

# **THE EFFECTS OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE ON SOCIETY: A CASE OF KIBERA, NAIROBI**

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## **DEDICATION**

I would like to start by dedicating this work to my family who have continuously encouraged me to always pursue my goals without any reservations. To my mother Josiane who has been a constant source of strength I thank you always for believing in me, to my aunty Omega and Grandad Abel thank you for giving me the opportunity to get an education, your efforts and sacrifices have gotten me to where I am now. To my family here in Belgium who have helped transition to life here and lastly to Faf and Tina thank you for support which has given me the opportunity to pursue this Master's degree.

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Any faults or errors in this thesis are of course my own.

## ABSTRACT

Köhler and Alcock (1979) state that structural violence occurs when poverty and unjust socio-political and economic institutions, systems and structures harm, or kill people. Hoivik (1977) wrote, “We know that social structures kill and maim as surely as the bullet and the knife” (p. 59). Galtung (1969) explains that structural violence is indirect, avoidable violence built into structures where there is unequal power and consequently unequal life chances. Structural violence is an oppressive framework that operates through powerful associations, organizations and institutions that guarantees privilege amongst its leaders, prioritization of their political agenda, and an enforcement of their methods and ideologies. The power imbalances indirectly result in injury towards others through exclusion and exploitation (Stiles, 2011). This thesis is aimed towards highlighting the effects of structural violence as stated by the scholars above. It is motivated by the need to bring to light the effects structural violence has on achieving a quality of life. This argument will be substantiated through a case study of Kibera in Nairobi, Kenya. This research diverges from the understanding of structural violence through the lens of peace studies and health disparities and more towards an understanding of its impact on human development, with an aim towards igniting new scholarly work targeted at understanding structural violence from a human development perspective.

*Keywords: Kibera, Structural violence, Inequality, Marginalization, Poverty, Exclusion and Exploitation.*

## **ABBREVIATIONS & DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS**

AMREF – African Medical and Research Foundation

CBO – Community Based Organization

FBO – Faith Based Organization

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

GOK – Government of Kenya

Jua kali – “hot sun” in Swahili also refers to the informal sector in Kenya comprising of traders and artisans, who often work out by the roadside (in the hot sun),

KAR – Kings African Rifles

KENSUP – Kenya Slum Upgrading Project

Kiosk – A small shop where basic items are sold

Kipande – was colonial identity document used by the British

Mabati – iron sheets

Matatu – Public transport

Mjengo – refers to construction work

MSF – Médecins Sans Frontières

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

NYS – National Youth Service

Shamba – farm or plot of land

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

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## CHAPTER 1

### 1.0 INTRODUCTION

According to the UN-Habitat (2012) a large number of the population in Africa, Asia and Latin America live in slums, which are, urban areas characterised by some combination of tenuous dwelling structures, overcrowding and lack of access to adequate water and sanitation facilities. Improving the lives of slum dwellers globally is one of the most pressing development challenges of the 21st century. The number of people living in urban areas in all countries has increased with over two billion people living in the slums (UN-Habitat, 2003; Mburu, 2016). Currently, 829 million people from developing countries across Africa, Asia and Latin America are living in slums (UN-Habitat, 2012). The slum dwellers remain socially, politically and economically excluded. The socio-economic exclusion of slum dwellers is whereby they are constrained from participating in the social and economic spheres of the city and this makes them poorer (Arimah, 201; cited in Mburu, 2016). Majority of these people live in dehumanizing conditions in the slums of Africa, Asia and Latin America (UN-Habitat, 2003). The “challenge of slums” is particularly acute in sub-Saharan Africa. Although the region contains just 13% of the urban population of developing regions it hosts 25% of the slum population of developing regions (UN-Habitat 2008). Over 60% of sub-Saharan Africa’s urban population lives in slum conditions; the highest level of ‘slum incidence’ of any major world region and significantly higher than the developing region average of 32.7% (Fox, 2014).

The presence of extreme poverty, poor housing, exploitation, exclusion and marginalization remains to be not only struggles faced globally, but specifically by the communities who are faced with these realities on a daily basis, majority of whom live in slums (Wiik, 2014). The formation and emerging of a slum can be attributed to a number of factors such as rural – urban migration, a combination of poverty, the rapid urbanization of the world and cities lack of affordable housing and other basic services such as education, healthcare and employment. Rural – Urban migration happens mainly due to the search of labour and other services the urban environment can offer. If cities don’t provide enough services that are affordable and accessible which are required to stimulate the increased population some people will search for alternative settlements. (UN-habitat 2003)

This remains to be the case in Kenya, which is now faced with an increasing growth of informal settlements in her urban centres. As increasing levels of urbanization takes its toll, so has the development and increase of slums. More than 34% of Kenya’s total population lives in urban areas and of this, more than 71% is confined in informal settlements (UN-Habitat, 2009; cited in Dulo & Njunguna, (2012). Kenya’s annual informal settlements growth rate of 5%, is the highest in the world and it is likely to double in the next 30 years if positive intervention measures are not put in place (UNDP, 2007). According to UN-Habitat (2003), the experience in these slums shows a strong link that people living in poverty are trapped in their present (World Economic and Social Survey, 2008) situation because they are excluded from the rest of the society. Unfortunately, they are not empowered to allow them to make any significant contribution to community building (United Nations Population Division, 1998; Mutisya & Yarime, 2011)

Slums in Nairobi have continued to exist since the cities inception even after being classified as illegal and unrecognized settlements, which has created a reality of division between



the population of Kenya, which as a result has posed a challenge of development to the population of Kenya as a whole due to the government failure to respond to the flight of slums dwellers (Mitullah, 2003). Life is very difficult to approximately 1.5 million people in Nairobi informal settlements. The residents in these areas live under deplorable conditions with lack of the most basic needs and social amenities and face multi-dimensional challenges which require multi-dimensional interventions such as clean water supply and improved sanitation, energy, solid waste management, housing, schools, and hospitals (United Nations, 2006; Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2008; Siakilo, 2014). Since illegal, informal settlements were previously abolished by the government through policy and subsequent forced evictions. These acts created an even more precarious situation for the people residing in these settlements further excluding them from development schemes and resource allocation by the government, which often lead to an outbreak of violence as a means for these residents to respond to the government while advocating for their rights (Mutisya & Yarime, 2011).

Hence, this research seeks to address the conditions faced by residents in Kibera, one of the largest informal settlements in Kenya and Africa. This conditions are arguably caused by present inequalities in distribution of power and resources, marginalization and exploitation of the impoverished community and policies that create unequal structures of governance. Through further research and analysis on the subject Structural violence was viewed as an underlying reason for the presence these conditions in Kibera, which have acted as a barrier to development in Kibera and other informal settlements. This research will be carried out through interviews with people in Kibera, ranging from NGO workers to residents of the area and a literature review of studies and reports on Kibera which will be explored and explained further in Chapter 3 of this research paper. The literature review was guided by concepts of structural violence namely colonialism, inequality, poverty and structural violence itself because of its broad nature structural violence will be reviewed as a core concept.

## **1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

The term structural violence was coined by Johan Galtung in his 1969 article, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." Galtung argued that structural violence explained the negative power of social institutions and systems of social organization among marginalized communities. He further framed the term "structural violence" to mean any constraint that are placed on human potential which are caused by economic and political structures (Galtung, 1969). The concept of structural violence was intended to inform the study of the social machinery of oppression (Farmer, 2004, p. 307; cited in Hodgettes et al, 2013). It is described by Paul farmer (1996) as a form of violence that is applied 'as a matter of course', through the design and imposition of socioeconomic structures and associated institutional practices.

Structural violence is a kind of violence that results in harm on a person both physically and emotionally but is not caused by an actor that can be clearly identified (Vorobej, 2008). Structural violence refers to a scenario in which a social structure such as healthcare perpetuates a form of inequity, thus causing preventable suffering. It explains the negative power of social institutions and systems of social organization among marginalized communities. It has been identified as the root cause of the differences between people's potential reality and their actual

circumstances (Galtung, 1969). Structural violence enables more nuanced analyses of the social, cultural, political, economic, and historical forces that shape inequality and suffering. It creates an opportunity to consider seriously the role of different types of marginalization – such as sexism, racism, ableism, ageism, homophobia, and/or poverty – in creating lived experiences that are fundamentally less equal.

Structural violence helps explain the multiple and often intersecting forces which create and perpetuate inequality on multiple levels, both for individuals and communities (Farmer, 2009). When things like basic needs which a society needs to survive such as access to healthcare and medicine; access to education, access to sufficient levels of food and water, are concentrated and reserved between just the upper classes and those groups in power, then that is an example of structural violence (Høivik, 1977, p60; Clempson, 2012). This as will be discussed further in the research is not to say the least the conditions and realities faced by residents in informal settlements.

Informal settlements have a long history in Nairobi dating from colonial period, where most Africans were barred from the city's designated residential areas since they were reserved for Europeans and Asians. Kenyans who came to the city in search of work had to create informal residential settlements outside the central business district and the planned residential areas which were largely ignored by the colonial government (Amnesty International, 2009; cited in (Mutisya & Yarime, 2011).

Informal settlements in Nairobi are the consequence of explicit government policy and decades of official indifference and marginalization of the poor. In particular, informal settlements were excluded from city authority planning and budgeting processes leaving the areas without any adequate intervention or support. The governments who are in power have ignored their existence within Nairobi, until recently when local authorities and international NGOs outlined the danger that is posed by slums to human progress and development. The problem surrounding slums in the city has become a complex issue to address, this made it challenging for the government to pass workable policies, which if made into law and executed in the right way could help Kenya improve the life of slum residents (Mutisya & Yarime, 2011). In Nairobi therefore, the lack of recognition of informal settlements and slums as residential areas inhabited by a population that is unable to meet the high often exclusive housing within the state, denies residents a range of essential services which are provided by the government to other residents of the city. These essential services include improved water supply, improved sanitation, electricity, garbage collection, improved health services, education, access roads and transport (Mutisya & Yarime, 2011).

Some of the informal settlements in Nairobi are Kibera informal settlements (began in 1912) have an estimated population of 950,000 people, while Mathare slums (started in 1963) houses more than 500,000 people, Korogocho slums (started in 1980s) has an estimated population of 150,000 people and Mukuru Kwa Njenga (began in 1958) has an estimated population of 100,000 people (Umande Trust, 2007; cited in Mutisya & Yarime, 2011).

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Structural violence is subtle, often invisible, and often has no one specific person who can be held responsible (Winter & Leighton, 2001). Structural violence is one way of describing social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm's way. The arrangements are structural because they are embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world; they are violent because they cause injury to people (Farmer *et al.*, 2006). Structural violence is often hard to see. Something even more difficult and challenging than identifying structural violence in society is assigning culpability of this violence. Structural violence impedes access to basic needs through the division of society by elitist leaders and individuals who thrive through these divisions (Høivik, 1977, p60). This results in socioeconomic underdevelopment that reinforces the human needs theorist's arguments, which states that the inability of people to access basic needs drives people to other means of securing them; which sometimes includes the use of violence (Christie, 2009). This results in the further creation of insecurity faced in society bringing about more repression through the state use of violence through increasing policing furthering the circle of oppression and inequality by structural violence. Unfortunately, even those who fall victim to forms of structural violence often do not see the systematic ways in which their plight is choreographed, orchestrated and managed by unequal and unfair distribution of society's resources. Such is the insidiousness of structural violence (Winter & Leighton, 2001).

## **1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

This objective this study is:

To understand the means through which structural violence has created the current reality of poverty, inequality and underdevelopment and furthermore its role in the creation of barriers and impediments to development and progress such as low wages and lacking social benefits, which continue to exacerbate the growing socio-economic divisions in Kibera.

To explain and define the different ways and means structural violence manifest itself; shaping life in Kibera and how is it experienced by the residents in Kibera.

To analyze the origin of structural violence through colonial legacies and understanding the impact it had on the creation of the current informal settlement and social setting in Kibera which in turn has continued the production of structural violence.

To discuss how structural violence, explains the large wage gap and lack of access to basic needs such as health care and quality housing faced by residents in Kibera.

## **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

Main RQ - How does structural violence affect and shape the current lived reality of poverty, inequality and underdevelopment faced by residents in Kibera?

Sub-RQ

1. What are the current manifestations of structural violence in Kibera and how are they experienced by the residents?
2. How accessible are different basic needs such as healthcare, housing and education to the residents of Kibera?
3. What are the historical roots of structural violence in Kibera?

4. Does patron-client politics along with minimal to almost no government intervention in Kibera continue the progression of structural violence experienced by Kibera residents?

### **1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY**

Structural violence allows for a more refined way of analysis of the social, cultural, political, economic, and historical forces that have shaped inequality and suffering. It creates an opportunity to consider seriously the role of different types of marginalization – such as sexism, racism, ableism, ageism, homophobia, and/or poverty – in creating lived experiences that are fundamentally less equal. Structural violence helps explain the multiple and often intersecting forces that create and perpetuate inequality on multiple levels, both for individuals and communities (Lewis, 2019). Because of the rooted and longstanding nature, structural violence usually seems ordinary, normalized and an accepted part of society; the way things are and always have been. But structural violence produces suffering and death as often as direct violence does, though the damage is slower, subtler, more common, and more difficult to repair. Unequal access to resources, to political power, to education, to health care, or to legal standing, are forms of structural violence (Winter & Leighton, 2001) which are some of the realities faced by resident soft Kibera and thus this study aims to understand society and life in Kibera through the understanding of structural violence and the different ways it has affected Kibera. By researching and studying structural violence there presents a possibility to come up with ways to counter and oppose inequalities in society that exclude and disenfranchise different groups. This as a result addresses the manifestation of structural violence in society allowing for the creation of ways and means of targeted poverty reduction and the assurance of a quality life through creating accessible means for people to receive their basic needs. By recognizing the operation and effects of structural violence forces on society, we are thus able to ask questions about how and why we tolerate it and how we can oppose and overturn it (Winter & Leighton, 2001).

### **1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY**

The organization of this research is as follows.

Chapter 1 introduces the concept of structural violence and introduces the issue of informal settlements. It gives a broad overview of the core issues focused on by the study from the global to the national perspective; finally, to the communal perspective of the study area and widely defines the problem of the study, points out areas of questions in the study and the objectives driving the purpose of the study. This chapter further gives a background on structural violence, the study of informal settlements and how there is a presence of poor conditions of life.

Chapter 2 reviews literature from international, national and local literary acclaimed materials in order to understand the objectives behind the study and to shed light on the questions posed in Chapter 1. It introduces concepts and theories that attempt to breakdown the issue and conceptualize it into different aspects to understand the problem being researched. This Chapter highlights the relation of the study to academic theory like the human needs theory which explains the theoretical understanding and arguments for addressing structural violence.

1. This chapter includes sub headings to reiterate the study's systematic line of flow.

Chapter 3 provides a description of the research proposal methodology, the methods of collecting data and the analysis obtained from the collection of the data. It further presents the limitations faced by the researcher while conducting the study.

Chapter 4 presents the findings and results obtained from the collection of data, their interpretations and analysis linked to the literature review in chapter 2. This chapter attempts to present the answers to the research questions posed in chapter 1.

Chapter 5 covers the summary and conclusion of the study as well as policy implications. This chapter summarises the findings presented in chapter 4 while formulating a conclusion based on these findings and the data collected in relation to the main research question How does structural violence affect and shape the current lived reality of poverty, inequality and underdevelopment faced by residents in Kibera? Posed in chapter 1 of this study.

## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

In this section I will explore the different literature and scholarly work on structural violence. I will discuss the different conceptual literature guided by the concepts chosen that illustrates, highlights and explains the different manifestations of structural violence and its effects on society in Kibera. I will further explore on theoretical literature as a means to further enhance my arguments on the conditions for the manifestation and effects of structural violence. This literature review will highlight the importance and significance of carrying out a study on structural violence as a means to explain the current socio-economic inequalities faced by individuals and communities, which result in exacerbation of poverty and a poor quality of life. This research is motivated by the gap in the literary research on the analysis of structural violence from perspective of development by citing a specific case perspective in this instance that case is Kibera. This gap creates an avenue to understand structural violence as an issue that affects society as a whole through different characteristics and presence of structural violence in societies that are considered stable and peaceful and not only in conflict areas or post-conflict areas as intended by Johan Galtung (see 1969). This research creates an avenue for addressing structural violence which is present in areas such as healthcare and education. Further in this section I will explore the colonial legacy of structural violence in Kibera and social stratification which describes the social divisions of society as an aspect of structural violence.

### **2.2 STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE**

Structural violence is a daily occurrence, it is something we see and experience every day when certain people or communities are unable to access basic needs or are excluded and separated into a group where they are exposed to unequal conditions of life. Structural violence focuses attention on the social machinery of exploitation and oppression; “the ways in which epic poverty and inequality, with their deep histories, become embodied and experienced as violence” (Farmer 2010:293)

Structures can be defined as the settings within which people may do large amounts of harm to other human beings without the intention to do so, just performing their regular duties as a job defined in the structure; Structural violence was then seen as unintended harm done to human beings, as a process, working slowly in the way misery in general, and hunger in particular, erode and finally kill human beings (Weigert, 2008). Structural violence has killed ten times more people as compared to suicide, homicide and warfare combined (see Høivik 1977; Lee 2019).

Through structural forms of violence persons are socially and culturally marginalized in ways that deny them the opportunity for emotional and physical well-being, or expose them to assault or rape, or subject them to hazards that can cause sickness and death (Anglin, 1998) For example if people under the protection of a state are deemed to be starving as a result of actions or inactions of the state making the act of starvation objectively avoidable, then violence is committed, this is also regardless of whether there is a clear subject (state)–action (starvation)–object (People) relation as shown during a siege that was carried out yesterday or through no such clear relationship, such as in the way world economic relations are organized today all denotes forms of structural violence (Galtung, 1969; cited in Weigert, 2008). Poverty is a manifestation of

structural violence, it is closely linked with gender inequality, racism, lack of access to the basic necessities of life, and lack of access to resources that maintain well-being, such as healthcare, education, jobs, and security (Farmer 2003; Mukherjee 2007)

It is largely invisible. Physical violence shows, whereas “structural violence is silent and may be seen as about as natural as the air around us” (Galtung 1969:173). Many structural inequities are long-standing; they seem a natural part of the social order. But as anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes reminds us (1996:889), “invisible” does not always mean something is secreted away and hidden from view, but quite the opposite, the things that are hardest to perceive are often those which are right before our eyes and therefore simply taken for granted (Rylko-Bauer and Farmer, 2017).

When things that a society needs to survive such as access to healthcare and medicine; access to education, access to sufficient levels of food and water, are concentrated amongst just the upper classes or those in power, then that is structural violence (Høivik, 1977, p60; Clempson, 2012). Therefore, this kind of structural violence leads to economic underdevelopment and poverty amongst large sections of society. These structures can then lead to conflict as certain sections of the societal structure feel that they are worse off or need more and so blame other groups within society (Galtung, 1990 p292; Clempson, 2012).

According to Kissinger (1979), Human needs theory offers an alternative to the theory of power politics, the dominant school of thought in political science. When power politics are applied, peaceful ends are pursued by carefully crafting a balance of power between would-be aggressors. In sharp contrast, from a human needs perspective, conflicts are managed and social justice is pursued through the satisfaction of human needs (Christie, 2009). Burton (1988b) states that needs are genetically programmed predispositions, rather than conditions set by society that are common to all humankind across time and space. Rather than viewing needs as a motivational construct for understanding individual differences, Burton (1988b) maintains that needs are constant across all fields of humanity despite geographical differences and find their expression under changing conditions of the environment such as development. (Burton 1988b; cited in Christie, 2009).

From a human needs perspective, structural violence occurs whenever there are systematic inequalities in the distribution of economic and political resources in a society. This notions and debates within this research are linked towards the understanding of the human needs theory and its assumptions that structural violence and its effects can be reduced and eradicated by the satisfaction of human needs (Christie, 2009). Needs are constant and find their expression under changing conditions of the environment. For instance, the need for food security is constant need within society and becomes apparent only when the environment is perceived to pose a threat to food security through aspects such as increasing poverty that poses a challenge towards the ability to purchase food. Although needs are constant, actions in pursuit of satisfiers vary across time and space. Furthermore, people will fulfil needs through socially sanctioned activities such as stable employment or business and when unable to do so, will conspire to satisfy needs in proscribed ways such as turning to a life of crime, using violence as a means to secure the ability to satisfy needs (Christie, 2009).

Needs according to the understanding of the human needs theory vary. There is the present understanding on traditional needs or Needs for well-being and there exists the need for self-determination. Needs for well – being refer to those needs that all human beings are entitled to and must be satisfied for adequate human growth and development to occur. The systematic deprivation of material and nonmaterial resources that are necessary for humans to reach their native potentials and live a life of quality is a pervasive form of structural violence. The need for self-determination relate to the need for political representation, and voice to combat inequalities and social exploitation which when systematically denied are forms of structural violence. Due to the fact that material deprivation along with denying political rights, impacts adversely on human growth and development, the reduction of these forms of structural violence occurs when a society is moving towards the sustainable satisfaction of needs for well-being and needs for self-determination for all members of the society (Christie, 1997).

### ***Colonial legacy***

Beginning in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century, colonization was the dominant form of interaction between the industrialized world and the developing world. Colonization, was partly driven by the economic needs of raw materials for production by European countries that were industrializing over the same period. Colonial rule left a mark that cannot be removed on many of the world's poorest countries, and can be described as a pinnacle of structural violence. Understanding the impact of colonialism is important because It was also a process of structural violence, as the world was reshaped economically to suit the interests of the colonizers (Clempson, 2012).

It can be stated that Structural violence was brought about in Africa due to colonialism and neo-colonialism. it is important to highlight the corrupt, inhumane colonialism in Africa that has enabled capitalism to prosper on the forefront of society today. Wealthy western countries have been exploiting and managing poor countries for hundreds of years. This is a form of structural violence, which in turn results in outbreaks of conflicts in Africa. Obstacles are not overcome due to heavy reliance on foreign aid and intervention. The role that colonialism played in the massive amount of ethnic conflict, tribal conflict and even genocide in sub-Saharan Africa over the past 50 years is crucial (Scherrer, 2002: p364; cited in Clempson, 2012). Euro-centric ideas laid waste to pre- colonial ideas of conflict resolution and respect for your neighbours (Chabal, 2009: p10. Scherrer, 2002: p364; cited in Clempson, 2012).

Structural violence also highlights the roots of modern inequality. The inequities and suffering faced in our time have often unfolded within a broader historical context of marginalization, and this framework provides a critical context for understanding the present in terms of its relationship to the past. For instance, marginalization in post-colonial countries often connects closely with their colonial histories (Lewis, 2019).

### ***Social Stratification***

According to Giddens (2001), social stratification simply refers to as structured inequalities between or among different social groupings (Oyekola, & Oyeyipo, 2020). Social stratification exists in every society to some degree or another. Simply put, social stratification is the arrangement of different population groups into hierarchical tiers that create dominant and



subordinate groups within a society. “It’s basis and very essence consists in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and privations, social power and influences among the members of a society” (Oyekola & Eyitayo, 2020) Social stratification is the embodiment of structural violence (Davis & Moore, 1945; Shankar-Rao, 2006; cited in Oyekola & Eyitayo, 2020). It exemplifies and showcases the ways and means structural violence manifests itself in society. Through the arrangement of groups into different tiers, the unequal distribution of rights and privileges, social power and influence, structural violence is thus present in the community and societies and as a result these communities are marginalized and unable to live a life of quality.

Within a stratified society, dominant social groups share increased advantages and privileges that subordinate social groups do not. This often means that subordinate groups must contest with hardship and inequality that more dominant groups do not because of their higher placement on the social ladder which in turn forces these groups to opt out of the social norms of living towards venturing into different means of acquiring the different needs through the use of violence (Davis & Moore, 1945; cited in Oyekola & Eyitayo, 2020). Inequality on such a large scale leads to increased crime rates within societies that have been excluded and isolated, so the wealthy members in society increase their levels of security and live behind high walls and armed guards, further separating the social classes and entrenching inequality (Fearon and Laitin 2003; Clemson, 2012) The conflicts result in an increase in tensions between ethnic groups in society, wasting money and resources that could be spent on improving healthcare, education facilities or infrastructure development and so creates more structural violence and conflict which then leads to personal violence in what is known as a conflict trap (Galtung, 1969).

### **2.3 EFFECTS ON THE SOCIETY IN KIBERA**

Kibera, the name derives from the Nubian word Kibra for ‘forest’ and testifies to the origins of the settlement. It is located in the centre of Kenya’s capital Nairobi and is characterised as one of the largest informal settlements in Africa. Population estimates for the large 225-hectare settlement, adjacent to the Ngong River, vary. Some figures estimate 1 million others 800,000 and between 200,000 and 700,000, while around 235,000 to 270,000 seems to be the most realistic estimate. Kibera is characterized by overcrowded dwellings; unemployment; poor environmental conditions; limited water supply; poor sanitation; inadequate electricity supply and access to health facilities (Mitra et al, 2017; Runner, 2011; Flinck, 2017; de smedt, 2009a; 2009b; Brandt, 2018).

Crime and domestic violence are also features of the community, where the majority of households are single-headed, often by women (Onyango & Tostensen, 2015). Kibera was a hotspot of the post-election violence in late 2007 and early 2008 which saw (and continues to see) a violent response from police and government agents because of the view of the presence of crime and its agents (Omenya & Lubaale, 2012). Although 90% the land in Kibera is reportedly owned by the government, the residents in this community live in 12 x 12ft houses better known as shacks owned by absentee landlords. The houses are built with mud walls, screened with concrete (cement), a corrugated tin roof and dirt or concrete floor. These shacks often house eight or more family members, many of whom sleep on the floor. All the dwellers in Kibera are

Africans with, Nubians constituting 15% of the population (Wamalwa, Wanjala & Tuikong, 2016). Health facilities are poor and HIV and AIDS are a challenge to families, leading, in turn, to a rising number of orphans. Health facilities, such as public clinics and hospitals are not provided by the government. Therefore, majority of Kibera slum dwellers are largely dependent on services provided by NGOs, e.g. AMREF, MSF and FBOs. The unemployment rate is reported to be very high in this community, perhaps as high as 50% of the employable population (Mutisya & Yarime, 2011; Wiik, 2014).

The conditions seen in Kibera can be traced back to the colonial era. It began as housing of former British army conscripts mostly of Nubia origin who became the landlords of what became an excluded and isolated colonial settlement meant to control and subdue the mobility of native Kenyans. The emergence of Kibera as an excluded and forgotten informal colonial settlement has continued today with little to no government intervention in the area which remains to be an excluded settlement of the marginalized poor (Clemson, 2012). This exemplifies the manifestation of structural violence in Kibera as it is deeply rooted in the makeup of the community. Kibera has been plagued by a combination of oppressive colonial policies, failed intervention at the local level and national level and unhelpful international economic policy. Today, residents in Kibera are faced with a legacy of grinding poverty and crippling disease in an environment of ongoing institutional neglect and social exclusion, exploitation and marginalization; they are victims of “structural violence,” bearing suffering that can in part be linked to Kibera’s colonial past, rife as it was with exploitation of the natives, as well as oppressive policies that bred poverty in the slum (Chia, 2010).

Factors that have influenced conflicts in Kibera include economic and political exclusion, as well as the strongly ethicized discourse of Kenyan politics (De Smedt, 2009). Ethnic divide has also played a role in the progression of structural violence targeted the community in Kibera. Due to the fact that majority of the population of the community belong to the perceived opposition ethnic groups like the Luo and Kalenjin furthered by the fact that Kibera acts as an opposition stronghold makes it a prime field for patron – client exploitation; that is whereby through exclusion and the adverse effects of poverty the community becomes prime for exploitation by politicians eager to barter votes for ‘development’ especially around an election cycle (Shilaho, 2008; Kihato, 2015; Okombo & Sana, 2010).

## **2.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

This research seeks to identify the conditional creation of structural violence, contribute towards the understanding of the effects of structural violence on society and how these effects such as underdevelopment, exacerbation of poverty, social exclusions, divisions and inequality lead to negative quality of life. Resulting from this negative quality of life is instability within society which usually results in increasing crime and outbreaks of violence, because of the competition for resources that have been unequally distributed amongst members of society in Kibera the area of study of my research. Therefore, the main concepts I have identified are structural violence, poverty, and Inequality.

Structural violence is problematic in and of itself, but it is also dangerous because it frequently leads to direct violence. The chronically oppressed are often, for logical reasons, those

who resort to direct violence. Organized armed conflict in various parts of the world is easily traced to structured inequalities (see Cairns & Darby, 1998; Winter & Leighton, 2001) as argued by human needs theorists. Structural violence leads to economic underdevelopment and as a result there is an exacerbation of poverty amongst large sections of society. These unequal structures can then lead to conflict as certain sections of the societal structure feel that they are worse off or need more and so blame other groups within society (Galtung, 1990 p292; Clempson, 2012). Structural violence does not involve acts of physical violence that cause physical harm rather it refers to acts of systemic oppression, limitations, barriers and opposition towards the ability of a person(s) to live a life of quality which results in increasing levels of poverty, inequality and inability of access of essential social services such as health and housing. Structural violence thus causes physical harm through these above mentioned effects when people die from starvation and poor health. Other results are, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation through violent socioeconomic or political structures which form inequality within society which creates barriers to access of social securities (Rowson 2012).

According to Rylko-Bauer & Farmer (2017) structures can be identified and defined social relations and arrangements— economic, political, legal, religious, or cultural—that shape how individuals and groups interact within a social system (Rylko-Bauer & Farmer 2017). These include broad-scale cultural and political-economic structures such as caste, patriarchy, slavery, apartheid, colonialism, and neoliberalism, as well as poverty and discrimination by race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and migrant/refugee status. These structures as described by Brady & Burton (2016) “are violent because they result in avoidable deaths, illness, and injury; and they reproduce violence by marginalizing people and communities, constraining their capabilities and agency, assaulting their dignity, and sustaining inequalities” (Brady & Burton, 2016). As suggested by Nancy Scheper-Hughes in her work ‘*comments on structural violence*’; ‘Structural violence erases the history and consciousness of the social origins of poverty, sickness, hunger, and premature death, so that they are simply taken for granted and naturalized so that no one is held accountable except, perhaps, the poor themselves’ (Bourgois, P. & Scheper-Hughes 2004:14 as cited in Rowson 2012: *Violence and development*).

According to Kabuya (2015), poverty is not an easy concept to define. As a result, a range of definitions exist, influenced by different disciplinary approaches. These approaches include the basic needs approach, the capabilities approach, and the human development approach. Poverty is multidimensional and not only a deficit in material resources but also a context in which decisions are made (Kabuya, 2015). Sengupta (2003) defined poverty as not only an insufficient income to buy a minimum basket of goods and services but as the lack of basic capabilities to live in dignity. This definition recognizes poverty’s broader features, such as hunger, poor education, discrimination, vulnerability and social exclusion (Adeyemi, Ijaiya, & Raheem, 2009). In the International Bill of Rights, poverty is defined as a human condition characterized by sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights (Adeyemi, Ijaiya, & Raheem, 2009; see also Sen 1985; UN 2001; Hunt, et.al 2004). Yahie (1993) reiterates that the factors that cause poverty include: (I) structural causes that are more permanent and depend on a host of exogenous factors such as limited resources, lack of

skills, locational disadvantage and other factors that are inherent in the social and political set-up; and (ii) the transitional causes that are mainly due to structural adjustment reforms and changes in domestic economic policies that may result in price changes, unemployment and so on (Adeyemi, Ijaiya, & Raheem, 2009; see Yahie, 1993).

According to Ijaiya et al (2011) “the measure of poverty includes: longevity as measured by life expectancy at birth; educational attainment as measured by a combination of adult literacy (two-thirds weight) and combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment ratios (one third weight); and improvement in standard of living as measured by real GDP per capita income (PPP\$). The first relates to survival - vulnerability to death at a relatively early age. The second relates to knowledge – being excluded from the world of reading and communication. The third relates to a decent living standard in terms of overall economic provisioning” (Ijaiya, Ijaiya, Bello & Ajayi, 2011).

The most straight forward definition of inequality is ‘differences faced by different people in their command over socio-economic resources.’ Furthermore, interest in ‘inequality’ is often combined by a concern with ‘inequity,’ which can be defined as ‘morally or ethically unjustifiable differences among people in their command over resources (Osberg, 2001). Inequality also involves The uneven and unfair distribution of opportunities and rewards that increase power, prestige, and wealth for individuals or groups; social disparity.

We further delve into another form of inequality; social inequality. Which is defined as the disproportionate distribution of resources and/or rewards among different individuals, social groups and/or segments of society. Social inequality usually implies the lack of equality of outcome, but may alternatively be conceptualized in terms of the lack of equality of access to opportunity. The existence of a high degree of social inequality is usually considered morally unacceptable. Social inequality occurs as a direct or residual effect of the structure of the labor; of the systemic gender discrimination, racism, and discrimination based on religion or ethnicity; of differences in family structure or of state policy towards different social groups (based on age, family status, etc.); or of a caste system. a prominent perspective sees social inequality within and among cities (and nations) as the result of uneven economic development (Caves & Walks, 2005). Thus as some of the definitions have highlighted inequality stems from differences exacerbated by unequal distributions of resources and wealth by structures in a constant state of instability and thus violence.

Structural violence also highlights the roots of inequality. Inequality is a self-sustaining form of violence, as marginalized and violent communities have fewer opportunities for growth and improvement (Lee, 2019). Galtung (1969; p175) says that above all “structural violence is defined by inequality, particularly when it comes to the distribution of power in a social structure” (Clemson, 2012). Inequality caused by social structures is postulated to be the core culprit for “violence” all around the world (Miliband 2005: 39-41 cited from UKessay 2018). Following Galtung (1969), inequality is rightly recognized as one expression of ongoing structural violence, but even the most egalitarian of democracies might be founded in and through violence against prior modes of life (Dilts, et al 2012). Inequality also takes multiple forms which increases the means to which structural violence is experienced such as inequality through gender, race,

ethnicity, immigrant status, sexual orientation, class and other forms of inequality that is faced by individuals and society as a whole (Lewis, 2019)

In this study we do not look at violence as a physical act of bringing harm or damage to another person but as a deprivation of goods, services and basic needs resulting in harm such as hunger, medical ailments and illiteracy of the person. Galtung states in “Violence, Peace and Peace Research” that the important point is that if people are starving when this is objectively avoidable, then violence is committed (Galtung, 1969).

## **2.6 CRITIQUE AND GAP(S) OF THE EXISTING LITERATURE RELEVANT TO THE STUDY**

The current existing literature on Structural violence is dominated by the study of its effects as a cause for disparities in health sector and as a cause of conflict. It is mainly utilized in peace studies. The current existing literature on structural violence mainly takes into account its effects on specific sectors such as health. The concept of structural violence was initially developed in the 1960s as a means to explain the different disparities present in health and on a more global level of development between wealthy countries and poor postcolonial states. As Hirschfeld (2017) states “this idea emerged out of Dependency Theory and defined poverty and disease in the developing world as the product of exploitation by colonial or neo-colonial powers, most recently contemporary researchers have continued to use structural violence to explain international health trends, but a review of recent literature reveals that the concept is increasingly outdated and poorly theorized. It is especially problematic when used to describe contemporary epidemics of infectious disease” (Hirschfeld, 2017).

Structural violence has been largely described in vague terms and with multiple distinct and differing definitions in the existing literature creating a more nuanced understanding of the concept which fails to create a concrete approach to defining the concept leaving it open and vague to interpretation (Stiles, 2011). The relationship that exists between oppressive structures and the struggles faced by marginalized groups to balance global power relations are under-theorized (Parsons, 2007; cited in Stiles, 2011). It thus fails to account for the effects most usually detrimental on the collective communities that have faced constant systemic inequality, oppression and exclusion from accessing basic social needs and that the effect has been primarily to the ability to live a life of quality and achieve progress and development. Structural violence is a complex concept – rich in its explanatory potential but vague in its operational definition and arguably limited in its theoretical precision posing a challenge in relating structural violence in the field of development. Parsons (2007) “writes that structural violence is often used as an umbrella concept to highlight and account for other types of injustice within society, such as oppression, marginalization, inequality, exploitation, domination, and repression. However, an overly broad definition of structural violence ignores any significant opportunities and possibilities for addressing the direct impact of structural violence on society.”

## **2.7 SUMMARY.**

In this chapter I describe the existing literature on structural violence, its origins in the site of study Kibera and attempt to highlight the different effects it has had on the community and

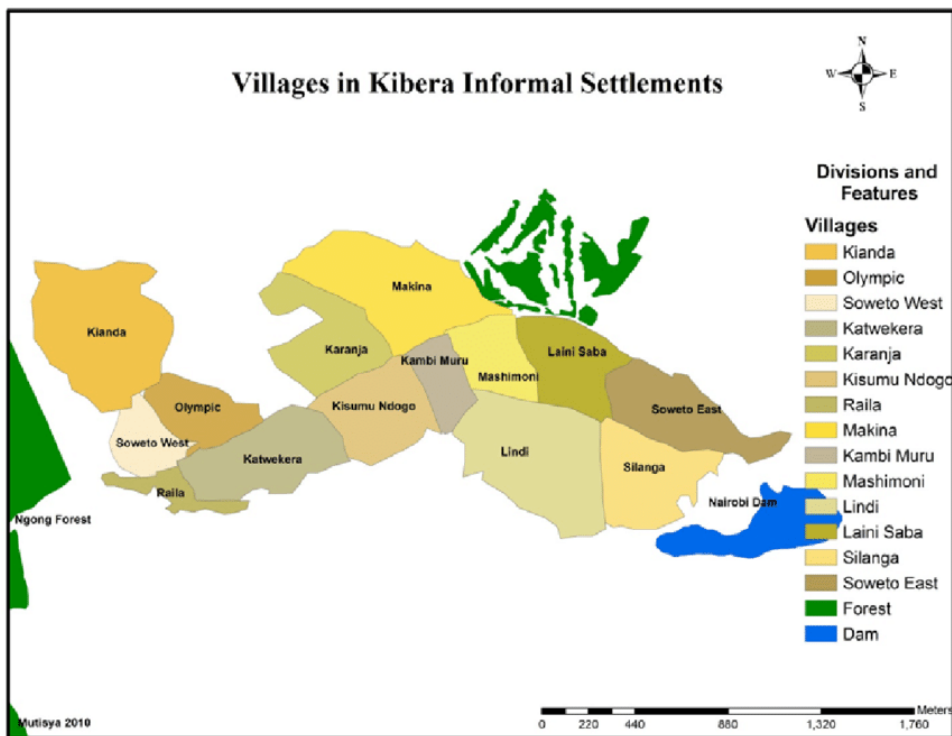
residents in Kibera. I highlight the effects of structural violence, the colonial legacy and how acts such as social stratification produce structural violence. Furthermore, I highlight how poverty stems from the inequality faced by different groups and how these inequalities cause basic needs to become inaccessible to these groups, which in turn creates a divided society of the poor and wealthy leaving the poor and impoverished to be exploitable through means of patronage which will be discussed in chapter 4. This section highlights the need to understand structural violence as a barrier to accessing basic needs by assessing it through the arguments of human needs theory.

## CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I describe and explore how I will conduct the research through different methodologies and how different fieldwork practices will be executed. This chapter will present the site of study while stating and outlining different procedures and methods I used in the data collection through interviews and a literature/document review, interviews and data processing such as the research design, data collection instruments, data collection procedures and finally the data analysis. I will further highlight in this chapter the limitation faced while carrying out this research.

### 3.2 THE SITE OF STUDY



**Figure 1 – Kibera Villages (Source Mutisya, & Yarime, 2011)**

Kibera is one of the largest slums in Africa and the largest one in Kenya (Umande Trust, 2010; Brandt, 2018). The slum is roughly five kilometres away from the city centre. The settlement covers approximately 235 hectares of land and has 12 villages (see figure 1) The UN-Habitat puts the total population in Kibera between 350,000 to one million, whereas International Housing Coalition estimates the population to more than half a million people, while experts on urban slums give an estimate of more than 800,000 people. Government statistics on the total population of Kibera slums to around 200,000 people (KNBS, 2010; Mutisya, & Yarime, 2011). Life in Kibera has been characterised by its lack of basic social services, poor sanitation, bad access to clean water, and inadequate garbage collection and infrastructure. Unemployment, lack of security, lack of secure of tenure and criminal elements is also widely spread in and around Kibera. The settlement is segregated and isolated from other parts of Nairobi and even if some

there have been some improvements that have taken place during in the last couple of years there's still a lot of work to do (Flinck, 2017).

While the exact number of people residing in Kibera remains unconfirmed, there is a consensus regarding the quality of life of the inhabitants of the community. Extensive poverty and unemployment characterize life in the slum. Almost three-quarters of Kibera's households earn less than KES 10,000 per month with an average of five people per household (approximately one USD per person per day) (Mulcacy & Chu, p.10, 2008; cited in Brandt, 2018). Formal employment in the area remains low, albeit no official statistics exist.

The means of income of the residents comes from self-employment in small vegetable stalls and shops (Kiosks) and informal (Jua kali), short contact work in construction (Mjengo) sites and in factories is however common. In a study conducted in 2011, only 8.5% of the men above 18 years in Kibera stated they have no occupation (Desgropes & Taupin, p. 8, 2011; Brandt, 2018). The Housing and sanitation situation in Kibera has been stated the most pressing challenge faced by the residents of the settlement (UN Habitat, 2014). In 2006, only 22% of the slum households had water connections and 75% accessed water through water vendors mainly described as cartels (which will further be discussed in chapter 4) severely overcharge the residents (UN Habitat, 2006). These highly congested living conditions profoundly increase health risks and severely diminish the quality of life for Kibera residents (Mulcacy & Chu, p. 13, 2008; K'akumu, p. 89, 2007; Brandt, 2018).

Despite the challenges faced by the residents of Kibera there is continued intervention by international organizations, NGOs/CBOs/FBOs, financial institutions, and even the government to improve and alleviate the situation in this slum. These organizations have been credited with erecting schools, water kiosks, health centres and dispensaries, toilets and bathrooms in different villages in Kibera slums but these facilities are still inadequate owing to the high number of people living in Kibera (Mutisya, & Yarime, 2011).

Moving away from the negative aspects of Kibera, the area can provide a cheap and affordable life to the people. When Compared to other parts of Nairobi, housing is characterised as affordable and food, activities, events and services are cheap. The area is centrally located in Nairobi, which gives citizens in Kibera good accessibility to the services such as transport (Matatu) that is provided by other parts of the city. Kibera is quite unique in the sense that slums tend to emerge in the outskirts of cities. Another positive characteristic of the area is that there remains to be a strong social relationship within the settlement. The community holds the bonds of its neighbours in high regards and tend to put great value to family, friends, relatives and neighbours, resulting in strong social relationships and good spirit among the citizens (Flinck, 2017).

### **3.2 THE STUDY SAMPLE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES**

This research will use non- probability sampling. This is mainly due to the constraints of mobility, access to a diverse population and sample group. This technique allows me to utilize already cultivated contacts and informants who can use mutual contacts to expand the sampling group.



### **3.3 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES**

Because of the diverse and extensive nature of the topic of research I will utilize both primary and secondary data. The primary data will allow me to access recent data on the topic of research due to its ever evolving nature. Primary data also gives insight into unexplored areas of structural violence such as its role in exacerbating poverty and inequality through marginalization and exclusions creating conditions for underdevelopment. I will collect primary data through the use of interviews with local informants in Kibera, focus group discussions with different members of the community, activists and politicians. This will allow me to have a diverse response and as such diverse data due to the different experiences and knowledge of the respondents. For the interviews I will use semi-structured questions which will allow for room to manoeuvre according to the responses that may require further inquiry.

Secondary data allows me to analyse past studies and data such as statistics on levels of poverty in Kibera, Police brutality statistics and access to justice reports. This data creates a base or foundation that will guide my research into the current situation whether it has evolved or remains the same.

### **3.4 DATA ANALYSIS METHODS**

Due to the primary use of interviews and analysis of secondary data that is reports and past studies, my data analysis is going to involve identifying common patterns within the responses and critically analysing them in order to achieve research aims and objectives. More specifically a Narrative Analysis which is a method used to analyse content gathered from various sources such as personal interviews, field observation, and surveys. The majority of times, stories, or opinions shared by people are focused on finding answers to the research questions. This common patterns within the responses further guided my document review to analyse similar studies carried out on the same area of research which allowed for a detailed insight into the subject being researched.

### **3.5 ETHICAL ISSUES**

On the onset I anticipate there may be ethical issues relating to getting informed consent from participants and interviewees. This is mainly because of the level of understanding of what consent may be perceived as by the participant and interviewees and the possibility of language barriers causing misinterpretation of what exactly is required. I plan on resolving this through the use of informants on the ground who would be able to adequately explain and sensitize the participants and interviewees on what giving their informed consent entails allowing them to make the appropriate and necessary decisions on participating in the interviews and focus group discussions.

I anticipate a presence of bias towards a number of issues such as the kind of participants to engage, the type of data I will use and an interpretation of the data I receive. I believe this is mainly because of the closeness or rather determination I have towards proving my own ideas and assumptions, a sort of confirmation bias. I will mitigate these bias by ensuring that I formulate a solid research design and plan, I will also ensure that I carry out a blind selection of participants

through the use of my informants on the ground and finally by formulating set research questions it will help me avoid steering the respondents in a specific direction that favours me.

Objectivity. By having the need to use my research as a means of finding a solution for the community I am studying It may cause me to be less objective in making decisions. I will mitigate this issue by minimizing and possibly completely avoiding interactions with the participants on a personal level.

My experience of being born and living in Nairobi for the better part of my life and having contact and interactions with residents in Kibera throughout my life in Kenya places me in a position of having an understanding, albeit still one of an outsider from the community in Kibera, nonetheless it is one that has informed the need to study structural violence from the perspective of Kibera. This experience has also formed the ideas I have used to guide this research such as the presence of struggle in Kibera requires action to address it, the residents in Kibera need help to mitigate and address their situation and all residents in Kibera want things to change from the way it is.

### **3.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

Due to the current COVID-19 pandemic the main limitation faced in this study was the ability to physically access the field. Although digital access was possible, still took away the physic presence of experiencing the field and attempting to immerse into the dynamics of the community. The question of the ability of the respondents and participants to access the different data collection modes came into question and due to their reality on the ground such as the possible lack of stable internet and equipment such as laptops or smartphones to carry out interviews. Furthermore, due to inaccurate and conflicting reports by different organizations from the UN-habitat to Local NGOs and the Government it creates a challenge on getting accurate reports and figures on distribution of goods and basic needs to the access of the residents to different sectors such as education, health and livable wages through income opportunities. This limited data on the area of study has further hampered carrying out research without access to the field in a very densely populated area with broad spectrum of difference in the way of life. A further limitation is the access and availability of relevant documents and to the literature on the area with a focus on similar areas relating to the subject which was highlighted in the section on the research gap. A further limitation was the willingness to get participants for the interviews which can be attributed to research fatigue on the part of the residents of Kibera due to the over researching by scholars on different aspects of Kibera such as why it is the biggest slum in Africa. Due to the limitations mentioned above this researcher was only able to conduct and analyze 2 interviews which were further used to inform the document review making this research majorly based on existing literature and documents.

## CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter of the research presents the outcome of a literature review and document research on structural violence in Kibera guided by two interviews with NGO practitioners who as well as worked in Kibera also live and have roots in the community, with the aim of answering the central research question and sub-research questions. The data presented in this section will highlight the manifestations of structural violence in Kibera and the ways in which it is experienced by the community; two central aspects that informed and directed this research. Out of the culminating research a number of themes emerged such as social stratification, patronage and neopatrimonialism and poverty porn which reinforce my arguments and concepts of structural violence, poverty through the exploitation of the situation of poverty and inequality through social stratification.

The findings from this research presented an interesting theme, that of social stratification where by Kibera through its colonial history and formation has created a sort of tier or world of its own that is then surrounded by more developed and higher classes creating a sort of inescapable reality or ‘prison’ to say the least. These themes look to answer the research questions posed in the previous chapter and provide answers and understanding of how structural violence manifests itself and is experienced in Kibera. As a result of this research carried out It shows the broad nature of structural violence; going simply beyond unequal social structures, division, inequality and exploitation; it brings in the understanding of how deeply rooted structural violence can become in society and its invisible nature if not addressed or simply brought out into the light. It causes an ideology of the accepted status quo without any possible solutions or alternatives.

#### *Colonial origins of structural violence in Kibera.*

Kibera an offshoot of the original Nubian word ‘*Kibra*’ meaning forest was established in 1912 when the then British colonial government decided to allow a group of Nubian soldiers to settle there (Bodewes, 2005). At this period in time Africans were not allowed to freely move around Nairobi and a system called the ‘*Kipande*’ system was in place to control and regulate the movement in Nairobi; creating a space of immobility for the railway workers, former soldiers and the local populations. At retirement from the army the Nubis did not receive a pension, they were however exempted for life from paying Hut or Poll Tax, and there was plenty of land in Kibera to settle and cultivate; which was allocated to them as a form of pension after retirement from the army. However, the official army permit to settle in Kibera, the so-called ‘*shamba pass*’ stated that the bearer “has permission to make a shamba in the Military Reserve”, while later shamba passes gave permission to “live in the KAR Shamba and build one [or more] house” this would indicate that the land allocated in Kibera was not given to the Nubis, but rather just for their temporary use, this uncertainty of land ownership began what is continually experienced today in Kibera (Mukeni 2018).

Kibera was quietly handed over from military supervision to civil administration – it now fell under the Nairobi District Commissioner, not the Nairobi City Council. Under civil administration, control of the area became even slacker than it had been under the KAR. Due to the growing appeal of the area an influx of non-Nubians mostly native Kenyans began and the

situation in the area changed. It began shifting from an area of settlement by former soldiers from KAR and the Nubians to a more informal set up of workers looking for jobs in Nairobi and a beginning of crime filled area brought about by the growing Nubi gin trade, theft and prostitution (Mitra Et Al, 2017). Furthermore, one of the main ideas and motivations of having sons of the ex-Nubi soldiers take up arms as the new recruits did not materialize and the colonial government began plans to demolish the settlement as they had done in the past. This however did not come into fruition (De Smedt, 2009a).

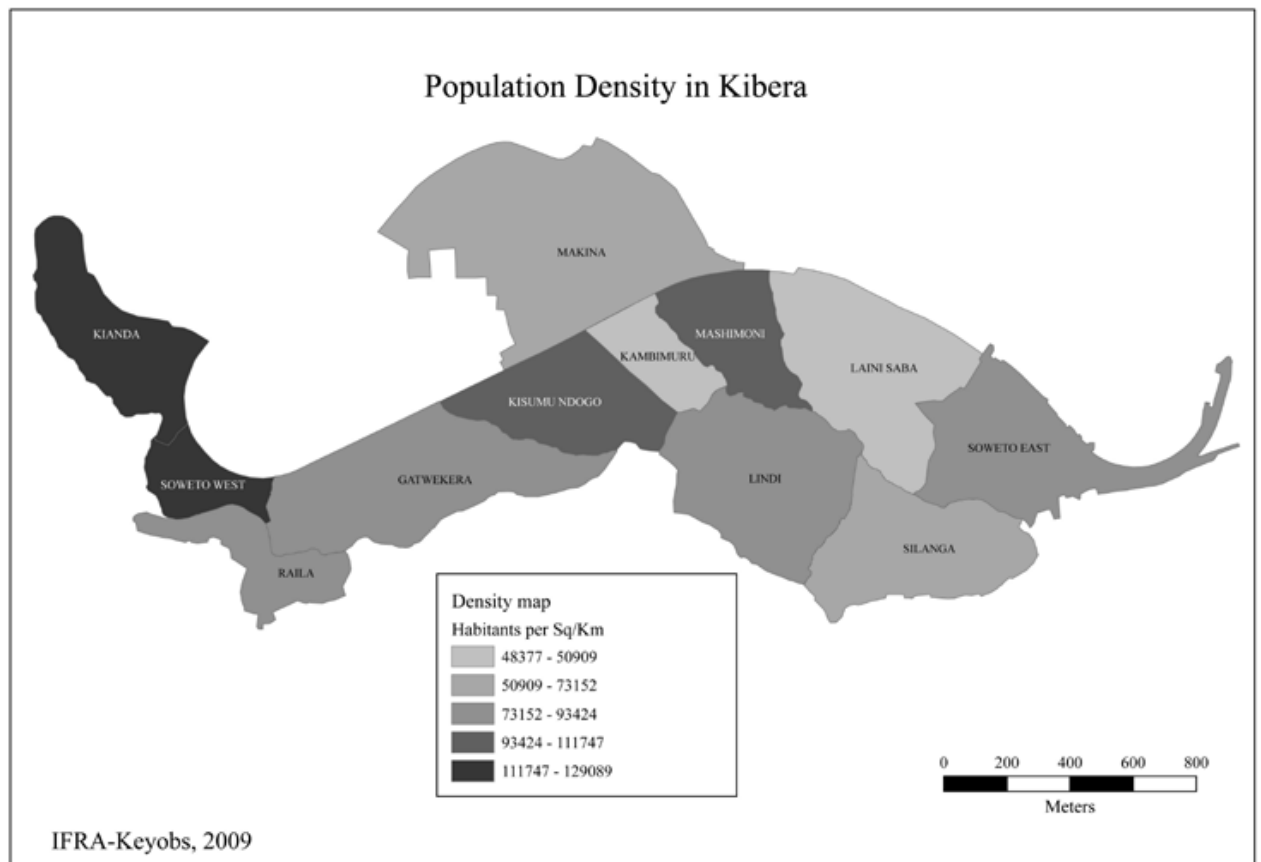
At the same time, another process was taking place in Kibera: a reduction of the land. Being that Kibera was so close to Nairobi, the area was a logical choice for expansion of the town. Despite Nubi protests, large parts of Kibera land were hived off over the years, starting in the late 1920s with the expansion of the (Royal) Nairobi Golf Club (from 216 to 429 acres) and in 1937/8 the construction of the new Aerodrome Road (De Smedt, 2009b). In most cases the land that was used was sparsely inhabited and usually did not require the large scale movement of people; only the re-alignment of the railway cutting through Kibera (1948) entailed the demolishing of 16 Nubi houses and relocation of people compensation. By 1947, the Kibera area had shrunk from the original 4198 acres to about 1700 acres. The liquor (Nubi Gin) raids in Kibera continued, and no permission was given to supply clean piped water to the area with the excuse that “it is undesirable that the settlement there should be permanent” it was thought that neglecting the settlement would eventually force out the inhabitants (De Smedt, 2009b).

### ***Spatial exclusion and exploitation through forced evictions in Kibera***

The new Kenyan government after independence retained the land policies of the colonial regime, and inhabitants of Kibera did not receive property rights to the land they occupied. With this the settlement received the overarching tag of slum and informal settlement, barring the understanding of Kibera as an illegal area of settlement at the mercy of the structure owners but most importantly the landlords, that is the government (Joireman & Sweet, 2008). This ownership of land became possible through The Crowns Land Ordinance which was renamed the Government Lands Act, giving the president authority to allocate unalienated government land, including Kibera (Government of Kenya 2005: 8; cited in Joireman & Sweet, 2008). In line with its policy of “slum-clearance,” the Government of Kenya declared Kibera to be government land and officially terminated Nubian claims to the land in 1969; after this an act of parliament was passed unanimously granting land permits to Nubians which was never implemented and the government maintains ownership of the land (see Church (p.133) 2002).

The system of land ownership in Kibera creates an environment of uncertainty for its residents: most of the land belongs to the government itself and because of living without legal title, these residents are extremely susceptible to forced evictions, like in the case of 2004, where the Government of Kenya (GOK) announced plans for a series of mass evictions that would threaten the homes of over 300 000 residents in Nairobi, including thousands of people in Kibera. The official justification was that these informal settlements were located in dangerous public areas, including rail reserves, electrical power lines and land reserved for road construction. Raila Village was the first village to be affected, where 400 structures were destroyed (including schools, clinics and churches) which left approximately 2000 people homeless (Wiik, 2014).

**Figure 2 – Kibera population density (Source Desgropes & Taupin, [2011]. IFRA-Keyobs Field Survey (2009))**



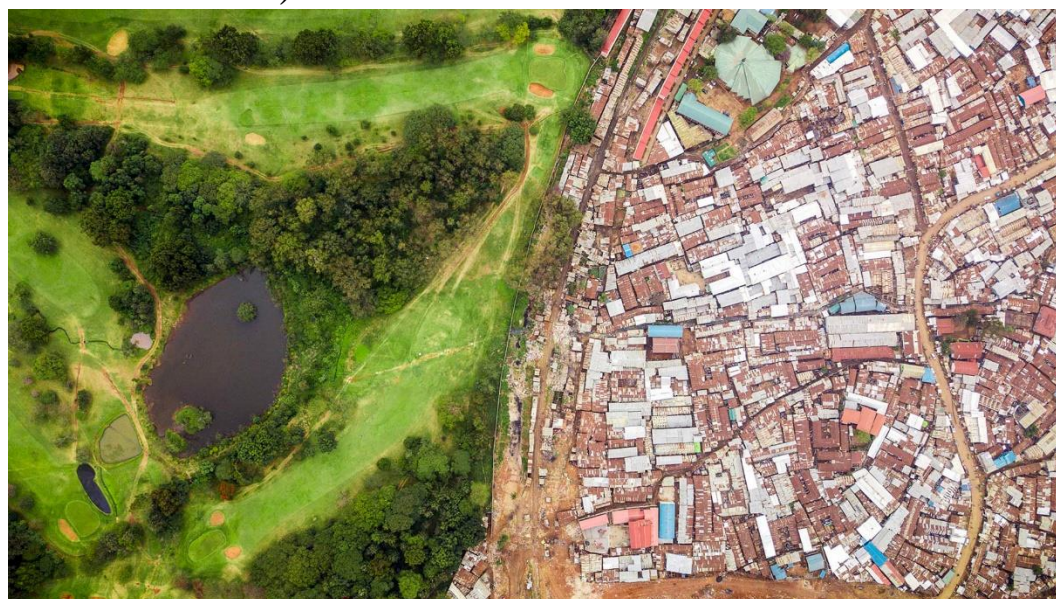
The susceptibility to forced evictions can be better understood, if viewed as a dynamic process – that is, as resulting from a convergence of different factors (e.g. urbanisation, economic growth, social exclusion, informal land tenure). An example of this spatial exclusion is highlighted in the population density of Kibera; so given that the surface area of Kibera is 2.38 km, the density for 700,000 inhabitants would be about 300,000 inhabitants per square kilometre (see figure 2) (Desgropes & Taupin, 2011) as compared to Muthaiga and affluent Nairobi neighbourhood popular to expatriates and diplomats which is quoted as 481 persons per square kilometre (Wiik, 2014). As Joireman (2011) argues, increasing patterns of urbanisation in Africa has resulted in “pockets of statelessness developing in capital cities; informal communities with higher population densities that lack formal structures for conflict resolution, police presence, and law enforcement.” And as such in the absence of formal tenure afforded to the residents of Kibera, creating an informal space of settlement, the threat of evictions has continued to characterise life in this community.

In cities, territories and communities where people are segregated and excluded by the unequal geographies of formal and informal, such territorial stigma acts as an instrument to maintain hegemonic control over the people through actively producing and reproducing geographies of difference and maintaining spatial and social division (Ingen, Sharpe, & Lashua, 2018; cited in Fattah, & Walters, 2020). Territorial stigmatisation presents a form of top down violence deployed by urban elites as a way to sustain relations of power and domination, and legitimise reproduction

of social inequalities and injustices (Tyler, 2013; Wacquant, 2008; cited in Fattah, & Walters, 2020). Fattah, & Walters, (2020) state that “Discourses of vilification consisting of deeply discrediting narratives that circulate in political, bureaucratic and journalistic fields produce the dominant imaginings of urban poor neighbourhoods” (see Butler, 2019; Parker & Karner, 2010; Wacquant, 2008). Such narratives portray informal settlement residents as undesirable in the city, and systematically exclude them from essential urban amenities and opportunities including access to employment, education, and medical care (Keene & Padilla, 2014). Through territorial stigmatisation informal settlement residents become an “obnoxious and repugnant other, always underserving and tainted” (see Auyero, 1999, p. 65), an out-of-place population to be removed from the city (Fattah, & Walters, 2020).

To sum it up the informal tenure and the immense levels of inequalities exhibited in Kibera continue to both maintain and reproduce patterns of extreme poverty. This is perhaps most evident through the fragmented nature of Nairobi’s population, as defined by socio-economic and political boundaries illustrated in physical nature of the geographical and spatial exclusion illustrated by the position of Kibera and its surrounding environs of The royal Nairobi golf course and different middle income estates which create a border of management for the residents in Kibera who from their informal structures view and experience only by sight the indifference and unequal scenes of golfers playing on land (see figure 2) that could possibly solve the congested nature of the housing situation in Kibera (Wiik, 2014).

**Figure 3 – Aerial view of Kibera bordering Royal Nairobi Golf course (source [unequalscenes.com/Nairobi](http://unequalscenes.com/Nairobi))**



### ***Kibera housing***

The housing setup of Kibera mainly consists of tenants living in 12x12 shacks made from ‘*mabati*’ and mud walls. The tenants constitute 92 per cent of the total population and absentee

structure owners, with a few owner occupiers accounting for a mere 5 per cent (Research International, 2005). The structure owners are referred to as such because they can only claim ownership of the shacks or 'structures' that they rent out and as such not qualify as landlords because they do not possess legal claim to the land, furthermore these structure owners are typically from a higher socio economic class who reside in middle-class housing estates outside Kibera as compared to their tenants (Joireman & Sweet, 2008). The high percentage of tenants compared to owner occupiers denies Kibera slum the tag of a typical squatter settlement as one would presume. Instead, the slum is a rental enterprise of a kind in which rich structure owners make enormous income profits by renting out structures that are in deplorable condition with little choice or say on the matter residents are thus conditioned to accept their situation as it is as they believe that life elsewhere is worse than their current condition (Neuwirth, 2005). The non-resident structure owners are estimated to comprise 70 per cent of the total number of structure owners (Bodewes, 2005) of which a number of them are purported to be influential and wealthy people according to a UN report which indicates that 57 per cent of the non-resident structure owners in Kibera are government officers and politicians (Syagga, Mitullah, & Gitau, 2002).

Over the past few decades, the Kenyan government announced several plans to redevelop Kibera, but these projects have been hindered by corruption and political patronage (Muraya 2006). In turn, residents have learned to distrust government assistance. Some of the major development efforts to improve the living conditions in Kibera have included: 1) the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) Kibera Pilot, 2) the Nairobi Railway Relocation Action Plan (hereafter Railway Project), and 3) the National Youth Service (NYS)-led Kibera Slum Upgrade Initiative. These three interventions reflect different approaches to slum upgrading.<sup>1</sup> KENSUP, a project by the Kenyan government and UN-Habitat, aimed to improve the livelihoods of people living and working in Kenya's informal settlements through the provision of security of tenure, housing improvement, income generation, and physical and social infrastructure.<sup>2</sup> (The project faced several challenges. Structure owners in Soweto East opposed the project because they would lose their source of income (the rent from the tenants) without being compensated (Mitra et al, 2017). During the period of initial notices and relocation in 2009, structure owners filed complaints and lawsuits that delayed project implementation, along with that the program failed to take into account the socio economic situation and communal structure of how residents in Kibera lived. Because of their little income and their means of surviving the relocation into what can be considered a middle income area caused more hardship causing the program to stall and ultimately lie dormant (Mitra Et Al, 2017).

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<sup>1</sup> The term "slum" usually has derogatory connotations and can suggest that a settlement needs replacement or can legitimate the eviction of its residents. However, it is a difficult term to avoid for at least three reasons. First, some networks of neighbourhood organizations choose to identify themselves with a positive use of the term, partly to neutralize these negative connotations; one of the most successful is the National Slum Dwellers Federation in India. Second, the only global estimates for housing deficiencies, collected by the United Nations, are for what they term "slums". And third, in some nations, there are advantages for residents of informal settlements if their settlement is recognized officially as a "slum"; indeed, the residents may lobby to get their settlement classified as a "notified slum". Where the term is used in this journal, it refers to settlements characterized by at least some of the following features: a lack of formal recognition on the part of local government of the settlement and its residents; the absence of secure tenure for residents; inadequacies in provision for infrastructure and services; overcrowded and sub-standard dwellings; and location on land less than suitable for occupation. For a discussion of more precise ways to classify the range of housing sub-markets through which those with limited incomes buy, rent or build accommodation, see *Environment and Urbanization* Vol 1, No 2 (1989), available at <http://eau.sagepub.com/content/1/2.toc>.

<sup>2</sup> [UN-Habitat \(2008\)](#), *UN-Habitat and the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme - Strategy Document*, Nairobi, 75 pages.

*“take a case of the slum upgrading program, which was done by the government, where they build houses in lan’gata which is a high end estate. And they moved to people there. You know, so the problem, came, Hey, you earn 5,000 shillings. You are moved into a new residential area with the different prices and everything that social economic, eh, network is lost. You know, you usually see with that kind of, with that place, people are not able to live that, that, that they were not able to cope with their little income.” (Interview with Johnston SHOFCO)*

Due to the KENSUP projects, residents in Kibera faced a number of consequences such as a disruption in their communal networks and subsequently a loss of information and access to networks through which they were able to sustain their livelihood such projects fail to take into account the significance of the communal setting of Kibera and almost usually carry out these projects without any consultation with the residents which continues to disenfranchise the residents and uproots any form of agency they had cultivated (Mitra Et. Al, 2017).

The simplicity and comfort of the life residents have created in Kibera boils down to social conditioning or social stratification that informs the residents decisions and all round inability to live a life of quality due to their current position within society (Davis & Moore, 1945; cited in Oyekola & Eytayo, 2020). Hodgetts et al, (2014) states that “Structural violence is often enacted through technocratic systems and procedures for ‘managing’ the poor, which have become normalised and taken-for-granted as simply how things are done around here.” With this view the normalization and acceptance of the situation in Kibera as it is and the resident’s resistance to change all points towards structural violence thus exemplifying an accepted manifestation of structural violence in Kibera (Arendt, 1963/1969; Springer, 2012; Cited in Hodgetts et al, 2014).

This creates a complex and complicated situation for residents in Kibera, since it is the same politicians and government officers who are expected to come up with policies and programmes to improve the state of the slum who end up making all the profits without any accompanying investment to improve the built environment. This has led to the settlement of Kibera being described as a sociological paradox: a slum to the poor, a goldmine for the rich (Nation Media Group, 2010). And through this abuse of power and influence thus emerges the structural nature of the plight of the residents in Kibera exemplifying and rather embodying what I argue as a manifestation of structural violence present in the society; acting purposefully as a barrier to progress and development at the expense of the residents of Kibera and to the benefit of those empowered within the unequal structures that they have created for themselves namely the leaders and politicians meant to end the avoidable suffering (Davis & Moore, 1945; cited in Oyekola & Eytayo, 2020).

### ***Patronage politics and poverty as a tool of exploitation***

Paternalistic development through patron motivated politics promotes imperialistic relationships and as such it is a mechanism of structural violence. Selective development as well can also be a mechanism for structural violence by depriving arbitrarily certain areas of possible development (Kotze, 1978). When patronage networks take on an ethnic dimension, the possibility of ethnic conflict is increased. In regions with historical ethnic tensions such as Kibera, ethnicity



serves as a political rallying point for campaigns, and historic ethnic conflicts are often politicized to bring voters to the polls. When patronage networks are based on ethnicity, membership in an elected official's ethnic group is often a sufficient qualification to procure resources in exchange for votes. This is so in the context of politics and Kibera which has been centred around patronage since independence in 1964 and was a reason for the prevalence and high intensity of violence during the post-election violence in 2007/08. Kibera remains as a strong base for opposition politicians and parties especially the ODM and its leaders to garner votes.

As a result of the ethnic divisions present in Kibera, the ethnic group aligned with the opposition party almost usually the Luo led by opposition leader Raila Odinga face a sort of marginalization and exclusion from access to opportunities and resources due to their ethnicity. This creates conditions that exacerbate the poverty levels in Kibera due to the inability of residents to access jobs and activities that would aid in the fight for poverty alleviation. Patronage only creates the illusion of progress through the provision of goods for votes after which there is no actual intention to solve the issue because the presence of poverty allows for the exploitation of the people through patron client links.

*My theory is poverty, you know, look here you know, this is what politicians do you, you are a young person you don't have money, maybe your family is about to sleeps hungry then they tell you, I'll give you 1000. I'll give you three hundred shillings, do this for me. go and demonstrate. you know, when you don't have anything and you probably idle, we have a lot of idle youth who are not employed.... They can be kept busy sometimes in unproductive ways by people who have money. So I would say, because why, then do we not have the same problem when there are no elections. Otherwise, you won't see politicians doing a rally in Karen or mobilising people in Karen or Lavington to demonstrate to be used to cause chaos. Why, what's the difference? .....poverty and the politicians who want, to exploit to young people to do their dirty jobs. (Interview with Johnston SHOFKO)*

According to Ranta (2018), patronage networks are inextricably tied to ethnicity and wealth. At the local level, the wealthiest members of society are most likely to win political office, as voters perceive them to be most able to provide for the community after taking office.

### ***'poverty porn' and the objectification of Kibera***

The Kibera discourse fuelled by negative portrayals by the media, researchers and even the community leaders and politicians is damaging to those who live there, the endurance of this dominant representation serves the interests of several groups.

Mainstream media plays a key role in presenting informal settlements as hotspots of crime, reinforcing narratives that criminalize the urban poor (e.g., Hasan, 2018; Khan, 2013; Mahmud, 2018; cited in Fattah & Walters, 2020). For one, NGOs in Kibera benefit in multiple ways from the public's acceptance of exaggerated claims about this community. NGOs are constantly at competition with one another to secure donor funds and to garner media coverage of their work, therefore the pleas for additional resources and media attention are amplified by a community's

perceived severity of need (Cottle and Nolan 2007; Franks 2010): the more negative the perception of Kibera to the outside observer, the greater the incentive for donors and volunteers to support NGOs working there. In Kibera, donor visits are well-orchestrated events, designed to emphasise the community's needs as well as the progress that particular group is making in serving the community. Also, when making their pitches for additional funding and attention, NGOs typically stress the work that remains to be done over the work that has been accomplished, or those aspects that are already working well (Rothmyer 2011).

*“look at when Madonna came to Kibera and she said people here drink sewer water and that isn't the truth but people see this and they believe it.” Interview with Josh KNN (Kibera News Network)*

Ekdale, (2014) Highlights that “when NGOs trumpet and amplify their successes, they are cautions to remind audiences that there still remains a great deal left to accomplish, lest they render themselves obsolete. Further, NGO workers interact most frequently with community members who demonstrate a need that their organisations address. Thus, how these groups understand the communities is filtered through these limited experiences. As a result, NGO workers often lack a broader perspective that accounts for residents who are self-sufficient or whose needs are met elsewhere. This is not to say that all NGOs are corrupt or ineffective, but it is important to recognise that they are motivated, in part, by self-interest” (Ekdale, 2014).

### ***Social exclusion through inaccessibility of social services***

Social exclusion surfaces due to poverty (Mburu, 2016). The concept of socio-economic exclusion thus social exclusion originated in the French Republic Tradition (Sen, 2000). The earlier explanation of socio-economic exclusion was based on poverty, underclass and deprivation. More recently the concept of social exclusion is more dynamic and adopts a more holistic approach to life is satisfaction emphasizing on quality of life. Individuals are socially understood to be excluded if they geographically reside in a society but for reasons beyond their control, such as the ability to access basic social needs they are unable to participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society as they would have liked to (EPSRC, 2005; cited in Mburu, 2016).

Teelucksingh (2010) says that social exclusion is manifested through structural inequalities and unequal outcomes in access to social, economic, political and cultural resources. The most identifying aspect of socio-economic exclusion is that it weakens the link between an individual and the society (Baker, 2001). social exclusion can be understood as a concept or rather as a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, bad health and family breakdown (SEU Report, 2001; cited in Mburu, 2016)

### ***Sanitation, Hygiene and Health***

Health hazards face by residents in Kibera can be are directly related to poverty, a polluted and stressful environment, social instability and insecurity. People who reside in the area of Kibera are more vulnerable to communicable diseases and malnutrition compared to those who

live in urban middle class areas. Most of the diseases in Kibera slums are as a result of the lack of high personal hygiene standards; brought about by the lack of running clean water in majority of the households, which are mainly the temporary shacks, access to the water points due to lack of money and enough sanitary restrooms to be used by everyone. This remains an issue because of the temporary nature of the house structures and the congestion; the absentee landlords do not prioritize the building of washrooms accessible to the residents, forcing them to seek out other (mostly unsanitary) alternatives such as pit latrines. Hence, the spread of infections and diseases from one person to another are frequent because of the overcrowding and congested situation in Kibera and the lack of proper sanitary and accessible water (Ng'ang'a & Karanja 2008).

Due to the fact that city authorities do not consider Nairobi's informal settlements such as Kibera to be legal, they refuse to see basic service provision in these areas as their responsibility (Wegelin-Schuringa & Kodo, 1997; cited in De Feyter, 2011). The street scene is illustrative of the authorities' attitude: the sewage system is open, garbage and dirty water flow in the middle of the alleyways, and electricity and water facilities are lacking to a large extent. As a result of this residents and most notably 'cartels' have emerged to fill this void and provide services such as water and electricity to the residents of Kibera

*“we have like several cartels formed whereby they really control the resources available in Kibera and they decide what should, what the community should receive.... for instance, if the water cartels decide they're going to ration water just to hike the price, they still do that. And the government do not stop them.” (Interview with Stella)*

The water catastrophe in Kibera slums must be recognized for what it really is: a crisis of governance – of weak policies and poor management – rather than a crisis of scarcity (Ng'ang'a & Karanja 2008).

The further poor health condition in Kibera can be attributed to the lack of access to hospitals mainly due to the inability to afford the services which ironically Kenyatta National Hospital, the biggest referral hospital in Kenya, is close to the Kibera slums but this does not make access to residents of Kibera any easier (Ng'ang'a, & Karanja, 2008). Other health care facilities in the slum include: health clinics, dispensaries, maternity homes, nursing homes, medical centres, laboratories and radiological services, dental clinics which are owned by NGOs, CBOs, FBOs and private individuals. Attempts have been made to improve the healthcare system in Kibera by the Kenyan government, NGOs, CBOs, FBOs and the private sector who own, run and operate majority of the health facilities in Kibera. Health care facilities are licensed by the Ministry of Health if they meet the requirements of the National Hospital Insurance Fund (NHIF). However, most of the private facilities operate illegally, thus leading to malpractice and poor quality of health (Ng'ang'a & Karanja 2008).

The potential of illustrating structural violence lies in the focus it gives to the deep seated structural roots of health inequities faced in society; structural violence explicitly identifies social, economic, and political systems as the causes of the causes of poor health (De Maio & Ansell, 2018).

### ***Employment and Education nexus***

Low incomes (poverty) force families into poor housing conditions and limits their ability to access basic social services and needs such as education. Acquiring work in the formal sector usually requires expensive education, which tends to be beyond the economic capacity of residents in informal settlements. Their occupational opportunities are thus confined to low-skilled, low-paid jobs in the informal sector. I argue that these inequalities maintain and enhance patterns of vulnerability stemming from their socio-economic position. There is also a lack of government funded formal schools in Kibera, which motivates local community groups to set up their own non-formal schools with the limited means they can mobilize (De Feyter, 2011).

Lack of jobs is the main reason why poverty in Kibera slums is highly increasing. Men usually get part time jobs such as plumbing, building, cutting grass, carrying water, driving buses but women are the most disadvantaged when it comes to getting a source of income. In addition to poverty, the lack of employment also leads to the lack of education for the children, robbery, insecurity, diseases and other things. (Dalrymple et al 2002; cited in Ng'ang'a & Karanja 2008).

*“So how it has affected a lot of Kibera people really lose opportunity just by a mention of I come from Kibera.... I think it has really affected community or our community because now people resort to be judgmental based on what they have heard about Kibera before. So they like most of the time I have a biased opinion about whatever thing they come across in Kibera.” (interview with Stella)*

Due to the negative portrayals of Kibera, the people have been excluded almost shunned from getting jobs outside Kibera as the slum has now received a bad reputation. This stems from the negative portrayals by the media and NGOs discussed in the previous section. This can make the people remain in the margin of labour market for a long time which is a manifestation of socio-economic exclusion (Grant, 2001; Schienstock, 1999; cited in Mburu, 2016).

## **CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter the findings of the research carried out on the effects, experiences and manifestation of structural violence in Kibera will be described. The conclusions were guided and based on the purpose of the study, the specific objectives of the study, the research questions and findings of the study. The implications of the research carried out along with the resultant recommendations will also be explained. The recommendations put forward from this research stem from the independent interpretation by the researcher on the impacts, possible solutions discovered during the research and are further guided by the purpose of the study and the conclusions of the study.

The objectives of this research were to: To understand the means through which structural violence has created the current reality of poverty, inequality and underdevelopment and furthermore its role in the creation of barriers and impediments to development and progress such as low wages and lacking social benefits, which continue to exacerbate the growing socio-economic divisions in Kibera, to explain and define the different ways and means structural violence manifest itself; shaping life in Kibera and how is it experienced by the residents in Kibera, To understand the origin of structural violence through colonial legacies and highlight the impact it had on the creation of the current informal settlement and social setting in Kibera which in turn has continued the production of structural violence and To discuss how structural violence, explains the large wage gap and lack of access to basic needs such as health care and quality housing faced by residents in Kibera through the following research questions:

Main RQ - How does structural violence affect and shape the current lived reality of poverty, inequality and underdevelopment faced by residents in Kibera?

Sub-RQ

1. What are the current manifestations of structural violence in Kibera and how are they experienced by the residents?
2. How accessible are different basic needs such as healthcare, housing and education to the residents of Kibera?
3. What are the historical roots of structural violence in Kibera?
4. Does patron-client politics along with minimal to almost no government intervention in Kibera continue the progression of structural violence experienced by Kibera residents?

### **5.2 SUMMARY**

Structural violence may be seen as about as natural as the air around us; it is silent, it does not show and is essentially static, it is the tranquil waters (Galtung, 1969). There isn't a truer statement to describe structural violence. From the findings of this research it is evident that structural violence has taken different shapes forms and manifestations, it has become ingrained in society and has taken a deep seated and rooted nature in creating the conditions experienced by marginalized and exploited communities such as that of Kibera.

With such a notion of structural violence highlighted it becomes evident why the main RQ set out to highlight the ways structural violence created what residents in Kibera experience in their daily lives, that is the high levels of poverty, overcrowded and poor housing structures, lack of access to healthcare, water and an unsanitary living environment, Sub RQ1 set out to highlight how structural violence manifested itself in Kibera and how those manifestations are experienced by the residents, Sub RQ3 set out to understand how accessible basic needs such as healthcare, housing and education were to the residents of Kibera, Sub RQ3 looks at how structural violence began or rather its origins in Kibera, Sub RQ4 set out to highlight the role the patronage-politics and subsequently the government played in continuing the progression of structural violence in Kibera.

The daily lives of Kibera are albeit humble and simple but this life of humility and simplicity is rooted in the conditions that they face every day. Structural violence thus plays a leading role in shaping the lives of the people in Kibera by creating barriers to their development and chances to live a life of quality, through the unequal distribution of power which takes away agency from the people of Kibera to attempt to bring about any positive change. With blatant inequality present in different sectors in Kibera such as housing, education and employment, residents of this vibrant and strong community are left with little to no avenues to remedy the situation keeping them in a state of disarray, ripe for exploitation by the leaders meant to serve them and alleviate their suffering. Because of structural violence development of the community feels like a distant goal to achieve.

This reality of the life in Kibera is attributed to structural violence, but in what form and manifestation? These forms and conditions manifest in Kibera as forced evictions, lack of land tenure, social exclusion, geographical exclusion, negative portrayals, patronage – politics, police brutality, lack of access to justice, healthcare, quality and affordable healthcare which is discussed in detail in the findings of the research. A concept such as social exclusion may not be evident to everyone because on the surface Kibera is still accessible and the residents are able access spaces outside the community. However, this access is still unequal access. As discussed in the findings residents in Kibera face overcrowding and a poor housing situation, which could be remedied with the provision of land tenure to the residents, this further takes away the constant threat of eviction they face creating stability for the residents to plant roots and build their life. Further due to negative portrayals of the community the people living there face prejudice and exclusion in receiving opportunities such as education based on their geography and a pre – conceived idea that people in Kibera are rowdy criminals who deserve no opportunity that could potentially raise them out of the hole society has dug for them.

In Kibera as has been mentioned, the residents struggle with access to basic needs such as healthcare and education. Through this research it became evident that the basic needs in Kibera were provided and facilitated by NGOs and private enterprises but not the government. They provided for local clinics, dispensaries, chemists, informal primary schools and even clean water and toilets. The residents in Kibera view this as already having access to some of the basic needs. However, in comparison this falls way below the basic standards that are accessible to other Kenyans. As standard practice the government should provide access to health facilities and education centres.

The history of Kibera has been tied to colonialism and through that tied to structural violence as it is understood that colonialism was a tool of structural violence; in that it created conditions that excluded the colonised from accessing the same opportunities as their coloniser, put them in a state of exploitation and restricted their movements creating a space for exclusion which was the case for Kibera. The motivations behind it were to have it as a space to house the former Nubian soldiers who fought for Britain but soon enough it evolved into a space for housing the local population working on the railway in order to separate them from interacting with the British population in Nairobi allowing for the creation of a white society. This condition after independence was inherited by the new Kenyan government including the laws that dictated the structure of the housing and the tenure of the land reverting back to the government.

Patronage – Politics and Kibera are synonymous. As discussed in the findings this is because a pre requisite for patronage to succeed is having exploitable clientele who are at the mercy of the patrons. As this research highlighted leaders have utilised not only the state of poverty of the residents but also their ethnicity. Kibera remains a predominantly strong base for Raila Odinga and his party of ODM who almost usually end up as the opposition party to the government. This however still allows the strong hold leaders of the opposition to use their influence over the residents to mobilize them into action against the government. These mobilizations almost always end up in a brutal response from the government through the anti – riot police (GSU) and further adds on to the negative portrayal of the residents in Kibera.

### **5.3 CONCLUSIONS**

In this thesis I have attempted to highlight the effects of structural violence on society with a focus on Kibera. It has further been my aim to show how detrimental structural violence has been on the community dating back to colonial Kenya. Situated in the literature the predominant focus has been the different manifestations of structural violence, the way it is experienced by the residents and how these manifestations have created negative conditions within the community affecting the people's ability to live a life of quality. The common denominator defining structural violence in Kibera has been inequality, exploitation, and exclusion; which can typically be linked to economic motivations, through the shack housing structures owned by absentee landlords and some prominent leaders to the water and electricity cartels that profit from the lack of proper flowing water and electricity to the community, furthermore the acts of patronage utilised by Kibera's leaders themselves usually carried out under the guise of being "in the public interest". In the present thesis, I have moved through the causal chain of understanding different aspects of structural violence in an attempt to break down this broad term, to explore what factors affect the residents in the community making them particularly vulnerable to forced evictions, exclusions both social and geographic and finally to a life of poverty.

Despite the recognition of the effect structural violence has on society or a particular group it is still widely unexplored in the context of Kibera, which has allowed the continued progression of structural violence, inequality and poverty in the community making it more challenged to address and root out to create more positive conditions for the betterment of the community. In the findings of this research I have discussed different issues that affect the community and have come to the conclusion that due to the lack of stable and good governance structures present not only in

the community by the country as a whole structural violence will continue to affect and disadvantage vulnerable communities such as the one in Kibera and without a clear and concise agreement between the community and the leaders on the reality of structural violence in the community it will always be an outright factor that determines and affects how life in Kibera is lived.

The case of structural violence in Kibera can provide us with useful insights into the complex dynamics behind unequal structures and distribution of power and resources in Kenya, but may also be applicable to East Africa and globally due to the diverse presence of structural violence in different aspects of life and countries as well. The developments being seen in Africa and the global south today, which combine similar patterns of urbanisation, point towards the importance of analysing how structural violence thus affects the conditions of living for the urban poor, and their security of tenure and agency. As a recent report concludes, “the state of inequality in East Africa depends on the extent to which disadvantaged groups are participating in the region’s economic growth, and how these benefits are shared among its citizens” (Wiik, 2014).

As this study has attempted to show, structural violence through understanding the concept of social stratification through social exclusion, spatial exclusion and exploitation of poverty are important to make visible, not only economic measures of extreme poverty and deprivation, but also the social and structural processes that lead to it. In this perspective of structural violence as a barrier to development, the marginalisation of the impoverished and exploited serves to illustrate how social development is the product of historical, economic, political and social factors.

Kibera is a community that struggles with Housing, employment/income, education sanitation, overcrowding, political and administrative corruption, and insecure land tenure, not to mention withstanding exploitation from both local leaders to some NGOs that purport to help them. Despite these challenges, residents are quick to point out several features of Kibera that they value, such as affordable housing, friendly neighbours, and a creative youth culture (Ekdale 2013). These positive factors act as a means to ensure that the residents are not totally lost in the reality of their struggles; that there still remains positives and hope towards addressing their struggles and issues and that the community is willing and ready to address structural violence and the different manifestations that affect its community.

#### **5.4 POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

Structural violence as discussed in this research is perpetuated by unequal structures within society with the aim of excluding certain members of the population. As such this research would play a role in highlighting these inequalities and their subsequent effects as a means of addressing structural violence and ensuring equality, equity and the ability of people within society to access basic needs and live a life of quality. As mentioned in the research residents in Kibera have come to accept and embrace their current situation making attempts to address the m rather precarious. The policies and laws surrounding their problem have alienated their legal agency to address their struggles resulting in a shift in their mentality towards more of adapting to the situation rather than working towards addressing it, which thus poses an important question; what do the people of Kibera need and how can we help them achieve this needs. This can be addressed through actions such as



### 1. Strengthening local institutions

In policy terms, the lack of fair public arbitration available to people in areas like Kibera presents a precarious situation when there is need to redress issues of land disputes which as mentioned in the research is a challenge faced by residents in Kibera and thus is a key obstacle to the efficient allocation of goods. City authorities ought to play a much more direct role in settling rent disputes, since delegating this role to local chiefs creates opportunities for patronage. The strengthening of local courts is one potential solution coupled with a clear engagement with all members of the community not only the chiefs.

### 2. Formalising land rights

Informal land rights, found in Kibera, make it easier for ethnic favouritism to thrive and difficult for government to regulate. Formalising property rights in a fair and equitable manner, whilst a politically tricky undertaking, would help correct the illegal distribution of Kibera's land and ensure the security and legal enforceability of land rights.

### 3. Community cantered approach

As mentioned in the research Kibera is a very communal area. Where all members of the community depend on the social ties to survive. This was evident in the failure of the slum upgrading projects because they did not take this aspect into account. Moving forward any attempts at addressing issues in Kibera whether housing, poverty alleviation or health should involve the community as this will allow the involved parties to voice and air their opinions on what would suit them, giving the residents agency in their decision making.

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## **APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE**

### **General Information**

Could you please start by introducing yourself and what you do?

What would you say are the struggles and challenges to residents in Kibera?

What is positive about life in Kibera?

Could you explain the way of life in Kibera?

Does the communal structure of Kibera help make life easier or harder?

### **Poverty – existence of poverty, relation to inequality**

Why is there still a presence of cartels despite efforts to get rid of them?

What role do the cartels play in life in Kibera and How do the cartels affect the daily lives of people in Kibera?

How would you say life in Kibera compares to life in Karen?

Why is Kibera still largely impoverished and underdeveloped?

Could you describe for me what your experience in Kibera has been like?

Why is the portrayal and view of Kibera mostly cantered around negative topics?

How do these perceptions of Kibera affect the way people especially non - residents approach Kibera?

How does the media portrayal of Kibera add to the misconceptions and stereotypes that affect the residents?

### **Education – access to education, level of education**

Is education important to residents in Kibera? If yes, why is it important?

How accessible is education for children in Kibera?

What is your level of education; how has that affected/improved your situation?

Has the ability to get an education made a difference in your life in Kibera?

Do the schools in Kibera provide quality education? If yes, how does it compare with other areas?

If no, what is the reason for the poor quality?

### **Housing – quality of housing, access to housing, rent**

How could you describe the state of housing for residents of Kibera?

What is the reason for the state on housing in Kibera?

Is it affordable?

### **Income – Daily income, monthly, wage gap**

What is your main source of income?

Does this income cater for your daily needs?

Are you able to live comfortably on your income? does it cater for education (child) and healthcare?

How does the inconsistent income of day labouring affect how you live your daily life?

How much do you spend daily? And on what do you spend it?

**Healthcare – medical insurance, access to hospitals, Medicine**

in case you get sick: what do you do, where do you seek treatment?

Do you have medical insurance?

**Food – Ability to buy food, prices, alternatives,**

How many meals do you have in a day?

Is the price of food affordable?

**Public authority – Access to justice, police responses/brutality**

If a crime is committed who do you report it to?

WHAT kind of interactions and experience have you had with the police?

How do police responses in Kibera affect the relationship between the residents and authority like the police?

How does this relationship contribute to the view of Kibera as an unsafe area?

How then does this view affect people (employers, investors) perception of people in Kibera?

If you experience issues with water and electricity who do you report it to? And do they respond and fix the problem?

Why does issues of political violence still affect Kibera?

Why is there Limited government presence and intervention into addressing the issues in Kibera?

do you think Kibera is neglected by the government?

what has the government done and how has it had an effect on your life/work/housing/whatever

What interventions has the government done in Kibera and what have been the effects?

Thank you for answering my questions. Do you have any questions or things that need clarification?