks on the locations where the interviews took place

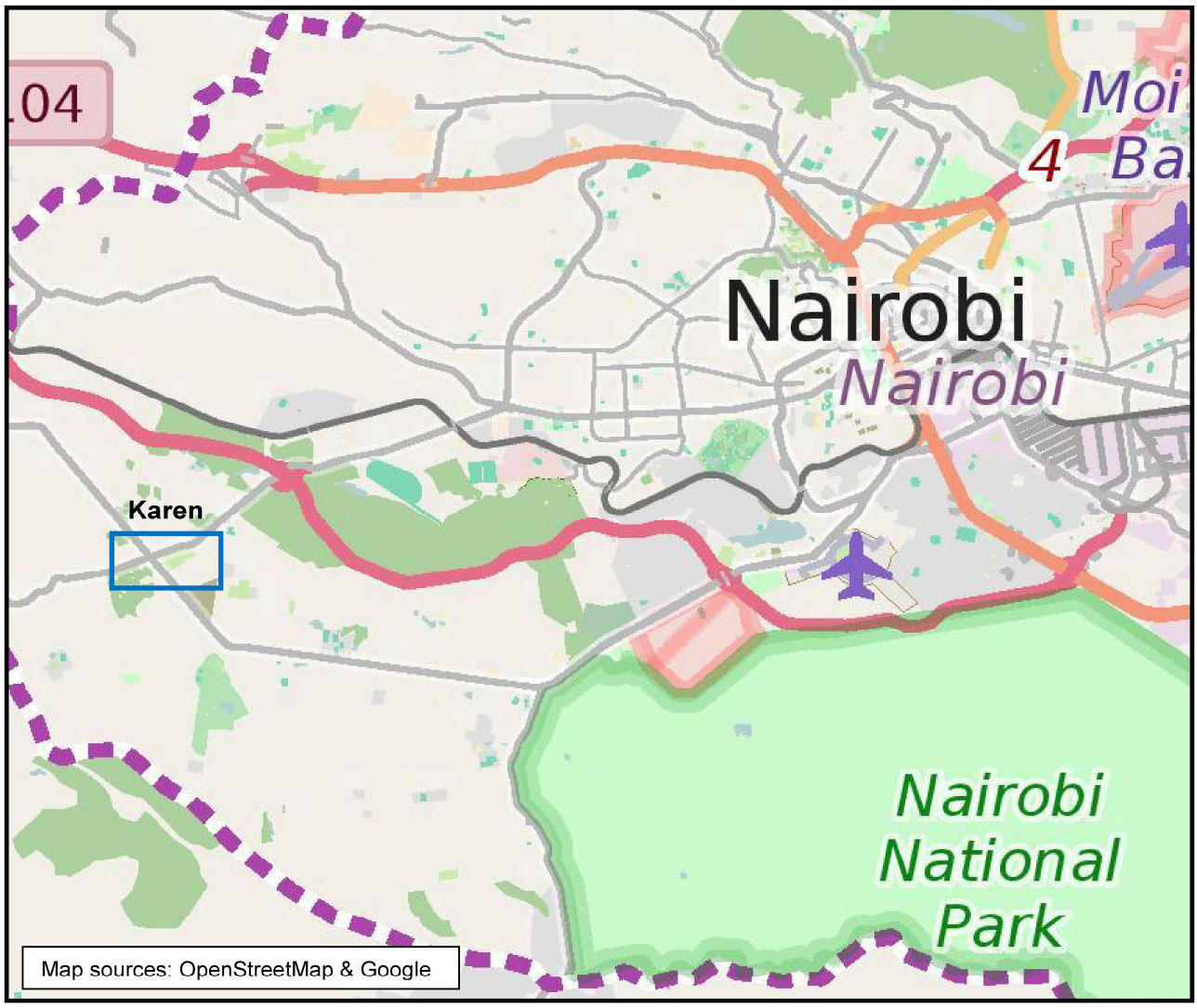
A suburb of Nairobi, Karen (see Map 1) lies at about 16 km distance southwest from the outskirts of Nairobi's central business district. Information about Karen is accessible in a blog titled *Nairobi Underground* (2015). Karen is favoured by top class citizens. E.g. top politicians William Ruto and Raila Odinga have their houses there. There are bourgeois consumption spaces in Karen such as shopping malls, gyms, cafeterias, restaurants, and sport clubs for high-income earners. There are banks, health centres, office parks, and several market areas. There are wealthy country farms, hotels, churches, monasteries, and pleasant recreation parks. The services of Karen have been arranged in guarded and fenced malls with non-developed land areas in between. Most streets have been designed predominantly for cars. Few spaces are reserved for pedestrians and the streets are crowded with cars, minibuses (called *matatus* in Kenya), taxis, motorcycles, street-side restaurants, retailers of clothes and many other items, and hawkers. No significant slum formation is observable in Karen although certain niches there are occupied by poor citizens. Many working class individuals seen in Karen commute from other areas to work there.

Ngong town (shown in Map 2) is a major town of the Kajiado North district (see Kajiado County 2015). Ngong lies about 21 km southwest from Nairobi's central business district. Open access maps and satellite images retrievable from the internet cover many details about Ngong. Few non-Africans live in Ngong. A large informal settlement immediately next to the central business district spreads on both sides of the Oloolua road that starts from the centre of Ngong. Other smaller slum formations are scattered in nearby areas. There are formally owned residential areas with country villas, farms, and blocks of flats for middle class living surrounding the central business area of Ngong. On Ngong hills there are dozens of large wind turbines for electricity production. On the slopes of the Ngong hills there is an outdoor recreation area for the bourgeois consumer class.

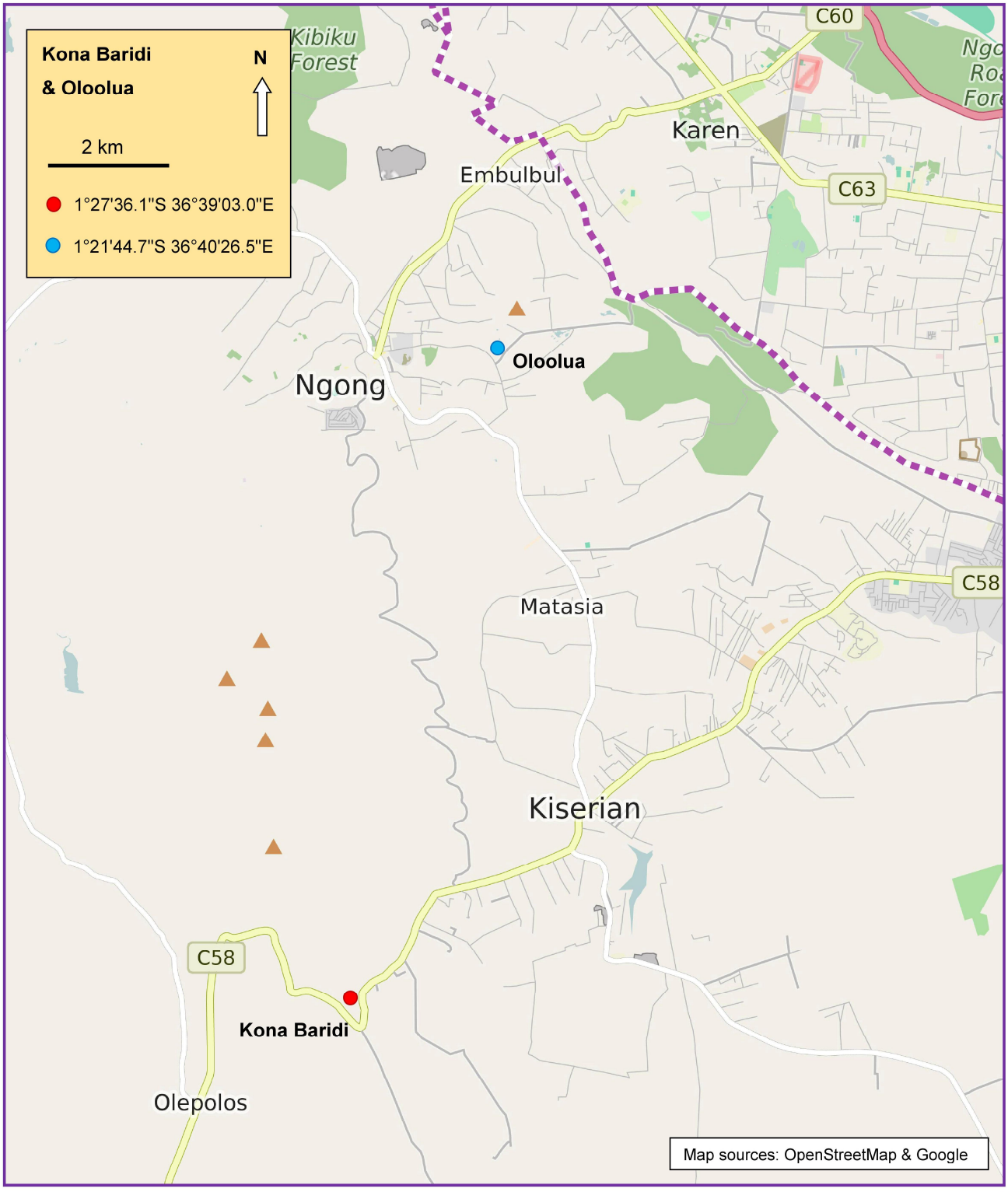
Oloolua is a village at a few kilometres' distance east of Ngong town's central business district. It can be reached by walking or by a motorbike or a minibus ride along the Oloolua road. There are some country villas, orphanages, and churches in Oloolua. There are many residential areas for

low-income populations in Oloolua. Some of them are congested slum areas such as the Mathare formation close to the business district of Ngong town. Oloolua's shopping centre is no more than a few simple shops along the Oloolua road; it includes a grocery shop, hair salons, a tailor's shop, and pubs. The Oloolua shopping centre is mentioned in the web site of the Imani Recreational Centre (2015) that lies about half a kilometre south further down the Oloolua road. The main gate of the Imani Recreational Centre was photographed by one of my informants (Figs 1-2).





Map 1. Karen, Nairobi.



Map 2. Kona Baridi and Oloolua, Kajiado district.

Kona Baridi is home to a community of a few thousand residents. Administratively it belongs to the Kajiado North district. The houses of Kona Baridi are scattered in a large area. There is a bus stop at a crossing on the road number C58 about 6 km southwest from the centre of Kiserian town. These details can be acquired from open access internet sites. A Maasai community invited me as their guest in Kona Baridi. They keep their dwellings, farms, and cattle at a 2 kilometres' walking distance northwest from the bus stop towards the Ngong hills. Many residents have suffered from a risk of forced eviction due to land dispute (Raburu, 2010; Otiso 2002). Most houses in Kona Baridi are simple dwellings made from corrugated iron sheets (iron plates are *mabati* in Swahili but these homes are colloquially called *neti* in Kenya; WhatsApp chat with TGir, 4.9.2016). The area is home to indigenous families that keep fowl and cattle, cultivate crops such as maize, and earn occasional income from their various street enterprise activities such as selling traditional jewellery, second hand clothes, blankets, bottle openers, key holders, baskets, belts, and other items. Some foreign immigrants have purchased land in Kona Baridi where they have built spacious country villas and established their farms.

An idea of the development and poverty issues in the areas described above can be formed by reviewing data from 2003. The Central Bureau of Statistics of Kenya has assessed (Ndeng'e et al. 2003, 7-8) poverty levels in Kenya by socio-economic variables: household size, education levels, housing characteristics and access to basic services. According to these official statistics there are 880,000 individuals living under poverty line in Nairobi. In Nairobi West 8 % of the population live below the poverty line whereas in Makongeni the proportion is 77 %. This indicates that regional differences are huge. Kona Baridi, Oloolua, and Ngong belong to the Kajiado district of which The Central Bureau of Statistics estimated that 44 % of its population live under the poverty line. There are divisional differences: in Ngong the locational poverty level of the population reaches 34 %.

4. On reasons of slum formation in academic literature

4.1 Definition and origin of informal settlements

Mark Kramer (2006, 7) writes that the word "slum" often brings to mind ideas of dilapidation, crime, and foul living conditions. For this reason, a euphemism "informal settlements" is often preferred in more formal contexts. Mike Davis (2006, 21) notes that the word "slum" has been recorded already in the early 19th century as a vulgar term for criminal trade and lodging. Many local terms used in different countries are listed by the UN in a report titled "The Challenge of Slums". It maintains that "a slum is a heavily populated urban area with substandard housing and squalor". Some slums result from a rapid migration to economically active areas. Other slums result from a decline in the economic activity supporting the population (UNH 2003a, 8-10). A slum settlement lacks basic services and proper dwellings; big crowds of people are tightly packed in a limited area and suffer from a very low level of hygiene, dangerous locations, poverty and social exclusion; the residents

live under threat of forced eviction as a result of informally settling down on a government-owned plot (see UNH 2003a, 11). The main characteristics of Kenyan slums can be summarised thus:

> "Structure owners have either a quasi-legal right of occupation or no rights at all. Structures are constructed largely of temporary materials and do not conform to minimum standards. The majority of structures are let on a room-to-room basis and the majority of households occupy a single room. Densities are high, typically 250 units per hectare compared to 25 per hectare in middle income areas and 15 per hectare in high income areas. Physical layout is relatively haphazard making it difficult to provide infrastructure. The majority of the inhabitants have low or very low incomes. Urban services such as water and sanitation are non-existent or minimal. Morbidity and mortality rates caused by diseases stemming from environmental conditions are significantly higher than in other areas of the city." (USAID 1993, 5)

Details of slum life conditions in Kenya have changed little within ten years as shown by Winnie Mitullah (UNH 2003b) and the issue of slums and urban poverty is still far from resolved there. It was estimated in 2001 that 924 million people all over the world live in slums (UNH 2003a, vi). Another estimate from 2015 maintains that 836 million people still live in slums indicating that the UN poverty reduction programmes have had the desired effect in the 21st century (see UNMDG 2015a, 4).

A general hypothesis of the origin of slums has been provided by the UN (see UNH 2003a, 195 fwd). The expansion of urban population living in slum conditions is an undesired result of urban migration for economic reasons from rural areas, of natural growth, and of population displacement following armed conflicts or violence. More technical explanations for the existence of slums can be spelled out thus: 1) *housing and land-cost*: income inequality is inevitable; poor people naturally gather in slums because they are unable to afford living in more expensive areas; 2) *employment opportunities*: jobs are created in urban areas; wealthy individuals gather near office areas while the poor end up close to factory areas; 3) *amenity*: pleasant areas are preferred by the rich who attract services; undesirable areas are left for the poor and because of lack of tax revenues neither adequate services nor infrastructure is provided by the local authorities; 4) *exclusionary zoning*: negative externalities such as factories and polluting industry are pushed into low-income areas; the poor can't organise and resist the undesired development because the wealthy bourgeois citizens are politically influential and externalise such forms of urban activity they find unpleasant (see UNH 2003a, 21).

Adam Parsons writes in his book *The Seven Myths of 'Slums'* (2010) that crime and personal choice are sometimes listed as reasons for overcrowding. Urban development may be mentioned as inevitably leading to slum formation. Market regulation and humanitarian aid may be seen as viable solutions. Some hold that the slum problem will never be solved. Reflections such as these

are variations of bourgeois and neoconservative responses explained more in detail below. The UN phrases its response thus: “to help balance the geographical distribution of urbanization, a strong set of national urban policies is necessary” (UNH 2003a, 199). The UN specified that urban planning following neoliberal principles with structural adjustment programmes causes poverty and slum formation (UNH 2003a, 3).

4.2 Theory of land use by von Thünen reviewed

A theory of agricultural location was formulated by a German writer von Thünen in the early 19th century; von Thünen assumed that employment opportunities are concentrated in urban centres where land rents are higher than in the peripheral areas because of competitive bidding for land use (Harvey 1993, 134-7). The rents for the poor people are higher in relation to their income than the rents for the rich because the former group has less money to spend for commuting. The poor are thus forced to live under congested conditions close to earning opportunities in urban areas of high rent. The rich in turn can commute between their offices in the central business districts and their homes outside of the city centre. The rich group can also move back to the centre and force the poor population out of the central areas because the rich have financial capacity to choose a balance between their transportation costs and their use of urban space. Harvey suggests that one explanation of urban poverty and ghetto formation is the urban bid rent competition; rural migrants gain little by moving to city centres in their search of job opportunities. This follows from elevated living costs in the urban land areas. The jobs and services are in the city but so are the costs. The rural migrants compromise their living conditions to secure their proximity to the job markets; they tolerate conditions of discomfort to save in expenses. By choosing a slum residence a rural migrant can stay close to areas where money circulates, offer services or items for sale, and hope to be able to get a share. However, it is unlikely that persons living in informal settlements would have much choice. It seems clear that the rural migrants are rather left with few options between which to choose. Besides, at least in Kenya rural migrants that belong to the working class also commute between rural and urban areas as will be shown below. When talking about home they mean their rural home. Also, the von Thünen model only applies under standardised assumptions of centricity and should thus be taken rather as a description of an imaginary special case instead of granting it the status of a general model of land use (Harvey 1993, 189).

Harvey (1993, 137) suggests that eliminating the ghettos is rather a question of eliminating the conditions under which it seems to make sense to apply von Thünen’s theory to urban land use. The competitive bidding mechanism should be replaced with social control mechanisms checking the markets of land use and housing. Harvey’s position is thus anti-neoliberal: he holds that free markets can and should be checked by a central governmental planning body that imposes social policies independent of the markets.

4.3 Bourgeois responses to poverty issues

There is a long tradition of bourgeois responses to civil unrest arising from class distinction issues. The bourgeois responses are efforts to improve communities through commitment to institutions like the church and civil government that allegedly would be able to alleviate poverty and unrest by launching community development programmes. The formal bourgeois efforts to eradicate poverty have an established name in the UK: 'gilding the ghetto' (see Harvey 2010, 37). 50 years ago certain British cities attempted to tackle the urban crisis by introducing community development programmes (CDP). A report (not scientifically documented) called *Gilding the Ghetto – The State and the Poverty Experiments* was published as a result in 1977. The authors argue that the ghetto problem keeps returning if money is spent for arranging particular projects focusing on specific poverty issues but no changes are made in institutional structures (CDP 1977, 64). Harvey (2010, 38) explains that working-class resistance results from urban planning processes dominated by the laws of capital accumulation with a wage system and a division of labour.

The UN Millennium Development Goals Report 2015 reflects bourgeois empathy and civilized sentiments of responsibility combined with worked-out plans to empower people excluded from the formal economy and adequate access to basic services. The goals of the UN are listed thus: "New global goals will break fresh ground with ambition on inequalities, economic growth, decent jobs, cities and human settlements, industrialization, energy, climate change, sustainable consumption and production, peace and justice" (UNMDG 2015b, 2). The UN reports the success of its efforts by presenting statistics: "The number of people now living in extreme poverty has declined by more than half, falling from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836 million in 2015" (UNMDG 2015b, 1). However, the UN admits that inequality persists. Yet the report seems to show that the bourgeois interventionism strategy produces real achievements. Jason Hickel (2015) has contended that the UN follows a neoclassical holy trinity of GDP growth, production, and consumption disguised under rhetorical terms such as social inclusion and sustainability. Hickel argues that the statistics presented by the UN should be critically reviewed and that any strategy based on GDP growth is unsustainable.

Wilson (2010) observes that introduction of liberal social policies including governmental and non-governmental programmes to open new opportunities for ghetto residents is an approach to solve social problems of exclusion and disempowerment; the liberal social rhetoric avoids using popular expressions such as race, ghetto, underclass, poverty. By the choice of expressions, the residents of marginalised areas are protected from being stigmatised. A neoconservative response is to state that liberal social policies are rather a part of the problem, not a solution, and they work poorly against social inequality; it may even be argued that if retributive criminal justice systems are undermined through liberal changes, this approach exacerbates the situation by increasing criminality and social problems. (Wilson 2010, 186-190)

Another neoconservative counter-argument against distributive social policies is suggesting that social welfare programmes deprive people of their original ability of being self-reliant subjects

of their lives. A dependency of external aid leads to uncontrollable population growth and pushes the costs of welfare programmes beyond affordability. An overshoot of local carrying capacity may be promoted and an unsustainably overgrown population created. The miseries of a ghetto destiny include increasing rates of unemployment, crime, welfare dependence, fatherlessness of families. Liberal thinking explains such social problems as undesired results of urban process that can be solved through economic development and welfare programs promoting both economic growth and social equality. However, the neoconservative mind-set regards all social problems as unwanted consequences of social policy measures without which the reward and punishment systems would keep human populations in check. (Wilson 2010, 190-1)

4.4 Patrimonialism and legal bureaucracy

According to Max Weber, bureaucratic authorities justify their decisions by appealing to abstract legality and they are qualified for their positions through technical training. However, Weber (1978 [1956], 1006 fwd and 1072) identifies alternative forms of domination derived from local traditions rather than laws. These are patriarchal, patrimonial, and clientelistic domination (domination by office-holding *honoratiores*). Personal relationships, not the rule of law, characterise the clientelistic arrangement of administration. Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2002, 1) suggest that clientelism and patrimonialism are outcomes of imperfect transition from traditional governing systems to a modern economically liberalized democratic state. An office-holder in a patrimonial system is a property-owner the office being his source of income. Administrators and government officials that adhere to a patrimonial system make their decisions on an arbitrary basis and are inclined to take bribes in exchange for their services. They treat the citizens and their clients without impartiality, and hold their posts as a reward for personal connections with a network of individuals capable of controlling recruitment (Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith 2002, 7). The authors observe (p. 33) that Kenya is an example of a patrimonial administrative system that by an amendment of the country's constitution transformed its independent civil service commission into an instrument serving a wide network of clientelistic relationships controlled by the chief executive (president).

Erdmann and Engel (2006, 6) state that the term "neopatrimonialism" is often applied as a key concept for understanding African nations and societies. The term "neopatrimonialism" refers to such administrative systems which are hybrids of patrimonial relationships and legal-bureaucratic structure. Politically powerful individuals in a patrimonial system seek to appropriate state property and direct cash flows with no attempt to invest except for luxury spending. This kind of activity is in the neoclassical narrative called rent-seeking (Erdmann and Engel 2006, 18, 26-30).

Corruption and nepotism are often identified as vices of neopatrimonial administrative systems. However, since patrimonial domination is based not on merits but on confidential relationships, it is easy to explain why the loyalty of an applicant for a post is assessed instead of the applicant's formally documented achievements (Cammack 2007, 602). An informal supplement of a low salary

can be condemned as corruption if such a practice is evaluated by applying principles derived from the legal-bureaucratic set of values but it can also be regarded as a convention of remuneration for public services which does not follow the legal-bureaucratic logic. On the other hand, patrimonial loyalty practices can lead to situations of injustice and discrimination (see Amnesty 2012, 13).

4.5 Neoliberal urban planning revisited

Mike Davis (2006, 50 fwd) provides examples from different parts of the Earth where urbanisation has resulted in ghetto formation. Shanty towns and squatter settlements have appeared after a rural-urban migration has taken place in the outskirts of growing cities in India, China, Vietnam, Iran, Latin America, etc. The process of ghetto formation accelerated in the 1970's in Latin America and elsewhere. According to Davis (2006, 153 fwd) it is associated with the structural adjustment programmes that were designed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to compel nation states of the Third World to liberalise their economies. In exchange for development loans from private financial institutions they were expected to allow invasive private foreign investment with neither protective tariffs nor subsidies, and they were required to downsize their public sector. These reforms allegedly produce a growing national economy that efficiently alleviates poverty.

There is an underlying ideology expressed in the neoclassical orthodoxy of planning modern national economies. Its basic assumption is that there is a naturally existing "market mechanism" which tacitly directs the behaviour of rational individuals, is formally described in the neoclassical narrative, and has the capacity of distributing wealth through exchange of goods. The civil rights of individuals are often explicitly asserted by referring to a certain set of classical liberal propositions entailing that each individual person has a positive right to pursue wealth and happiness as long as this doesn't limit the corresponding right of other individuals. This principle is already formulated by John Locke in his *Two Treatises of Civil Government*. Locke reasons that exclusive property rights are justified through working: "[N]obody has originally a private dominion, exclusive of the rest of mankind (…) yet [the fruits of the Earth] being given for the use of men, there must of necessity be a means to appropriate them some way or other, before they can be of any use, or at all beneficial to any particular man" (Locke 1689, *Of Civil Government*, Ch. V, "Of Property", § 26). "Whatsoever then he removes out of the state that nature hath provided, and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property" (*loc. cit.* § 27). Locke justified British colonialism by implying that those who are capable of making a land more productive are also entitled to its ownership.

In the neoclassical narrative state control is judged as a toxin that paralyzes a vigorous national economy by leading to a recession and a sharp decline in profitability of investments (Brenner & Theodore 2010, 411). Furthermore, it is assumed that state institutions are responsible for creating poverty, a malady which can be cured by rolling back all the institutions that consume tax money but contribute little to the national product. It is taken for granted that a liberalized economy will be

redirected to a stable trajectory of economic growth and a generously abundant yield of profitable investment activities can happily be harvested again. A neoliberally reformed nation state promotes noninterventionist market and trade policies and the rule of law that emphasises private property rights (Harvey 2005, 64).

As predatory neoliberalism penetrates and hollows out nation states it appears disguised in three “formations”: ideological, bureaucratic, and political formation (see Springer 2010, 1031-33). A set of speech acts promoting market liberalisation strategies are uniformly shared by national knowledge-elites, financial institutions, and investment companies. In this sense neoliberalism is an ideology that has been granted a sovereign status of economic orthodoxy. Political leaders with few exceptions repeat the standard neoliberal phrases. State reforms are carried through in order to transform the state from being a guardian angel of social justice into a fierce watchdog of private property rights. Forced privatisation of publicly held assets, deregulation of financial markets, and increased surveillance of public spaces reflect bureaucratic neoliberalisation. The political agendas carried out by governments reinforce the rule of political and economic elites with adverse effects to local populations.

Two historical variations of defending the liberal position can be identified: Ordo-liberalism and neoliberalism (see Lemke 2001). The former is a German version of liberal thought developed in the 1920s. The Ordo-liberals do not identify the economy as a natural entity: it has no intrinsic laws that could be discovered and formulated. Markets of a nation state depend on conditions legally provided by the state. “The economy” is a set of social practices regulated by laws and contracts. That state intervention would limit the domain of free markets is an assumption incompatible with the Ordo-liberal line of reasoning. The distinction between socialism and capitalism can thus be dismissed and replaced with a more generally applicable distinction between liberalism and state interventionism. As a part of this narrative a new notion of a legitimate state is introduced: a state is an entity defined by its capacity to produce economic growth (Lemke 2001, 3-6).

Neoliberalism, the American form of liberalism, in turn redefines everything as a subcategory of economy (Lemke 2001, 7 fwd). The notion of “human capital” arises from the standard neoliberal narrative. All persons are regarded as rational individuals who calculate the balance between costs and benefits of their actions. Each person inherits natural capital as inborn physical properties. The rest is simply based on “investments”. Education and nutrition are accounted for as investments in the production capacity of each individual person. Even a person committing crimes may simply be regarded as an investor who seeks profit. The consequences of laws are seen as externalities the effect of which can be avoided. As crime is seen as a form of economic activity, state intervention is allowed merely in terms of creating a “negative demand” for crime. There are laws but only such that aim at raising the costs of committing crimes. Labour force is seen as a quantifiable element of economic calculations. Individual persons are simply entrepreneurs marketing the result of their

investments. In general, the neoliberal rhetoric commodifies and classifies all imaginable entities as resources or investments.

Arguments entailing that poverty can be eradicated by promoting GDP growth characterise the dominant neoclassical narrative of economic development. A non-disputed proposition underlying this line of reasoning is the idea that the most efficient macro-economic arrangement for promoting growth is to allow markets function freely without being checked by state interventions. The GDP growth indicates an increase in the material wealth of a nation, it is argued, although money capital accumulates in the possession of private financial institutions and investment companies. This is not considered a problem because wealth would automatically "trickle down" and bring prosperity to all citizens. Striking differences in income levels may be observed but it is contended that this should be accepted as a prerequisite for securing the GDP growth. In efficient markets demand for goods would be met at the lowest price and price reduction can and should be achieved through a competition between suppliers; "equilibrium" of supply and demand is set as a target. The standard neoclassical principles of urban economic development are applied to public investment projects and provision of urban services. Different sets of local services may be funded by different rates of taxation in different locations. It is assumed that this will attract citizens to areas where the services are available at a price they are able to afford (see Bridge & Watson 2010, 5-10).

Neoclassical rhetoric is adopted in a report titled *What do we know about the Kenyan poor and their use of the private health sector* (Ashkin 2014). The report contains interesting statistics about poverty and market issues in Kenya. Possibilities of expanding private health service markets are explored there to accumulate information for reaching "poor workers" and to provide "better value" for the money they spend while seeking health-services. The low-income working class individuals are identified as a "potential market" that can be "unlocked" by market interventions which minimise or share market risks and create a "more favourable environment". Acemoglu and Robinson (2010, 22, 26) argue that African institutions are weak and don't support sustained economic growth. They maintain that patrimonialism is one important reason why modern economic institutions have failed to develop in Africa.

The standardly advocated macro-economic principles of the modern economies inferred from the neoclassical premises are also reviewed in a UN report titled *Rethinking Poverty* (2009, 97). Statistical evidence collected from dozens of countries seems to show that the market liberalisation strategies are inefficient in reducing poverty (*Rethinking* 2009, 98 fwd). No correlation is detected between the market liberalisation strategies and economic growth. Even in such cases where a time-correlated economic growth occurs with market liberalisation, no improvement in employment rates is observed (*Rethinking* 2009, 116 fwd). Privatisation, market force liberalization, and poverty measurement on a dollar-a-day basis are rather unconvincing strategies of efficient and meaningful poverty monitoring and reduction (*Rethinking* 2009, 154 fwd). According to the UN report reviewed here a viable solution would be a technologically induced boost of production combined with social

programmes aiming at poverty reduction. Capital flows should be controlled by state interventions which would bring the course of development to a more equitable path. This kind of approach can be identified as a state-interventionist variation of technological-fix optimism.

The Challenge of Slums, a report by the UN, identifies neoliberal urban planning as the main driving force producing urban poverty. Privatisation and liberalisation are commonly advocated by political leaders as bringing national prosperity through a growing national product. This allegedly creates a "trickle down" effect that spontaneously distributes wealth among all citizens. But it has been shown that structural adjustment programmes promoting liberalisation of national economies create a national burden of debt, a rapid expansion of informal markets, and exacerbating poverty issues (UNH 2003a, 2-3). Visible consequences of neoliberal development projects are expressed in business districts with office buildings and consumption spaces with intensified surveillance that grow side by side with burgeoning slums. Wealth is currently being concentrated which leads to a growing economic inequality (Hardoon 2015).

The assumption that a sustained GDP growth would secure the future wealth and welfare of industrial societies has been questioned by investor Jeremy Grantham who maintains (2011) that if by compounded economic growth we mean manufacturing, accumulating, and distributing new goods, then compounded economic growth is unsustainable; there is a limited global supply of a number of strategic resources that the modern growth-based industrial societies can't do without. Lester Brown (2011) has estimated that bringing all Chinese individuals to an economically equal consumption level with the average consumer of the Western nations is impossible – not enough resources can be extracted for that purpose. Paul and Anne Erlich (2013) argue that if national development is defined in terms of economic growth it is counterproductive in the long run and can lead to a collapse. Nothing less than a radical shift from the prevailing growth paradigm to steady-state economic systems can lead to sustainable forms of civilisation. According to this grim line of reasoning all growth-based poverty eradication programmes compatible with political development agendas that promote job creation through the expansion of industrial activity will eventually fail.

4.6 Formation of working class precariat

Marginalised individuals living in informal settlements suffer from shortcomings in respect of human rights and are victims of discrimination and repression (Tunney & Glavey et al. 2009, 4-5; Amnesty 2012, 13). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights set forth by the UN states that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" (UN Decl 2016, § 1). However, according to an inventory made in 1998 half of Nairobi's urban population (2 million people) were living in slums (Amnesty 2009, 3, 32). Why do they stay there?

Friedrich Engels noticed in the 19th century that ghettos and labouring districts with miserable conditions burgeon in all growing industrial cities of England. The ghettos are hidden from the eyes of street users behind a series of shops lining the streets. Opulent citizens live in comfortable

country homes and commute to shopping areas without noticing poverty behind the shops. Engels concluded that crowding of individuals together in a limited space brings forth indifference and exploitation (Engels 2005 [1892], 23-5, 46). He identified two separate classes: there is a privileged class of individuals with abundant property and secure positions, and a non-possessing class of labourers with insecure living conditions. Privileged individuals belong to traditional aristocracy or bourgeois money-aristocracy and the non-privileged belong to proletariat. Advantages accumulate to those who control the means of subsistence and production, Engels reasoned (2005 [1892], 276). The bourgeois money aristocracy has a capacity to fully benefit from the legislation and seize the possession of available resources whereas the working class members are destined to accept all miseries of the ghetto with no power to escape. An Engelian explanation to the existence of slums is that city regulations are dictated by a prosperous ruling class; and under free market conditions dominated by a ruling bourgeoisie class that controls all capital flows no social solidarity is spontaneously produced (Harvey 1993, 133).

A plausible scenario is that urban poverty will never disappear if the issue is addressed only by applying neoliberal or neoconservative development remedies. According to David Harvey (2010, 32-34) the urban process is dominated by bourgeoisie interests of accumulating capital in cities that work as nodes of accumulation networks. Investments in urban infrastructure, whether private or public, are parts of supply chains that end in urban centres where capital accumulates under conditions beneficial to capital owners but disadvantageous to a reserve army of workers. Harvey argues that the urban infrastructure stands for no other purpose than facilitating the processes of production, circulation, exchange, and consumption of goods and services. The infrastructure is used for production that yields profits which can be translated into money through a credit system. We should therefore ask whether the profits are used for the creation of a consumption fund to serve the bourgeoisie or for the reproduction of labour power. The class of the bourgeoisie can be identified as individuals with a capacity to control human and natural resources. Harvey contrasts capital accumulation with the interests of labour force whereas the neoclassical narrative launches jargon of quantitative resource extractivism. Harvey explains that what is commonly understood by money is fictional capital that is created through a credit system as a result of overaccumulation of capital. According to the Bank of England (BE 2014, 3) money is created through loans in the form of bank deposits. Most of the money in the accounts is this type of “fountain pen money” while only a small percentage of all the money booked as being in the possession of any commercial bank is backed up by central bank reserves. This emphasizes the role of debt in the capital production process. Capitalists invest by taking loans from commercial banks for profitable business projects and are expected to pay the loan back. If they succeed they manage to amass capital and the banks in turn profit from the projects by imposing an interest as a condition of giving out loans. The process of urban infrastructure development results from financing or as Harvey phrases it, “from putting the fictional capital to work for building fixed capital”. Workers can thus be hired and

remunerated for working in urban development projects such as infrastructure construction. If they earn any salary they will thus be able to participate in the exchange of goods and services. Harvey suggests that individual capitalists underinvest because their main goal is to over-accumulate capital; the result is accumulation of capital side by side with idle reserve labour force: the working class precariat.

5. First-hand observations of the condition of the working class in Kenya

5.1 A closer look at a particular Kenyan working class settlement

In 2014 I stayed for a month in a settlement near Oloolua in the outskirts of Ngong (Figs 3-7, 9, 26, 29, 43). The settlement has no security services, the dwellings are shanty and poorly maintained row houses made from corrugated iron sheets, there is no proper sewage as the toilet waste runs through a ditch and out of the area into a big container or a deep pot hole which can be emptied although I never observed any maintenance of this sort. There are simple common sanitation and washing facilities there with concrete floors and iron sheet walls at the rear part of the compound, there's electricity, and a shared fresh water tap on the courtyard. Kitchen and other waste are thrown out into a big heap of trash lying outside of the area. Water is not available every day so the inhabitants use containers to store water. Electricity is available only at night when the inhabitants are at home watching TV, listening to radio, charging their phones, and using light bulbs. All the structures are owned by a private landlord who regularly collects rent from the inhabitants. The monthly rent of a single room flat in this particular settlement is 2500 shillings. Water is included but electricity adds 500 shillings to the monthly living costs, and it is paid separately to the local electricity company. Rats can be a problem and they are controlled with rodent poison. Flies seem not to be a big problem as the toilet waste is daily flushed through a narrow channel into a large container outside of the area. Mosquito bites are avoided by sleeping behind mosquito nets. Food is cooked with a gas heater or a charcoal stove called *jiko*.

The entrance to a compound in Oloolua is shown and a lady in her forties standing at it in figure 3. The plot owner has invested on the row houses only enough to make them impenetrable. The simple corrugated iron sheets and windows with grid irons keep rain water, excess sunshine and thieves outside. People with a moderately low income level can afford to live in houses like this. They keep their belongings inside and lock up their home with a padlock whenever they leave. Although there are no guards it is unlikely that a thief would bother trying to break in since there is always some resident around and since there is little to steal in these houses.

Figure 4 provided by MKik shows her family sitting together on the courtyard of the residential compound where they live. She had added these notes: "Rent houses of this centre where people around the area stay". She sits there on a wildly growing lawn with her family. Her husband sits on a black and plastic water container, and there's a wash basin full of laundry behind her. The cloth lines are heavy with clothes that she has washed during the day probably for a customer. The long

shadows and the fact that her husband is back home indicate that it is already evening. Behind her back there is a barely visible ditch which divides the courtyard lengthwise. The ditch serves as a sewage drain. In front of the door on the opposite side of the courtyard there are two basins that probably belong to a neighbour. On the far left corner there is a shared sanitation and washing spot. The two closets with turquoise wooden doors are wash rooms where one simply enters with a basin, a small amount of water, and soap. Two privies are behind the corner of the last house on the left. They are simple closets with a drain opening in the middle of the floor. There are elevated steps for both feet there on both sides of the drain opening. The latrine waste flows slowly through the drain and out of the compound where it seems to end up in a big ditch. There are about ten families using the same lavatory facilities every day. The flats are made of corrugated iron sheets as in most Kenyan slum areas. Mkik had written in her notes that these are rent houses. During the interview she added that the houses look beautiful because they are surrounded by green grass and other plants. Most working class settlements are simply surrounded by a barren dusty ground. The ground turns into sticky mud during the rains and the streets of such areas metamorphose into a mixture of mud and urban waste. Mkik had taken two pictures of plants fringing the outside walls of the row house (Figs 5 and 6). She said people *wanazungukea*, keep “idly hanging around”, at the compound. She estimated that the compound is beautiful because of all the trees, flowers, and vegetables growing there. To her the compound seemed to represent a nice place of security and peace as she apparently had in mind other places of residency with much lower levels of security or comfort.

> MKik: Because the house are very beautif… And they’re… they’re surrounded by the crass… they rook very beautif… because of the crass…grass and vegetables. And people they are crowding to stay there.
> Myself: What does that mean?
> MKik: *Wanazungukea nyumba* [“They idly hang around the houses”].

Cloth of white gauze with lace edges is common material in Kenya to cover iron sheet walls. As a security measure the wooden unpainted doors of the flats are locked from the inside, as shown in figure 7, with a simple latch bolt attached onto a small rectangular metal plate which in turn is attached onto the door with a row of screws. Another photograph (Fig 5) shows the outside walls of a row house. A padlock hanging on the door can be seen on the left side of the picture. On the right hand side there is an open door to a flat with a pink cloth hanging in the door opening. While at home the residents keep their doors open to let fresh air flow in but conceal the interior of their homes with a cloth from the eyes of neighbours, strangers, or flies.

5.2 Privatisation of water, waste, and environment

JMaa had been taking photographs on a ranch where water is purchased from the landowner. Water for a single goat costs 1 shilling while for a cow one would need to pay 5 shillings. He said that people and cattle walk a few miles to reach the place. The local people depend on privately owned ranches with wells because “the Maasai land” around the Ngong hills is very dry. However, JMaa wanted to show me a photograph (Fig 8) of worker on a farm. This particular farm seemed to remain exceptionally “green and fruity” although it was dry season then. The man in the picture is a Kikuyu man hired by a landowner from the Middle East, JMaa reported. There are other foreign land owners as well as he reported:

> Myself: Ok, so [the American person] has lived here since 1984?
> JMaa: In the neighbourhood he came 2005. But he has been in Kenya since 1984, in a different part of Kenya.

A few inferences can be drawn from these remarks. First, the government of Kenya privatises land and sells it to wealthy foreigners. Secondly, the land-owners hire local population to work in their farms as guards or agricultural workers. On one hand, some locals get paid jobs although their contracts are probably informal agreements with the land owners. On the other hand, the local population is excluded from the privatised land areas and must either be hired to have access or pay if there are services. E.g. the plots owned by the Imani Recreation Centre (Figs 1-2) represent privatised areas with a fee for access. Few locals have means of appropriating the land areas of their home district. Thus they must accept the fact that some of the land is sold to rich outsiders.

Water containers and a shared tap of a working class compound in Oloolua are shown in figure 9. Residents are filling their containers after sunset. The tap is not open every day. It is usually locked up with a padlock and unlocked a few times a week in the evening for filling the containers. MKik who provided the picture wanted to emphasise that water is expensive. One container (*tenki moja*) of about 20 litres costs 10 shillings, she reported. She added that at times some people have no money at all and access to water can be a real problem for them. The price of water is included in the rent the residents of the compound pay for their single room flats. Because a human being does not survive without water the penniless people go out and look for opportunities to acquire money by begging. The following conversation has been translated from Swahili:

> MKik: You can’t live without water. Aye, water is needed. Water is expensive.
> Myself: How much do you pay for one container?
> MKik: Filling one container costs ten shillings.
> Myself: Not everyone can pay that?
> MKik: To buy water? No.

Myself: What do those people do who can't buy water?

MKik: They have no money.

Myself: Do they just live without water then?

MKik: It's not possible to live without water. They just beg from those who go to work, ask for money, and then they come and buy water. A human being can't live without water.

It seems clear from what MKik said that if there's any "trickle down" effect of water to the poorest local persons, money is always needed. Water has been commodified and it is available to those who have money. Oloolua like most of the Kajiado district is very dry except during the two rainy seasons. Living there without water services would be hard. Thus there are water points where people can go and fill their containers. One local water point happens to exist in the compound where MKik lives. Not only the residents of the compound fill their containers there but also other people living nearby, as can be concluded from MKik's remarks. MKik as a local observer paid attention to three points by presenting the photo as a *simulacrum* of the local water issue: 1) water is necessary, 2) one must pay for water, 3) some people have no money and must beg to get money for water. For her the tap and people standing nearby with their containers represented a practice that takes place every week and involves people, money, water, and scarcity of both money and water. Children are filling their containers in the picture. They may be residents of the compound but it's also possible that they live elsewhere and have only come over to buy water. Another informant CKam had taken a picture of the same water point (Fig 29). MKik seemed to imply that the landlord of the compound charges for the water. Sometimes I helped my neighbours to fill their containers. I noticed that they filled them freely and carried them back to their flats. Perhaps there are penniless people roaming outside of the compound and who come in to buy or beg for water? I never saw anyone paying for water. I once noticed the landlord, though, collecting the monthly rent from the residents. I have seen no statistics of Ngong town but at least in Nairobi only 20 % of residents living in informal settlements have a sustainable access to water (Amnesty 2012, 14); the situation may be similar in Ngong.

Near Ngong town there is a graveyard next to a slum area which is called Mathare by the local people (Figs 10 and 11). Simple white crosses have been erected on a sloping ground in front of a small forest area. Above the tree tops there is a power line. The power cables run left and their origin is in wind turbines that The Kenya Electricity Generating Company has erected on Ngong hills. A road from Ngong centre to Oloolua passes by the graveyard. The graveyard is very near to a Catholic church, to the Mathare area, and to a dumping site. It is still in use although it is already full, GKik reported. A path crossing the cemetery leads to the Mathare slum area. The cemetery has become an extension of the dumping site with occasional heaps of garbage in the middle of the graves. No new graves can be dug without digging into an already occupied grave. People from Mathare bury their deceased there although some families from more distant areas also may

use the cemetery. The local City Council charges families for reserving grave sites. GKik disliked the idea that a family may have to bury a dear relative in an occupied grave containing the remains of a stranger. A cemetery and a dumping site grow together and remains of deceased meet urban consumption leftover material.

GKik: They normally bury their people there if they don't have anywhere else to take them, like Langata. So or maybe they don't have like… *shamba* [country home]. So they normally bury their people there. They give some money to City Council... You are not allowed… something that they can afford. Yeah.
Myself: So the people living in Mathare… Even they can afford burying their dead there?
GKik: Yeah, burying their dead one yes.
Myself: So it's not so expensive.
GKik: No, it's not but it's already full, so I don't understand… you know you bury your loved one there. You know… yeah, it's crazy when you dig a grave and then you find another body there.

The burying practice in Ngong shows that the land has been commodified and fees are collected for its use. It also shows that land is a scarce resource near urban centers and it has to be reused. The local City Council collects fees for land use. The price is adjusted according to the income level of the families. The cemetery photo by GKik is a *simulacrum* representing a congested area with plenty of people using a resource that already has been exhausted. The importance of family ties and respect for the deceased are also represented in her remarks.

In figure 12 there are two hens standing under a hedgerow fortified with barbed-wire next to a heap of garbage thrown out of the houses nearby. RKik had written in her notes "what I consider the picture of this hen is to show that if we could have good environment we can do better". She pointed out that Oloolua is dirty because the local residents throw out garbage in the streets. People have no place to dispose of their waste, she explained. To answer my question whether it is the responsibility of the government or the people of Oloolua to take care of the environment she replied that the government can't be expected "to come and take care of your city" so it's the local people who should do it. The following conversation was a mixture of English and Swahili. It has been slightly edited and some Swahili expressions have been translated:

RKik: Without trash we could be… the environment would be better than that.
Myself: Who should take care of the environment? The people or the *serikali* [government]?
RKik: The people. 'Coz you can't wait for the *serikali* to come and take care of your city.
Myself: Why do you think people throw *takataka* [waste]?
RKik: Because they are not… they don't care about trash.
Myself: Could everybody be educated at school so that they wouldn't throw *takataka*?

RKik: Yeah. I mean like this hen it will big, eh, if the environment will be better… they could be very… more big than that.

The *simulacrum* presented here by RKik in the form of a photograph of hens seems to include an idea of a cleaner environment and the responsibility of local officials to provide services. There is an idea according to which poultry would benefit from a cleaner environment and grow bigger. She explained that the fowl in the photo belong to a neighbour, a lady who lets them walk around freely. RKik didn't think that the environment of her neighbourhood is in a normal condition. A change for better is possible, she seemed to say, and it is the local organised officials that can do something about it although she also admitted that the officials do not have resources to look after all details. Her remarks display an idea of development by state-interventionism. For her, then, the context of the picture is that of an environment which can be developed by joined efforts of the government officials and the local people. A very similar idea among the slum-dwelling youth about the role of the government has been observed by Thieme (2013, 405): since there's so little the government can do the local residents must become active and develop their environment by themselves.

5.3 How technology arrives in rural areas, youth commute, and money is collected

Two immigrants from the US, an electrical engineer and a specialist in agroforestry, have houses in the valley near Kona Baridi not far away from Kiserian town. Certain local Maasai men including JMaa are assigned to look after and maintain the property of the engineer. The Americans have introduced new concepts of green energy and organic farming. JMaa, an electric technician by profession, wanted to be photographed in front of a wind generator (Fig 13) standing in the valley near his home. Wind and solar innovations are good, he thought, because they rely on locally available energy sources: the sun and the wind. The engineer from the US had installed the wind generator. He has solar panels and a biogas system as well, and is producing organic food on his plot. JMaa said that "electricity makes life cheaper, since fuel is expensive". The rural people need energy for light and cooking but the price of fuel may sometimes be a problem. Children need light to study in the evenings and cellular phones need charging. Buying wind turbines is expensive but solar is easier, because one can start with small affordable panels. A wind generator would be practical at Kona Baridi, his home settlement, JMaa went on, where it's often windy, and because of their low costs and low impact on the environment. Organic farming as described by JMaa is farming with "no synthetic used, no fungicides, just a mixture of plants. If you want to repel insects from the plant you use other plants to repel them. We call it *companion plan*." Different plants species are mixed and crops are rotated to confuse vermin and maintain the fertility of the soil. The photograph of JMaa posing in front of a small wind generator is a *simulacrum* that he puts in the context of technologically induced development of rural areas. His other remarks about solar and biogas technology as well as organic farming are a part of the same discourse: rural areas are

being developed successfully by introduction of new technology. Life is made more comfortable by new innovations and slowly they spread from urban to rural areas.

The market place of Kiserian (Fig 14) is an important point of shopping and connections for the local people. From the market place there are public transportation connections to the capital city, Nairobi. Young people often go shopping and meeting friends there. The market place is behind the bus station which according to JMaa has a negative impact on the market's level of cleanness. The neighbourhood near the market place is well developed ("superb") and people living there are well off although not rich and belong to more than one ethnic group. Young rural Kenyans are attracted by towns and urban areas (Fig 15). Hitchhiking is a common mode of transportation. People typically walk and take a motorbike or a *matatu* (informal minibus service) ride if available. Sometimes JMaa uses a bicycle but he needs to borrow one from a friend. Few people have cars and hardly any vehicles are seen on the rural roads whereas in Nairobi's business districts there are regular traffic jams. Restricting the number of cars there would not be possible, JMaa believed, and said that the government should invest on better highways and roads implying that no private company can do this. JMaa saw in the photograph of the young hitchhiking couple two of his own friends who were on the road for the purpose of finding a ride to a certain place shown in the other photograph which provides a view to the Kiserian market place. He was also able to explain more generally that what his friends were doing there is an instance of a normal way of life of Kenyan youth living in the rural areas.

Life in a small village is simpler than life in a town. In a village one can collect firewood whereas in town one needs to buy charcoal. On a country plot (*shamba*) one can cultivate food and survive even without money. In the city one needs money for everything. SMaa listed things commodified in the urban areas: water, electricity, cooking, transportation, and even talking (*maji, stima, kupika, kutembea, kuongea*). People who go for luxury look for job opportunities in Nairobi. *Mimi sipendi raha lakini mimi napenda pesa!* ("I don't care for luxury but I like money!"), SMaa joked knowing that *raha* ("luxury" in Swahili) means money in Finnish. A place of luxury, the Imani Recreational Centre (Figs 1 and 2) in Oloolua apparently attracts local youth. RKik goes there on weekends. There is a swimming pool, she said, and the entrance fee is 200 shillings. She added that each week she earns enough to spend a part of her money at the Recreational Centre. The two pictures of the recreational centre can be interpreted as representing to her a place of exciting free time. The area of the centre is also a commodified patch with restricted access. Those with money can enter while others cannot. The high walls with an electric fence keep unwanted people outside. It is a place where young adults like RKik can spend their excess money and enjoy their free time. I found it quite interesting that the centre represents this to her since I had thought it unlikely that the recreation centre would mean anything personal to individuals coming from the working class since it is a bourgeois consumption space seemingly designed for high end consumers.

5.4 Roots in the rural areas, street business in the urban areas

Economic security in Kenya is based on business and property unless one has a government or corporate post. There is a gender bias: women migrate from rural areas to low-paid informal sector jobs because inheriting land and property is a privilege of men (Maranga et al. 2010, 10). Street vendors gather close to business districts and find their customers outdoors simply by displaying their items. They keep coming back to the same spot for many years, sell their items, pay for the inevitable urban expenses, and try to save money. They hope to be able to retire back to their rural homes later. Most working class people speak Swahili in Kenya. It is used as a lingua franca among ethnic groups. It is taught at schools and spoken by most Kenyans although persons from the inland rural areas may be poorly versed both in English and in Swahili.

SMaa is a "business woman" by profession and her income depends entirely on tourists buying baskets, decorations, table ware, and fabrics. The Nairobi City Council probably classifies her as a street vendor who operates in the informal sector (see the City Council registration form shared by Nzioki 2012). Some months are better than others and especially November is good for business although it is a rainy month especially at nights. She explained that she needs money for food, transportation, the school expenses of her children, and rent. Her children may choose their own profession, she added. They can even study medicine or law if they wish to. Children working hard at school will be able to find a good job. Entering a university isn't easy but college level education would be a good alternative for academic studies, she thought. The studies of her children would be financed by collecting money and selling cattle if needed. Income is commonly supplemented with money borrowed or received from relatives and friends. A general expression *kukusanya pesa* (to collect money) covers all aspects of making the ends meet.

The Maasai living close to the Nairobi business districts earn their living partly as nomads and partly hustling or running various sorts of street business enterprises. Although little money would be needed for simple living in the rural areas it is generally taken for granted that children must be educated as highly as possible to give them chances to choose at will an urban career instead of becoming a cowboy or a wife and a mother as is traditionally expected. The Maasai community I visited has simple houses, cheaply constructed farm buildings, arable plots, and domestic animals as property (see Figs 16-18). Purchasing land is not expensive but cultivating it leads to high costs, IMaa said. Those who can't afford to cultivate a plot choose a nomadic way of life. Maasai herders are often seen with their flocks in suburbs and even in business districts where the animals graze in unattended spots. The regularly occurring drought makes agriculture very challenging. Irrigation systems can be constructed but this is expensive. The Maasai farmers prefer cow dung as fertilizer instead of commercial alternatives. IMaa concluded that the cheapest, easiest, and the normal way of life practised by the Maasai people living in the Kenyan rural areas is nomadic cattle farming. One only needs a small *boma* (a dwelling with a fence) for animals. The animals can easily be herded and taken to wells during the dry season.

A sheep grazes next to a squatter house of turquoise coloured and corrugated iron sheets (Fig 19). The exterior shutters and the doors of the flats are closed because at daytime everybody is working or looking for work at market places and constructions sites. The sheep is attached to a short pole with a rope. Only dominant animals of a flock are attached and the rest will stay without being tied up. RKik explained that a sheep owner in the neighbourhood is an exception. Truly poor people couldn't afford keeping sheep. She implied that the sheep owner gentrifies this particular residential area because livestock owners could choose to live elsewhere. RKik's remarks were partly Swahili which has been translated below.

Myself: Why did you want to take a photo of a sheep?
RKik: Because when I saw the sheep I just snapped a shot. It's nice and smart… it's very smart… because it is nice and fat…

The photographs of domestic animals such as the hens and the sheep represent to RKik a view to a life with some wealth and opportunities. Not anyone can foster domestic animals. RKik implied that domestic animals symbolize the wealth of their owners and the picture showing a sheep thus indicates that there are wealthy residents in the area where she lives.

Office premises of the Co-operative Bank of Kenya proudly occupy the top floor of the Karen Square building in Karen, Nairobi's suburban business district (Fig 20). IMaa explained that the bank is important for saving money. He reported to have saved 5 000 shillings (ca. 50 euros). The Kenyans also commonly use a mobile account called Mpesa, a service provided by the Safaricom company. Anyone using a cellular phone can open an Mpesa account. The image of the bank is a *simulacrum* representing the importance of money in the urban environment. IMaa is a small-scale entrepreneur making money with his street-business and banks seem to represent to him only places where one can keep money in a secure place. "The bank is also important", IMaa said, "sometime you can open a *drive*, you can open an account and save your small money. They enable you to save your money." Jewellery items decorated in the Maasai style are for sale in a street enterprise shop (Figs 21 and 22). IMaa earns his daily bread by selling his items. His photos of his own shop represent his daily lifestyle. They are *simulacra* of a street-worker's view to his means of subsistence. For IMaa the jewellery are items he has manufactured by himself and which he sells to customers passing by. IMaa always occupies the same spot and produces his items there. I first saw him there in September 2012 and in July 2016 he was still there almost every day. He saves money in his own bank account although his earnings are small. He pays his rent and finances the education of his children. He lives in Dagoretti, a suburban district of Nairobi, with his family. According to the Maasai wedding tradition a man must pay a generous dowry for each wife he marries. The dowry symbolises a contract between families. Livestock or household items are not necessarily handed over but they are mentioned during the wedding ceremony which results in

a situation where the husband has a debt to the family of his wife (these points are based on my field diary notes of an informal conversation with SMaa and her family members on 24 July 2014).

Renting “a self-contained house” with electricity and tap water in Dagoretti costs at least 5 000 shillings per month, less than 50 euros. To save money IMaa has arranged his living as cheaply as possible. He lights up his home with a petrol lamp and buys his water in containers. Dagoretti is not far from Karen, and many people walk to reach Karen business district. The following discussion took place mostly in English although some Swahili words were added which I translated here:

IMaa: Yeah, I can also put something in the bank to help…
Myself: Sometimes you get a little bit of surplus?
IMaa: Yeah.
Myself: And your business gives you enough income to pay the education of your children?
IMaa: Education for my children and paying the house rent for my children.
Myself: Your house rent is how much?
IMaa: My house rent is 3000 shillings.
Myself: 3000 shillings? Ok. Where do you live?
IMaa: I live in Dagoretti.
Myself: Do you have electricity and water there?
IMaa: I don’t have electricity. And you just buy your water from outside.
Myself: Bottled? There is no tap?
IMaa: There’s no tap because I’m renting house that is a cheapest one. I cannot afford big. In Dagoretti the self-contained house is around five to six thousand. So I just rent a small house without. 3000 from it. Yes.

This short extract from my conversation with IMaa reveals many details the Kenyan working class life. First, there is self-employment in the form of street business, *hustling*, trying hard every day to make the ends meet. Then there is the issue of educating children. And there is the issue of living costs. IMaa confirms the housing and land-cost and employment opportunities theory of living in a working class settlement with little services and commuting every day to work in such areas where money circulates. Nothing in his remarks seems to show that he would see a need for a change. His remarks represent the point of view of a person who himself lives under conditions of scarcity although he is unaware of it and considers his street business to provide enough. After all, he has a family, an established street business enterprise, home, and children. And he has been able to save money.

IMaa wants to do well in his own business, and he hopes that his children will have a good life. He dreams of being able to retire to his plot with some livestock. He had received a plot of land from the Maasai community three years earlier. However, he has neither a house there nor any

livestock yet. Building a house would be costly. His idea about retirement would include a house on his plot, a farm with maize, beans, goats, and cows. A cow would cost 30 000 – 35 000 and a goat 6 000 – 7 000 shillings. Both male and female animals are needed to start a herd, and a good start would be a herd of 3 – 4 animals.

Thus, IMaa explained to me why he commutes to Karen nearly every day, why he lives in Dagoretti, how he earns his income, and what he wants to do when he retires. He is a Maasai man from the rural parts of Kenya and has arrived to areas of vivid business activity to earn money. He has chosen a place to stay in a cheap residential area close enough to the spot where he manages his street business. His home in the Dagoretti settlement is not his real home although he lives there with his family. His roots are in the rural areas where he wants to go back to retire.

5.5 Daily costs and rates of rent, fees, and taxes

There are unavoidable costs for those who want to look for means of earning money near urban business districts. One is rent. For example, the rent of a single room flat in Oloolua (see Fig 4) is 2500 shillings (ca. 25 euros) per month. A monthly rent of 2500 shillings is cheap even by Kenyan standards but it is still unaffordable for many. No night guards patrol the compound because the residents can barely meet the costs of their meals and rent. Hiring a watchman would be out of the question, TGir pointed out. The photograph of the working class compound (Fig 4) is a *simulacrum* of first-person experience of living near Kenya's business districts where money circulates. This shot supports the theories of housing and land-cost and employment opportunities to explain why there are informal settlements near Kenya's business districts. People with roots in rural areas look for shelter and income near areas where there are jobs available. The residents have little money and therefore their dwellings must be cheap but secure. A *neti* dwelling (single rooms built from corrugated iron plates) is a solution that combines security with low costs. Breaking through the metal plates of a working class dwelling with little property to steal would be a hard challenge not worth trying and therefore street bandits are not a real threat when people are at home.

The rent collectors of the "Mathare" area near the business district of Ngong are individuals living there and owning some of the houses, GKik said. Some people started building there and today the slum founders own several houses to let. The land belongs to the government. There had been a plan of forced eviction of the residents but it was never accomplished. The government had planned to move the Mathare elsewhere but eventually nothing was done and the original squatter settlement is still in place. The reason for the eviction plan had been that the area had become too congested and insecure, GKik explained. Her remark gives some support to the von Thünen theory of rent bidding. People with a low income level end up in congested areas close to business and work opportunities. Rents are high close to such areas and land is valuable there as can be judged from GKik's statement according to which the government apparently had had plans to use the land for something else than informal housing for the poor.

A shopkeeper “fiddling with the camera” took a close range selfie (Fig 23)**.** TGir said that the camera had gone off accidentally and captured an image. She reported that this man has a proper shop with items such as flour and milk. The shopkeeper’s business is *hustling* all the same. He was looking for a loan to stock up his shop in order to boost his business. TGir mentioned that he adds almost a 30 % profit marginal to his prices and accepts no bargaining. The man seemed to be doing fine with his grocery business, TGir estimated, but he was still looking for improvement. In spite of the high prices his services benefit the neighbourhood greatly since his store is close to a residential area. According to TGir even this shopkeeper lives in a slum behind the workshops of welders in an area called Ngong Racecourse in Nairobi. A similar phenomenon was observed by Engels (2005 [1892], 45-6) in England: “The working-people’s quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middle-class.” TGir knew that the shopkeeper must pay a monthly rent of 4500 shillings (ca. 45 euros) for his business premises. The high rent explains why the shopkeeper is sometimes out, she thought, minding supplementary hustling business activities.

Certain social provisions are available to the low-income population of Kenya. CKam said she had born her child at the Mbagathi hospital which is not far away from the central business district of Nairobi. Childbirth is free of charge at Mbagathi although other sorts of health services are not. Since the Mbagathi hospital is located in the administrative district of Kibera it is likely that many slum-dwelling mothers from Kibera and other slum areas go there to give birth.

According to the official site of Nairobi City (2016) the City Council’s responsibilities are listed thus: “To provide and manage basic social and physical infrastructure services to the residents of Nairobi. These services include basic education, housing, health, water and sewerage, refuse and garbage collection, planning and development control, urban public transport and fire services among others.” The City Council is daily visible in the lives of the street vendors and hawkers by collecting a fee for business registration that SMaa called “CCES” (may stand for “City Council Executive Staff”) and providing education at governments schools. SMaa pays 200 shillings each week for the spot where she sells her items. The City Council requires shop owners to specialize. “You know, with the City Council you have to be specific”, TGir explained, “If this is a restaurant, it is a restaurant”. Angela Nzioki (2012) writes that the City Council expects all trade enterprisers to register at the City Council office. The City Council registration form with specified fees is available at her blog site. Taxes and fees are also listed at the Nairobi City blog site (2016). Street vendors, hawkers, small traders and service providers are categorized by the Nairobi City Council. A single business permit costs 2 000 shillings for a street vendor but there are additional costs such as a registration fee of 200 shillings and bus fare for an inspector. In practice the bureaucratic process may be too complicated for most street workers I talked to. They usually reported that they simply pay a CCES fee of 50 shillings every day and receive a receipt to show to a possible inspector.

Tax money collected from the people, GKik said, is the source of income of the government. Collecting street enterprise fees is a form of taxation. Another form of taxation is money collected

from private house owners. The parking fees collected in the parking areas of the central business district are also income for the government, she added. Even self-employed people are supposed to pay taxes although she doesn't pay because she has no job. The landlord of the house where she lives pays taxes. She added that she has a cousin working in a company for a monthly salary of 5 000 shillings (ca. 50 euros). Workers pay no taxes but the company owner does. Most workers pay no taxes because the work they do doesn't pay enough except to provide for their families, GKik explained. She had been working in a company with her name mentioned in the company's records but paid no taxes herself. Low income labour apparently enjoys tax exemption whereas all hawkers and street vendors need to pay for business permit regardless of their income level.

5.6 Neopatrimonial domination observed and experienced by self-employed Kenyans

The police in Kenya are corrupt and can make up reasons for arresting people, SMaa stated. If the police arrest, it is easiest to negotiate a price for release. If police officers take an arrested person to "the court" (the police station) and then file a violation of the law, there is little else to do than pay the resulting fine. For this reason, the street enterprise workers seem to have adopted a policy of bribing the patrolling officers or the chief officer of the City Council. On the other hand, the street business registration fee is clearly the only way to tax informal sector workers. A part of the money collected as additional business registration fees may nevertheless circulate in the informal sector as government officials collect it off the records and spend it to cover their private expenses.

Corruption of the government may prevent positive changes from taking place, GKik thought. On the other hand, it's not only the government that is corrupt, she added, but it's the people of Kenya who are all corrupt in the sense that everyone favours relatives and friends. The Mau Mau freedom fighters were financially supported by "the American government", she explained. There were two kinds of Mau Mau freedom fighters: those who fought for freedom and were supported by "the American government" while others only "went queueing to get the money". GKik referred to the rebellion movement that started in the 1940's and eventually lead to Kenya's independence. It was a violent reaction against the colonial rule imposed by the British government (see Lonsdale 1990). After the uprise and political changes the Mau Mau fighters had been given land, she said. The overall urban development favours certain groups, GKik estimated. Some can strengthen their wealth while others become poorer each day. The members of the Kenyan parliament are chosen to represent people, she added, but they take advantage of their position and among other things may exploit infrastructure building projects to gain profit. This is simply done by accomplishing e.g. road projects with inferior materials and siphoning the resulting surplus money into the pockets of the parliament members, she explained. Such roads are vulnerable to heavy rains, she concluded. Funding for the road construction projects comes from China she guessed on the basis of knowing about a Chinese engineer working in road construction projects.

My informant SMaa works together with other street vendors occupying the same street corner. The City Council may therefore classify their business as “medium trader shop or retail service”. The registration fee for a single business permit of a medium trader shop with 5-20 workers is 10 000 shillings (see the City Council business registration form shared by Nzioki 2012). The City Council collects business permit fees from the street entrepreneurs and hawkers as is confirmed by Nzioki (2012). The business permit fee is formally defined by the City Council but the street traders complain that the City Council officials regularly collect additional informal payments called *kitu kidogo* (“something small”) or *chai* (“tea”). SMaa confirmed this during our conversation (here translated from Swahili):

> Myself: Do you need to pay something small to the chief officer in Karen?
> SMaa: Oh yea, if they bring trouble, you pay something small, and if they arrest you.
> Myself: Who is it? Is it the chief officer?
> SMaa: It may be the chief of the City Council. There is no alternative because they love money. You give them two hundred, and that’s the “tea”.
> Myself: Two hundred?
> SMaa: Oh yea, all they want is something small.
> Myself: Every day?
> SMaa: They might come every month or every second month.
> Myself: Does the chief of the City Council come by himself?
> SMaa: He points at some details that you should correct and says he will arrest you. You just ask him if he wants something small and you give him and he leaves you alone.
> Myself: Ed told me that each month he and his friends go and pay the chief 5 000 or 8 000.
> SMaa: Oh yea, even 6 000, even 10 000.

The City Council officials are thus local individuals with some administrative power. They can use their power to direct cash flows for their own benefit. They are property-owners in the sense that they have their government posts with a regular salary. However, since their salary is small they use their position to increase their income by imposing informal fees to street entrepreneurs. With their remarks about the City Council SMaa and GKik seem to confirm the statement by Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2007, 33) about Kenya being an example of a patrimonial system of administration. The City Council management seems to involve both legal-bureaucratic structures and clientelism. The local street entrepreneurs can thus be seen as informal clients of the City Council officials who provide protection against themselves in exchange for informally collected fees.

5.7 Working children, insecurity, thieves, abuse, violence, and self-employment

Three children and one adult are tapping water in a picture taken in Oloolua (Fig 9). A shared tap has been built near the entrance of the compound. Water runs only once or twice a week and then the residents fill their containers. The door opening visible behind the standing boy is closed for the nights. A view to the entrance of the compound through the same door with a lady standing there is shown in figure 3. The door is never locked and anyone could enter the courtyard at night. These two pictures are *simulacra* that to MKik and RKik who took the shots represent central elements of their lives. Access to water cannot be taken for granted. And close relatives such as mothers are persons that bring security in life. The lady standing at the entrance in figure 3 is not just any lady: she's RKik's mother. The children tapping water in the shot provided by MKik are residents of the compound. Children are expected to help their families by working even late at night as I learned when I visited a Maasai family in Kona Baridi, and the photograph here works as evidence to show that this may be the case more generally in Kenya.

During my four weeks stay in the Oloolua compound there were two restless nights with noise and shouting on the courtyard. One night thieves had been caught nearby and people rushed out to observe how the thieves were being burned alive which took place about one kilometre from the compound. I was shown a photograph taken with a smartphone showing a bandit with burned hair and lesions. Another insecurity and abuse issue is that there were gossips that some neighbours in the compound may be involved in sex business. But since I noticed nothing that would confirm this I decided to take the gossips as evil rumours. However, it was explained to me that sex work does take place because life is hard and people must settle their bills and debt regularly.

Mkik had written in her notes about her home compound in Oloolua that "I like the culture of the people in the area since they stay peacefully and happily". Without peace it is impossible to have a good life, she explained. There would be trouble and fights, no happiness. Yet there are also many thieves causing trouble and insecurity to the local people, she added. Her husband had been robbed two days earlier while he had been passing the Mathare slum area of Ngong (see Map 3) along the Oloolua road. The robbery had taken place at eight o'clock in the evening. She explained that walking out on the road is scary because of the thieves who can be violent and rob everything from their victim. She had written "would like to change my living style" and explained that if there were peace she would be able to change her life completely but without peace there is nothing one can do because of permanent fear. She went on to explain that her family is also economically insecure. Her husband works at construction sites but the work is irregular. He might get a single day job today, be unemployed tomorrow, or can be hired tomorrow but after a day's work become unemployed for a whole week. Mkik herself collects money mostly by doing hard laundry work: she washes clothes every day by using her bare hands. In figure 4 she is taking a break with empty basins behind her back and washed clothes hanging above her head on a cloth line. On her left side there is a basin full of clothes. GKik confirmed that male workers typically work at construction

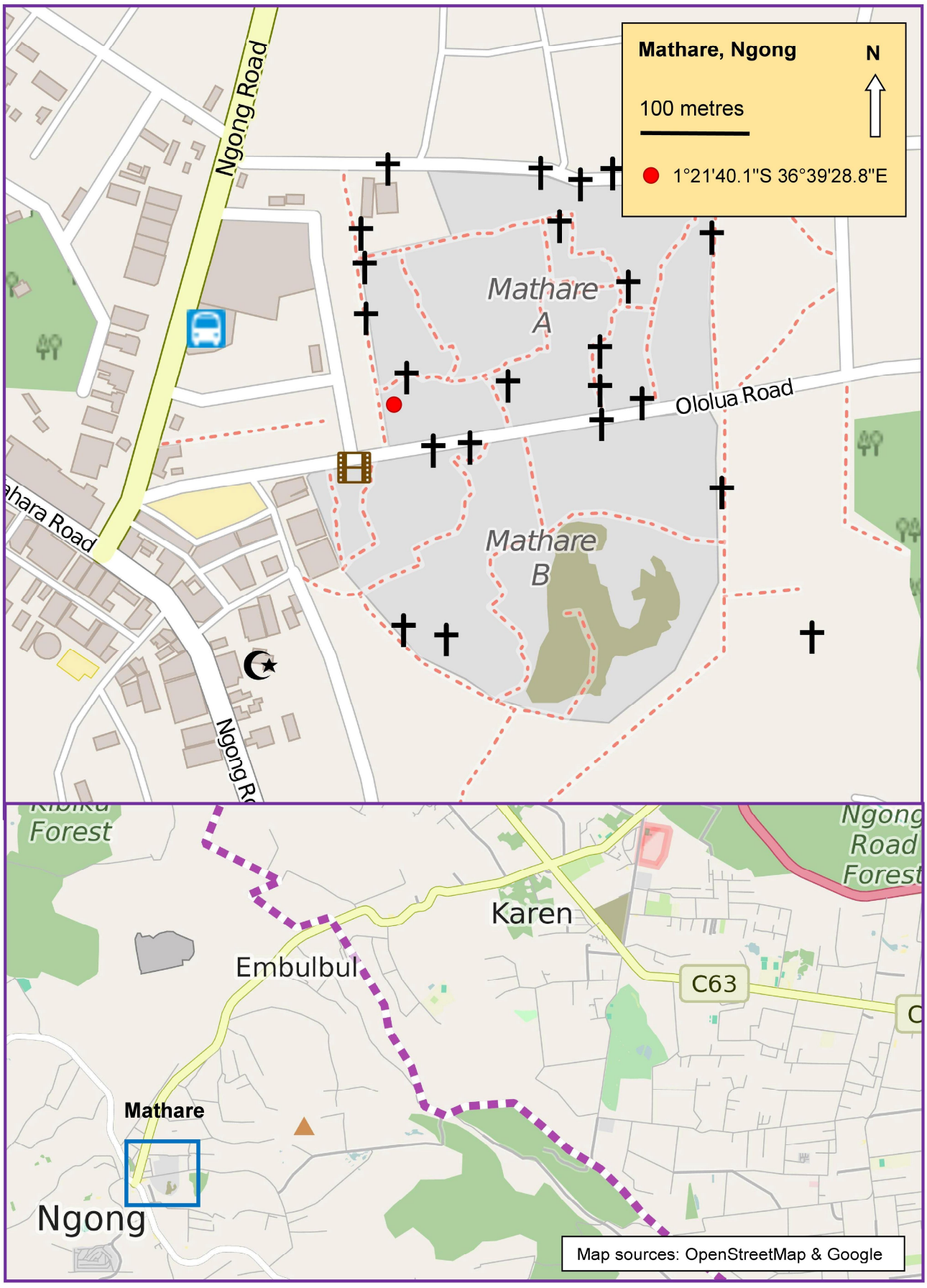
sites while women do laundry work. The following conversation took place in English with some Swahili words added. All Swahili expressions are translated here except the term *vibarua* (sporadic employment) which works as a technical term in this context (see chapter 5.9 where it's explained):

GKik: You know some people are born here and maybe they come from a poor family where the father and the mother couldn't afford to educate their children. And for instance maybe they are just like living in Mathare. In Mathare people live like one room, a big family like four.
Myself: Have you been there? Have you seen homes like this?
GKik: Yeah, I've been in Mathare.
Myself: You know people living there?
GKik: Yes, I do.
Myself: What do they do? Do they work *vibarua*?
GKik: Yeah, they do *vibarua*. And the person that I know who live there. It's a husband and a wife and they have four children. The guy, the man works at construction sites. The wife doesn't have a job but she'd go around washing clothes. So, you know, if you grow up there and you don't have education, you know, you become a man, and maybe you want to move out from parents' house. So you'll just go maybe and look for another room there.

Thus, the figure 4 is a *simulacrum* of Kenyan working class reality and it was set into a context by MKik who herself sits in the middle of the picture. Her account of her life and experiences was later confirmed by GKik who doesn't know MKik. GKik told me a similar story of a family she knows in Mathare of Ngong. ELuo also confirmed same details: she provided four shots of a laundry day in Nairobi (Figs 34-37) and she can be seen in three of the shots with her husband and two children. She had had two customers for whom she had washed clothes and her husband had been helping her. Her husband works at construction sites whenever he succeeds in getting hired. If he doesn't succeed, then he does something else like helps his wife to do her work when she has been more successful to find a job for a day. People thus live in cheap areas as close as possible to business areas or middle class residential areas where they can find work and be paid for it. They try to educate their children in the schools available in urban areas but often they have far too little money for the school costs so the children either stay at home (see Fig 26) or follow their parents who look for *vibarua* employment in the urban areas (see Figs 36-37). ELuo explained why her children go to school on an irregular basis. The following conversation has been translated from Swahili (the names of ELuo's children were mentioned while we talked but they are hidden here):

Myself: And the children don't go to school or?
ELuo: No. They don't go to school yet. They still stay at home, because I don't have money.

The photographs with working or resting adults and idling or playing children (Figs 4, 26, 30-42) provide a good view to the working class life in Kenya. It is normal to live far away in the country side with families and relatives there and travel to Nairobi or other cities, settle down with children in an informal settlement with low costs, look for employment every day, or engage in small-scale street business, and keep children at school whenever possible although because of school fees and other costs it is not possible all the time. ELuo may have taken the photograph 34 accidentally. Her arm is visible in the top left corner and in the background there is a lady sitting. Perhaps it was not her purpose to photograph the lady behind her back and it is not clear whether the sitting lady has anything to do with ELuo's *vibarua* laundry. In chapter 5.9 I will write about self-employment more in detail.



Map 3. Mathare, Ngong, Kajiado district.

5.8 Prospects for a better life – education, success and security

Property is needed for success and it can be achieved by working hard – this rule was accepted by all of my informants. But one also needs talent and luck. Without connections, friends, relatives, or sponsors success may not follow from hard work. Cattle and land are property as well as bodily health. Even children are property, SMaa pointed out, because they are future work force. Maasai children are disciplined to be obedient and hard-working. They would not raise their voice at adults and are self-oriented as they willingly participate in all house work be it tidying up or cooking. When Maasai children are greeted they never shake hands with adults. Instead they simply stand and let adults touch the crown of their head. After school they are first occupied with house work and in the evening they do their homework before going to bed. They spend little time for playing. Their life is filled with duties: work and study.

The Olooseos government school charges 3000 shillings for one term of three months, SMaa said. Her elder daughter studies there whereas her younger daughter studies at a private school called Red Soil. Red Soil charges 4000 for one term, not significantly higher than the government school. According to SMaa the teachers of both government and private schools are not corrupt, and neither school directors nor head teachers take bribes. SMaa was pregnant by the time of the interview and she needed to pay hospital bills and consult a doctor once or twice a month. Usually she manages to finance everything by selling items in her street shop. Sometimes her family must sell a cow to cover all the expenses. Selling a cow during the dry season is bad business because then the animals starve, lose weight, and are worth little money if sold. Sometimes beasts may die because of drought. In July 2014 the family had seventeen cows but by January 2015 they had lost one cow and sold three. Some cows had born offspring replacing the lost or sold animals.

Lack of money, ELuo said, prevents her from renovating her home and making it waterproof. Without a sponsor sending her children to school is difficult. At times her children stay at home because she can't afford their school fees. A government school near her rural home is just ten kilometres away in Ndhiwa, a small town in western Kenya. Administrative centre of the area is a major town nearby called Homa Bay. The children walk the distance. It takes about two hours to walk there. The school opens at six in the morning. The children are taken there by some adult like herself, she explained, and then added that she doesn't return home for lunch. She would stay near the school until the classes end. It is a government school with a monthly fee of 500 shillings per each child, she said. Considering the school fees and other expenses and lack of support by the government it may be said that education is an investment for the future, which is a neoliberal point of view: An individual owns natural capital such a health which in the case of ELuo's children among other things means ability to get to the school each day. With money instruction may be received. The natural capital of the children can increase through investment which is payment for the education. But as we have seen, not everyone has money to keep their children at school. If

there is no money, the children will stay at home or just idle around and play outside. Since there is no system in Kenya of social provisions to the poor there remains a gap between the uneducated poor and the educated rich.

A painted school fence in Oloolua has been built from corrugated iron sheets and decorated with A. A. Milne's characters: Winnie the Pooh, Tigger, and Piglet on a green background appear on the iron fence (Fig 24). This school is a "well-performed" private school, RKik said. She had studied elsewhere in a public school. Attending to lessons at public schools is free of charge but the schools charge for other things, she explained. Text books are provided by the school but the families must buy the stationery by themselves. The school may even charge for desks and toilets. She specified that to have desks and lavatory closets built the school would collect money from the families for this purpose. For RKik the photograph of the school is a *simulacrum* representing hope of success through education. CKam had taken a photo of a school fence as well (Fig 25). It would not be easy to guess whether there is school behind the fence but both RKik and CKam were able to put their shots in context and tell me details about primary education in Kenya. They knew why money is always needed even in government schools and what kind of fees are collected. Also MKik had paid attention to education and talents. She provided photographs of children playing football (Figs 28 and 29) and explained that talent is needed for success. Thus she supported the Lockean view (explained in chapter 4.5) that natural capital such as health and talents are keys to success although she may have been unaware of this.

TGir confirmed that the Kenyan public schools collect fees. Head teachers collect the fees and someone else manages them. The fee may be small, she said, in some schools only 500 shillings per month. Some fees may be a source of informal income to the school staff. "Sometimes you're made to pay some fee which doesn't make sense", TGir said, "You know, they have to get money." No school is completely free of charge although there are huge differences. Some private schools may charge as much as 10 000 (100 euros) shillings a term or even more. The school where she is employed charges 118 000 shillings (ca. 1180 euros) for a term of three months.

Unemployment, idling, and hawking of the Kenyan youth was seen by GKik as a result of not trying hard enough:

> Nowadays I feel like people are very lazy. They don't want to work hard. Especially the youth would prefer to go sit on the street and beg than going to someone and work for like a day for two hundred shillings. The youth have become very lazy.

What GKik said about laziness of youth seems to reflect a neoconservative position: it is not the urban planning that results in an idle reserve army of unemployed workers but it is the individuals themselves who simply refuse to work if the urban environment can sustain them anyway. When reminded of the young hard working laundry ladies in Oloolua she estimated that their chances of

finding a well-paying job are very low because they lack education. If one finishes a college or a university degree finding a job becomes easier. “Education matters a lot”, she said, “because it will help you even to know how to communicate with people.” The unemployed youth that she a little earlier had called lazy may be persons with no education because of lack of funds. Slum dwelling teenagers or young women in their early twenties often have a small baby, a husband, little or no education, and no permanent job. If a young lady is married, GKik explained, and has only one baby she may not yet understand how hard life is. If one wants to finish a degree it will have to come from the heart, she went on, and the young ladies probably hadn’t realized yet that life isn’t getting any easier for an uneducated person. Could someone from a slum area finish a university degree and establish a secure position? “It is possible”, GKik said, “If there is someone to fund the studies of that person”. Thus GKik explained the condition of the unemployed youth roaming the streets of Kenyan cities. They are people with no sponsors at all and therefore they belong to the working class precariat whose only chance is to sell their own labour power either as hired or self-employed workers. SMaa in turn wanted to emphasise the importance of foreign visitors by taking a photograph of me as their guest (Fig 46). She specified in her notes (written in Swahili): “because he is our guest it is important for business and other sorts of assistance.” She thus put a picture of me in context by explaining that European foreigners are welcomed since they bring assistance. The photograph is a *simulacrum* representing a positive change in her relationships: a guest from a remote country, a person with a very different background but whom she has gotten to know quite well.

Tatiana Thieme (2013, 402) has observed that getting out of the ghetto is possible in Kenya if there’s a sponsor. Even a secondary level education is hard to obtain in Kenya, GKik explained, because plenty of money is required for all the costs. “But if you come from a wealthy family”, she explained, “then you are okay.” According to her, wealth is a result of hard work, inheritance, and sometimes corruption: “If you are working in a big company, maybe a government company… and instead of making the company grow you put the money in your pocket. So you become rich that way.” Could there be a government funded system of educating everybody in Kenya? Could the government invest in public education for the benefit of all? “There is no one to support that”, Gkik answered. The members of the Kenyan parliament and the ministers of the Kenyan government would be in a position to bring such a change if they only supported and funded a system of equal education for all, she concluded. The Kenyan system of sponsors and personal relationships, as she described it, that can secure the future of Kenyan youth is a paradigm case of neopatrimonial domination. No equal chances are available for everyone. Instead there is a network of politically powerful individuals who have legally defined positions and who sustain a structure that benefits persons with family and friendship ties to the key persons.

It can happen in Kenya that someone is extremely wealthy while his or her family members are languishing in abject poverty. Kenyan National TV had reported, TGir recalled, that Kenya’s former

president Mwai Kibaki has poor relatives living in simple wooden houses. A relative of his shown in the TV programme could well have been recruited, she explained, with Kibaki's help according to his qualifications. And he would have been fine by just making sure not to lose his position. But the report had emphasised that the man who is Kibaki's relative was still living in poverty. However, considering the possibility that Kenya's broadcasting companies are likely to be a part of the same system of sharing benefits within a closed circle managed by powerful individuals one may suspect that the report had been designed to bring Kibaki closer to ordinary Kenyans.

A corrugated iron sheet fence surrounds a private school called Rich Brains Academy (Fig 25). The school is close to the compound in Oloolua where CKam lives. She had written in her notes that "not many people can afford to take their children to private schools". A private school for the children of wealthy families seems unlikely in that area although there are private houses and middle class compounds nearby. The government schools charge no fees, CKam said. She then estimated that teaching standards are higher in private schools because "they are being paid and because the managers of the schools are strict over their employees." The teachers working in public schools give no homework to their pupils and generally neglect proper instruction practices, she continued. They are permanently employed and receive their salary at the end of each month. The teachers working in private schools may have a risk of being fired, CKam explained, whereas the teachers working in public schools don't. There is no one overseeing the public teachers, she concluded.

A group of children play on the courtyard of a working class compound in Oloolua under felt blankets and clothes that have been washed and hung up on clothes lines (Fig 26). Only one of the children is wearing shoes. Since broken glass, rusty cans, and other sharp-edged litter abound in the area outside of the compound where the children are allowed to run one might wonder how many infected wounds they have survived. The children play together and "talk about God" all day long each day at the compound, MKik explained, while their parents are at "bread reach" work. She had added in the notes that the parents leave their children untidy for the whole day when they are looking for "bread reach" jobs. In the evening water must be consumed to clean the soiled clothes of the smallest children. When at home the parents discuss daily matters together and talk about their families and children. She added that the children of that compound are told to stay at home while their parents are out working. The parents may reproach their children if they find out they have been idling elsewhere. Reproaching is bad, she explained, but it would be even worse if the children idle in the streets and get involved in fights.

A vast dry field area spreads behind a thorny leafless bush flouncing with other plants on the roadside guarded by a barbed-wire fence (Figs 27 and 28). Far away there are some buildings, trees, and people on the field. The people on the field, MKik explained, are Oloolua high school students playing football. The students shown in the picture are ten years old, she added. It may be a privately run primary school although she called it "high school". Being good in football is a

talent, MKik stated. Others are good singers she pointed out, and explained that every human has some talent. The students in the photographs are very talented, she said, and concluded that it is good to have some talent. Talented people, she tacitly implied, such as the ones in the photograph will succeed in life. Thereby she seemed to support the Lockean idea of natural capital such as talent or health as keys to success. Children playing at her home compound are contrasted to idling street children on one hand and successful children on the other hand in her story. She may have implied the successful students will proceed and be employed later. The children idling in the streets will have no bright future. The children staying at her home compound will have a hard time finding work unless they go to school. Nevertheless, they won't become outcasts if they stay at home with their community without getting involved in the life of the street children.

A church and a graveyard are barely visible as light escapes from the darkening sky above a low hill neighbouring the Mathare slum settlement in Ngong (Fig 10). Especially on Sundays many people go to the local church for prayer meetings, GKik said. The church provides college-level educational services as well such as catering and handicraft (e.g. manufacturing ear rings) classes and computer classes available at a cheap price for youth that are able to pay the fee. Those who are unable to pay will have no room, she reported. Penniless youth will simply look for employment but without education their chances of succeeding in the formal job sector are low. The only option for them is to roam urban areas and hustle. Some become idlers; others may find work as minibus touts (*makanga*) whose job is to find passengers for minibuses. They swarm in bus stations and anyone using public transportation in Kenya will meet them. Others may become smugglers, bin thieves, or drug brokers. Finding work is possible without getting involved in bad company, GKik said and judged that idling or crime is never the only choice. But pursuing a job without education means that only the hardest jobs will be available, she concluded. The photograph of the church in the darkening night of Ngong is a *simulacrum* representing local development projects managed by a religious association, and it was put in context by GKik who explained how the local churches participate in the development of the area where they stand. Their education services have a price and thus they really do not work against unequal regional development. Churches are often hard to recognise but local people know where they are even if there are no signs telling a church from other structures. Map 3 is a modified Open Street map where most churches of the Mathare of Ngong have been marked only in July 2016 by myself in a conjoined project with an NGO called Map Kibera Trust. I hired three local residents who were able to identify the churches.

The local Catholic congregation is a significant missionary organization and it could provide idle youth with jobs, GKik deemed, e.g. collecting and recycling plastic things. Tatiana Thieme (2013) has observed that slum-dwelling self-organised youth actually do just that. They run informal waste economy in certain areas of Nairobi by recycling urban waste and manage to earn some shillings. The church could recruit and pay salary to the youth but it doesn't. The dumping site just grows. Street boys roam the dumping site, GKik pointed out, and therefore a European, *mzungu*, can be

robbed there of his camera and phone. A non-African has money: “A *mzungu* is *mzungu*. The car speaks.” The priests of the Catholic congregation are mainly non-Africans recruited by the mission. I learned from GKik that the funds for the local churches are often collected from the US where many priests come from. Her account of the church, priests, and the development activities of the church brings to my mind an Engelian idea of wealthy bourgeois citizens who through commodified services attempt to develop the area. Apparently, rich religious bourgeoisie individuals commute from their residential areas or even from abroad to the informal settlement areas of Ngong, where GKik took these shots, and provide services of empowerment to those who are capable of paying for such services at sites where poverty and economic exclusion disillusion people’s lives.

CKam had been in a school “sponsored by European people”. She specified that she is an orphan just like her neighbour (Fig 29) and that she had received funds from an NGO enabling her to finish form four which is the highest grade of secondary studies in Kenya. She is a private school teacher but she had not been able to “go for a higher education”. For those Kenyan students that have finished the form four there are master programmes available but enrolment is expensive. She hopes to be able to finish her degree by working part-time and studying part-time. As a mother of an infant she needs to wait until the baby grows before she can search for a job, she explained. No degree can be pursued free of charge in Kenya and anyone wishing to be educated beyond primary level needs money, CKam concluded. At this point figure 29 represents a moment in the life of a very typical resident of a Kenyan informal settlement. A person who has no relatives but needs to get by on his own. CKam put the image of her neighbour in context by telling me details of his history and current activities. The young man in the photograph is filling his containers just like everyone does whenever water runs from the compound tap. This is done late at night after sunset because everybody is hustling out in the streets, market places, or other compounds all day long until it gets dark.

After the primary education cycle Kenyan youth may choose an artisan trade at a college or a curriculum leading to university studies (Ministry of Education 2008, 6), but unaffordable school fees prevent more than 50 % of the youth from enrolling (Glennerster & al. 2011, 5). The primary cycle can be accomplished in public schools that collect no formal school fees. RKik had finished the eighth grade of the Kenyan primary education curriculum but had no plans of continuing to the secondary cycle. Since finishing school she has been looking for employment “if I get any job I can do”. She had employed herself by selling clothes and groceries at the Ngong market place with her mother (Fig 3). Every Saturday crowds of people gather at the Ngong market square where they sell various items such as second-hand clothes. People spread their items on pieces of water-proof canvas filling the square, and customers navigate through narrow paths left between these instant retail shops. In addition, her mother runs a hairdressing salon in their home compound.

TGir had been walking in slum areas behind workshops of welders (Fig 30). The areas where the welders live are just slums, she said, because [proper] houses are expensive and their prices

go up every day. Slums are overcrowded urban areas with little municipal services and obviously housing in them is poor. Many of the slum dwelling workers are “class eight drop-outs”, she pointed out. Grade eight drop-outs (see Chemwei 2013) have only finished the Kenyan primary education at the age of 14 after which it would be time to choose a career. There is a high school curriculum in Kenya with four grades called “forms” and a technical secondary school for those youth who pursue an artisan profession. The grade-eight drop-outs never enrol. They simply start working as artisans, retailers, or self-employed workers of any trade. TGir explained that the drop-outs usually live in slums because urban living involves high expenses. According to Harvey (1993, 135-141) rent is a manifestation of surplus value and slum areas are located near city centres where the land rents are highest. The slum-dwelling class eight drop-outs may be skilful artisans such as the welders photographed by TGir and they may earn a reasonable income. Nevertheless, they only live in slums. Figure 30 thus is a *simulacrum* providing a view to what’s observable from the street to any passers-by but TGir put the picture in context by explaining what kind of workers spend their days in these street side workshops and where they live. According to her account the workers actually live behind their workshops in dwellings that TGir would call slum homes. The following discussion took place in English (it’s been edited here to save space):

Myself: Do you think they live in cheaper areas?
TGir: Yes, they do. They could even live right behind those houses, there’s a slum.
Myself: Have you ever been walking in those areas?
TGir: Yeah, I have. And most of them are slums, because you know nowadays the houses are very expensive. So the prices of houses are going up every day.
Myself: How do you feel about walking in these areas? The cheap areas with little commodities?
TGir: Well, it’s sad it has to get down to that level, but you see it’s also a question of availability of work, literacy levels, you know some people are class eight drop-outs. Some of these people who are really good at their skill can’t get a white-collar job, you know? Living in the city is expensive right now. So you’ll find that somebody is getting a reasonable income, but they’re still living in the slums. Not in the very down-graded house, but in the middle-graded house. But still in the slum.

TGir seemed to confirm the theory of rent bidding in urban areas. Living in a city gets more and more expensive and the costs get higher all the time. Therefore, the poor must stay in areas cheap enough and use affordable services. Stagnating wages and economic inflation may have an effect on the capacity of working class individuals to pay for all the costs if they live in cities and therefore they must make choices.

Finding a permanent job in Kenya is very hard for people without connections. “You have to know somebody who can direct you there”, GKik said, and added that without knowing someone in

a position the chances of obtaining a permanent job are very small in Kenya. Later I introduced the younger brother of GKik to a possible employer, a company owner that used to be my landlady in Nairobi. Why would I be in a position to promote job applicants? “Because being a white person”, GKik said, “being a white man, Mrs. K can trust you. You’re one of her tenants, you are faithful to her. There’s a good reason why you are taking that person or why you are referring that person to her. ”A *mzungu* can connect people because they think like *mzungu* have a big opportunity”, she added. Non-Africans working in Kenya are regarded as belonging to the top class earners: “If you come here and get a job you’ll be payed nicely and a bigger amount by the government than our people.” Later I learned she was right. Her brother was employed by the company. The job market patrimonialism in Kenya is based on wealth and social power as indicators of trustworthiness. The wealthy are trusted and firmly connected whereas the poor are suspected and disconnected from the formal economy.

5.9 Strategies of rural and urban survival – hawking, hustling, “jua kali”, and “vibarua”

Commodification of the environment and population creates a national economy with a formal and an informal sector. Peasants and nomads become work force, and parts of their traditional living areas are redefined as districts of economic value and privatised. A class of unemployed people emerges and flows from rural areas closer to urban business districts where it hopes to be able to earn money by selling services or goods in a saturated informal sector (see Thieme 2013, 406). The migrants settle down in low-cost areas to minimise costs. Modern formal education becomes important and replaces traditional methods of bringing up children. Some manage to earn enough to fund their living costs and the studies of their children. Money circulates in business districts where formally employed citizens spend their income in bourgeois consumption spaces. According to a government estimate over 75 % of Kenya’s labour force works in the informal sector (Maranga et al. 2010, 8).

JMaa’s mother had been working hard to have him educated. He took his degree in 2009 from Saint Martin’s college. Finishing it had taken eighteen months. Since then he has been working as a self-employed electrician. Occasionally he is recruited for short projects by electric companies such as the Solar Works East Africa, but there are long gaps of several months between contracts. By the time of the interview he had no contract. Being self-employed means running a one-person enterprise that sells services. When not at work as a technician he runs small business like buying and selling cows. At home he helps his family by looking after the domestic animals. He gets paid for the maintenance work that he does for the American neighbours. JMaa explained what self-employment means to rural youth even if they have a college degree:

Myself: Do you have a job as an electrician in a company?

JMaa: I'm self-employed. But five months ago I was on a contract in a company in Nairobi, named Solar Works East Africa.

Myself: What do you mean by being self-employed? What kind of work do you do every day?

JMaa: I'm not under somebody, my schedule relies on me. I'm not under someone's schedule.

Myself: What kind of work do you do?

JMaa: When I'm not in the electricity field I do some businesses, selling and buying livestock. And when I'm not there I help my family at home, I look after the animals.

Myself: And that's how you earn?

JMaa: Yeah. But by helping my family I don't earn anything.

Urban life seems to offer opportunities for many rural migrants. Some can find a way to sort things out and earn money by running street business in the informal sector. IMaa spends his days in the market area working at a table and selling his handicraft items (Figs 21 and 22). He has "come from the Maasai land" and settled down in Dagoretti (a low-cost suburban area near Karen). Every morning he takes a *matatu* ride to the Karen business district and opens his small shop. IMaa has been unable to walk since early age. He explained that for a handicapped person life is easier in an urban area where one can work and earn money. Rural people are helpful but they would often need to carry him around and if this is not possible he would be unable to do much apart from sitting at home. He has been there selling his handicraft items for years and saved some money depositing it in his bank account. Flower retailers (Fig 31) work across the street near his working table and market stall. They will exchange money for him or do him small favours like shopping. They will also look after his market stall if he has to leave it. He uses the washing facilities of the nearby business buildings where the entrance is free although controlled by guards. Figures 20-22 and 31 are thus *simulacra* representing the daily view of a small-scale street enterprise worker. The meaning of the shots was explained by IMaa in his remarks about his co-operation with other self-employed street workers, about the importance of the nearby bank as a place of depositing money, and about the items he manufactures and sells each day. For IMaa the street is his office and other street vendors are his colleagues and team members. There are services available but they are expensive. On the other hand, because of Karen's high prices there are always passers-by likely to carry a personal consumption fund in their wallets which can benefit IMaa as well.

A Kenyan person with a secure position, regular income, and pension benefits is very unlikely to lose his position regardless of his/her performance at work. Others are *hustling*. There are some permanent government jobs and there are elite post holders working in the private sector like physicians and lawyers. A permanent position at the service of the government does not guarantee a high income level. Examples of this are City Council officer jobs and public sector teacher jobs. Informal sector workers making their living outdoors as artisans or small-scale entrepreneurs are colloquially called *jua kali* ("hot sun") workers. According to Tatiana Thieme (2013, 387-396) *hustle*

economy means slum survival but it is also economic opportunism for those with jobs, and a way of escaping the control and surveillance of authorities; among certain slum-dwelling youth of Mathare in Nairobi a *hustler* means a person with freedom and dignity: a *hustler* has neither boss nor office hours and gets by without a permanent job or any paid job at all. A *hustler* may have a temporary contract, TGir said, but a self-employed person is not a *hustler*. She explained that a *hustler* is someone who has been recruited by an employer and can be fired. She slightly blurred this definition in her other remarks by calling shop entrepreneurs *hustlers* although they are self-employed. TGir is a private school teacher and has a position at a school of children from high end families. There are rules that govern employers in Kenya, she said, they can't fire a worker they don't like but "there are some people who actually do that and they get away with it", she added and explained her own position:

> Can you say that I'm employed permanently? I can say that I am. I think it's a contract. And also at any point you see if I make a mistake or if I do something that is like gross misconduct or anything, I go. I'm not indispensable. You see, so that's where the *hustle* comes in, *hustling* to get money. You are trying to get money so that you can survive. You cannot be self-employed and you're a *hustler* because you know you can't fire yourself.

Vibarua (plural for *kibarua*) means casual labour paid by day (see Johnson 1939). *Kazi ya kipande* ("work by card") means working by a contract with a regular salary. *Vibarua* employment practice is mentioned in *Oxford Kiswahili Sanifu 6* (Bakhressa et al. 2003, 5-6), a Swahili learning text book designed for primary education. The book includes an amusing chapter titled *Kazi nzuri ya siku moja* ("A good assignment for a day"). Kenyan men with little or no education commonly look for work at construction sites (Thieme 2013, 398). The construction companies that recruit workers on a *vibarua* basis welcome work force back to work every day until the project is finished. A *vibarua* worker may have plenty of work at times but is bound to uncertainty because each payment may be the last one. Engels (2005 [1892], 26) noticed that labourers in the 19th century England were in a very similar position: "He knows that he has something to-day, and that it does not depend upon himself whether he shall have something to-morrow."

MKik is a young lady who earns her living by doing laundry work while her husband works at construction sites, both working daily on a *vibarua* basis. She works on the courtyard of her home compound where her customers bring their clothes (Fig 4). A neighbour (Fig 29) was photographed by another neighbour, CKam. The man taps water and fills his containers when water is running which usually happens once or twice a week. A padlock has been attached to the tap. Apparently the landlord unlocks the tap when water is available and can be tapped. The neighbour is an orphan, CKam said, "who has come to town to *hustle* for better living". He works on a *vibarua* basis at construction sites. She specified that **"**a *vibarua* worker is a self-employed *hustler*", someone

who “tries to do the kind of job he can get”. Thus figure 29 displays a typical destiny of persons living in informal settlements. CKam put the picture in context by telling me how the man shown in the photo has ended up in Oloolua and what he is doing there. He has roots in rural areas but little property and apparently no sponsors. Therefore, he has chosen to move close to urban business districts to find work and like many other young men he has found temporary work at construction sites on a *vibarua* basis. The importance of trying as a moral principle among the *hustlers* is also observed by Thieme (2013, 400). The young man in figure 29 funds his studies by working *vibarua* and his goal is to become a chef, CKam explained. Working *vibarua* has certain advantages. GKik explained that she can plan her day whereas if she were employed in a government job she would start each day at eight and leave her work at four or five. Free time is important, she added, for someone with a family. No house worker is needed at home.

A *hawker* is a self-employed person who roams urban areas with a portable commercial kit. For instance, highways with a lot of traffic and regular jams abound with walking *hawkers* selling their items to the drivers and passengers. Street users can buy bananas, bottled water, newspapers, and what not from the roaming *hawkers*. The *hawkers* (sometimes colloquially called *hookers*) run their business at their own risk since the City Council expect people to settle down in a spot where their business can be controlled. The roaming *hawkers* are considered a public nuisance and are being kept in check by the police, SMaa explained (translated from Swahili):

> SMaa: Those in the street are arrested, put in a car, and taken to the court because they sell in the street. They don’t want to have hawkers around these days.
> Myself: But if you pay CCES?
> SMaa: Oh yes, and you stay in one spot like us in the market place.
> Myself: Do you show them a receipt?
> SMaa: Oh yes, you can show them a receipt, but it is not good to walk around with your items. They don’t want hawking nowadays. The police arrest these people.

The street entrepreneurs are unhappy paying the CCES as they seem to get no public services in exchange apart from an expiring permission to stay in the street with their items for sale. They are allowed to stay close to business districts where money circulates. Those who cannot afford to pay the CCES of fifty shillings per day take the risk of being arrested as *hawkers*. It is common to see the City Council follow up and arrest escaping *hawkers* in Nairobi. Night guards of nearby office buildings are commonly hired to look after the property of the street retailers. Most items for sale are often simply left on the pavement wrapped up in large pieces of waterproof canvas. Some keep their property in small storage rooms they have rented collectively. The small income of the street entrepreneurs doesn’t allow them to live in areas with adequate public services. They typically live in areas neglected by the government.

A shop of items and services of various sorts is shown in figure 32. The shop owner is “very enterprising”, TGir explained. The lady had set up a salon and started a business of hair dressing services. Later she had started selling clothes, then bags, and eventually even eggs, charcoal, and tomatoes, TGir said. A closer look at the photograph reveals that there are ladies’ garments, bags, bananas, red and yellow onions, cabbage, carrots, eggs, mangos, potatoes, avocados, ginger, and garlic for sale there. The green leaves piled up behind a box of mangoes may be spinach or chard commonly used in a dish called *sukumawiki* (“pushing the week”). In the middle of the photograph there are two shadowy figures; it’s the owner working on the hair of a customer. The goods for sale have been placed outside of the tiny workshop room under the edge of a corrugated iron sheet roof. Apparently there has been the tiny salon at first but the owner has expanded her business activities by investing in garments, bags, and food. Setting up an all-in-one-shop is very clever and enterprising, TGir remarked, because the owner can thus provide services and goods to meet many sorts of needs. But the City Council of Nairobi, she added, expects that even the small scale street entrepreneurs are specific. One must specialize and stick to a certain trade. The goods and the services of that tiny shop belong to distinct categories; they “don’t go together”. How a multi-service-shop can avoid City Council intervention remained unexplained. TGir has her hair washed in that tiny all-in-one-shop and sometimes she would shop there. Any shop business of this sort is *hustling*, TGir explained, but the market strategy of this particular lady is better than just selling items such as vegetables in the street because the all-in-one-business is more flexible and doesn’t depend on goods or services of one category only. Figure 32 provides a view to a typical Kenyan hustling enterprise arrangement although as we learned above TGir wouldn’t call self-employment in the form of small-scale business hustling. She put this *simulacrum* in context by showing how all-in-one-shops do exist in Nairobi although they strictly speaking are against city regulations.

A young woman wearing casual clothes and a short hair which make her look like a young man is shown selling vegetables and fruits in figure 33. Her business premises have been set up behind a barbed-wire fence. The patch of land she occupies may be public but if it is privately owned then she certainly pays rent for its use to a private land owner. In the background there is an unfinished construction project which probably employs a number of *vibarua* workers. On the left behind her market stall there is a building that may serve as working class housing. Under her stall and behind her purple plastic chair there are two blue and transparent water containers; she may sell water as well as the items placed in her market stall. Identifiable items in her stock are carrots, bananas, lime fruits, avocados, mangoes, tomatoes, chard, and butternut squash. She is holding a phone and may be browsing the internet with it or chatting with a friend. ”How does she get by?”, TGir wondered. She wouldn’t gain much profit by selling her goods of low quality. She’d lose money by investing on goods that can’t be sold. The woman has “a sad look”, TGir observed, implying that the woman in the picture may understand the pointlessness of her efforts. Street entrepreneurs like this young woman buy vegetables or other goods from the main market of Nairobi, TGir explained.

Then they try to sell them in their street shops for a profit. The vegetable retailer is a *hustler*, she concluded, a person who works hard trying to get by. Figure 33 as a *simulacrum* represents the life of a street vendor, a typical urban survival strategy followed by many Kenyans. TGir put the image in context by explaining that commonly vegetable vendors working on street sides get their items from large market places. They then exercise small scale capitalism by attempting to add some profit to the prices of the items they have acquired. Farmers bring their vegetables to the market places from their rural farms whereas the street side retailers are often mediators that pursue profit by selling items of interest in other places where there are markets with less competition.

A workshop of street side entrepreneurs (Fig 30) is a very common sight in Nairobi. There are developed residential compounds with slum areas side by side, and street business enterprises cluster along streets to attract customers; the items for sale can be seen from cars. Specific items such as these metal works are being sold outdoors. The entrepreneurs occupy street-side spots where they produce and sell their items and services. The visible location of their workshops and products serves as marketing. The welders apparently target high-end consumers since the price of their gates and metal works seems high, TGir remarked. These workers are skilful at doing good work and they charge high prices. Yet they seem unable to raise their own living standard. They may sometimes appear intoxicated at work, TGir deemed, but they are still capable of producing items of high quality – even *wazungu* (non-Africans) are often interested in their work. The welders produce good end-products and charge high prices but they still look like *hustlers*, she explained; they are poor workers and they need to struggle for survival. The welders live in a slum area right behind the workshops. Because of their low living expenses and high prices, the welders get good returns in spite of the fact that the material they use is costly, TGir summarized. A closer look at the picture reveals two workers in the background. In the foreground there are tables, chairs, and coat racks. A vibratory plate compactor stands on the planking that serves as the floor of the shop. During rain seasons the planks may move and rise and are set back in order with the compactor. On the left in the foreground there is a strange heap of three metal basins with curved legs and an opening with a metal grid in the middle. Gravel riddles?

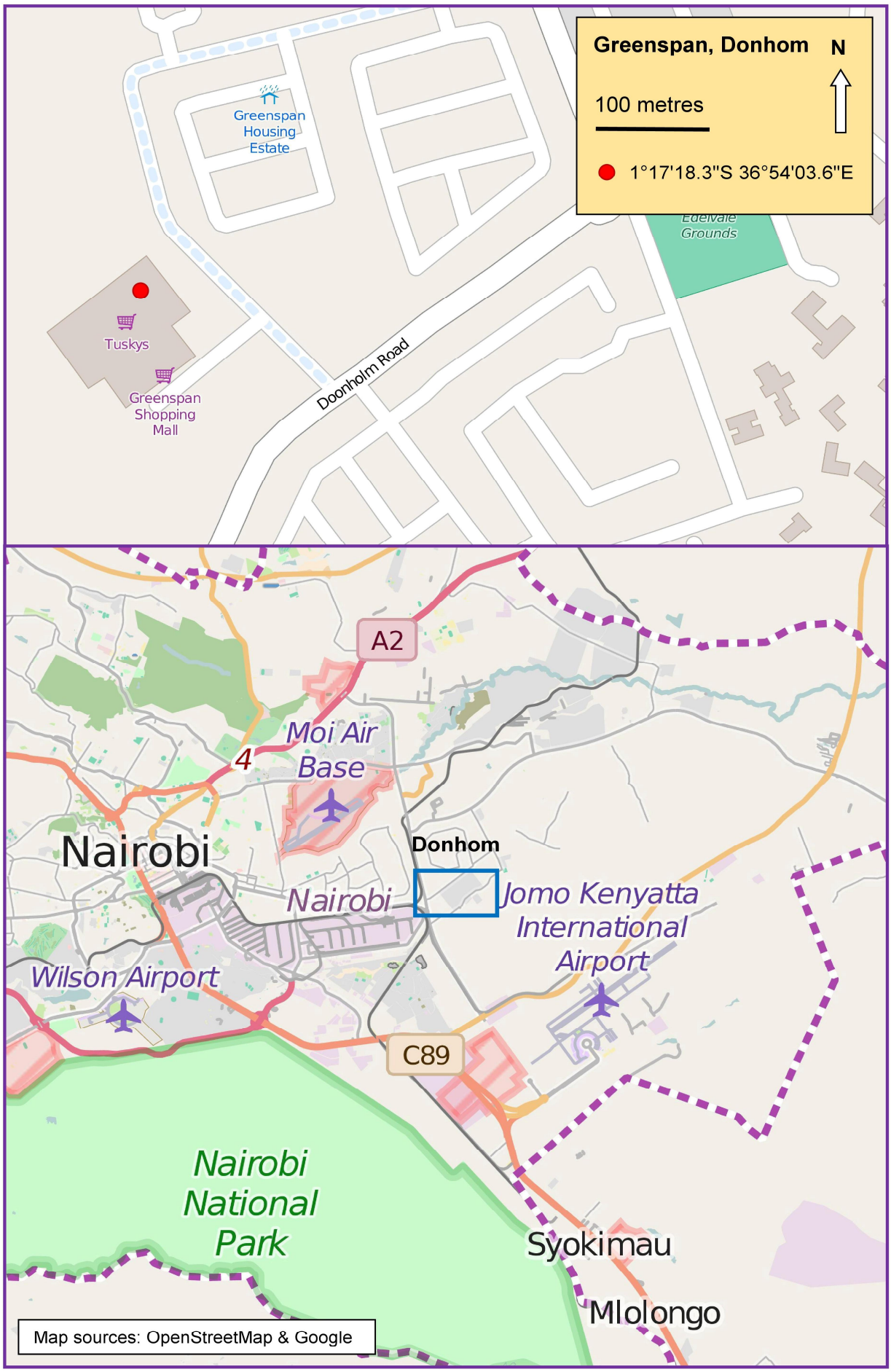
The row houses shown in figures 34-37 look like non-slum working class homes. There is a stone wall surrounding the compound and the white paint on the corrugated iron sheet walls looks new. Robust iron doors guard the entrances of the flats. There appears to be a small garden with trees and smaller garden plants between the corridors. A sitting woman leans her back against a white corrugated iron wall (Fig 34). A working class family poses on the courtyard (Fig 36). Newly washed clothes have been hung above the heads of a man and a woman (Fig. 35). Two children are playing in the background on a corridor of the compound while their mother is standing at the front (Fig 37). The compound is on the Kayole road but there is a bigger road nearby called the Outering road which crosses the Kayole road, ELuo explained. The four pictures were taken after washing clothes in the compound. She, her husband, and possibly the young sitting lady had been

recruited for a *vibarua* laundry project, an assignment for a single day. Two residents had hired them to do a one-day-laundry job at the compound, she said. The clean laundry seems to have been hung on clothes lines by the adults and the children may have been helping them.

A market stall stands in the dark at Jacaranda Stage (Fig 38) that lies about 5 kilometres away from the Outering road in Nairobi, ELuo said. The stall is covered with a torn decrepit waterproof canvas. On the ground in front of the canvas there are some items that look like old dented tin cans. Only a part of the scenery is visible. ELuo explained that there is a couple looking after an orphan child. The couple was selling coal which is poorly profitable business in Nairobi she pointed out. They had begged her to assist the orphan child, she said, but since she had no money either she had just stood there long enough to take the photograph. Selling coal in the street yields hardly more than one hundred shillings a day, she estimated, whereas street baking or vegetable retail business are much more profitable market strategies.

A market stall with tomatoes and vegetables of different kinds stands in the Donhom market area of Nairobi (Fig 39). A lady wearing a red tracksuit top and a grey pair of trousers stands and looks directly at the camera in front of a large greyish purple and weathered sunshade. On the right side a vegetable retailer wearing a brown-and-white and worn-out cap with an A-logo on his head guards his tomato and onion stock. Another retailer is standing under the sunshade and managing her items – possibly she is packing up vegetables for her customer, the lady with the red tracksuit top. A blue Isuzu pick-up behind her back is parked in the background. A deliveryman may have been hired collectively by the retailers to bring vegetables and fruits with the Isuzu pick-up to the market place. No pavement covers either side of the market stalls and the streets are dusty. During rainy seasons the dusty streets turn into long sticky mud pies that stain boots and clothes. The photograph looks like having been taken from a low angle, ELuo explained, because she had been sitting on the edge of a market stall at the moment of capturing the scenery. A few minutes earlier she had bargained a good deal for tomatoes – only ten shillings, she happily remarked.

A lady is selling chard that she keeps tied up in bundles under a big purple-coloured sun shade (Fig 40). The market area is called “Mara Savannah shopping centre”. The sunshade is decorated with a crown logo and faded characters on its purple canvas spell “King’s Collection”. A front page of an old newspaper with a heading text reading “representative” is partly visible under the chard leaves. There is a pink mug and a yellow basin with a waved rim in front of the lady. She seems to be lifting a yellow flag with her left hand. Behind her back there is a white pick-up across the street and a grey brick wall with a single door. The pick-up probably belongs to a deliveryman hired to serve the vegetable retailers in the market area. ELuo mentioned that there is a Total petrol station nearby. By zooming in with an open access satellite imagery service it is easy to observe that near Donhom’s Total Petrol station a business centre with several banks and a supermarket occupies a plot. The vegetables of this retailer look good and would be worth buying, ELuo estimated.



Map 4. Donhom, Nairobi.

A young small-scale entrepreneur bakes *chapati* bread (flat wheat bread) in a market area called Greenspan shopping centre in Donhom (Fig 41). Greenspan is about three kilometres away from the Outering road. A supermarket called Tusky's is nearby, ELuo remarked. This young man with his small one-man-enterprise keeps his eggs in a blue egg tray and flour in a paper bag. A black notebook apparently for recording sale has been placed on top of the eggs. He has placed small buns in plastic bags to be flattened and baked later. In the white container visible under his table he probably keeps water. On the working table in front of him there is a rolling pin and two mugs. On another table where he keeps his eggs he has finished *chapati* breads carefully placed on top of a tray lined with aluminium foil, and a red non-stick Teflon kettle with a lid and a ladle. Some baked and cooled down *chapati* breads have been placed in thin black plastic bags for customers.

Baking and selling *chapati* is good street business, ELuo pointed out, because it is cheap and easy to start. There will be no shortage of customers because people passing by will often stop for a *chapati* meal. One would need to invest in a *jiko* (a portable stove), a *karai* (a basin), baking oil, a pan, two trays, flour, salt, and a sack of coal. These items would be affordable for 7000 shillings, she calculated. She said nothing about the CCES (the street spot rent) which would add up to the daily costs unless one wants to try the *chapati* business as a mere *hawker*. The street enterprises start from a scratch as people occupy street side spots and set up their shops.

ELuo never used the words *vibarua* or *jua kali* or *hustle* as she clarified that her husband has *hakuna kazi anatafuta tu kazi ya mijengo* ("no job, just keeps looking for construction work"). She had employed herself by running a small scale street business and selling vegetables and fruits. The family had tried to educate their four children in Nairobi but were unable to afford the school fees and other expenses. Recently ELuo has moved with her children back to their rural home in a village called Ndhiwa near Homa Bay, a major city in western Kenya, while her husband remains in Nairobi.

5.10 What is poverty and how to escape it?

City dwellers may only partly or not at all understand the living conditions of persons belonging to a different income class. There are three wealth classes in Kenya, GKik said: the rich, the poor, and the middle class. She placed herself in the middle class on grounds that she has "a shelter". By a *hustling* business as a self-employed massage therapist she is earning enough shillings (about 20 000 per month) to say she doesn't belong to "the poor class". While working in the field with the disposable camera she learned that there actually are many Kenyan people living in dwellings built from waterproof "polythene paper" (a Kenyan expression for plastic film) on top of mere garbage. She had felt shocked to understand that there are people with no other choice than to settle down in dumping sites. She went to the dumping site of Ngong with her brother (here I have edited the text and removed the name of her brother) to take photographs:

Myself: So why was that so shocking?
GKik: 'Coz I didn't know that – as much as I knew there were people who were living in Mathare, I didn't know that there were people who were living on the top of the garbage. Yeah, and I keep telling *my brother* "Oh, this is sad! This is sad!"
Myself: Why did you think it is sad?
GKik: It's sad to see people living on top of the garbage. You know, just think how the garbage normally stinks and smells, you know? And all the flies and…

GKik mentioned she has never visited Kibera, the famous slum area in Nairobi. She added a few interesting details of the ownership relations in Mathare of Ngong. The situation there seems to be similar with that of Kibera where she hadn't been, just passed. In Kibera some residents claim ownership of the housing structures and sub-let them to the rest of the residents (Mutisya & Yarime 2011, 203-9). However, because she lives in Ngong and has visited the Mathare area where she has friends she has an idea about who owns the structures and land there:

GKik: I guess like in Mathare there are people who own houses there.
Myself: So they have bought the houses?
GKik: Yeah or maybe there are people who like started it. So they own like two, three, four, five houses, so they rent them out. Yeah.
Myself: Has the area previously belonged to the government or some private owners?
GKik: No, to the government.
Myself: So the government has sold some patches of that area?
GKik: I'm not sure about it. Because one time the Mathare was supposed to be moved from that place. I don't know what happened. They never moved them. Yeah. Because they normally say that that is a government area.

She thus testified that there had been plans of eviction which had never been accomplished by the government. The government could help the slum-dwelling youth, she thought, by relocating them and it could facilitate job searching for those willing to work for their living. She then explained her opinion about the possibilities available to the government:

If the government was to remove the whole thing and the structures because the area belong to them. Or if not that if the government was to remove the whole thing and build nice houses there and give them, you know, give the Mathare people the houses and nice living, you know, like build a nice living condition for them. That will be a nice thing for the people who are living there.

A small shop called “Mama Njeri’s animal feeds shop” by the local residents (Fig 42) has been built from turquoise corrugated iron sheets. Wanjeri is a Kikuyu name for girls (Benson 2001, 560). Parents of children are addressed by using the name of their firstborn. A metal grid fortified with an iron mesh guards the small twisted window opening of Mama Njeri’s shop. Wooden frames have been installed with screws to keep the grid and mesh in place. Among the items Mama Njeri has for sale there are loaves of bread, jars with sweets, and plastic bags filled with fried buns (*andazi*) hanging from the ceiling. Partly behind all the loaves and jars there is a white plastic canister that probably contains cooking oil. The jars and loaves have been placed on top of a coarse plank table with an irregularly wavy metal sheet top that in turn has been covered with a white piece of canvas. Cardboard boxes and other items can be identified on the shelves of the shadowy interior. There is an advertisement of a laundry detergent brand attached to the iron sheet wall on the right side of the window opening. Figure 42 as a *simulacrum* was then put in context by CKam who by taking a photo of it demonstrated the difference between property owners and those who only have their labour force for sale. Even though the shop is small and shanty it is still property including goods for sale and security structures.

The photograph of Mama Njeri’s mini shop “shows the difference between the rich, the middle class people, and the poor”, CKam remarked. Mama Njeri is an example of a middle class person who manages her own mini shop. “People cannot be on the same level”, she stated, “We have to have those who are rich, the middle class, and also the poor”. Wealth classes exist “because of the difference in the way people do their work or the situation they find themselves in life”, CKam, a *hustler* herself, concluded. It is the responsibility of the government to create jobs she pointed out, for those who are idle, especially young men. Rich people and foreign countries should create jobs in Kenya as well. Creation of jobs would reduce the number of poor people, she explained. CKam didn’t thus seem to defend the neoconservative position. She appeared to think that poverty can result from adverse luck and because this is so people with power and resources ought to take responsibility to alleviate poverty. Job creation as a solution to poverty reduction reflects a form of welfare philosophy based on employment: everyone should have a job and enjoy a living wage.

A hen walking on the courtyard of a working class settlement (Fig 43) symbolises struggle for a better life. The hen is kept by some of the residents “no matter their low living standard”, CKam said. Thus the photo of the bird is a *simulacrum* put in context by CKam who explained that the hen represents a class society to the locals who know that if someone can afford domestic animals that person cannot live in abject poverty. Fortune hasn’t treated her neighbours equally: “In this plot not many are rich”, she estimated, “Some are middle class people and some are in the poor class people”. Personal work for success is important. For example, the neighbours are making an effort to keep fowl stock. How to classify wealth classes? The rich have a lot of money and encounter no problems, she thought, whereas the life of the self-employed *hustlers* is often harsh. Because of

lack of money the poor people skip meals, she explained. A *vibarua* worker is a roaming job hunter, CKam specified, who constantly looks for opportunities for paid work but does not succeed every day.

In Kenya there are top class consumers, middle class, low and very low income consumers. The dominant supermarket chain in Kenya for high-end customers is Nakumatt, TGir mentioned. Working class consumers prefer entering the supermarkets of Uchumi ("profit") chain because of the lower prices there. The minimum wages of the Kenyan working class are defined by the Ministry of Labour of Kenya (see Kenya Law 2013). 43 % of the Kenyan adult work force is estimated to be employed in unpaid work (Andalón & Pagés 2008, 6). The official unemployment rate in Kenya was 40 % in December 2011 (Trading Economics 2015). The unemployment rate among working-age youth can be as high as 76 % (Thieme 2013, 392).

Daily diet distinguishes working class individuals from top class consumers in Kenya. Meat is a luxury good. Working class people prefer a vegetarian diet which commonly consists of milky tea with sugar, *ugali* and *sukumawiki* (maize porridge with fried spinach or chard). Chapati-bread, rice, potatoes, beans, and tea are common ingredients. Rarely the working class families eat chicken, lamb, goat meat, or cow stomach. Luxury products sold at malls and high end supermarket stores are priced beyond affordability for the working class. Street food is available in all market places and along street sides. Common types of street food are roasted ears or kernels of maize, smoked sausages and boiled eggs, flat chapati bread with tea, bean and potato stew. Fresh fruits and vegetables can be bought from hawkers or street shops. Shanty sun shades have been erected from simple wooden structures and tarpaulins to create street side restaurants. Work in the street side restaurants is often divided: some work as waiters, others cook stew or bake chapati, some collect money.

A young man holds a baby wrapped up in a cloth in his arms (Fig 44). It is dark after sunset. The man has finished his work and taken the baby along to a shopping walk. There's a butcher shop on the Muriithi Street in Oloolua. "Even if the poor earn little money", CKam remarked, "They strive to live good life". The man has no permanent job but he would still care for his family. CKam proved with her following argument that dignity is not uncommon among the working class people: "Now you see", she passionately reasoned, "he was going to buy meat and for us meat is known to be brought by those who are rich." The young man is just a *kibarua* person but he minds for his family, she concluded. The image of the man with his baby as a *simulacrum* was put in context by CKam to whom it represented two things: first, men don't usually look much after babies but it does happen sometimes even among the working class families; secondly, the man spending money to buy expensive food seemed extraordinary and therefore CKam estimated it worth mentioning here implying that whenever men contribute to such costs it is very rare that they would buy meat.

A land cruiser has been parked next to an area called Gikuyu Close (Fig 45). According to TGir that area is not slum although the houses there are just simple wooden houses. The car is nearly

always parked there, she remarked. Why would someone wealthy enough to buy a “prado” live in a working class residential district? The simple wooden houses stand next to a building called Filly Duplex shown in the background. It is a block of flats for consumers who are able to pay a monthly rent of over 55 000 shillings. The residents of the wooden house wouldn’t be able to afford a land cruiser. “The car and the house don’t go together”, TGir said. Someone with a very expensive car wouldn’t live in a simple working class neighbourhood. The wooden house is a working class home with small apartments in a one-floor row house. The roof is made of corrugated iron sheet with red paint which is now worn-out and allows moisture to corrode its paintless lacunas. The window openings with wooden frames are fortified with iron grids. Trousers, bed sheets, and other clothes have been hung on a clothes line above the front bumper of the land cruiser. One end of the row house has been built from bricks and the other one from wooden planks. There is neither a garden nor a pavement nor any decorative or protective gravel in the front yard. There is nothing besides an unattended ground. The owner of the car may have allowed his driver to park it here where the latter perhaps lives, TGir explained, or the car owner might also be a brother lending the vehicle to a family member with a lower income level. The image of the land cruiser as a *simulacrum* was put in context by TGir. Residential areas can be identified as belonging to certain wealth classes on the basis of elements associated with the areas. If there is something unusual like the land cruiser in a working class area one may start wondering why an unexpected element is part of a particular milieu where it doesn’t seem to belong.

There are poor people living in dumping areas simply because they have no money to seek for a better environment, GKik pointed out. Some people are born in the dumping areas, she went on, and their parents may have been unable to educate their children. In the Mathare slum settlement of Ngong parents and four children usually live in a single room together. A family known to GKik lives there; the father works *vibarua* at construction sites and his wife washes clothes every day. If a person grows up there and receives no education he would still want to move out of his parents’ house and look for another room there, she said. The rent for a Mathare dwelling varies between 500 and 2000 shillings a month but there are persons unable to afford living there. Such people build their homes on top of dumping sites. Living in a dumping area is free because no one owns that area; and those who live permanently in the dumping areas are either street children or street roaming youth, Gkik explained.

Many rural people look for work in town districts and it can be helpful but it’s not luxury SMaa affirmed thereby giving support to the theory of employment opportunities as an explanation of informal settlements. Especially people with no property have a harsh life, she clarified. Her family has some cattle but only reluctantly would they give up cows to keep their children in school if they manage to pay for all the expenses without selling any animals. A truly wealthy Maasai family owns dozens of cows and sheep, sometimes more than a hundred domestic animals. Every year there

may be casual losses of animals because of drought. Hyenas can also be a threat. And sometimes cows are sold because of health issues of family members.

Why are marginalised individuals living in poverty? There can be many reasons, SMaa said. It can be illness, lack of work, or lack of education. What can such people do to survive? One can always look for work such as washing clothes or farming. If you work you can get money to use, SMaa explained, but if you get some support "you can push life further". She told me a story about a man called Kim who'd spend his time in Karen. Kim was utterly poor, unemployed, and had nothing. But a man called "Mr. Karen" helped Kim by donating him 500-1000 shillings every day. Sometimes "Mr. Karen" would hire Kim to wash his car and pay 1500 shillings for the job. One day Kim had told "Mr. Karen" that he really doesn't want to be donated 1000 or 2000 shillings each day. Instead he would want to work or to do business. Then he had just asked "Mr. Karen" to buy him a motorcycle. He would start a taxi business and charge his customers for rides. Kim got his bike and since then he has been doing fine, SMaa finished her story.

It is noteworthy in this story related by SMaa that it never crossed her mind that the government in general or City Council officials would have any role in helping people to escape poverty traps. It may not be a mere coincidence that a wealthy private donor was her example of an opportunity to rise from poverty. Secondly, if a someone has property which can be used for seeking profit by offering services such as motorbike rides that have markets in the urban areas, then that person will be able to self-employ and earn money. Those who do not have enough property are destined to sell their labour force just the way the man called Kim had been doing before hitting the jackpot and getting a bike from his sponsor. He didn't want to be dependent of luck to get money every day but rather hoped to earn his living independently. He wanted to be able to do small scale business in an urban area. If there is money and if there are consumers but if the informal sector is already saturated and if all the formal sector jobs are only available to those persons who have adequate connections to individuals with power, then it seems natural that self-employment very often means small-scale street business enterprise activities with items with markets for sale or services with demand offered and are worth trying in bourgeoisie consumption spaces such as the business district of Karen.

6. Discussion

6.1 How did I do in general?

As I progressed in my study, I found that the planning of my research had been insufficient, which lead me to be distracted and unfocused at times. Therefore, I needed to reconsider my approach, theoretical framework, research questions, and my real contribution to this particular study area. Gradually it became easier to specify a methodology that would serve my efforts and formulate meaningful arguments, and for this I needed and received help from my supervisor.

In the chapter about first-hand experiences of the conditions of the working class in Kenya I say nothing about my own experiences although while conducting my field work I stayed for a month in a working class residential area in Oloolua near Ngong town. Occasionally on weekends I visited Kona Baridi near Kiserian town. My own ideas about life in Kenyan working class residential areas would, however, be those of an outsider. Staying with the local people allowed me to find reliable informants that were willing to contribute to my work. It thus promoted my initial plan of arranging a participatory field routine with original sources of information.

Interviewing persons from different areas and classes immediately reveals that Kenyans know little about other Kenyans' life and living conditions. We can attempt to decipher the testimonies of our informants as representing a part of the narrative concerning the emotions and thoughts of persons living close to the margins or outside of the formal economy in Kenya but we should not expect that we could easily find a uniform story of the living conditions of the Kenyan working class people. We can gather specific details and record interpretations provided by our informants to complete a puzzle that eventually yields a neat picture. However, while putting the pieces together we should be prepared to admit that we may have obtained a collection of pieces that belong to several different pictures. The final interpretation is ours but it may be partly or even completely fictitious.

6.2 Specified problems and proposed solutions

During the initial stage of collecting data and finding informants, I realized that while friends were rather easily persuaded to become informants, strangers often either refused or asked for a substantial compensation. My main problems can be formulated into the following questions: How to avoid data distortion while sampling? How to fortify the credibility of my methodology?

Were I to conduct this study again, I would be more systematic in arranging the collected data and specify my parameters in advance to classify informants by age, gender, profession etc. Even without quantifying the results this would probably help me to understand some of the answers. However, I still defend my initial conviction that tacit, informal, and unsystematic background work in the field is very helpful before establishing a systematic field routine. The method of convenience also promotes security because a successful building-up of connections yields a network of loyalty. People are often more willing to help persons known to their friends and relatives than complete strangers, and they are more inclined to pass on information about potential risks or dangers. The process of finding informants reveals how information is passed on among people: friends may be included into a restricted circle of audience and granted access to more detailed information than strangers.

I learned that using a disposable camera in the field may be challenging. Therefore, I would use more resources to prepare my informants to fulfil their tasks. I would obtain a disposable camera for each informant instead of circulating only two cameras between several persons. I would teach

all informants to use the cameras properly by sacrificing a few first shots in the film. And the same applies to filling in the question form. I would have its language checked in advance and I would try to make sure that my informants find the questions meaningful.

I noticed while going through the pictures and interviews that I sometimes had misunderstood simple details my informants talked about during the interviews. If developed photographs of the sceneries under discussion had been available, I would have saved time and probably been able to obtain more precise and profound answers. Thus today I would prefer to have all the films and pictures developed and available by the time of the interviews. In theory I could very well meet and instruct ten informants a day and send them all out to do their part; I could receive the films two days later and have them developed within another two days; I could conduct 20-40 interviews and be ready within two weeks. But in practice that is not how it works because there will be delays and because hiring informants needs to be preceded by a period of getting connected. A trained and organised team of field workers could accomplish everything fast and efficiently but their point of view would then be that of professionals instead of being a genuine local understanding of the circumstances under study.

I am a fairly confident speaker of Swahili but my overall vocabulary and understanding of local circumstances in Kenya is very limited. Because of this fact I would today hire an interpreter to help me understand the answers of such informants that prefer using Swahili or the colloquial sheng.

Knowing someone in advance helps to create confidence. This is one of the reasons I defend the method of convenience for sampling. Yet intimacy may sometimes give rise to other problems. At times I noticed that I was told rumours about my informants either by other informants or other persons knowing them. Some even used indignation as a rhetoric effect. I thus every now and then found myself in a difficult position of choosing between partiality and neutrality.

Discretion in intimate matters is a moral principle that must be respected while asking questions about the life and work of anyone. However, discretion sometimes prohibited me from asking direct questions about the conditions of slum life. There are neither obvious photographs nor any explicit descriptions of abject poverty among the material produced by my informants. Does this indicate that my informants see nothing like that in Kenya or does it simply mean that because of my own vagueness they failed to document unpleasant sceneries?

I may have partially failed to fully appreciate all the required steps that ought to be taken into account while engaging in a discourse analysis to reveal intertextual subtleties. How to deal with lies and opinions rising from superstitious beliefs or ignorance of such facts that are known to me? Wouldn't they actually affect the answers of my informants? Assessing these questions must not be neglected. Little can be done to filter true propositions among all the statement forming the body of the interviews. Contradictory, exaggerated, or even false statements are a genuine part of the overall narrative in which the daily experiences, ideas, and emotions of the assistants manifest themselves. Distinction between true and false propositions thus seems irrelevant. All the answers

of my field assistants represent meaningful propositions although some may lack existing referents outside of the realm of their experiences. Even though I at times completely failed to understand some remarks of my informants my poor understanding is not a proof that their utterances would be void of meaning.

7. Conclusion

I have reached the end of this study and it is time to make concluding remarks.

7.1 Answers and a review of results

The von Thünen-explanation to the existence of informal settlements is competitive bidding for land use: employment opportunities are concentrated in urban centres where land rents are higher. As a result, the poor concentrate in congested areas of low rent and inadequate services. Variations of the von Thünen -theory are the housing and land-cost theory, the employment theory, and the amenity theory.

There are two kinds of bourgeois responses to poverty issues: neoliberal and neoconservative. The neoliberal approach maintains that poverty results from lack of development; it is believed that the ghetto problem can be addressed and solved by modifying urban development planning with inclusive social policies.

A neoconservative explanation is that liberal social policies lead to social problems including poverty issues and crime, and a remedy would be adding legal retributive responses for idling.

The liberal urban planning approach to alleviate poverty issues sometimes emphasises state-interventionism (reflecting Ordo-liberalism) and sometimes scorns it (reflecting neoliberalism). The non-interventionistic variation explains poverty issues by referring to a patrimonial system of state administration that it labels ineffective and thoroughly corrupt. The solution would be to transform patrimonial state institutions into legal-bureaucratic bodies that advocate both legalism and market liberation. The interventionist variation of this mind-set maintains that all market liberation policies exacerbate poverty issues and allow predatory capitalism to take over. Therefore, the state must have a role in advocating social policies that benefit slum-dwellers.

A traditional Marxian explanation to the existence slum areas is that city and state regulations are dictated by a politically active and powerful capitalist class that directs the legislation for its own benefit. A neo-Marxian version of this approach is the theory of exclusionary zoning maintaining that negative externalities are pushed into low-income areas where the poor stay; they are unable to resist the urban development which is detrimental to the landless reserve army of labour force and regulated by the capital owners.

We may not have adequate grounds for expecting permanent results in poverty eradication or reduction if neoliberal urban development programmes are followed. However, there certainly is a moral imperative to alleviate the harsh aspects of living conditions in all slum settlements afflicting

disempowered individuals. But I am unable to foresee any future change in the conditions of slum dwelling urban populations wherever neoliberal policies of urban planning are applied. Working class individuals, as I am convinced, go on living where they live because they are denied access to other places or simply cannot afford to stay anywhere else. They produce their own narratives about their living conditions.

Some of my informants had witnessed and experienced insecurity and violence in the areas where they live. None of them seemed to be in very friendly terms with the municipal authorities. With one exception they were all working *vibarua* which is a colloquial expression for sporadic employment. However, even the informant with a steady income emphasised that her position is not secure because she can be fired. Thus she classified herself as a *hustler*, a person who works hard to get by.

All my informants paid attention to the spirit of *hustling* as a philosophy of urban survival. With roots firmly in their rural homes most of my informants seemed capable of taking advantage of the opportunities offered by urban markets and benefits of essential municipal services although they also had many stories and opinions about abuse, corruption, lack of opportunities, and shortage of services. Some of my informants observed that lack of opportunities often follows from a total lack of connections combined with an impaired capability of working. However, even then there may be some chances although an unconnected individual needs to start from the lowest level. They all took fascinating photographs of details and practices of *hustling* in Nairobi and nearby areas. They shared with me their thoughts about and emotions towards surviving, working, and living in or near informal settlements.

My informants took photographs of market sceneries, neighbourhoods, rural life and domestic animals, farms and fields, school walls with paintings, details of home decorations and compound structures, cars, retail workers in markets and shops, family settings, a bank, a gate of a recreation club with restricted access, and working class persons at their work, walking and shopping, tapping water, or standing at the entrance of a working class residential compound. What is not featured in their shots are municipal officials, wealthy citizens, inner parts of school compounds or recreation centres, details of private homes, persons suffering from the consequences of social exclusion or outright abject poverty, and cripples; there are (not surprisingly) no pictures of thieves or robbers although they sometimes mentioned that such persons exist and occasionally need to be dealt with. Neither social insecurity nor despair is mediated in the sceneries they photographed although many of my assistants talked about the hardness of life and hopelessness of finding a secure or well-paid job.

The photographs produced by my Kenyan informants are *simulacra* in the Baudrillardian sense that they represent parts of Kenyan working class life. The images were verbally put in context by the persons who took the photographs and explained to me what the shots meant to them. The representations they see in the details of their shots are based on their own personal histories as

Kenyan citizens. While analysing their shots and accounts it was sometimes possible for me to identify reflections of some of the academic urban planning discourses that I reviewed in chapter 4. Sometimes my informants had more liberal and sometimes conservative ideas about the reasons of unemployment. Most of them seemed to hold that the Kenyan government should have a role in urban planning and many even proposed some actions that the government should take. And all my informants were explicit enough in seeing a class society in which some are destined to hustle while others enjoy a secure position.

7.2 Final remarks and suggestions

My field period was a fascinating opportunity for making a conjoined effort with Kenyan working class persons to understand and document some aspects of the local living and working conditions that they are exposed to every day. The process of writing this thesis has also taught me valuable things about modern methodologies and theories of human geography.

My study contrasts formal discourses of development and their quest for urban improvement with insights of local persons who experience and observe how things in fact stand in the places that form their daily living and working environment. A more detailed participatory study including dozens of Kenyan informants with a wider range of social positions would probably yield a different picture of how the conditions and places of the working class life in Kenya are perceived by the local people. In my study class distinctions are recognised by my informants but they exist in the background as a fact rather than something that should be changed. Slum life and insecure self-employment appear to be identified by my informants as normal though often undesirable aspects of life. Several articles could be written from the point of view of the locals each applying different methodologies in data collection routines by mixing methods and making more use of volunteered geographical information or crowdsourcing (see Sui & DeLyser 2012, 113 fwd).

Acknowledgements

Working on this master's thesis took me two years although in between there were periods of other activities that kept me busy. If my earlier stay in Kenya is taken into account, then the process took longer: from August 2012 to October 2016. However, before my stay in Kenya I had already been introduced to the very inspiring works of David Harvey and other prominent urban geographers during the lectures given by professor Harri Andersson, now retired from his post as a leading figure in urban geography at the University of Turku.

I am deeply grateful to all my local Kenyan informants who took all the photographs and shared with me their ideas about the life of the Kenyan working class people. During the process many of my informants became my friends. I also want to thank my family, Pieta, Samrawit, and Lukas, who patiently allowed me to pursue a master's degree in geography which involved periods of travelling

to Kenya and Turku from our hometown Vaasa. My dear wife Pieta also helped me to formulate some of the questions to be used in the interviews and proofread the manuscript.

PhD Mikko Joronen and PhD Toni Haapanen shared their valuable ideas by the time I was planning my field work in Kenya. Toni Haapanen suggested that a prepared question form would help me to conduct interviews if I wish to write something about the issues I am interested in. And it was Mikko Joronen who first suggested that a photo elicitation routine with semi-structured theme interviews would work when he heard what kind of research plans I had in my mind. Mikko also suggested interesting reading material for learning about neoliberalism. Geography student Helmi Seppälä helped me to focus on the objectives and methodology of my study by asking many well-targeted questions about my plan. Sara Peltonen and Katri Gadd, doctoral students in geography by the time I am writing this, gave me useful feedback and encouragement by reading parts of my work while I was in the midst of the writing process. PhD Sanna Mäki helped me to arrange my thesis and follow all the standard academic writing guidelines approved of by the Department of Geography and Geology of the University of Turku. And my supervisor and teacher, professor Hille Koskela, rescued a master-level geography student (myself) who already had chosen a topic and collected material for his evolving thesis. I am grateful to her for being so very flexible and sincerely interested in my work. I want to express my warm gratitude to Françoise Deraedt who proofread the Latin abstract. Winnie Kemunto, Delvin Suopelto, and Timme Themor helped me to write an abstract in Swahili as well for which favour I am deeply grateful to them. Any errors and mistakes are mine only.

My field work period in Kenya between the 5th of July and the 13th of August 2014 was partly funded by Vertaisrahasto (http://www.vertaisrahasto.fi/). I am grateful to the persons contributing to the sum through the website of the foundation.

References

Informants interviewed for this study

1. SMaa = a Maasai woman (age 30) interviewed on 7 July 2014 in Kona Baridi.
2. JMaa = a Maasai man (age 26) interviewed on 9 July 2014 in Kona Baridi.
3. IMaa = a Maasai man (age 52) interviewed on 15 July 2014 in Karen.
4. ELuo = a Luo woman (age 30) interviewed on 18 July 2014 in Karen.
5. TGir = a Giriama woman (age 32) interviewed on 24 July 2014 in Karen.
6. CKam = a Kamba woman (age 19) interviewed on 25 July 2014 in Oloolua.
7. RKik = a Kikuyu woman (age 19) interviewed on 26 July 2014 in Oloolua.
8. MKik = a Kikuyu woman (age 21) interviewed on 28 July 2014 in Oloolua.
9. GKik = a Kikuyu woman (age 35) interviewed on 5 August 2014 in Ngong town.

Map sources

The maps included in this master's thesis have been modified from open access sources: Google Maps (https://www.google.fi/maps/) and OpenStreetMap (https://www.openstreetmap.org).

Published sources

Acemoglu D & Robinson JA 2010. "Why Is Africa Poor?" in *Economic History of Developing Regions*, Vol 25 (1) 2010.

Amnesty International 2009. *Kenya – The Unseen Majority: Nairobi's Two Million Slum-Dwellers*, Amnesty International Publications, http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR32.

Amnesty International 2010. *Insecurity and Indignity – Women's Experiences in the Slums of Nairobi*. Amnesty Int. Publ., http://amnesty.org/en/library/info/AFR32/002/2010/en.

Amnesty International 2012. *Kenya Submission to the United Nations Human Rights Committee for the 105th session of the Human Rights Committee (9-27 July, 2012)*. Amnesty Int. Publ., https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2013/11/07/Submission_1.pdf.

Andalón M & Pagés C 2008. *Minimum Wages in Kenya*. IZA Discussion Paper no. 3390. Forschungsinstitut zur Zukunft der Arbeit; Institute for the Studyof Labor. Bonn.

Ashkin R et al 2014 = "What Do We Know About the Kenyan Poor and Their Use of the Private Health Sector?", *Private Sector Innovation Programme DFID for Health* (PO6240) by Cardno Emerging Markets (UK) Ltd & Oxford Policy Management, prepared for the Department of International Development.

Bakhressa SK & Islam IK & Waititu FG 2003. *Kiswahili Sanifu 6*, Oxford University Press, Kenya.

Benson TG 2001 [1964]. *Oxford Kikuyu-English Dictionary* reprinted from 1964 ed. Nairobi.

BCR 2010 = *The Blackwell City Reader*, 2nd ed. by Bridge G & Watson S, Wiley & Blackwell, Singapore.

BE 2014 = McLeay M, Radia A, Ryland T. *Money creation in the modern economy*, The Bank of England, Quarterly Bulletin 2014 Q1.

Brenner N & Theodore N 2010. 'Cities and the Geographies of "Actually Existing Neoliberalism"', BCR 2010 = *The Blackwell City Reader*, 2nd ed. by Bridge G & Watson S, Wiley & Blackwell, Singapore, pp. 411-418.

Bridge G & Watson S 2010, *Introducing Materialities* in BCR 2010, pp. 5-10.

Brikci N & Green J 2007, *A Guide to Using Qualitative Research Methodology.* Medecins sans frontiers.

Brinkerhoff DW & Goldsmith AA 2002. *Clientelism, Patrimonialism and Democratic Governance: An Overview and Framework for Assessment and Programming*. U.S. Agency for International Development, Bethesda. http://social3.org/c/clientelism,-patrimonialism-and-democratic-governance-an-overview-w5114 8.7.2015.

Brown LR 2011. *Learning from China: Why the Existing Economic Model Will Fail.* Earth Policy Inst., Rutgers University, http://www.earth-policy.org/data_highlights/2011/highlights18 20.8.2015.

Cammack D 2007. "The Logic of African Neopatrimonialism: What Role for Donors?", *Development Policy Review* 2007, 25 (5): 599-614.

CDP 1977. *Gilding the Ghetto – The State and the Poverty Experiments*. CDP Inter-Project Editorial Team, Mary Ward House, London.

Chemwei B 2013. "Drop out among Pupils in Rural Primary Schools in Kenya: The Case of Nandi North District, Kenya" in *Journal of Education and Practice* (online), Vol. 4, No.19, 2013, 1-12.

Davis M 2006. *Planet of Slums*. Verso, New York.

EGP 2008 = *Report of the Expert Group Meeting on Slum Identification and Mapping* compiled by R. Sliuzas (ITC), G. Mboup (UN-HABITAT), and A. de Sherbinin (CIESIN). International Institute for Geo-Information Science and Earth Observation (ITC), Netherlands; UN-HABITAT, Global Urban Observatory, Kenya; Center for International Earth Science Information Network (CIESIN) Colombia University, USA 2008.

Engels F 2005 [1892]. *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, 1943 repr of the 1892 ed, acc. 30 Apr 2016 http://www.gutenberg.org/files/17306/17306-h/17306-h.htm.

Erdmann G & Engel U 2006. *Neopatrimonialism Revisited – Beyond a Catch-All Concept*. Working paper of German Institute of Global and Area Studies (research program "Legitimacy and Efficiency of Political Systems". Online publication accessed 8.7.2015 http://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/system/files/publications/wp16_erdmann-engel.pdf.

Erlich PR & Erlich AH 2013. ”Can a collapse of global civilization be avoided?” *The Royal Society*: http://rspb.royalsocietypublishing.org/content/280/1754/20122845#xref-ref-152-1, online publication accessed 20.8.2015.

Glennerster R & Kremer M & Mbiti I & Takavarasha K 2011. *Access and Quality in the Kenyan Education System: A Review of the Progress, Challenges and Potential Solutions*. Centre for Education Innovations. Prepared for Office of the Prime Minister of Kenya. http://www.academia.edu/4158386/access_and_quality_kenyan_education_system, accessed 5.9.2013.

Grantham J 2011. *Time to Wake Up: Days of Abundant Resources and Falling Prices are Over Forever*. Repr online by The Oil Drum, 7.7.2015: http://www.theoildrum.com/node/7853.

Hardoon D 2015. “Wealth: having it all and wanting more” in *Oxfam Issue Briefing – January 2015*, Oxfam GB, Oxford, UK, 24.8.2015 http://oxf.am/ZiUw.

Harvey D 1993. *Social Justice and the City*. Repr of 2nd edn. 1988, Ipswich Book Co Ltd, Suffolk.

Harvey D 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press Inc, New York.

Harvey D 2010. “The Urban Process under Capitalism”, BCR 2010, 32-39.

Hickel J 2014. “Exposing the great ‘poverty reduction’ Scandal”. Published online by *the Guardian* 22 August 2014 http://www.thoughtleader.co.za/jasonhickel.

Hickel J 2015. “The Delusion at the Heart of the sustainable development goals”. Published online by *The Guardian* 31 March 2015 http://www.thoughtleader.co.za/jasonhickel.

Imani Recreational Centre, Oloolua Resort. http://www.reisnaarkenia.nl/?lang=en, acc. 13.5.2015.

Johnson F 2010 [1939]. *A Standard English-Swahili Dictionary* compiled by Frederick Johnson, Oxford University Press, Nairobi.

Kajiado County – Kenya. [http://www.kenya-information-guide.com/kajiado-county.html] 13.5.2015.

“Karen” by Nairobi Underground, http://nairobiunderground.com/neighborhoods/karen/karen/#, acc. 13.5.2015.

Kenya Law 2013. “196-197-Regulation of Wages (…)” http://kenyalaw.org/kl/index.php?id=3400, acc. 18.5.2015.

Kramer M 2006. *Dispossessed Life in Our World’s Urban Slums.* Orbis Books, New York.

Lemke T 2001. “The birth of bio-politics: Michel Foucault's lecture at the Collège de France on neo-liberal governmentality”, *Economy and Society*, Volume 30, No 2, 1 May 2001, 190-207 (18). http://www.thomaslemkeweb.de/engl. texte/The Birth of Biopolitic 3.pdf 1.7.2015.

Locke J 1689. *Two Treatises of Civil Government* (ed Hollis T), Online Library of Liberty, 2.7.2015: http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/locke-the-two-treatises-of-civil-government-hollis-ed.

Lonsdale J 1990. “Mau Maus of the Mind: Making Mau Mau and Remaking Kenya”, Journal of African History 31 (1990), pp. 393-421 393, Cambridge University Press. Acc. 2.9.2015 http://www.jstor.org/stable/182877.

Maranga A, Laiboni K & Mutoka J 2010. *The Realities and Agency of Informal Sector Workers: The Account of Migrant Women Workers in Nairobi,* Federation of Women Lawyers, FIDA-Kenya and Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women.

Mathare Zonal Plan / Nairobi, Kenya 2012 – Collaborative Plan for Informal Settlement Upgrading. Muungano Support Trust; Slum Dwellers International (SDI); Univ. of Nairobi, Dept. of Urban and Regional Planning; Univ. of Berkeley, Dept. of City & Regional Planning. http://healthycities.berkeley.edu/uploads/1/2/6/1/12619988/matharevalley_report_ucb_2_25_2012_final.pdf.

McKinley T 2006. 'What Is Poverty?', *One Pager* #26, International Poverty Centre, Brasilia. UNDP, *Human Development Report*, New York: UNDP.

Ministry of Education 2008. *The Development of Education*. National Report of Kenya. The International Confrence of Education, 2008 Nov 25-28, Geneva.

Mutisya E & Yarime M 2011. "Understanding Grassroots Dynamics of Slums in Nairobi: The Dilemma of Kibera Informal Settlements" in *International Transaction Journal of Engineering, Management, & Applied Sciences & Technologies*, Volume 2, No. 2, 197-213.

Nairobi City blog 2016. "Nairobi City Council", 12.4.2016: https://nairobicity.wordpress.com/city-hall/nairobi-city-council/.

Nairobi City blog 2016. "Taxes and Fees", 12.4.2016: https://nairobicity.wordpress.com/city-hall/taxes-and-fees/.

Ndeng'e G & Opiyo C & Mistiaen J & Kristjanson P & Mann S & Ellsworth D & Kruska R & Kamula G & editing team 2003. *Geographic Dimension of Well-Being in Kenya – Where Are The Poor? From Districts to Locations*. Vol 1. Central Bureau of Statistics, Nairobi.

Nzioki A 2012. 'How to get a business permit in Nairobi', *Kenya Manual*, June 2012. Acc.12 April 2016: http://www.kenyamanual.co.ke/2012/06/howto-get-a-business-permit-in-nairobi/.

Otiso K 2002. 'Forced Evictions in Kenyan Cities', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 23 (3), 252-267.

Parsons A 2010. *The Seven Myths of 'Slums' – Challenging popular prejudices about the world's urban poor*. Share the World's Resources, London. An abridged version of the book is freely available online: http://www.stwr.org/megaslumming/the-book/.

Raburu W 2010. "Kona Baridi Evictions" broadcast 30 Aug 2010 by *Kenya Citizen TV*. Video published by World News, http://wn.com/ngong_road_forest.

Rethinking 2009 = *Rethinking Poverty – Report on the World Situation 2010*. United Nations Publications, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, NY, 2009.

Rose G 2016. *Visual Methodologies – An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, 4th edition, SAGE Publications, Glasgow, UK.

Sori ND 2012. *Identifying and Classifying Slum Development Stages From Spatial Data*. M.Sc. thesis, Faculty of Geo-Information Science and Earth Observation of the University of Twente, Netherlands.

Springer S 2010. "Neoliberalism and Geography: Expansions, Variegations, Formations" in *Geography Compass* 4/8 (2010), pp. 1025-1038.

Sui D & DeLyser D 2012. "Crossing the qualitative-quantitative chasm I: Hybrid geographies, the spatial turn, and volunteered geographic information (VGI)", *Progress in Human Geography* 36 (I), 111-124.

Thieme TA 2013. "The 'hustle' amongst youth entrepreneurs in Mathare's informal waste economy", *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 7:3, 389-412.

Trading Economics 2015, Kenya, 18.5.2015: http://www.tradingeconomics.com/kenya/indicators.

Tunney S & Glavey C 2009. *Geography, Development, and Human Rights – A Multimedia Teacher's Manual for the Senior Cycle*. Amnesty International Ireland.

UN Decl 2016 = *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, accessed 5.9.2016: http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html

UNEP Kenya Atlas 2009. United Nations Environment Programme.

UNH 2003a = *The Challenge of Slums – Global Report of Human Settlements 2003*, UN-HABITAT, United Nations Human Settlements Program. London: Earthscan Publ.

UNH 2003b = "Nairobi, Kenya" by Winnie Mitullah in *Understanding Slums: Case Studies for the Global Report on Human Settlements*, University College London Development Planning Unit & UN-HABITAT. Accessed 23 May 2016 http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/cities/nairobi.htm.

UNMDG 2015a = *The Millenium Development Goals Report 2015*. United Nations, New York, 6.7.2015 http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/default.aspx.

UNMDG 2015b = *The Millenium Development Goals Report 2015*, summary published 6.7.2015.

USAID 1993 = Nairobi's Informal Settlements: An Inventory, March 1993, PN-ABH-741. Office of Housing and Urban Programs, U.S. Agency for International Development. Accessed 23 May 2016: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNABH741.pdf.

WB 2008 = *Kenya Poverty and Inequality Assessment*. Vol I: Synthesis Report. World Bank Report No. 44190-KE. Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, Africa Region, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRREGTOPGENDER/Resources/PAKENYA.pdf.

Weber M 1978 [1956]. *Economy and Society – An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Edited by Roth G & Wittich C. English by Fischoff E et al. Univ. of California Press. Original *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, 4th ed. 1956.

Wilson WJ 2010. "The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass and Public Policy" in BCR 2010, pp. 186-192.

Wyche SP & Forte A & Schoenebeck SY 2013. “Hustling Online: Understanding Consolidated Facebook Use in an Informal Settlement in Nairobi” in *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, pp. 2823-2832, New York. ACM Digital Library http://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=2470654.2481391.

Attachment 1. Appointment: photograph life and working days of ordinary people / Kazi: kupigia picha kuhusu maisha na siku za kazi ya watu wa kawaida

Name of assistant / Jina ya msaidizi: _____

Please fill empty spaces. / Tafadhali jaza nafasi tupu.

☐ **Number of picture (record the number given in the small window of the camera). / Namba ya picha (andika namba inayoonyeshwa katika kidirisha cha kamera).**

a. Date, month, year / Tarehe, mwezi, mwaka: _____
b. City / Mji: _____
c. Region / Maeneo: _____
d. Name of road or street / Jina ya barabara au njia:
   _____
e. Mention some easily recognizable office or business building nearby. Please estimate: how far in meters is this building from the spot where you took the photograph? / Taja jengo moja ya serikali au biashara karibu inayotambulika kwa urahisi. Tafadhali ufanye hesabu: jengo hiyo iko mbali au karibu meta ngapi kutoka mahali umepopiga picha hiyo?
   _____
   _____
f. Observations. Why did you take this photo? What do you consider as an important aspect in the environment, neighbourhood, dwellings, wealth or people of this area? / Mambo yaliyoangaliwa. Kwa nini ulipiga picha hiyo? Unafikiri muhimu ni nini kuhusu mazingira, ujirani, makao, mastakimu au watu wa cheneo hicho?
   _____
   _____

☐ **Number of picture (record the number given in the small window of the camera). / Namba ya picha (andika namba inayoonyeshwa katika kidirisha cha kamera).**

a. Date, month, year / Tarehe, mwezi, mwaka: _____
b. City / Mji: _____
c. Region / Maeneo: _____
d. Name of road or street / Jina ya barabara au njia:
   _____
e. Mention some easily recognizable office or business building nearby. Please estimate: how far in meters is this building from the spot where you took the photograph? / Taja jengo moja ya serikali au biashara karibu inayotambulika kwa urahisi. Tafadhali ufanye hesabu: jengo hiyo iko mbali au karibu meta ngapi kutoka mahali umepopiga picha hiyo?
   _____
   _____
f. Observations. Why did you take this photo? What do you consider as an important aspect in the environment, neighbourhood, dwellings, wealth or people of this area? / Mambo yaliyoangaliwa. Kwa nini ulipiga picha hiyo? Unafikiri muhimu ni nini kuhusu mazingira, ujirani, makao, mastakimu au watu wa cheneo hicho?
   _____
   _____

Attachment 1. Appointment: photograph life and working days of ordinary people / Kazi: kupigia picha kuhusu maisha na siku za kazi ya watu wa kawaida

☐ **Number of picture (record the number given in the small window of the camera). / Namba ya picha (andika namba inayoonyeshwa katika kidirisha cha kamera).**

a. Date, month, year / Tarehe, mwezi, mwaka: _____

b. City / Mji: _____

c. Region / Maeneo: _____

d. Name of road or street / Jina ya barabara au njia:
_____

e. Mention some easily recognizable office or business building nearby. Please estimate: how far in meters is this building from the spot where you took the photograph? / Taja jengo moja ya serikali au biashara karibu inayotambulika kwa urahisi. Tafadhali ufanye hesabu: jengo hiyo iko mbali au karibu meta ngapi kutoka mahali umepopiga picha hiyo?

_____

_____

f. Observations. Why did you take this photo? What do you consider as an important aspect in the environment, neighbourhood, dwellings, wealth or people of this area? / Mambo yaliyoangaliwa. Kwa nini ulipiga picha hiyo? Unafikiri muhimu ni nini kuhusu mazingira, ujirani, makao, mastakimu au watu wa cheneo hicho?

_____

_____

☐ **Number of picture (record the number given in the small window of the camera). / Namba ya picha (andika namba inayoonyeshwa katika kidirisha cha kamera).**

a. Date, month, year / Tarehe, mwezi, mwaka: _____

b. City / Mji: _____

c. Region / Maeneo: _____

d. Name of road or street / Jina ya barabara au njia:
_____

e. Mention some easily recognizable office or business building nearby. Please estimate: how far in meters is this building from the spot where you took the photograph? / Taja jengo moja ya serikali au biashara karibu inayotambulika kwa urahisi. Tafadhali ufanye hesabu: jengo hiyo iko mbali au karibu meta ngapi kutoka mahali umepopiga picha hiyo?

_____

_____

f. Observations. Why did you take this photo? What do you consider as an important aspect in the environment, neighbourhood, dwellings, wealth or people of this area? / Mambo yaliyoangaliwa. Kwa nini ulipiga picha hiyo? Unafikiri muhimu ni nini kuhusu mazingira, ujirani, makao, mastakimu au watu wa cheneo hicho?

_____

_____

Attachment 1. Appointment: photograph life and working days of ordinary people / Kazi: kupigia picha kuhusu maisha na siku za kazi ya watu wa kawaida

	Number of picture (record the number given in the small window of the camera). / Namba ya picha (andika namba inayoonyeshwa katika kidirisha cha kamera).

a. Date, month, year / Tarehe, mwezi, mwaka: _____

b. City / Mji: _____

c. Region / Maeneo: _____

d. Name of road or street / Jina ya barabara au njia:
_____

e. Mention some easily recognizable office or business building nearby. Please estimate: how far in meters is this building from the spot where you took the photograph? / Taja jengo moja ya serikali au biashara karibu inayotambulika kwa urahisi. Tafadhali ufanye hesabu: jengo hiyo iko mbali au karibu meta ngapi kutoka mahali umepopiga picha hiyo?

_____

_____

f. Observations. Why did you take this photo? What do you consider as an important aspect in the environment, neighbourhood, dwellings, wealth or people of this area? / Mambo yaliyoangaliwa. Kwa nini ulipiga picha hiyo? Unafikiri muhimu ni nini kuhusu mazingira, ujirani, makao, mastakimu au watu wa cheneo hicho?

_____

_____

Other observations. The best thing of the day? What would you like to change in your life? What or who would you like to show me or introduce me to? The most important person or thing in your life? / Mambo yingine yaliyoangaliwa. Kitu kizuri kabisa ya siku hiyo ni nini? Ungetaka kugeuza kitu gani katika maisha yako? Ungetaka kunionyesha nini au nani? Kitu au mtu muhimu kabisa ya maisha yako ni nini/nani?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Asante sana!

Attachment 2. Photographs.

The 46 photographs taken by my informants are reproduced below. The names or descriptions of the scenes are given in the figure legends. The original spellings of the names are preserved although some of them transgress standard spelling rules. Dates are given by using numbers and dots. E.g. 7.7.2014 denotes the 7th of July 2014. Acronyms: NBI = Nairobi; Ngong RC = Ngong Racecourse.

Figure 1. “Imani Recreational Centre”
Figure 2. “Imani Recreational Centre”
Figure 3. “My mum”
Figure 4. “Rent houses around this centre”
Figure 5. “Green is beauty”
Figure 6. “Green is beauty”
Figure 7. “Rent houses around this centre”
Figure 8. “A young man beside a green farm”
Figure 9. “Water as a basic need”
Figure 10. “The Chuch and graveyard at Mathare Street”
Figure 11. “The graveyard” at “Mathare Street”
Figure 12. “Hen of a neighbour”
Figure 13. “Wind generator”
Figure 14. “Market and bus station”
Figure 15. “Two youths walk on a murram road”
Figure 16. “Nyumba ya kuku” (henhouse)
Figure 17. “Zizi la ngambe” (cattle corral)
Figure 18. “Tanki la maji” (water tank)
Figure 19. “A goat picture” (a sheep)
Figure 20. “Co-operative Bank”
Figure 21. “My business”
Figure 22. “My business”
Figure 23. “Selfie of a shop owner”
Figure 24. “A well-performed private school”
Figure 25. “Rich Brains Academy private shool”
Figure 26. “Parents leave their children for the day”
Figure 27. “Students exploiting their talents by playing football”
Figure 28. “Students exploiting their talents by playing football”
Figure 29. “An orphan who has come to town to hustle”
Figure 30. “A workshop of welders”
Figure 31. “Flowers Garden”
Figure 32. “An enterprising shop owner”
Figure 33. “A lady with a sad look”
Figure 34. A laundry day at “Savan Chief Camping Est”
Figure 35. A laundry day at “Savan Chief Camping Est”

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 1. “Imani Recreational Centre” by RKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 26.7.2014.

Figure 2. “Imani Recreational Centre” by RKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 26.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 3. “My mum” by RKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 26.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 4. “Rent houses around this centre” by MKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 28.7.2014.

Figure 5. “Green is beauty” by MKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 28.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 6. “Green is beauty” by MKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 28.7.2014.

Figure 7. “Rent houses around this centre” by MKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 28.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 8. “A young man beside a green farm” by JMaa. Kajiado District, Olonana, Magadi road, 9.7.2014.

Figure 9. “Water as a basic need” by MKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 28.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 10. “The Chuch and graveyard at Mathare Street” by GKik. Ngong town, Kajiado District, 5.8.2014.

Figure 11. “The graveyard” at “Mathare Street” by GKik, Ngong town, Kajiado District, 5.8.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 12. “Hen of a neighbour” by RKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 26.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 13. “Wind generator” by JMaa. Kajiado District, Kona Baridi, Magadi road, 8.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 14. “Market and bus station” by JMaa. Kajiado District, Kiserian town, 8.7.2014.

Figure 15. “Two youths walk on a murram road” by JMaa. Kajiado Distr, Olonana, Magadi Rd, 9.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 16. “Nyumba ya kuku” (henhouse) by SMaa. Kajiado District, Kona Baridi, 7.7.2014.

Figure 17. “Zizi la ngambe” (cattle corral) by SMaa. Kajiado District, Kona Baridi, 7.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 18. “Tanki la maji” (water tank) by SMaa. Kajiado District, Kona Baridi, 7.7.2014.

Figure 19. “A goat picture” (a sheep) by RKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 26.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 20. “Co-operative Bank” by IMaa. The Big Square building in Karen Crossroads, NBI, 14.7.2014.

Figure 21. “My business” by IMaa. Nairobi, a market place behind Karen Crossroads Centre, 14.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 22. “My business” by IMaa. A market place behind Crossroads Centre in Karen, NBI, 14.7.2014.

Figure 23. “Selfie of a shop owner” by TGir. Gikuyu Close, Ngong RC, NBI, 24.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 24. “A well-performed private school” by RKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 26.7.2014.

Figure 25. “Rich Brains Academy private shool” by CKam. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 25.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 26. “Parents leave their children for the day” by MKik. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 28.7.2014.

Figure 27. “Students exploiting their talents by playing football” by MKik. Oloolua, Kajiado Distr, 28.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 28. “Students exploiting their talents by playing football” by MKik. Oloolua, Kajiado Distr, 28.7.2014.

Figure 29. “An orphan who has come to town to hustle” by CKam. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 25.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 30. “A workshop of welders” by TGir. Ngong RC, NBI, 24.7.2014.

Figure 31. “Flowers Garden” by IMaa. A market place behind Karen Crossroads Centre, NBI, 14.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 32. “An enterprising shop owner” by TGir. Ngong RC, NBI, 24.7.2014.

Figure 33. “A lady with a sad look” by TGir. Ngong RC, NBI, 24.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 34. A laundry day at “Savan Chief Camping Est” by ELuo. Donhom, Kayole Road, NBI, 17.7.2014.

Figure 35. A laundry day at “Savan Chief Camping Est” by ELuo. Donhom, Kayole Road, NBI, 17.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 36. A working class family by ELuo. Donhom, Kayole Road, NBI, 17.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 37. A laundry day at “Savan Chief Camping Est” by ELuo. Donhom, Kayole road, NBI, 17.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 38. Business premises of a charcoal retailer at Jacaranda Stage by ELuo. Donhom, NBI, 17.7.2014.

Figure 39. “Donhom soping setre” by ELuo. Donhom, Kayole Road, NBI, 17.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 40. “Mara Savan soping senter” by ELuo. Donhom, Kayole Road, NBI, 17.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 41. “Greenspan soping senter” by ELuo. Donhom, Kayole Road, NBI, 17.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 42. “Mama njeri mini shop” by CKam. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 25.7.2014.

Figure 43. “A hen kept by one of the plot people” by CKam. Oloolua, Kajiado District, 25.7.2014.

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 44. “A man who was going to buy meat for his family” by CKam, Oloolua, Kajiado Distr, 25.7.2014.

Figure 45. “A prado car” by TGir. Gikuyu Close, Ngong RC, NBI, 24.7.2014

Attachment 2. Photographs.

Figure 46. "Picha ya Sami" by SMaa. Kajiado District, Kona Baridi, 7.7.2014.