



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Respectable 'illegality': Gangs, masculinities and belonging in a Nairobi ghetto

van Stapele, N.

Publication date

2015

Document Version

Final published version

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

van Stapele, N. (2015). *Respectable 'illegality': Gangs, masculinities and belonging in a Nairobi ghetto*. [Thesis, fully internal, Universiteit van Amsterdam].

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

Bibliography

Aalten, Anna

(1991) *Zakenvrouwen: over de grenzen van vrouwelijkheid in Nederland sinds 1945*. Sara/Van Gennep: Amsterdam.

Abu-Lughod, Lila

(1993) *Writing women's worlds. Bedouin Stories*. University of California Press: Berkeley.

Action Aid

(2010) *An Audit of redistributive policies in Kenya*. Action Aid in Kenya: Nairobi. Available at: http://www.actionaid.org/sites/files/actionaid/redistributive_report.pdf (accessed on 29 November 2014).

Adeagbo, Oluwafemi Atanda & John-Mark IYI,

(2011) 'Post-Election Crisis in Kenya and Internally Displaced Persons: A Critical Appraisal.' *Journal of Politics and Law*, Vol. 4, No. 2: 174-79.

Ahlberg, Beth Maina & Kezia Muthoni Njoroge

(2013) "Not men enough to rule!": politicization of ethnicities and forcible circumcision of Luo men during the postelection violence in Kenya.' *Ethnicity & Health*, 2013, Vol. 18(5): 454-468.

'Akiwumi Report'

(1999). *Commission of inquiry into tribal clashes*. Available at:

http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/related_material/Akiwumi%20Report.pdf (accessed on: 28 October 2014).

Ako-Nai, Ronke (ed.)

(2013) *Gender and Power Relations in Nigeria*. Lexington Books: Maryland.

Alam, Afreen, Nisha Baliga, Gesang Deji, et al.

(2005) *Enabling a community-led process: Pamoja Trust's approach to slum-upgrading in Nairobi, Kenya*. School of International and Public Affairs: Columbia University. Available at: https://sipa.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/2005_EPDreport_Kenya.pdf (accessed on 29 November 2014).

Alim, Samy H., Awad Ibrahim & Alastair Pennycook

(2008) *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language*. Taylor & Francis: Abingdon.

Al Jazeera

(2010) 'ICC names Kenya violence suspects.' Al Jazeera, 15 December. Available at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2010/12/20101215111138974966.html> (Accessed on 30 November 2014).

Alston, Philip

(2009) *Press Statement: UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, arbitrary or summary executions. Mission to Kenya 16-25 February 2009*, available at: http://resaf.org/sites/resaf.org/files/Alston_Report_pressfinal.pdf (accessed on 2 January 2010).

Amis, P.

(1988) 'Commercialized rental housing in Nairobi, Kenya.' In *Spontaneous Shelter: International Perspectives and Prospects*, C.V. PATTON (ed.). Temple University Press: Philadelphia.

Anderson, David

(2002) Vigilantes, violence and the politics of public order in Kenya. *African Affairs* 101(405) pp. 531-555.

(2005a) *Histories of the hanged: The dirty war in Kenya and the end of empire*. New York City: W.W. Norton & Company.

(2005b) 'Yours in the struggle for Majimboism': Nationalism and the party politics of decolonization in Kenya. *Journal of Contemporary History* 40(3): 547-64.

Anderson, David & Emma Lochery,

(2008) 'Violence and Exodus in Kenya's Rift Valley, 2008: Predictable and Preventable?' *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 2, Issue 2:328 – 343.

Amnesty International

(2007) 'Kenya: Police operations against Mungiki must comply with Kenya's obligations under international human rights law.' *Amnesty International*. Available at: <http://www.amnesty.org/ar/library/asset/AFR32/008/2007/en/a4211f6e-d388-11dd-a329-2f46302a8cc6/afr320082007en.pdf> (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Anyanzwa, James and Macharia Kamau,

(2013) 'Tax shocker in cabinet secretary Henry Rotich's budget in his bid to fund new rail system', *Standard Media*, available at: http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000086001&story_title=tax-shocker-in-cabinet-secretary-henry-rotich-s-budget-in-his-bid-to-fund-new-rail-

[system&pageNo=1;%20A](#) (accessed on 15 November 2014).

Appadurai, Arjun

(1996) *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.

(1999). 'Dead certainty: Ethnic violence in the era of globalization'. In *Globalization and identity: Dialectics of flow and closure*, Birgit Meyer and Peter Geschiere (eds.). Blackwell Publishing: Cambridge and Oxford.

(2006). *Fear of small numbers. An essay on the geography of anger*. Duke: Durham.

Barker G. and Ricardo, C.

(2005) *Young men and the construction of masculinity in sub-Saharan Africa: implications for HIV/AIDS, conflict and violence*. World Bank: Washington DC.

Bay, Edna G.

(2006) 'Introduction.' In *States of violence: Politics, youth and memory in contemporary Africa*

Edna G. Bay & Donald L. Donham (eds). Charlottesville: University of Virginia: 1-16.

BBC

(2006) 'Kenyans flee deadly gang battle.' *BBC News*, 8 November. Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6127902.stm> (accessed on 26 October 2014).

(2010) 'Kenya moves to end ban on changaa home brew'. *BBC News*, 2 September. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-11164368> (accessed on 15 November 2014).

(2014) 'Who are Somalia's al-Shabab?' *BBC News*, 16 May. Available at:

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-15336689> (accessed on 29 November 2014).

Behar, Ruth

(1993) *Translated woman: Crossing the borders with Esperanza's story*. Beacon Press: Boston.

Berger Gluck, Sherna, & Daphne Patai (Eds.)

(1991) *Women's words. The feminist practice of oral history*. Routledge: London.

Berman, Bruce & John Lonsdale

(1992) *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya & Africa. Book Two: Violence & Ethnicity*. James Currey: London.

Bhabha, Homi

(1994) *The location of culture*. Routledge: London and New York.

Borland, Katherine

(1991). "'That is not what I said": Interpretive conflict in oral narrative research.' In *Women's words. The feminist practice of oral history*, Sherna Berger Gluck, & Daphne Patai (eds.). Routledge: London: 63–76.

Bosire, Mokaya.

(2006) 'Hybrid Languages: The Case of Sheng.' In *Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, Olaoba F. Arasanyin & Michael A. Pemberton. MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project: Somerville: 185-193.

Bourdieu, Pierre

(1986) 'The forms of capital.' In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, J. Richardson (ed.). Greenwood: New York: 241-258.

(1992) *The practice of reflexive sociology (The Pads workshop)*. In *An invitation to reflexive sociology*, Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant. University of Chicago Press: Chicago, IL: 216-260.

(2004) 'The biographical illusion', In *Identity a reader*, Paul du Gay, Jessica Evans, Peter Redman (eds.). Sage Publications: London: 299-305.

Bourgois, Philippe I.

(1995) *In search of respect. Selling crack in El Barrio*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

(1996) 'In search of masculinity. Violence, Respect and Sexuality among Puerto Rican Crack Dealers in East Harlem.' *British Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 36 (3): 412-427.

(2010) 'Recognizing Invisible Violence; A thirty-Year Ethnographic Retrospective' in *Global Health in Times of Violence*, Barbara Rylko-Bauer, Linda Whiteford and Paul Farmer (eds.) Santa Fe: School of Advanced Research Press: 18-40.

Boyne, Ian

(2009) 'The Gully-Gaza war.' *The Gleaner*. Available at: <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20090920/focus/focus1.html> (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Bradlow, Benjamin

(2011) 'Out of the Garden of Eden: Moving Beyond the Rights-Based Agenda in the Urban

Sector.' *Sustainable Development Law & Policy*: Vol. 11: Iss. 1: Article 17.

Braidotti, Rosi

(2006) *Transpositions. On Nomadic Ethics*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

(2011) *Nomadic subjects: Embodiment and sexual difference in contemporary feminist theory*. Columbia University Press: New York.

Branch, Daniel & Nic Cheeseman

(2009) 'Democratization, sequencing, and state failure in Africa: Lessons from Kenya' *African Affairs* 108 (430): 1-26.

Brass, Jennifer N.

(2010) *Surrogates for Government? NGOs and the State in Kenya*. Dissertation. University of California: Berkeley.

Brubaker, Richard.

(2004) *Ethnicity without groups*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

Butler, Judith

(1993) *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "sex"*. Psychology Press: Abingdon.

(1997) *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. Stanford University Press: Stanford.

(1999) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge: London and New York.

Castells, Manuel

(2011) *The power of identity. The Information Age: Economy, Society, and culture, Volume III*. Blackwell: Cambridge and Oxford

Chege, Michael

(2008) 'Kenya: Back from the Brink?' *Journal of Democracy*, 19(4): 125-39.

Cheeseman, Nic

(2008) 'The Kenyan Elections of 2007: An Introduction.' *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Vol. 2, (2): 166-184.

CHORE

(2008) *Women, slums and urbanisation. Examining the causes and consequences*.

<http://globalinitiative-escr.org/wp->

[content/uploads/2013/05/women_slums_and_urbanisation_may_2008.pdf](#) (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Clough, Marshall S.

(2003) 'Mau Mau & the contest for memory'. In *Mau Mau and nationhood*, Atieno E.S. Odhiambo & John Lonsdale (eds.). Oxford: James Currey: 251-268.

Connell, Raewyn W.

(1987) *Gender and power: Society, the person, and sexual politics*. Stanford University Press: Palo Alto.

(1995) *Masculinities*. Cambridge, Polity Press; Sydney, Allen & Unwin; Berkeley, University of California Press. Second edition, 2005.

(2000) *The men and the boys*. University of California Press: Oakland.

(2002) 'Studying men and masculinity.' *Resources for Feminist Research*, vol. 29 (1-2): 43-56.

Covey, Herbert C.

(2010) *Street Gangs Throughout the World*. Charles C. Thomas Publishers Ltd: Illinois.

Dafe, Florence

(2009) 'No business like slum business? The political economy of the continued existence of slums: A case study of Nairobi.' *Working Paper Series* No. 9-98. DSI: London.

Dauids, Tine, & Karin Willemse

(1999) 'Inleiding Themanummer. In het lichaam gegrift. Feministische antropologen op de grens van kennisoverdracht en representatie.' *Tijdschrift voor Gender Studies* 2(1): 3-14.

(2014) 'Embodied engagements: Feminist ethnography at the crossing of knowledge production and representation. An introduction.' *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 43: 1-4.

De Certeau, Michel

(1988) *The practice of everyday life*. California: University of California Press.

Derrida, Jacques

(1982) *Margins of Philosophy*. Tr. Alan Bass, Harvester: Brighton. (ET of 1972b).

De Vries, Hent & Samuel Weber

(1997) *Violence, identity and self-determination*. Stanford University Press: Stanford.

Dogra, Nandita

(2011) 'The Mixed Metaphor of 'Third World Woman': gendered representations by international development NGOs'. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 32, 2: 333-348.

(2012) *Representations of Global Poverty: Aid, Development and International NGOs*. I.B. Tauris & Co: London.

Elkins, Caroline

(2005) *Imperial Reckoning: the untold story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya*. Henry Holt & Company Inc.: New York

Ellis, Amanda, Jozefina Cutura, Nouma Dione et al.

(2007) 'Gender and Economic Growth in Kenya: Unleashing the Power of Women.' *Directions in Development*. Private Sector Development: World Bank.

Erikson, Thomas H.

(2002) *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Second Edition*. Pluto Press: London.

Etherton, David

(1971) *Mathare Valley: A Case of Uncontrolled Settlement in Nairobi*. University of Nairobi, Housing Research and Development Unit: Nairobi.

Fagan, Jeffrey & Richard B. Freeman

(1999) 'Crime and Work'. *Crime and Justice*, Vol. 25: 225-290.

Fairclough, Norman

(1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

(2001) *Language and Power (2nd edition)*. Longman: London.

Fengler, Wolfgang

(2011) 'Why has the Kenyan Shilling declined so sharply?' *Africa Can End Poverty*. Available at: <https://blogs.worldbank.org/africacan/why-has-the-kenyan-shilling-declined-so-sharply> (accessed on 23 November 2014).

Ferguson, James

(2006) *Global shadows. Africa in the neoliberal world order*. Duke University Press: North Carolina.

Fernandes, Sujatha

(2011) *Close to the Edge: In Search of the Global Hip Hop Generation*. Verso: London.

Foner, Nancy, Jan Rath, Jan Willem Duyvendak & Rogier van Reekum (eds.)
(2014) *New York and Amsterdam. Immigration and the New Urban Landscape*. NYU Press:
New York.

Foucault, Michel

(1978) *The History of Sexuality: An introduction, Volume 1*. Pantheon: New York.

(1982) 'The subject and power.' In *Michel Foucault: Beyond hermeneutics and structuralism*,
H.L. Dreyfus, and P. Rabinow (eds.) Harvester: Brighton: 208-226.

(1988) *Technologies of the Self*. Edited by Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman and Patrick H.
Hutton, University of Massachusetts Press: Amherst.

Frederiksen, Bodil Folke

(2000) 'Popular Culture, Gender Relations and the Democratization of Everyday Life in
Kenya.' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 2: 209-222.

(2010) 'Mungiki, Vernacular Organization and Political Society in Kenya' *Development and
Change* 41(6): 1065–1089.

Galtung, Johan

(1996) *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. Sage:
London.

GBM

(2011) *The Green Belt Movement. Annual Report 2011*. Available at:

[http://www.greenbeltmovement.org/sites/greenbeltmovement.org/files/2011%20GBM_
%20Annual_Report.pdf](http://www.greenbeltmovement.org/sites/greenbeltmovement.org/files/2011%20GBM_%20Annual_Report.pdf) (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Gecaga, Margaret

(2007) 'Religious groups and democratization in Kenya: Between the sacred and the
profane.' In *Kenya: The struggle for democracy*, Godwin R. Murunga & Shadrack W.
Nasong'o. Zed Books: London.

Geschiere, Peter

(2009). *The perils of belonging. Autochthony, citizenship, and exclusion in Africa and Europe*.
The University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

(2013) *Witchcraft, Intimacy, and Trust: Africa in Comparison*. The University of Chicago
Press: Chicago IL.

Gettleman, Jeffrey

(2006) 'Chased by Gang Violence, Residents Flee Kenyan Slum.' *The New York Times*, 9 November. Available at:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/10/world/africa/10kenya.html> (accessed on 26 October 2014).

(2007) 'Disputed Vote Plunges Kenya Into Bloodshed.' *The New York Times*, 31 December. Available at:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/31/world/africa/31kenya.html? r=2&hp&oref=slogin> & (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Ghorashi, Halleh

(2008). 'Giving silence a chance: The importance of life histories for research on refugees.' *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 21(1): 117–132.

HRW (Human Rights Watch)

(2008) *Ballots to bullets: Organized political violence and Kenya's crisis of governance 20, No 1(A)*. Human Rights Watch: Nairobi. Available at:

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2008/kenya0308> (accessed on 5 November 2008).

Gibson, Diana & Anita Hardon

(2006) *Rethinking Masculinities, Violence, and AIDS*. Het Spinhuis: Amsterdam.

Gilroy, Paul

(1993) *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Verso: London.

Ianni, F.A. & E. Reuss-Ianna

(1972) *Family business: kinship and social control in organized crime*. Russell Sage Foundation: New York.

Githinji, Peter

(2006) 'Bazes and Their Shibboleths: Variation and Sheng Speakers' Identity in Nairobi.' *Lexical Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 15(4): 443–472.

(2008) 'Sexism and (mis)representation of women in Sheng.' *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 20 (1): 15-32.

Githiora, Chege

(2002) Sheng: Peer Language, Swahili Dialect or Emerging Creole? *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2: 159-181.

Gitonga, Antony

(2013) 'Mututho law leads to closure of over 50 bars.' *Standard Media*. Available at: http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000075107&story_title=Kenya-Mututho-law-leads-to-closure-of-over-50-bars (accessed on 22 November 2014).

Githongo, John

(2002) So, Kenyans, don't hate each other: Violence was political, not tribal. *The East African* October 21-27.

Glaser, Clive

(2000) *Bo-tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976*. James Currey: Oxford.

GoK (Government of Kenya)

(2011) *Quarterly GDP 2000 - 2011 Chart. Based on Quarterly GDP 2000 - 2011 KNBS: Quarterly Gross Domestic Product by Economic Sector, 2000 - 2011*. Available at: <https://opendata.go.ke/-National-Accounts-And-Inflation/Quarterly-GDP-2000-2011-Chart/psue-b4ky> (accessed on 29 November 2014).

Hagedorn, John M.

(2001). Gangs and the informal economy. In *Gangs in America III* Ronald C. Huff (ed.). Sage: Beverly Hills, CA: 101-120.

(2007) 'Gangs, institutions, race and space: The Chicago school revisited.' In *Gangs in the global city: alternatives to traditional criminology*, John Hagedorn (ed.). University of Illinois Press: Chicago: 13-133.

(2008) *A world of gangs: armed young men and Gangsta culture*. University Of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.

Haraway, Donna

(2008) *When species meet*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.

Harnischfeger, Johannes

(2003) 'The Bakassi Boys: fighting crime in Nigeria'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 41, 1: 23-49.

Harvey, David

(1990) *The condition of postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Blackwell: Cambridge and Oxford.

Haugerud, Angelique

(1995) *The culture of politics in modern Kenya*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Henningsen, Erik & Peris Jones

(2013) 'What kind of hell is this!' Understanding the Mungiki movement's power of mobilisation'. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 7, 3: 371-388.

Hernández, Graciella

(1995) 'Multiple subjectivities and strategic positionality: Zora Neale Hurston's experimental ethnographies. In *Women writing culture*, Ruth Behar, & Deborah A. Gordon (eds.).

University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles: 148–165.

Hodgson, Dorothy Louise & Sheryl McCurdy

(2001) *Wicked women and the reconfiguration of gender in Africa*. Heinemann: London.

Hoek-Smit, Marja

(1981) Improvement strategies for lower-income urban settlements in Kenya. In *The Residential*

Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries, UICHS (Ed). Praeger, New York: 287–294.

Honwana, Alcinda M.

(2012) *The time of youth: Work, social change and politics in Africa*. Kumarian Press: Washington DC.

Huchzermeyer, Marie

(2007) 'Tenement City: The Emergence of Multi-storey Districts Through Large-scale Private Landlordism in Nairobi.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 31.4: 714–32.

(2008) 'Slum Upgrading in Nairobi within the Housing and Basic Services Market: A Housing Rights Concern.' *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 43: 19-39.

Huchzermeyer, Marie & Alfred Omenya,

(2006). 'Slum upgrading initiatives in Kenya within the basic services and wider housing market: A housing rights concern.' In *Discussion Paper No.1/2006 Kenya Housing Rights Project*, COHRE: Africa Programme Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions, Geneva.

Hunter, M.

(2006) 'Fathers without amandla: Zulu-speaking men and fatherhood.' In *Baba: Men and fatherhood in South Africa*, L. Richter and R. Morrell (eds.). HSRC Press: Cape Town: 99-107.

IMLU

(2011) *Radical surgery of Kenya police long overdue*. Available at: <<http://www.imlu.org/?p=1107>> (accessed on 6 July 2012).

Izugbara, Chimaraoke, Rhouné Ochakoa, Carolyn Egesaa & Ronny Tikkanen
(2013) 'Ethnicity, livelihoods, masculinity, and health among Luo men in the slums of Nairobi, Kenya.' *Ethnicity & Health*, Vol. 18 (5): 483-498.

Jacob Rasmussen
(2010) 'Mungiki as youth movement: Revolution, gender and generational politics in Nairobi', Kenya' *Young* 18, 3: 301-319.

Jensen, Steffen
(2008) *Gangs, Politics and Dignity in Cape Town*. UCP: Chicago.

Juma, Monica K.
(2008) 'African mediation of the Kenyan post-2007 election crisis.' In *Kenya's uncertain democracy. The electoral crisis of 2008*, Peter Kagwanja & Roger Southall (eds): 147-170.

Kabagambe, Denis & Cliff Moughtin
(1983) 'Housing the Poor: A Case Study in Nairobi.' *Third World Planning Review*, Vol. 5, Issue 3: 227-248.

Kaberia, Judie
(2012) '50 houses razed as Mathare gangs clash.' Capital News. Available at: <http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2012/12/security-beefed-up-in-nairobis-mathare-slums/> (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Kagwanja, Peter
(2003) 'Facing Mount Kenya or Facing Mecca? The Mungiki, Ethnic Violence and the Politics of the Moi Succession in Kenya, 1987-2002.' *African Affairs*, Vol. 102, No. 406: 25-49.

(2005), "'Power to Uhuru": Youth and Generational Politics in Kenya's 2002 Elections., *African Affairs*, 105/418:51-75.

(2009) 'Courting genocide: Populism, ethno-nationalism and the informalisation of violence in Kenya's 2008 post-election crisis.' *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 27, Issue 3: 365-387.

Kagwanja, Peter & Roger Southall
(2009) 'Introduction: Kenya – A democracy in retreat?' *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* Vol. 27, Issue 3: 259 – 277.

Kamau, Michael.

(2013) 'Cartels Mint Billions from Electricity Black Market'. *Standard Media*, available at: http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000080485&story_title=Cartels-mint-billions-from-electricity-black-market (accessed on 14 May 2013).

Kamau, Richard

(2014) 'Mathare kids having Chang'aa for breakfast.' *Nairobi Wire*. Available at: <http://nairobiwire.com/2014/02/mathare-kids-changaa-breakfast.html> (accessed on 22 November 2014).

Kameri-Mbote, Patricia

(2000) 'The Operational environment and constraints for NGOs in Kenya: Strategies for Good Policy and Practice.' International Environmental Law Research Centre: Geneva. Available at: <http://www.ielrc.org/content/w0002.pdf> (accessed on 29 November 2014).

Kanogo, Tabitha

(1987) *Squatters & the Roots of Mau-Mau 1905-1963*, James Currey: London.

Karneworff, A. B.

(2004) *These Dreadlocked Gangsters. De Mungiki-beweging in Kenia, van neo-etnisch protest naar politieke participatie*. (Master Thesis) Vrije Universiteit: Amsterdam.

Kasarani Youth Congress

(2009) *Mobilization Without Emancipation: The Case of Kazi Kwa Vijana in Kasarani Constituency*. Report. Kasarani Youth Congress: Nairobi.

Kenyatta, Jomo

(1938) *Facing Mount Kenya*. Martin Secker & Walburg Ltd.: London.

KHRC (Kenya Human Rights Commission)

(2001). *The right to return: The internally displaced persons and the culture of impunity in Kenya*. KHRC: Nairobi.

KNHRC

(2008a) '*The Cry of Blood*' Report on Extra-Judicial Killings and Disappearances, Nairobi: KNCHR.

(2008b) *On the brink of the precipice: A human rights account of Kenya's Post 2007 elections violence*. Available at:

<http://www.knchr.org/Portals/0/Reports/KNCHR REPORT ON THE BRINK OF THE PRE CIPE.pdf> (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Kiai, Mugambi

(2011) *Extrajudicial killings in Kenya*. Available at:

<http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/extrajudicial-killings-kenya> (accessed on 28 March 2014).

Kiberenge, Kenfrey

(2011) 'More food protests expected in Kenya.' Standard Media.

Available at: <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2000033874/more-food-protests-expected-in-kenya> (accessed on 15 November 2014).

Kiesling, Scott Fabius

(2005) 'Homosocial desire in men's talk: Balancing and re-creating cultural discourses of masculinity.' *Language in Society*, Vol. 34, No. 5: 695-726.

Kigochie, Petronella W

(2001) 'Squatter Rehabilitation Projects that Support Home-Based

Enterprises Create Jobs and Housing The Case of Mathare 4A, Nairobi.' *Cities*, Vol. 18, No. 4: 223-233.

Kihato, Caroline Wanjiku

(Forthcoming) 'Go back and tell them who the real men are! Gendering our understanding of Kibera's violence.'

Kimani, Mary

(2009) 'Mobilizing money at the grass roots. Self-help groups in Kenya boost domestic savings and investment.' *Africa Renewal*. Available at:

<http://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/july-2009/mobilizing-money-grass-roots#sthash.m8dorqps.dpuf> (accessed on 23 November 2014).

Kimuyu, Peter Kiko

(1999) 'Rotating Saving and Credit Associations in Rural East Africa.' *World Development*, Vol. 27 (7): 1299-1308.

King, Stephena.

(1998) 'International reggae, democratic socialism, and the secularization of the Rastafarian movement, 1972-1980.' *Popular Music and Society*, Vol.22(3): 39-60

Kinnes, Irvin

(2000) *From urban street gangs to criminal empires: The changing face of gangs in the*

Western Cape. Monograph 48, available at: <http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Mono48.pdf> (accessed on 4 November 2014).

Kiriamiti, John
(1984) *My life in Crime*. Spear Books: Nairobi.

Klopp, Jacqueline & Prisca Kamungi
(2008) 'Violence and Elections: Will Kenya Collapse?' World Policy Institute, Winter:11-19.

Kristeva, Julie
(1986) *The Kristeva Reader*. Columbia University Press: New York.

KTN
(2013) 'Bar and hotel owners against 'Mututho Laws'.' KTN News. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qWVCp2PQZRI> (accessed on 22 November 2014).

Kwamboka, Evelyn
(2004) 'How Mungiki Trains Killers.' *The Daily Nation*, 8 March.

Kweyu, Dorothy
(2010) 'The dilemma of Lesbian schoolgirls', *The Daily Nation*, August 10.

Kynoch, Gary
(2005) *A History of the Marashea Gangs in South Africa, 1947–1999*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press: Durban.

Lamba, A.
(2005) *Land Tenure Management System in Informal Settlements: A Case Study of Nairobi*. unpublished MSc thesis, International Institute for Geo-information Science and Earth Observation. Available at http://www.itc.nl/library/Papers_2005/msc/gim/lamba.pdf (accessed on 15 November 2014).

Langness, Lewis L. & Gelya Frank
(1981) *Lives: an anthropological approach to biography*. Chandler & Sharp Publishers: Novato.

Lindsay, Lisa A. & Stephan Miescher (eds.)
(2003) *Men and masculinities in modern Africa* Heinemann.

Lo T. Q., J. E. Oeltmann, F. O. Odhiambo, et al.
(2013) 'Alcohol use, drunkenness and tobacco smoking in rural western Kenya.' *Tropical Medicine & International Health*, Vol. 18 (4): 506–515.

Lock Swarr, Amanda

(2012) 'Paradoxes of Butchness: Lesbian Masculinities and Sexual Violence in Contemporary South Africa.' *Signs*, Vol. 37, No. 4: 961-986.

Lonsdale, John.

(1992) 'The moral economy of Mau Mau. Wealth, poverty & civic virtue in Kikuyu political thought.' In *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya & Africa, Book Two*. Ethnicity and violence. Bruce Berman & John Lonsdale: 315-468.

(1994) 'Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism'. In *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, P. Kaarsholm and J. Hultin (eds). Roskilde: Roskilde University.

(2003) 'The war within Mau Mau's fight for land and freedom.' In *Mau Mau and nationhood*, Atieno E.S. Odhiambo & John Lonsdale (eds.). Oxford: James Currey: 46-75.

(2008a) *Kenya: ethnicity, tribe, and state*, 17 January, http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/democracy_power/kenya_ethnicity_tribe_state (accessed on 19 February 2010).

(2008b) *Soil, Work, Civilisation, and Citizenship in Kenya* *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, Volume 2, Issue 2: 305 – 314.

Lovesey, Oliver

(1992) Writing the female subject: Ngugi wa Thiong'o's post-colonial discourse.' *World Literature Written in English*, Vol. 32 (2): 151-160

Lundine, Jamie, Primož Kovačič & Lisa Poggiali

(2012) 'Youth and Digital Mapping in Urban Informal Settlements: Lessons Learned from Participatory Mapping Processes in Mathare in Nairobi, Kenya'. *Children, Youth and Environments*, Vol. 22, No. 2: 214-233.

Lynch, Gabrielle

(2011) *I Say to You. Ethnic Politics and the Kalenjin in Kenya*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Macharia, K

(1992) 'Slum Clearance and the Informal Economy in Nairobi.' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, No. 30(3): 221-36.

(2003). *Migration in Kenya and its Impact on the labour Market*. American University,

United States of America. Paper prepared for Conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, South Africa, 4-7 June.

Mahmood, Saba

(2005) *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton University Press: New Jersey.

Majiwa, Moreen

(2011) 'Kazi Kwa Vijana Scandal.' Mzalendo. Available at: <http://www.mzalendo.com/blog/2011/10/28/1462/> (accessed on 29 November 2014).

Majors, Richard & Janet Mancini Billson

(1993) *Cool Pose: The Dilemmas of Black Manhood in America*. Lexington Books: New York.

Makokha, K.

(2000) 'The Mungiki mystique shattered to pieces.' *The Daily Nation*, 27 October.

Marshall-Fratani, Ruth

(2006). The War of "Who is Who": Autochtony, Nationalism, and Citizenship in the Ivoirian Crisis. *African Studies Review* 49(2):9-43.

Masime Jeremiah O., Wanjau Ruth, Murungi Jane & Onindo Charles

(2013) 'Analysis of the levels of arsenic in home-made brews, spirits, in water and raw materials using Hgaas in Nairobi county.' *African Journal of Pure and Applied Science*, Vol. 7(8): 291-301.

Matusitz, J., & Repass, M.

(2009). 'Gangs in Nigeria: An updated examination.' *Crime, Law, and Social Change*, 52(5): 495-511.

Mathauer, I., J.O. Schmidt & M. Wenyaa

(2008) 'Extending social health insurance to the informal sector in Kenya. An assessment of factors affecting demand.' *International Journal for Health, Planning and Management*, 23(1): 51-68.

Mazrui, Ali

(1995) 'Slang and code switching: the case of Sheng in Kenya.' *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere*, Vol. 42: 168-179.

Mberu, Blessing, Patricia Elungata & Diana Warira

(2013) 'The fading fad of flying toilets improves health in urban slums.' *APHRC*. Available at: <http://aphrc.org/blog/the-fading-fad-of-flying-toilets-improves-health-in-urban->

[slums/](#) (accessed on 29 November 2014).

Mboya, Michael T.

(2013) 'The Kenyan beer bar is a place of masculine identity.' Standard Media. Available at: www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000088368&story_title=the-kenyan-beer-bar-is-a-place-of-masculine-identity (accessed on 29 November 2014).

Mc Gregor, Sarah

(2014) 'Kenyan Police Using Shoot-to-Kill Strategy to Fight Islamists.' *Bloomberg News*, available at: <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-10-20/kenya-police-said-to-use-shoot-to-kill-policy-to-fight-islamists.html> (accessed on 8 November 2014).

Meijer, Maaike

(1996) *In tekst gevat: inleiding tot een kritiek van representatie*. Amsterdam University Press: Amsterdam.

Meyer, Birgit

(1999) *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana*. Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh.

Miescher, Stephan F.

(2005) *Making Men in Ghana*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington.

Mills, Sara

(2003) *Michel Foucault*. Routledge: London and New York.

(2006) *Discourse*. Routledge: London and New York.

Morrell, Robert

(2001) *Changing men in South Africa*. Zed Books: London.

(2005) 'Youth, Fathers and Masculinity in South Africa Today'. *Agenda Special Focus: Gender, Culture and Rights*: 84-87.

Morris, Rosalind

(2010) *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. Columbia University Press: New York.

Morrissey, Megan E.

(2013) 'Rape as a weapon of hate: Discursive constructions and material consequences of Black lesbianism in South Africa.' *Women's Studies in Communication*, 36 (1): 72-91.

Mose, Caroline

(2013) 'Swag' and 'cred': Representing Hip-hop in the African City.' *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol.6, No.3: 106-132.

Mossink, Marijke

(1988) 'Inleiding.' In *Naar het leven: feminisme & biografisch onderzoek*, Mieke Aerts, Ulla Jansz, Marijke Mossink & Jolande Withuis (eds.). Uitgeverij SUA: Amsterdam: 9-27

Mueller Susan D.

(2008) 'The Politics of Violence in Kenya', *African Studies Center Working Paper, No 257*. African Studies Center: Boston University.

(2011) 'Dying to win: Elections, political violence, and institutional decay in Kenya.' *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 29 (1): 99-117

Muganzi, Zebeon, S.

(1996) 'Migration, Urbanization and Development.' Population Studies Research Series, Vol. V. University of Nairobi.

MUHURI & OSI

(2013) *We're tired of taking you to court: Human rights abuses by Kenya's anti-terrorism police unit*, available on: <http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/were-tired-taking-you-court-human-rights-abuses-kenyas-anti-terrorism-police-unit> (accessed on 28 March 2014).

Mukinda, Fred

(2013) 'Senior officer to be charged over fatal shooting in slum.' *The Daily Nation*. Available at: <http://mobile.nation.co.ke/news/Senior-officer-to-be-charged-over-fatal-shooting-in-slum/-/1950946/2272190/-/format/xhtml/-/mfj9fqz/-/index.html> (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Mungai Mutonya

(2008) 'Swahili advertising in Nairobi: innovation and language shift.' *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 20 (1): 3-14.

Murrell, Nathaniel Samuel

(1998) 'Introduction.' In *Chanting down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader*, Nathaniel Samuel Murrell, William David Spencer & Adrian Anthony McFarlane. Temple University Press: Philadelphia.

Musembi, C. and P. Scott-Villiers

(2014) "The Constitution Lies to Us": Securing Accountability for the Right to Food in

Kenya.' *Food Riots and Food Rights project report*. Brighton/Nairobi: Institute of Development Studies/University of Nairobi.

MuST

(2012) *Mathare Zonal Plan, Nairobi, Kenya. Collaborative Plan for Informal Settlement Upgrading*. MuST: Nairobi.

Mutahi, Patrick

(2011) 'Between Illegality and Legality. (In)security, crime and gangs in Nairobi informal settlements.' *SA Crime Quarterly*, no 37: 11-18.

Mutua, Makau

(2014) 'Forget al-Shabaab – Mungiki are forerunners of Kenya's lawlessness.' Standard Media. Available at: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/mobile/?articleID=2000108156&story_title=forget-al-shabaab-mungiki-are-forerunners-of-kenya-s-lawlessness (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Mwangi, Evans

(2004) 'Masculinity and nationalism in East-African hip hop.' *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde*, 41, 2: 5-20.

Muiriru, Billy

(2014) 'Battle of the Titans in Mathare by-election.' *Nairobi News*. Available at: <http://nairobinews.co.ke/battle-of-the-titans-in-mathare-by-election/> (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Mutinda, Leonard

(2011) 'Tuju bid in 'sheng' causing a stir.' *Daily Nation*, August 30. Available at: <http://www.nation.co.ke/News/politics/Tuju+bid+in+sheng+causing+a+stir+/-/1064/1228096/-/fbss6r/-/index.html> (accessed on 29 November 2014).

Mutongi, Kenda

(2006) 'Thugs or Entrepreneurs? Perceptions of matatu Operators in Nairobi, 1970 to the Present'. *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 76, No. 4: 549-568.

Mwakio, Philip & Stanley Mwahanga

(2013) 'MRC, Tribal Gangs target Police at Coast.' *Standard Media*, available at: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000080427&story_title=-MRC,-tribal-gangs-target-police-at-Coast (accessed on 14 May 2013).

Nelson, Nici

(1978a) 'Dependence and independence: female household heads in Mathare Valley, a squatter community in Nairobi, Kenya.'

(1978b) 'Women must help each other. The operation of personal networks among Buzaa beer brewers in Mathare Valley, Kenya. In *Women united. Women divided. Cross cultural perspectives of female solidarity*, Patricia Caplan and Janet Bujra (eds.). Tavistock: London.

(1997) 'How women and men got by and still get by (only not so well). The gender division of labour in a Nairobi shanty-town.' In *Cities in the developing world. Issues, theory and policy*, Joseph Gugler (ed.). Oxford University Press: New York.

(2002) 'Surviving in the City: Coping Strategies of Female Migrants in Nairobi, Kenya.' In *Urban Life: Readings in the Anthropology of the City (4th edition)*. Gmelch, G. & Zenner, W.P Waveland Press, Inc.: Illinois.

Nencel, Lorraine

(2005) 'Feeling gender speak. Intersubjectivity and fieldwork practice with women who prostitute in Lima, Peru.' *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 12(3): 345–361.

(2014) 'Situating reflexivity: Voices, positionalities and representations in feminist ethnographic texts.' *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 43: 75-83.

Ng'etich, Jacob

(2013) 'Questions raised about Wanjiru's degrees.' Standard Media.

Available at:

http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000074350&story_title=Kenya-Questions-raised-about-Wanjiru%E2%80%99s-degrees (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Ngoiri Jane & Aggrey Mutambo

(2012) 'Formalin, ARVs and molasses: This is alcohol made in hell.' Daily Nation. Available on: <http://www.nation.co.ke/Features/DN2/A+most+shocking+discovery+/-/957860/1488644/-/149do9gz/-/index.html> (accessed on 22 November 2014).

Nordstrom, Carolyn

(2004) *Shadows of war: violence, power, and international profiteering in the Twenty-First Century*. University of California Press: Oakland.

NTA

(2011) Citizen's Constituency Development Fund Report Card for Starehe Constituency, Nairobi City County. Available at:

http://www.nta.or.ke/reports/crc/Nairobi/Starehe_January_2011.pdf (accessed on 30 November 2014).

NTV

(2013) 'CS Ole Lenku leads chang'aa raid in Mathare.' NTV news. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= kb8lriGqPs> (accessed on 22 November 2013).

Nyagih, Moses

(2011) 'Hard times ahead as fuel and food prices soar.' Standard Media. Available at: <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2000033462/hard-times-ahead-as-fuel-and-food-prices-soar> (accessed on 15 November 2014).

Nzuma, Jonathan Makau

(2013) 'The political economy of food price policy. The case of Kenya.' *UNU-WIDER*, working Paper No. 2013/026.

Ochieng, Philip

(2001) 'Historical roots of our phobia for the Kikuyu', *The Sunday Nation*, February 25.

Odhiambo, Walter & Damiano Kulundu Manda

(2003) *Urban poverty and labour force participation in Kenya*. Paper at the World Bank Urban Research Symposium, Washington D.C.

Odula, Tom

(2013) 'Uhuru Kenyatta Wins Contested Election In Kenya, Supreme Court Declares Victory Over Raila Odinga.' *The Huffington Post*. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/03/30/uhuru-kenyatta-wins-kenya-election_n_2984590.html (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Ogot, Bethewell

(2003) 'Mau Mau and nationhood: The untold story'. In *Mau Mau and nationhood*, Atieno E.S. Odhiambo & John Lonsdale, (eds.). Oxford: James Currey: 8-37.

Okoth, Oduol Stephen, Simeon Okelo, Fredrick Aila et al.

(2013) 'Effect of the Youth Enterprise Development Fund on Youth Enterprises in Kenya.' *International Journal of Advances in Management and Economics*, Vol.2 Issue 1: 111-116.

Okoth-Okombo, Duncan & Olang Sana

(2010) *Balaa Mitaani : the challenge of mending ethnic relations in Nairobi slums*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: Nairobi.

Ombati, Cyrus.

(2012) '30 houses burnt as gangs clash in Mathare.' *Standard Media*.

Available at: www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000073888&story_title=Kenya-30-houses-burnt-as-gangs-clash-in-Mathare (accessed on 30 November 2014).

(2013a) 'Thugs Attack IEBC Office, Steal BVR Machine'. *Standard Media*, available at: <http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000079434> (accessed on 14 May 2013).

(2013b) 'Unruly youths cause mayhem after Court's verdict'. *Standard Media*, available at: http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000080537&story_title=Kenya-Unruly-youths-cause-mayhem-after-Court%E2%80%99s-verdict (accessed on 8 November 2014).

Ominde, S.

(1968) *Land and population movements in Kenya*. Heinemann: London.

O'Neill, T. & M.J. Hird

(2001) 'Double Damnation: Gay Disabled Men and the Negotiation of Masculinity'. In *Constructing Gendered Bodies*, K. Backett-Milburn and L. McKie (eds.). Palgrave: London: 201-223.

Ong, Aihwa

(1995) 'Women out of China: Travelling tales and travelling theories in postcolonial feminism.' In *Women writing culture*, Ruth Behar, & Deborah A. Gordon (eds.). University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles: 350-372.

Onyango D.

(2002) 'A shadowy movement's long history of clashes with the law.' *Sunday Nation*, 25 August.

Ortner, Sherry B.

(2006) *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject*. Duke University Press: Durham.

Oscar Foundation

(2008) *'The veil of Impunity'. Executions & disappearances. Who is guilty?* Nairobi: Oscar Foundation.

Otiso, Kefa M.

(2002) 'Forced eviction in Kenyan cities.' *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 23(3): 252-267.

Otner, Sherry B.

(2006) *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject*. Duke University Press: Durham.

- Ouzgane, Lahoucine & Robert Morell (eds.)
 (2005) *African Masculinities: Men in Africa from the late nineteenth century to the present*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.
- Pandey, G.
 (2006) *Routine violence, nations, fragments*. Stanford University Press: Stanford.
- Patinkin, Jason
 (2013) 'Uhuru Kenyatta's election victory is upheld by Kenya's supreme court.' *The Guardian*. Available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/31/kenya-court-upholds-kenyatta-victory> (accessed on 30 November 2014).
- Patterson, Orlando
 (1982) *Slavery and Social Death*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.
- Piketty, Thomas
 (2014) *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.
- Popescu, Gabriel
 (2012) *Bordering and Ordering the Twenty-first Century. Understanding Borders*. Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham.
- Posel, Dorrit, Stephanie Rudwick & Daniela Casale
 (2011) 'Is marriage a dying institution in South Africa? Exploring changes in marriage in the context of ilobolo payments.' *Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity*, 25 (1): 102-111.
- Probert, Thomas
 (2014) *Unlawful Killings in Africa: a study prepared for the UN Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions*. Centre of Governance and Human Rights, University of Cambridge: Cambridge.
- Rakodi, Carole
 (1997) *The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of its Large Cities*. United Nations University Press: Tokyo.
- Richter, Linda & Robert Morrell
 (2006) *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*. HSRC Press: Cape Town.
- Ries, Nancy

(2002), 'Anthropology and the Everyday, from Comfort to Terror', *New Literary History*, Vol. 33(4): 725-742

Rodgers, Dennis & Jennifer M. Hazen (eds.)

(2014) *Global Gangs: Street violence across the world*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.

Rogoncho, David and Njoroge wa Kariuki

(1990) 'Anti-Christ sect group on hunger strike', *The Daily Nation*, 5 February.

Roitman, Janet

(2006) 'The ethics of Illegality in the Chad basin' in *Law and disorder in the Post-colony*, edited by Jean Comaroff & John L. Comaroff. University of Chicago Press: Chicago: 247-270.

Ross, Marc Howard

(1973) 'Community formation in an urban squatter settlement.' *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 3: 296-328.

Ruteere, M. and M. Pommerolle

(2003) 'Democratizing security or decentralizing repression? The ambiguities of community policing in Kenya.' *African Affairs*, 102:587-604.

Rutten, Marcel & Sam Owuor

(2009) 'Weapons of mass destruction: Land, ethnicity and the 2007 elections in Kenya' *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* Vol. 27, Issue 3: 305 – 324.

Said, Edward

(1978) *Orientalism. Western conceptions of the Orient*. Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD: London.

Salazar, Claudia

(1991). A third world woman's text: Between the politics of criticism and cultural politics. In *Women's words. The feminist practice of oral history*, Sherna Berger Gluck, & Daphne Patai (eds.) Routledge: London: 93–106.

Salo, Elaine

(2006) 'Mans is ma soe: Ganging practices in Manenberg, South Africa, and the ideologies of masculinities, gender and generational relations'. In *States of violence: Politics, youth, and memory in contemporary Africa* Edna G. Bay & Donald L. Donham (eds). University of Virginia Press: Charlottesville: 148-178.

Samper, David A.

(2004) 'Africa is still our mama': Kenyan rappers, youth identity, and the revitalization of traditional values.' *African Identities*, Vol. 2 (1): 37—51.

Santiso Carlos

(2001) 'Good governance and aid effectiveness: the World Bank and conditionality', *The Georgetown Public Policy Review* 7 (1):1-22.

(2002) *Governance conditionality and the reform of multilateral development finance: the role of the Group of Eight*. Found on the following website:

tspace.library.utoronto.ca/retrieve/1281/santiso2002-gov/.pdf (accessed on 1 March 2010).

Sassen, Saskia

(2007) 'The global city. One setting for new types of gang work and political culture?' In *Gangs in the global city: alternatives to traditional criminology*, John Hagedorn (ed.).

University of Illinois Press: Chicago: 97-119.

Scheper-Hughes Nancy

(1992) *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*. University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy & Philippe I. Bourgois

(2004) *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology*, New York: Wiley.

Schilderman, Theo & Otto Eriks Ruskulis

(2006) *Building Bridges with the Grassroots: Scaling up through Knowledge Sharing*.

Practical Action: Warwickshire.

Schneider, Friedrich, Andreas Buehn & Claudio E. Montenegro

(2010) 'Shadow Economies All over the World New Estimates for 162 Countries from 1999 to 2007.' *The World Bank*. Policy Research Working Paper 5356.

Schrijvers, Joke

(1993) 'Motherhood experienced and conceptualised. Changing images in Sri Lanka and the Netherlands.' In *Gendered fields: Men, women and ethnography*, Diana Bell, Pat Caplan, & Wazir Kahan Jarim (eds.). Routledge: London: 143–157.

Scott, James C.

(1998) *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Yale University press: Connecticut.

Shefer, T., K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala and R. Buikema (eds.)

(2007) *From boys to men: social construction of masculinity in contemporary society*. UCT Press: Cape Town.

Silberschmidt, Margrethe

(1999) *Women forget that men are the masters*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet: Uppsalla.

(2001) Disempowerment of men in rural and urban East Africa: implications for male identity and sexual behaviour. *World Development*, vol. 29, no. 4: 657-71.

(2004) Men, male sexuality and HIV/AIDS; reflections from studies in rural and urban East Africa. *Transformation: critical perspectives on Southern Africa*, 54: 42-58.

Singerman, Diane

(2007) *The economic imperatives of marriage: Emerging practices and identities among youth in the Middle East*. Washington DC and Dubai: Wolfensohn Centre for Development and Dubai School of Government, Working Paper 6.

Skeggs, Beverley

(2004) *Class, self, culture*. Routledge: London and New York.

Smedt, Johan de

(2009) 'No Raila, no peace! Big man politics and election violence at the Kibera grassroots', *African Affairs* 108 (433) pp. 581-598.

Smith, A.D.

(1991) *National Identity*. Penguin: London.

Sommer, Doris

(1988) 'Not just a personal story: women's *Testimonios* and the plural self.' In *Life/lines: theorizing women's autobiography*, Bella Brodzki & Celeste Schenk (eds.). Cornell University Press: Ithaca NY: 107-29.

Sommerville, Keith

(2011) 'Violence, hate speech and inflammatory broadcasting in Kenya: The problems of definition and identification.' *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, Vol. 32 (1): 82-101.

Spivak, Gayatri Chackravorty

(1988) *Can the subaltern speak*. Macmillan: London.

Spronk, Rachel

(2009) 'Sex, Sexuality and Negotiating Africanness in Nairobi.' *Africa*, Vol. 79 (04): 500-519

(2012) *Ambiguous pleasures: sexuality and middle class self-perceptions in Nairobi*. Berghan Books: New York.

Star Editor

(2013) 'Kenya: Shoot-to-Kill Due to Police Laziness.' *The Star*, available at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/201409101420.html> (accessed on 8 November 2014).

Star Reporter

(2013) 'Nigeria Ndogo in Mathare is drugs bazaar.' *The Star*. Available at: <http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/article-128821/nigeria-ndogo-mathare-drugs-bazaar> (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Stiglitz, Joseph

(2003) *Globalization and its discontents*. Penguin: New York.

Stren, Richard

(1972) 'Urban Policy in Africa: A Political Analysis.' *African Studies Review*, Vol. 15, No. 3: 489-516.

Strømme Foundation

(2012) 'We want to further our partnership with MYSA. We want them to have a greater awareness of rights.' *Press Release*. Available at: <https://strommestiftelsen.no/press-release> (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Sullivan, John

(2012) 'What Does the Informal Sector Mean for Global Economic Growth?' *The World Post*. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-sullivan/informal-sector-developing-economies_b_1761914.html (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Syagga, P.M., W.V. Mitullah and S.K. Gitau

(2001) *Nairobi Situation Analysis: Consultative Report*. Nairobi: GOK/UNCHS (Habitat), Collaborative Nairobi Slum Upgrading Initiative.

Tamagni, Daniele

(2009) *Gentlemen of Bacongo*. Trolley: London.

The Nation Reporter

(2008) How election violence was financed. *The Daily Nation*. 27 August.

The New York Times

(2007) 'Kenyan police continue violent crackdown on Mungiki sect.' *The New York Times*, 7 June. Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/07/world/africa/07iht-07kenya.6042028.html?_r=1& (accessed on 26 October 2014).

Thieme, Tatiana

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

Throup, David & Charles Hornsby

(1998) *Multi-Party Politics in Kenya*. James Currey: London.

Tonkin, Elisabeth

(1995) *Narrating Our Pasts: The Social Construction of Oral History*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Turner, Terisa E. & Leigh S. Brownhill

(2004) 'Feminism in the Mau Mau Resurgence.' *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 1-2:95-117

Uchendu, Egodi

(2007) 'Masculinity and Nigerian Youths.' *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 16: 2: 279-297.

UNDP

(2013) *Discussion paper. Kenya's youth employment challenge*. Available at: [http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Inclusive%20development/Kenya_YEC_web\(jan13\).pdf](http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Poverty%20Reduction/Inclusive%20development/Kenya_YEC_web(jan13).pdf) (accessed on 23 November 2014).

UN-HABITAT

(2008) *UN-HABITAT and the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme. Strategy Document*. UN-HABITAT: Nairobi.

Uzoigwe, G.N.

(1977) 'The warrior and the state in pre-colonial Africa. Comparative perspectives.' In *The warrior tradition in Modern Africa*, Ali Al Amin Mazrui (ed.). Brill: Leiden: 20-47.

Van Houtum, Henk & Ton van Naerssen

(2002) 'Bordering, Ordering and Othering.' *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, Vol. 93 (2): 125-136.

Van Stapele, Naomi

(2014) 'Intertextuality, intersubjectivity and self-reflexivity: Narrating about 'Self' and 'Other' in Feminist Research.' *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 43: 13-21.

Vigil, Diego James

(2003) 'Urban violence and street gangs.' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 32: 225-242.

(2008) 'Street Baptism: Chicano gang initiation.' *Human Organization*, Vol. 55 (2): 149-153.

Vigh, Henrik

(2006) *Navigating terrains of war: youth and soldiering in Guinea-Bissau*. Berghahn Books: New York.

(2008) 'Crisis and Chronicity: Anthropological Perspectives on Continuous Conflict and Decline' *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology* 73 (1): 5-24.

(2009) *Motion Squared. Landscapes, seascapes and a second look at the concept of social navigation*. Seminar paper at ASSR, University of Amsterdam, 9 December.

(2011) 'Vigilance: On Conflict, Social Invisibility, and Negative Potentiality.' *Social Analysis* 55 (3): 93-114.

Wabala, Dominic

(2013) 'Kenya: Country Has 46 Criminal Gangs, Report Reveals.' *The Star*. 31 August.

Wacquant, Loïc

(2002) 'Scrutinizing the Street: Poverty, Morality, and the Pitfalls of Urban Ethnography.' *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 107, No. 6: 1468-1532.

(2011) 'Habitus as Topic and Tool: Reflections on Becoming a Prizefighter.' *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 8:81-92.

Waikenda, Machel

(2014) 'The dragon of ethnicity nurtured by selfish politicians.' *Standard Media*. Available at: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000102674&story_title=the-dragon-of-ethnicity-nurtured-by-selfish-politicians (accessed on 30 November 2014).

'Waki Report'

(2008) *Commission of inquiry into post-election violence*. Available at: http://www.marsgroupkenya.org/pages/stories/Waki_Report (Accessed on 5 November 2008).

Wallis, Daniel & Katie Nguyen

(2007) 'Opposition leads Kenyan election count.' Reuters. Available at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/12/28/us-kenya-election-idUSL277107920071228> (accessed on 30 November 2014).

Wamucii, Pricilla & Peter Idwasi

(2011) 'Social security, youth, and development situations in Kenya'. In *Governance in the 21st Century. Africa in Focus* Kwandiwe Kondlo & Chinenyengozi Ejiogu (eds). HSRC Press: Cape Town: 188-199.

Wamue, Grace N.

(2001) 'Revisiting our indigenous shrines though Mungiki'. *African Affairs*, 100 (400): 453-67.

(2002) *Mungiki Movement in Kenya: religio-political analysis*. Kenyatta University: Nairobi.

Wa Mungai, Mbugua David A. Samper

(2006) 'No Mercy, No Remorse': Personal Experience Narratives about Public Passenger Transportation in Nairobi, Kenya'. *Africa Today*, Vol. 52 (3): 51-81.

Wa Mungai, Mbugua

(2008) 'Made in Riverwood: (Dis) Locating identities and power through Kenyan pop music.' *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 20 (1): 57-70.

Wamuthenya, Wambui

(2010a) 'Determinants of Formal and Informal Sector Employment in the Urban Areas of Kenya.' , *African Economic Research Consortium (AERC)*. Research Paper No. 194.

(2010b) *Economic Crisis and Women's Employment in Urban Kenya*. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing BV.

Wanaina, Binyavanga

(2004) *Kwani?02*. Kwani Trust: Nairobi.

Wa Wamwere, Koigi

(2003) *Negative ethnicity: From bias to genocide*. Seven Stories Press: New York.

Were, Anzette

(2008) *Drivers of violence. Male disempowerment in the African context*. Nairobi. Mvule Africa Publishers: Nairobi.

White, Luise

(1990) *The Comforts of Home. Prostitution in colonial Nairobi*. The University of Chicago

Press: Chicago.

Willemse, Karin, Ruth Morgan and John Meletse

(2009) 'Deaf, Gay, HIV Positive, and Proud: Narrating an Alternative Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa' *Canadian Journal of African Studies* Vol. 43, No.1.

Willemse Karin,

(2007) 'In my father's house' – Gender, Islam and the construction of a gendered public sphere in Darfur, *Sudan Journal for Islamic Studies*, Vol.27: 73-115.

(2009). The Darfur war: masculinity and the construction of a Sudanese national identity, in *Darfur and the crisis of governance in Sudan*, edited by S. M. Hassan and C. E. Ray. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 213-232.

WHO

(2009) 'The influenza outbreak in humans caused by Influenza A/H1N1 - considerations at the human-animal interface'. Available at:

http://www.who.int/foodsafety/fs_management/No_02_influenza_Apr09_en_rev1.pdf?ua=1 (accessed on 29 November 2014).

World Bank

(2013) 'Time to shift gears. Accelerating economic growth and poverty reduction in the new Kenya.' *Kenya Economic Update*, June, Edition no. 8. Available at:

<http://www.worldbank.org/content/dam/Worldbank/document/Africa/Kenya/kenya-economic-update-june-2013.pdf> (accessed on 15 November 2014).

Summary

This ethnography focuses on the multiple meanings of gangs in the everyday practices of young men in Mathare, a Nairobi ghetto, and analyses these meanings in relation to wider cultural, political, and economic frameworks and developments. In particular, it looks at the daily struggles of young ghetto men who faced multiple marginalities in their attempts to become senior men and how this was related to membership of a working gang. Accordingly, this book aims to move beyond the dominant representations of gangs in Kenya and elsewhere as criminal, political and mono-ethnic networks of idle young men. I thus hope to contribute to debates on gangs in Kenya and worldwide, African masculinities, and articulations of ethnic and local belonging. By looking at what pushed young men to join or leave working gangs, how this was tied to struggles over positions of manhood, and why and how gangs and individual gang members took part in junctures violence, this book goes beyond the stereotypical, but highly pervasive, depiction of these young men as “thugs for hire”. As a consequence, I found that along with the much-researched concept of political violence, which is heavily intertwined with ethnicity in the context of Kenya, other factors like work, gender and belonging turned out be crucial in gaining insight into the social processes of working gang formation in Mathare, and into the participation of these gangs and individual gang members in violence.

The main challenge for my research is understanding why and how young men in Mathare both join and leave working gangs. I launched the term working gang for groups that focused on alcohol production and the drug trade, because the members themselves referred to their income-generating activities as work. Referring to illegal practices in this way is not uncommon among groups that are engaged in them, and it fully captures the notion of “respectable illegality”. The young distillers were acutely aware of its illegal status, but they imagined it as reputable as it enabled them to perform (young) male duties and earn respect from community residents. The most obvious reason for young men in this ghetto to joining a working gang seems to emanate from economic necessity. Nevertheless, such explanations risk reducing complex social motivations and decision-making processes to monetary logics. I have tried to develop a broader view of the current and future social possibilities and constraints that young men imagined when making decisions and acting on them, especially pertaining to joining and leaving working gangs. All young men who featured in this book were driven by a shared desire to improve their social status and actualise the position of senior manhood. This predominantly shaped their social navigation trajectories, within which both joining and leaving working gangs were considered to be key steps. Accordingly, I show that the social processes of working gang formation in Mathare were predominantly shaped by notions of work and dominant standards of masculinity, rather than by ethnicity or political affiliations. Ethnicity did play a role as a boundary marker in many other group-making projects that also involved working gang members from time to time, albeit in highly unexpected ways.

Especially striking was the role of working gangs in structuring the processes of becoming men in a community that was dominated by women. These processes were popularly imagined as following the gradual attainment of specific social, cultural and economic capital. One of the main pathways to gradually achieving such ambitions was by joining a working gang, as these gangs were popularly conceptualised as age-sets that helped young men to progress from junior to senior manhood. Most young men moved out of their family's one-room house after circumcision at the age of 16 to begin life as a junior man. Working gangs allowed young men to cater for and garner adequate capital with which to eventually establish themselves as senior men. The working gang also enabled these young men to maintain meaningful relationships with their families by working for close female relatives and performing security and other forms of community service in their neighbourhood area. Interestingly, notions of work, respectability and community service are not generally associated with gangs in the dominant discourses, whether in Kenya or worldwide. I, however, focused on the everyday role of gangs in ghettos, and studying these groups from local viewpoints revealed the fluidity and overlap between gangs and between gangs and other social groups of young men such as football teams, youth groups and even CBOs. This view thus helped me to approach the experiential level of the social processes of working gang formation, and to go beyond representations that prevail in both the media and academia. Accordingly, this perspective highlighted the quite different roles of gangs and gang members in the local setting.

This book shows that it is imperative to include gangs in sub-Saharan African ghettos in the emerging global agenda of comparative gang studies. However, gender is not a new trope in gang studies. Nevertheless, the roles of women as bosses and 'cheerleaders' of gangs of young men, and how this has a bearing on the latter's imaginings of gendered senses of the self, which is so central in this study, give new dimensions to the role of gender in this field. Moreover, the modes in which gangs play a role in and structure situational and relational processes of becoming men requires further academic exploration. These emphases are all the more urgent in a global context that is currently witnessing rapid urbanisation (particularly in southern countries), an increasingly younger population, and a growing number of households led by single mothers. The declining access to opportunities for young men within the formal realm in the global south calls for in-depth analyses of how the self-organisation among young men within informal economies can often become quite productive in terms of economic growth, social cohesion and community development, to the extent that it may even benefit the so-called formal economy. Having said this, I also illustrate that clear distinctions between formal and informal and legal and illegal are in fact hard to make.

Despite the fact that gangs offered work opportunities to young ghetto men, they were expected to leave the working gang and establish themselves as senior men around the age of 30 at the latest. However, leaving a gang has become increasingly difficult in recent times. This book brings out how this had an impact on the already tense gender relations in Mathare, and how young men navigated these shifts. I describe how, during their gang membership, these young men became fathers, got married (not necessarily in

that order) and gradually took up other positions that were widely associated with senior manhood. Nevertheless, gang members were never fully considered to be senior men in the popular discourse as long as they continued to be part of the gang. The founding of the first alcohol gangs in Mathare in 1994, and later the drug gangs in the early 2000s, helped young men to carve out pathways for themselves to garner social and other types of capital that would help them to leave the gang. However, the economic slump after 2008 increasingly hindered their trajectories out of the gang, thus trapping gang members in a more permanent state of 'lesser manhood'. Accordingly, anxieties about manhood among both men and women put mounting pressure on gender relations in Mathare, and relationships between women and young men in particular became more and more unhinged.

A major thread running through this book is how these young men's fears of growing redundancy with regard to women shaped their social navigation struggles. These men may best be described by the term 'anxious men', referring to those who feared becoming lesser men, *mafala*. Their anxieties do not, however, indicate that young men were locally considered to be redundant or disconnected; instead, it denoted the qualms that young men had about losing more and more social, political and economic ground in relation to their community and society at large, but especially with regard to the women in their lives. I explore how and why, from the perspectives of young men, the recent economic decline affected the two genders differently in Mathare. Most young men thus felt increasingly left out. Furthermore, their anxieties were profoundly aggravated by the unlawful killings of young ghetto men by the police that have become a systematic phenomenon since 2002. I discuss in detail, and from different perspectives, how the double bind of depending on women for work and being expected to provide for women led to mounting anxieties among young ghetto men. Engaging in direct acts of violence was, to a large extent, aimed at forcing a shift in the, in their eyes, oppressive and anomalous gender relations. Dominant media representations often depicted these men as detached, idle, frustrated and prone to violence, and therefore a threat. Contrary to such perceptions, engaging in violent strategies was more often than not aimed at reinforcing their sense of belonging to their family and community. Regarding their participation in such violence as strategic, and as part of their social navigation struggles, enabled a view that held these men as agents instead of mere victims of power configurations.

My focus on working gangs also became crucial for acquiring better insight into the rise and demise of ethnic-based gangs and into understanding mounting violence in Mathare from the early 2000s onwards. Nearly all direct acts of violence emanated from routine violence that structurally marginalised different social groups in Mathare. Dominant ethnic hate narratives at times gained performative power among these different groups in attempts to comprehend disparities between them. This book reveals that some working gang members shifted gang alliances during conflict, hence boosting ethnic-based gangs during critical moments. At other times, however, working gangs teamed up with local residents to oust ethnic-based gangs. Working gangs and individual members thus participated in conflicts that involved ethnic-based gangs in unexpected ways, and this

brings important nuances to the dominant narrative in Kenya that explains the mounting violence in Mathare solely in ethnic terms.

This book also shows that in order to fully understand why and how episodes of violence emerge in this ghetto, and perhaps elsewhere, it is crucial to examine the historical, social, economic and political factors that come together in a particular locality at a particular moment in time. It is vital to investigate these elements from the perspectives of the people (such as working gang members) involved in such violence, whether as perpetrators, victims, or both. To understand this violence from the viewpoint of its participants, the context-bound histories of ethnic labels and how these intersected with popular notions of belonging and entitlement were crucial. Discourses about ethnic labels thus imagined were politically strategic constructs; the people who were supposed to belong to these constructs and reap the consequences, whether they wanted to or not, such as the poor with Kikuyu and Luo backgrounds, hardly ever fitted them. In their narratives, the young men increasingly imagined violence in terms of 'us Kikuyu' and 'them Luo' and vice versa. I argued that these ethnic labels hide more than they reveal and cannot be used as an explanatory concept on their own. The young men who killed and died in the name of an ethnic label turned out to actually know very little about the dominant history of those constructs, or about past social relationships between the particular ethnic groups to which they refer.

The trope of the jealous neighbour was often evoked by working gang members (and residents in general) to explain all kinds of conflict in Mathare. This notion proved to be useful in this research for unravelling how, when and why conflicts emerged, because it added an often overlooked dimension of violence in Mathare, albeit one that is well understood by local residents. The dimensions described by this image included both the power of jealousy (emanating from feeling excluded) and the opportunity that violence may provide to improve one's own position. The notion of the jealous neighbour has helped in unpacking different layers of the reasons behind participation in, and the meanings of, violence in Mathare from the perspective of young ghetto men. Accordingly, approaching such seemingly conflicting and potentially conflictive relationships called for an in-depth contextualisation of such relationships and their shifts. Through such analyses, and by following the logic of young working gang members, I have been able to bring into view their ostensibly contradictory and highly fluid positions during conflicts. I thus discovered another layer to the binary between popular positions of manhood, *mjanja* and *fala*. These positions intersected with notions of natives and visitors in unexpected ways, and this again helped me to bring nuance to the dominant trope of ethnicity.

The theoretical framework of social navigation (Vigh 2006, 2009) enabled me to bring out how young men, despite situations of extreme insecurity, continued to build their lives against all odds. This approach did, however, fall short when it came to elucidating how their considerations of the immediate and the imagined pertained to differences in choice-making among similarly positioned men, and how this all had a bearing on individual social navigation struggles. I have tried to overcome the limits posed by this framework by analysing the young men's life histories against the grain. Looking at

processes of subjectivation from the perspectives of the young men led me to focus on their 'negotiation' of discourses. The different ways in which these young men negotiated restrictive subject positions shaped different social navigation trajectories among them. This focus has also helped to highlight the availability of particular alternative positions such as ghetto pride. Accordingly, the concept of negotiation has added to social navigation theory in crucial ways. It allowed me to analyse how individual young men positioned themselves within the context of the highly restrictive forces that moved all of them. Looking at their processes of negotiation enabled me to approach the different modalities in which young ghetto men navigated social relationships and highly unstable circumstances.

Analysing the process of negotiation through the narratives of young ghetto men made their social navigation struggles detectable to me from their own points of view. This type of discourse analysis was useful in grasping intersubjective patterns of individual experiences, and as such of situated and embodied histories and agencies. These patterns were not generalisable in absolute terms, but they did shed light on dominant and available alternative discursive frameworks and their mediated effects within particular spatial, temporal and social contexts. This enabled me to approach how some of these men were, at times, able to claim power and resist oppressive structures, however fleetingly, by constructing the position of ghetto pride. It also allowed me to contextualise ethnicity by analysing contingent notions of us and them based on shifting articulations of local and ethnic belonging from their perspectives.

In this book, a concept of agency came to the fore that encompassed the situational relationalities between structure and actor, and which included acts of both compliance and resistance (Davids and Willemse 2014). The different modes in which young ghetto men negotiated dominant discourses, at times upholding while at other times challenging dominant notions and subject positions, revealed that affirming dominant subject positions could also indicate instances of agency. This begs the question as to under which conditions the upholding of a dominant subject position may allude to agency (*see also* Mahmood 2005). Kingi and many other young men in this book were highly invested in adhering to the position of the provider, and even during times of great adversity they took immense pride in at least trying to live up to this masculine ideal. As a consequence, it was not just in succeeding, but also in trying, that agency manifested itself. Interestingly, this type of struggling and hustling (dubbed by them *kung'ang'ana* – Kiswahili for 'to struggle' – or *kuhustle* in Sheng) perhaps affirmed one subject position, but also helped to, at times, resist another. Enacting the role of provider, even against all odds, was also part of enacting ghetto pride and resisting the ghetto boy position, as it underscored their identification as men instead of boys.

Above all, I hope this book brings out alternative meanings of what it means to be a gang member for young men living in Mathare, and of the role of gangs play in the everyday life of this and other Nairobi ghettos with regard to wider cultural, political and economic frameworks and developments. This in-depth view can enrich gang studies in Kenya, which

are still dominated by top-down approaches, and it also has wider implications for gang studies elsewhere.

Samenvatting

Deze monografie gaat over de verschillende betekenissen van gangs in de context van alledaagse praktijken van jongen mannen in Mathare, een *ghetto* in Nairobi. Het analyseert deze betekenissen in relatie tot bredere culturele, politieke en economische kaders, processen en ontwikkelingen. Dit boek kijkt met name naar de alledaagse worstelingen van jonge mannen uit de *ghetto* die meervoudige uitdagingen op hun pad tegenkwamen in hun pogingen om *senior men* te worden, en onderzoekt hoe dit verband hield met het lid worden van een gang. Op deze manier probeert dit boek verder te gaan dan de dominante representaties van gangs in Kenya, en wereldwijd, als criminele, politieke en/of mono-etnische organisaties. Ik hoop hiermee bij te dragen aan debatten over gangs in Kenya en wereldwijd, over mannelijkheid in Afrika en over articulaties van *ethnic and local belonging*. Door te kijken naar wat jonge mannen dreef om lid te worden van gangs, of juist om deze te verlaten, hoe deze processen gelinkt waren aan worstelingen over mannelijkheid, en waarom en hoe gangs en gangleden deelnamen aan geweld, gaat dit boek voorbij aan het stereotypische maar zeer hardnekkige beeld in Kenya van deze jonge mannen als “*thugs for hire*”. Als gevolg kwam ik erachter dat naast het reeds veelvuldig onderzochte concept ‘politiek geweld’, dat nauw verband houdt met etniciteit in de Keniaanse context, andere factoren als werk, gender en *belonging* de sleutel vormden om inzicht te krijgen in de sociale processen van *working gang* formaties in Mathare, en in de participatie van deze groepen en individuen in momenten van geweld.

De belangrijkste uitdaging van mijn onderzoek is te begrijpen waarom en hoe jonge mannen lid worden van *working gangs* en how en waarom zij deze gangs ook weer verlaten. Ik gebruik de term *working gangs* voor groepen die georganiseerd waren rondom met name illegale alcohol productie en distributie en drugs handel, omdat de leden van deze groepen zelf de term werk gebruikte om te refereren aan hun economische activiteiten. Het noemen van illegale praktijken als werk is niet ongebruikelijk onder groepen die hierbij betrokken zijn, en dit onderstreept volledig het begrip ‘*respectable illegality*’. De jonge alcohol stokers waren zich wel degelijk bewust van de illegale status, maar zij conceptualiseren het als respectabel omdat het hen in staat stelde om aan hun mannelijke plichten te voldoen en respect te krijgen van mede buurtbewoners. De meest voor de hand liggende reden dat jonge mannen uit de *ghetto* zich aansluiten bij *working gangs* lijkt voort te komen uit economische noodzaak. Dit soort verklaringen dreigen alleen complexe sociale motivaties en besluitvormingsprocessen te reduceren tot monetaire logica. Ik heb geprobeerd een bredere kijk te ontwikkelen op actuele en toekomstige kansen en belemmeringen die jonge mannen onderhandelen tijdens het maken van besluiten, met name waar het gaat om lid worden van een gang en om deze weer te verlaten.

Alle jonge mannen die in dit boek voorkomen werden gedreven door een gedeeld verlangen om hun sociale status te verbeteren en de positie van *senior manhood* te

actualiseren. Dit vormde grotendeels hun *social navigation* trajecten, waarin zowel lid worden van een gang als deze weer verlaten als belangrijke stappen werden gezien. Ik laat zien in dit boek dat de sociale processen van *working gang* formatie voornamelijk werden gevormd door noties van werk en dominante standaarden van mannelijkheid, en niet als eerste door etniciteit en politieke betrekkingen. Etniciteit speelde wel een rol als markering van grenzen in vele andere projecten van groepsvorming, alleen op hele onverwachte wijze. Vooral opvallend was de rol van *working gangs* in het structureren van processen van ‘man worden’ in een gemeenschap die werd gedomineerd door vrouwen. Deze processen werden over het algemeen voorgesteld als het geleidelijk verkrijgen van specifiek sociaal, cultureel en economisch kapitaal. Een van de belangrijkste wegen om deze ambities te realiseren was het lid worden van een *working gang*. Deze gangs werden gezien in Mathare als *age-sets* die jonge mannen in staat stelden om de overgang te maken van *junior* naar *senior manhood*. De meeste jonge mannen begonnen met op zichzelf wonen nadat ze besneden waren op 16-jarige leeftijd. *Working gangs* stelden hen in staat om voor zichzelf te zorgen en stapsgewijs het nodige kapitaal te ontwikkelen waardoor zij uiteindelijk de status van *senior men* konden bereiken. Deze gang stelden hen ook in staat om relaties te onderhouden met hun families en buurt, bv. doordat zij voor vrouwelijke familieleden werkten, en door het bewaken van de veiligheid in de buurt en andere vormen van *community service*. Noties van werk, respectabiliteit en *community service* worden niet snel geassocieerd met gangs in dominante discoursen in Kenia of wereldwijd. Echter, de focus in dit boek op de alledaagse rol van gangs bracht juist de vloeibaarheid en overlap tussen gangs en tussen gangs en andere sociale groepen van jonge mannen (zoals voetbal teams, jongerengroepen en zelfs CBOs) naar voren.

Dit lokale perspectief stelde mij in staat om processen van gang formatie te begrijpen op basis van de ervaringen van leden, en op deze manier verder te gaan dan dominante representaties die nog steeds gangbaar zijn in media en de academie. Hierdoor worden in dit onderzoek hele verschillende rollen van gangs belicht in de lokale setting. Dit boek laat vooral zien hoe belangrijk het is om gangs in sub-Sahara Afrikaanse *ghettos* te betrekken in de opkomende internationale agenda van vergelijkend onderzoek naar gangs. Gender is niet een nieuwe *trope* in gang studies. Daarentegen geeft de rol van vrouwen als bazen en ‘cheerleaders’ van gangs van jonge mannen, en hoe dit hun mannelijk zelfbeeld beïnvloedde, nieuwe dimensies aan de rol van gender in dit veld. Ook de manieren waarop gangs een rol speelden in situationale en relationele processen van ‘man worden’ en deze structureerden behoeft meer academisch onderzoek. Deze accenten zijn des te meer urgent in een context van wereldwijde urbanisatie (met name in het ‘Zuiden’), een steeds jongere populatie en steeds meer alleenstaande moeders. De afnemende toegang van jonge mannen tot werk en andere kansen binnen de formele sector in het ‘Zuiden’ vraagt om meer inzicht over de zelforganisatie binnen de informele economie en hoe deze vaak productief is in termen van economische groei, sociale cohesie en buurt- en gemeenschapsontwikkeling. Dit boek laat zien dat gangs mogelijk zelfs bijdragen aan groei binnen de formele sector. Dit gezegd hebbende, dit boek laat ook zien dat een hard onderscheid tussen formeel en informeel en legaal en illegaal nauwelijks te maken valt.

Ondanks het feit dat gangs werk boden aan leden, werd er ook van de leden verwacht dat zij de gang rond hun 30^{ste} weer zouden verlaten om zichzelf te vestigen als *senior men*. Echter, de gang verlaten werd steeds moeilijker in recente tijden. In dit onderzoek breng ik naar voren welke invloed dit heeft op de reeds gespannen gender relaties in Mathare, en hoe de jonge mannen deze veranderingen navigeerden. Ik beschrijf hoe, tijdens lidmaatschap, deze jongens vader werden, trouwden en geleidelijk aan ook andere posities innamen die werden geassocieerd met *senior manhood*. Desondanks werden gangleden niet beschouwd als *senior men* zolang ze onderdeel bleven van de gang. Zoals gezegd, hielp de vestiging van de eerste alcohol gangs in Mathare in 1994, en later de drugs gangs, jonge mannen om steeds meer kapitaal te vergaren om de gang te verlaten. De economische crisis vanaf 2008 riep dit echter een halt toe. Steeds meer mannen werden gehinderd in hun traject omdat ze niet economisch onafhankelijk konden worden van de gang, waardoor zij gevangen raakten in een min of meer permanente positie van '*lesser manhood*'. Angst over de kwijnende posities van jonge mannen in Mathare, gedeeld door zowel vrouwen en mannen, legde grote druk op gender relaties, en met name de relaties tussen vrouwen en jonge mannen werd steeds problematischer.

Een rode draad in dit boek wordt gevormd door de angst van jonge mannen uit Mathare om steeds minder belangrijk te worden, met name in relatie tot vrouwen, en deze vrees vormde een belangrijke drijfveer in hun *social navigation* worstelingen. De term 'angstige mannen' benadert goed het gevoel dat de mannen hadden om overbodig te worden en daardoor *lesser men*, oftewel *mafala*. Hun angsten kunnen niet als een indicatie dat deze mannen ook werden gezien als overbodig door vrouwen in hun omgeving; integendeel, het benadrukt de zorgen die mannen hadden om hun sociale, economische en politieke positie te verliezen binnen de gemeenschap en samenleving. Ik analyseer hoe en waarom, vanuit de perspectieven van de jonge mannen, de recente economische neergang verschillende effecten had voor mannen en vrouwen in Mathare. De meeste jonge mannen voelden zich steeds meer in de steek gelaten. Tegelijkertijd werden hun angsten om overbodig te worden vergroot door het feit dat zoveel jonge mannen werden doodgeschoten door de politie. Ik bespreek in detail en vanuit verschillende perspectieven hoe de afhankelijk zijn van en tegelijkertijd verantwoordelijk zijn voor vrouwen bijdroeg aan deze groeiende angst onder jonge mannen in Mathare. Meedoen aan geweldsacties waren dan ook veelal gericht op het forceren van een doorbraak in de, in hun ogen, onderdrukkende en afwijkende gender verhoudingen. Dominante media representeerden deze mannen vaak af als ongebonden, gefrustreerd en geneigd tot geweld, en dus als een bedreiging. In tegenstelling tot deze stereotypes was juist hun betrokkenheid in geweld vaak gericht om hun gevoel van erbij horen, bij familie en gemeenschap, juist te versterken. Deze kijk legt ook meer nadruk op de agency van deze jonge mannen omdat het de zogenaamde manipuleerbaarheid (door bv. politieke machten) van jonge mannen in geweld nuanceert.

Mijn focus op *working gangs* geeft ook beter inzicht in de opkomst en neergang van *ethnic-based gangs* en het toenemende geweld van de afgelopen 10 jaar. Bijna al deze vormen van geweld kwamen voort uit *routine violence* waardoor verschillende groepen

structureel gemarginaliseerd werden. Dominante vertogen van haat over bepaalde etnische groepen kregen betekenis onder bepaalde groepen door hun rekbare inzetbaarheid om bepaalde verschillen tussen groepen te verklaren. Dit boek laat zien dat *working gangs* steeds veranderende verbintenissen aangingen met *ethnic-based gangs* tijdens periodes van geweld, terwijl tijdens andere momenten deze gangs juist *ethnic-based gangs*, in samenwerking met andere lokale inwoners, wegjoegen uit de buurt. Dit laat zien dat *working gangs* en leden waren betrokken bij geweld tussen *ethnic-based gangs* op onvoorziene wijze, en dit brengt een belangrijke nuance aan in dominante analyses over geweld in Mathare dat vooral gebaseerd is op etniciteit.

Dit onderzoek laat ook zien dat om geweld in Mathare te begrijpen het belangrijk is om te kijken naar de historisch, sociale, economische en politieke factoren die op een bepaald moment en in een bepaalde ruimte samenkomen. Het is zelfs van vitaal belang om deze elementen vanuit het perspectief van betrokkenen te analyseren, en zo boven de dichotomie van slachtoffers en daders uit te stijgen. Om vormen van geweld vanuit het perspectief van betrokkenen te vatten bleek het cruciaal om te kijken hoe, in de vertellingen en ervaringen van de jonge mannen, de context-gebonden geschiedenissen van etnische categorieën kruisten met populaire noties van *belonging* en toebehoren. Vertogen over deze verbeelde categorieën waren politiek strategische constructen; mensen die werden verondersteld te behoren tot deze categorieën pasten deze vrijwel nooit. De jonge mannen in dit boek verbeelde toch het geweld in toenemende mate in termen van 'ons Kikuyu' tegen 'hen Luo', en andersom. Ik beargumenteer dat deze termen meer verbergen dan laten zien, en nooit kunnen worden gebruikt om geweld één-dimensionaal te verklaren, zoals vaak wel gebeurt. De jonge mannen die doodden en stierven in de naam van deze categorieën hadden in feite weinig weet van de dominante geschiedenissen van deze constructen, of van de sociale en historische relaties tussen specifieke etnische groepen waar deze aan refereerden. Hoe kunnen we dit geweld dan beter verklaren?

De jonge mannen, en bijna iedereen in Mathare, riep vaak het beeld van de 'jaloerse buur' op om allerlei conflicten te verklaren. Deze notie bleek zeer relevant om bepaalde dimensies die vaak over het hoofd worden gezien beter in zicht te krijgen; d.w.z. de kracht van jaloezie en de kansen die geweld met zich mee kan brengen (naast vernietiging en gevaar). De notie van de 'jaloerse buur' hielp in het begrijpen van de gelaagdheid van motivaties voor mensen om deel te nemen aan geweld, en hierdoor ook andere betekenissen van geweld vanuit het perspectief van betrokkenen. Het analyseren en contextualiseren van steeds veranderende buurt relaties tussen groepen en individuen gebaseerd op de zienswijze van de jonge mannen stelde mij in staat om hun ogenschijnlijke contrasterende en zeer vloeibare posities tijdens conflicten aan het licht te brengen. Ik 'ontdekte' op deze manier een volgende laag binnen de schijnbaar tegenovergestelde posities van mannelijkheid, *mjanja* en *fala*. Deze posities werden op verschillende manieren doorkruist door noties van *natives* en *visitors*, en ook dit hielp in het verder nuanceren van het dominante vertoog over etniciteit in relatie tot sociale en politieke ontwikkelingen, waaronder geweld.

Het theoretische kader van *social navigation* (Vigh 2006, 2009) bracht naar voren hoe jonge mannen, ondanks extreme onzekerheid, toch doorzetten met het opbouwen van hun levens. Deze benadering verklaarde alleen niet waarom en hoe hun beschouwingen, van het hier en nu en van de toekomst, in verband stonden met verschillende keuzes onder mannen die op een zelfde manier gepositioneerd waren binnen structurele kaders. Ik heb geprobeerd om deze beperking van dit theoretische kader te ontstijgen door het analyseren van hun levensverhalen '*against the grain*'. Het analyseren van deze onderhandelingsprocessen heeft bijgedragen aan het voorgenoemde theoretische kader door zicht te geven op hoe jonge mannen zich positioneerden binnen de context van zeer restrictieve contexten. Hierdoor kon ik licht schijnen op de verschillende manieren hoe jonge mannen de dominante subject posities onderhandelden en hoe dit eventueel verschillende *social navigation* trajecten voortbracht onder hen. Deze focus hielp ook om de beschikbaarheid van alternatieve subject posities aan het licht te brengen.

Het analyseren van de levensverhalen en te kijken naar hoe de jonge mannen dominante discoursen onderhandelden maakte hun *social navigation* worstelingen beter te begrijpen vanuit hun eigen perspectieven. Dit type discourse analyse is zeer bruikbaar om intersubjectieve patronen van individuele ervaringen aan het licht te brengen, en op deze manier *situated* en belichaamde geschiedenissen en *agencies* te analyseren. Deze patronen zijn niet zo maar te generaliseren, maar ze schijnen licht op de dominante en alternatieve discursieve kaders en diens gemedieerde effecten binnen bepaalde ruimtelijke, tijdelijke en sociale contexten. Hierdoor kon ik benaderen waarom sommige mannen in staat waren om macht te claimen en zich te verzetten tegen dominante subject posities, bv. door het construeren van de positie '*ghetto pride*', hoe tijdelijk en vluchtig dit ook was. Dit gaf ook belangrijke contextualisering, gebaseerd op hun eigen perspectief, van etniciteit als verklarend concept omdat het gelaagde analyses voortbracht van de constant verschuivende articulaties van 'ons' en 'zij' die waren gebaseerd op hele verschillende en steeds veranderende invullingen en intersecties van *local and ethnic belonging*.

In dit boek komt een concept van agency naar voren dat de situationele relaties tussen structuur en actor betreft in analyses, waarin zowel verzet als het navolgen van dominante subject posities als onderdeel van agency kan worden beschouwd (Davids en Willemse 2014). De verschillende manieren waarop jonge mannen de dominante discoursen onderhandelden in dit boek geeft aan dat er ook agency kan schuilen in het zogenaamd bevestigen van dominante subject posities. Dit roept om verdere theoretische analyse over de vraag onder welke omstandigheden het navolgen van een dominante subject positie naar agency kan verwijzen (Mahmood 2005). Kingi en vele andere mannen in deze studie investeerden enorm veel in het navolgen van de '*provider*', en zelfs tijdens extreme crisis haalden zij trots uit het feit dat zij het in ieder geval probeerden. Dientengevolge, zat agency niet alleen in het bereiken van dit ideaal, maar ook in het nastreven ervan. Dit type 'hustling' (in Sheng) bevestigde weliswaar één dominante subject positie, maar stelden hen ook in staat om zich te verzetten tegeneen andere dominante subject positie, namelijk die van '*ghetto boy*'.

Bovenal, hoop ik dat dit boek alternatieve betekenissen naar voren brengt van wat het betekent om lid te zijn van een gang voor jonge mannen in Mathare, Nairobi. Dit onderzoek geeft een ander beeld van de verschillende rollen van gangs in het dagelijks leven van deze en andere Nairobi ghettos, zeker als het gaat om bredere culturele, politieke en economische kaders en ontwikkelingen. De diepgaande analyses in dit boek kunnen gang studies in Kenya verrijken omdat deze nog steeds worden gedomineerd door een top-down benadering, en ze hebben ook vernieuwende implicaties voor gang studies wereldwijd omdat het zeer specifieke vragen oproept over gender en de rol van gangs in zogenaamde 'informele' economieën.